

THE IMAGE OF PIETY IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS IN SLOVAKIA AND IN EUROPE



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State Archive Bratislava

Edited by
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Institute of Musicology
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Preface

THE IMAGE OF PIETY IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS IN SLOVAKIA AND IN EUROPE

The publication *The Image of Piety in Medieval Manuscripts in Slovakia and in Europe* is a proceeding with some of the papers presented at the international interdisciplinary conference of the same name, organized by the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava on 8-9 October 2020. Twenty-six scientists active in nine countries of Europe participated in this event, representing the disciplines of musicology, codicology, palaeography, epigraphy, diplomatics, art science, liturgy, general history, and Germanic philology.

The conference proceeding contains seven interdisciplinary contributions. The papers focus on medieval materials, specific manuscripts, and epigraphic sources, their contents, creators, and fates in various socio-cultural milieus (urban centres, ecclesiastical institutions, individuals). The prevailing subject of the pieces of research is the analysis and evaluation of the image of medieval piety on examples of surviving complete or fragmentary sources from Slovakia and Europe from the latter half of the ninth century to the early sixteenth century, extending into the early modern period.

Medieval written sources constitute one of the basic pillars of the cultural world heritage. In the European geographical area, the earliest part of written production was influenced by the Christianization process which dominantly shaped the medieval society, culture, and education. The scientific evaluation of the processes of the genesis and use of medieval materials revealed a specific force of the distribution of transregional elements on the one hand and an ability to maintain the local elements of piety in the examined localities on the other hand. In the historical context, and based on scientific reflection, it is necessary to determine in the process of scientific evaluation the concrete local elements and the transregional relationships of each material as accurately as possible. Migrations of cultural, religious, and artistic stimuli, influenced by religious centres, institutions, towns, and individuals (mainly Church officials and rulers, noblemen, and, later, also burgesses) were a frequent phenomenon in medieval society. The transfers of stimuli, inspirations, and artistic models were reflected also in the establishment of the very essence of medieval piety, as various examples of written (both musical and non-musical) products show.

The papers map the pieces of knowledge about medieval piety through concrete examples.

Three studies from the field of epigraphy, codicology – palaeography, and diplomatics deal with specific topics of the image of piety on the examples of epigraphic sources from the territory of Slovakia (Juraj Šedivý: *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit in der epigrafischen Kultur der Slowakei [Medieval Piety in Epigraphic Culture in the Territory of Slovakia]*), liturgical materials of personal piety from medieval Transylvania (Adrian Papahagi: *Reformation and Transformation: Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts in Early Modern Transylvania*), and a concrete geographical area (in-depth analysis of the historical and diplomatic sources of the small medieval town of Svätý Jur in western Slovakia, Rastislav Luz: *Liturgy and Popular Piety in the Small Town of Svätý Jur before Reformation*).

The musical papers focus on piety from the aspect of a targeted analysis of the selected musical repertoire of a complete musical source, the Scandinavian *Missal Ms. 387* from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Rastislav Adamko – Janka Bednáriková – Zuzana

Zahradníková: *Votive Mass in Missale Notatum, Ms. Vol. 387, from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava*). The comparative processing and evaluation of fragmentarily surviving materials form the focus of three musicological studies (Zsuzsa Czagány: *Fragmente böhmischer Choralhandschriften in der Pauliner Bibliothek des Zentralen Priesterseminars in Budapest*; Gabriella Gilányi: *Newly Identified Codex Leaves from a 15th-century Transylvanian Antiphoner in Martin*, and Eva Veselovská – Janka Bednáriková: *CANTUS PLANUS in Slovakia: Local Elements – Transregional Connections. Images of Piety on the Example of Mediaeval Fragments from Betliar and Kežmarok*).

The proceeding forms part of the implementation of four scientific projects: APVV-19-0043 CANTUS PLANUS in Slovakia: Local Elements – Transregional Connections (2020 – 2024), VEGA 2/0006/21 Transregional Relations of Musical Sources of Sacred and Secular Character from the Territory of Slovakia Dating Back to the 12th – 17th Century (2021 – 2024), VEGA 1/0096/21 The Carthusian Psalterium – Gradual Sign. J 538 from the Literary Archive of the Slovak National Library in Martin – Research and Source Edition (2021 – 2024), and Music Culture in Central Europe ca. 1450 – 1650: transregional Identity of the Music Sources from Klosterneuburg and Bratislava (2021 – 2022).

Acknowledgement for supporting the research and the project goals goes to the director of the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, doc. PhDr. Hana Urbancová, DrSc.

The Editor



Votivmessen im „Missale Notatum, Ms. Nr. 387“ aus dem Bestand der Zentralbibliothek der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Pressburg (Bratislava)

Abstract

On folios 241v–253r of the Lund Missal from the 13th century, there are 61 forms of votive Masses, which are mostly without song and only contain the texts of short prayers from the Euchologion. In three cases, the prayers are supplemented by songs or incipits of songs. In addition to the forms of votive Masses that were common at the time, the Missal contains some unique pieces. When comparing this set of votive Masses with other Western European sources from the time, we found a considerable similarity between the researched objects in the Missals from Copenhagen and Lund.

Keywords: Middle Ages, Manuscript, Scandinavia, Lund, Missale, votive Mass

Das Manuskript „Missale notatum, Ms. Nr. 387“ (im Weiteren *Manuskript Nr. 387*) ist eine Handschrift, die Messtexte und Gesänge für den zweiten, traditionell als Sommerteil des liturgischen Jahres bezeichneten Abschnitt des Jahres beinhaltet. Im Licht der bisherigen Forschungen scheint die Handschrift im ersten Drittel des 14. Jahrhunderts im Umfeld der Diözese Lund im heutigen Schweden entstanden zu sein.¹

Im untersuchten Missale sind auf den Folios 239 verso bis 252 verso 63 Formulare der Votivmessen aufgeführt, davon sind 19 für Verstorbene und zwei sowohl für Lebende als auch Verstorbene bestimmt. Außerdem findet sich auf den Folios 236 recto bis 237 recto der Rest der Wochen-Votivmessen, also Formulare für Donnerstag, Freitag und Samstag. Vorausgehende Tage fehlen im Kodex.

Im 11. Jahrhundert waren Votivmessen für die einzelnen Tage der Woche bestimmt. Diese Tradition scheint zum ersten Male durch Alkuin (+804) in dessen *Liber sacramentorum* belegt zu sein. Darin sind Votivmessen für einzelne Tage der Woche erfasst, sogar drei Formulare für jeden Tag. Die Messen betreffen drei Bereiche, wobei der erste die Themen des christlichen Heils umfasst (über das Geheimnis der Heiligsten Dreifaltigkeit, zur Sündenvergebung, über Engel, zur Weisheit, zur Liebe, über das Geheimnis des Kreuzes und über die Jungfrau Maria); die zweite Serie der Messformulare richtete sich thematisch auf asketische Praktiken aus (Tränengebet, wider sündige Gedanken, wider leibliche Versuchung und für Zeiten der Qual oder Furcht). Die dritte Gruppe namens *Missa S. Augustini* war für die Tage der Woche bestimmt und ist gekennzeichnet durch eine Atmosphäre der Reue über die Sünden und durch die Bitte um Vergebung.²

¹ ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka – ZAHRADNÍKOVÁ, Zuzana – VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – LUZ, Rastislav: Das Missale notatum Rkp. zv. 387 – eine Skandinavische Handschrift in der Slowakei. In: *Muzikološki Zborník, Musicological Annual* [Ljubljana] 56 (2020), Heft 1, S. 15–44.

² Vgl. JUNGMANN, Josef Andreas: *Missarum Sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*. Bd. 1. Wien : Herder, 1952, S. 289.

Tab. 1. Spezifischen Tagen zugeordnete Votivmessen in Alkuins Sakramenter.

Alkuins Sakramenter Messe (Missa)	
Die Dominica	<i>De Sancta Trinitate</i>
	<i>De Gratia Spiritus Sancti</i>
	<i>Missa S. Augustini</i>
Feria II	<i>Pro Peccatis</i>
	<i>Pro Petitione Lacrymarum</i>
	<i>Missa S. Augustini</i>
Feria III	<i>Ad Postulanda Angelica Suffragia</i>
	<i>Pro Tentationibus Cogitationum</i>
	<i>Missa S. Augustini</i>
Feria IV	<i>De Sancta Sapientia</i>
	<i>Ad Postulandam Humilitatem</i>
	<i>Missa S. Augustini</i>
Feria V	<i>De Charitate</i>
	<i>Contra Tentationes Carni</i>
	<i>Missa S. Augustini</i>
Feria VI	<i>De Sancta Cruce</i>
	<i>De Tribulatione et Necessitate</i>
	<i>Missa S. Augustini</i>
Sabbato	<i>De Sancta Maria</i>
	<i>In Commemoratione Sanctae Mariae</i>
	<i>Missa S. Augustini</i>

Auf deutschem Gebiet wurde generell anstelle der Messe *Pro peccatis* die Votivmesse *De Spiritu Sancto* zelebriert. Im 12. Jahrhundert wiederum wurde üblicherweise anstatt der Messe *De caritate* – am Donnerstag – die Votivmesse *De Corpore Christi* abgehalten. Auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Frankreichs wurde im 12. Jahrhundert eine andere Reihenfolge der wöchentlichen Votivmessen eingeführt: *De Trinitate*, *De angelis vel pro defunctis*, *Pro pace*, *Pro tribulalione*, *De cruce* und *De sancta Maria*. Später entwickelten sich zwei Grundmuster der Votivmessen für die Wochentage.³

Tab. 2. Zwei Grundmuster der wöchentlichen Votivmessen.

Grundmuster I Messe (Missa)	Grundmuster II Messe (Missa)
Die Dominica <i>De Sancta Trinitate</i>	Die Dominica <i>De Sancta Trinitate</i>

³ SÝKORA, Adam: Niekoľko zbežných poznámok ku kódexu Rkp. zv. 387 z hľadiska kodikologického a liturgického [Einige kurSORische Bemerkungen zum Kodex Ms. Nr. 387 aus kodikologischer und liturgischer Sicht]. In: BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka (Hg.): *Musica mediaeva liturgica III: zborník príspevkov z muzikologickej konferencie konanej dňa 6.-7. mája 2019*. Ružomberok : Verbum, 2020, S. 9-27, hier: S. 20. Der Aufsatz erschien im selben Sammelband auch in einer englischen Version: A few preliminary notes to codex Rkp. zv. 387 from a codicological and liturgical point of view, in: ebenda, S. 28-48.

Feria II	<i>De sapientia</i>	Feria II	<i>Pro peccatis</i>
Feria III	<i>Ad postulanda dona Spiritus S.</i>	Feria III	<i>Ad suffragia Angelorum</i>
Feria IV	<i>Ad postulanda angelica suffragia</i>	Feria IV	<i>De sapientia</i>
Feria V	<i>De Caritate</i>	Feria V	<i>De sancta caritate</i>
Feria VI	<i>De Sancta Cruce</i>	Feria VI	<i>De Sancta Cruce</i>
Sabb.	<i>De Sancta Maria Sabbato</i>	Sabb.	<i>De Sancta Maria Sabbato</i>

Im hier untersuchten Missale fehlt ein Teil der wöchentlichen Votivmessen wegen einer Beschädigung des Kodexes. Auf den fehlenden Folios befanden sich die Formulare für die Tage von Sonntag bis Mittwoch. Bereits Adam Sýkora hat in seiner Untersuchung festgestellt, dass das Manuskript Nr. 387 mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit dem zweiten Grundmuster folgte, wozu er durch den Umstand veranlasst wurde, dass auf Folio 236 recto das Fragment einer Postkommunion (oder eines *Super populum*) der Messe für die Gabe der Weisheit (*Missa de sapientia*) erhalten blieb.⁴

Neben den oben erläuterten wöchentlichen Votivmessen gibt es im untersuchten Missale 63 weitere Messformulare für besondere Anliegen.

Beim Vergleich des Gebetsrepertoires dieser Formulare (insgesamt 196 Gebete) mit dem *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*⁵ lassen sich 39 gemeinsame Einheiten herausfinden. Neben einzelnen Gebeten finden sich darin auch ganze Messformulare (11) mit unterschiedlicher Anzahl identischer Texte, die in beiden Quellen gleich sind.

Tab. 3. Die älteste Schicht der Votivmessen im Manuskript Nr. 387.

	Manuskript Nr. 387	Sacramentarium Gelasianum (Alt-Gelasianum)
239v	<i>Missa pro tribulatione</i>	<i>Orationes in tribulatione</i>
242r	<i>Missa pro congregacione</i>	<i>Missa in monasterio</i>
245v	<i>Missa pro pluvia</i>	<i>Orationes ad pluviam postolandam</i>
245v	<i>Missa pro serenitate</i>	<i>Orationes ad poscendam serenitatem</i>
246r	<i>Missa pro infirmis</i>	<i>Orationes ad missam pro infirmum</i>
248r	<i>Missa pro episcopo defuncto</i>	<i>Missa pro defuncto sacerdote</i>
250r	<i>Missa pro abbe defuncto</i>	<i>Missa pro sacerdote sive abbe</i>
250v	<i>Missa unius defuncti laici</i>	<i>Orationis pro defunctis laicis, Item unius defuncti</i>
250v	<i>Missa unius defuncti quis subitanea mortuus est</i>	<i>Missa pro defuncti nuper baptizati</i>
251v	<i>Missa plurimorum defunctorum</i>	<i>In agenda plurimorum</i>
252r	<i>Missa pro cunctis fidelibus defunctis</i>	<i>Item alia missa [in agenda plurimorum]</i>

Wir verglichen die Sammlung der Messformulare im Manuskript Nr. 387 mit ähnlichen Sammlungen in acht anderen Quellen. Bei Letzteren handelte es sich um zwei italienische Missalen (aus Troia in Apulien und aus Vercelli im Piemont), ein gedrucktes Missale aus dem norddeutschen

⁴ Ebenda.

⁵ MOHLBERG, Leo Cunibert (Hg.): *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*). Rom : Herder, 1960.

Bremen und fünf gedruckte nordische Missalen (aus den skandinavischen Städten Lund, Kopenhagen, Strängnäs, Uppsala und aus dem norddeutschen Schleswig). Auf diese hatten wir dank der digitalen Bibliothek und Datenbank *Usuarium* (<https://usuarium.elte.hu>) Zugriff, in der die Missale auf folgende Art und Weise benannt und beschrieben werden.

Tab. 4. Die Vergleichsquellen.

Quelle	Name	Entstehungszeit	Aufbewahrungsort, Signatur
Tr	<i>Missale notatum Troianum</i>	1100-1200	BN Neapel, VI.G.11
Ve	<i>Missale Vercellense</i>	1146-1155	Bibl. Arch. Cap. Vercelli, Ms. LXXXV
Br	<i>Missale Bremense</i>	1511	Sign. BL London, b.52.h.4
Lu	<i>Missale Lundense</i>	1514	Lund, KB Kopenhagen, Hielmst. 43 2° (LN 181) 10080
Ha	<i>Missale Hafniense</i>	1510	KB Kopenhagen Hielmst. 42 2° (LN 179 2° copy 1) 10078
Sl	<i>Missale Slesvicense</i>	1486	KB Copenhagen, Hielmst. 41 2° (LN 185 2° copy 1)
St	<i>Missale Strengnense</i>	1487	KB Stockholm, Inkunabel O734
Up	<i>Missale Upsalense</i>	1513	von einem Mikrofilm (PT1100.G4 reel 120 MICROFILM) von der Kansas State University Library, Kansas City (KS)

Die Vergleichsquellen wurden anhand zweier Kriterien ausgewählt. Das erste war die Entstehungszeit, das andere das Entstehungsgebiet. Den bisherigen Ergebnissen gemäß dürfte das durch diesen Vergleich untersuchte handschriftliche Missale im ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert in der Diözese Lund entstanden sein. Aus dieser Zeit und aus diesem Umfeld waren keinerlei zusammenhängende Quellen bekannt. In Anbetracht dieses Umstandes suchten wir nach Quellen, die dem erforschten Missale örtlich und zeitlich zumindest nahekommen. Deswegen griffen wir auf Inkunabeln aus der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert zurück, welche Hauptelemente der norddeutschen und skandinavischen liturgischen Tradition enthalten. Das Zeitkriterium war bei der Wahl der Quellen aus Italien maßgebend.

Der Vergleich mit den Formularen der Votivmessen aus diesen Quellen deckte einige interessante Tatsachen auf:

a) Namen der Formulare in der Quelle Manuscript Nr. 387

Die Rubriken, unter denen die einzelnen Votivmessen im untersuchten Manuskript angeführt werden, sind in zwei Fällen irreführend.

Der erste Fall findet sich auf Folio 240, wo als Rubrik angegeben ist: *Item alia missa*. Die vorangehende Messe ist *Pro tribulatione*. Der Inhalt der Gebete ist jedoch unterschiedlich und er wird besser erfasst durch die in den Vergleichsquellen verwendeten Namen *Pro reliquiis* (St, Up) oder *De patronis* (Tr, Br). Den geradezu irreführenden Namen *Missa plurimus defunctis* besitzt das Formular der Votivmesse auf dem Folio 251 recto. Der Text dieser Gebete bezieht sich jedoch auf eine verstorbene weibliche Person, was in allen zum Vergleich stehenden Quellen in einer

Rubrik spezifisch erfasst wird: *Pro una femina*. Der Verfasser der Rubrik muss sich an dieser Stelle geirrt haben.

Tab. 5. Inkorrekte Rubriken im Manuscript Nr. 387.

Folio	Rubrik im Ms. Nr. 387	Abweichende Rubrik	Vergleichsquellen
240v	<i>Item alia missa</i> [<i>pro tribulatione</i>]	<i>Pro reliquiis; De patronis</i>	St, Up; Tr, Br
251r	<i>Missa plurimus defunctis [!]</i>	<i>Pro una femina</i>	Vr, Tr, Br, Lu, Ha, St, Up, Sl

Einige Rubriken deuten auf eine andere Tradition oder auf eine spätere Entwicklung des Formularnamens der entsprechenden Votivmesse hin. Bei einigen Messformularen scheinen sich im Laufe der zweihundertjährigen Entwicklung die Namen geändert zu haben, was die jüngeren Vergleichsquellen dokumentieren.

Als Beispiel kann die Votivmesse *Pro congregatione*, im Gelasianum *In monasterio* genannt, angeführt werden. In den nordeuropäischen Missalen ist sie unter der Rubrik *Pro episcopo* bzw. *Pro antistite* anzutreffen. Weitere Beispiele werden in der folgenden Tabelle aufgelistet.

Tab. 6. Abweichende Namen der Messformulare.

Folio	Rubrik im Ms. Nr. 387	Abweichende Rubrik	Vergleichsquelle
242r	<i>Missa pro congregatione</i>	<i>Missa in monasterio</i> <i>Missa pro episcopo;</i> <i>Pro antistite</i>	Ge; Br, Lu, Ha; St, Up, Sl
250r	<i>Missa pro abbe defuncto</i>	<i>Missa pro sacerdote sive abbate</i> <i>Missa pro defuncto episcopo;</i> <i>Pro sacerdote</i>	Ge; Tr; St, Up
250v	<i>Missa unius defuncti laici</i>	<i>Pro uno famulo;</i> <i>Pro uno defuncto;</i> <i>Pro pluribus defunctis</i>	Br, Sl; Vr, Lu, Ha; St, Up
250v	<i>Missa unius defuncti quis</i> <i>subitanea mortuus est</i>	<i>Missa pro defuncti nuper baptizati;</i> <i>Pro defuncto sine confessione</i>	Ge; St
251v	<i>Missa plurimorum</i> <i>defunctionum</i>	<i>In agenda plurimorum</i> <i>Pro pluribus feminis;</i> <i>Pro famulabus</i>	Ge; Lu, Ha; Sl

Eine andere Gruppe von Abweichungen betrifft lediglich einige einzelne Quellen, es handelt sich also nur um vereinzelte Änderungen.

Tab. 7. Vereinzelte Änderungen der Namen der Messformulare.

Folio	Rubrik im Ms. Nr. 387	Abweichende Rubrik	Vergleichsquelle
241	<i>Missa propria sacerdotis</i>	<i>Pro temptatione</i>	Tr
241	<i>Alia missa [propria sacerdotis]</i>	<i>Pro timore mortalitatis</i>	Tr
241v	<i>Missa pro amico</i>	<i>Pro temptatis tribulatis</i>	Br
245v	<i>Missa pro benefactoribus</i>	<i>Pro elemosynariis</i>	Br

Zu dieser Gruppe der Votivmessen lassen sich auch noch diejenigen Änderungen zählen, die nur in einer einzigen der Vergleichsquellen auftauchen.

Tab. 8. Eine einzige Änderung.

Folio	Rubrik im Ms. Nr. 387	Abweichende Rubrik	Vergleichsquelle
243r	<i>Missa pro familia cenobii</i>	<i>Pro congregazione fidelium</i>	Tr

In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch auf die Besonderheit hinzuweisen, dass in der untersuchten Quelle drei Messformulare vorkommen, welche ausschließlich ein monastisches Umfeld betreffen: *Missa pro abbe defuncto*, *Missa unius defuncti monachi* und *Missa pro familia cenobii*. Dieser Fall war in den anderen Vergleichsquellen außer im Sacramentarium Gelasianum nicht zu finden. Das dürfte indirekt auf das Umfeld hindeuten, in dem das Manuskript entstanden ist, und auch darauf, für wen es ursprünglich bestimmt war.

b) Die in anderen Quellen nicht auffindbaren Formulare

In den Vergleichsquellen wurden keine Texte von in zehn Formularen vollendet erfassten Gebeten gefunden. Angesichts der eingeschränkten Vergleichsquellenzahl lässt sich hieraus noch nicht ableiten, dass es sich um einzigartige Texte handelt. Nur ein breiter angelegter Vergleich würde die Voraussetzung schaffen, eine solche Feststellung mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit zu treffen.

Das vorliegende Ergebnis deutet eher darauf hin, dass nach ca. 200 Jahren manche Votivmessen aus dem Gebrauch gekommen waren, nachdem sie ihren „Nutzen eingebüßt“ hatten, weil sie an Aktualität verloren oder ihre Beliebtheit nicht so groß war.

Tab. 9. Die allein im Manuskript Nr. 387 vorkommenden Messformulare.

Folio	Manuskript Nr. 387
242v	<i>Missa contra merorem</i>
244r	<i>Missa pro principibus</i>
244r	<i>Missa pro amico</i>
244r	<i>Alia missa [pro amico]</i>
244r	<i>Missa pro gradu ecclesiastico</i>
244v	<i>Missa pro pestilentia</i>
244v	<i>Missa pro abundantia frugum</i>
245r	<i>Item alia missa [pro discordantibus]</i>
250r	<i>Missa unius defuncti monachi</i>
250v	<i>Missa pro femina defuncta</i>
251v	<i>Missa plurimorum defunctorum</i>

In den Vergleichsquellen lässt sich allerdings auch die umgekehrte Situation finden: Sie beinhalten im untersuchten Manuskript nicht genannte, vielleicht aktuellere Votivmessen. Hier sind auch die Votivmessen einzuordnen, deren Thematik aktuell blieb, aber deren konkrete Gebetstexte eine erhebliche Wandlung erfuhren. Die folgende Tabelle beinhaltet die Namen der Messformulare, die in den Vergleichsquellen enthalten sind, aber im Missale Nr. 387 fehlen:

Tab. 10. Die im Manuskript Nr. 387 fehlenden Messformulare.

Messformular	Quelle
<i>Contra paganos officium</i>	St, Up, SI

<i>Pro omni gradu ecclesiae</i>	St, Ha, Lu, Sl
<i>Pro statu ecclesiae</i>	St, Up
<i>Pro iter agentibus</i>	Vr, St, Up, Ha, Lu, Sl, Br
<i>Pro navigantibus</i>	St, Up, Br
<i>Pro illis qui nobis confessi sunt peccata sua</i>	St, Up,
<i>Pro captivis</i>	St, Sl,
<i>Contra raptiores ecclesiarum</i>	St, Ha, Lu,
<i>Missa contra persecutores et male agentes</i>	Up
<i>Contra mortalitatem pecorum</i>	St, Lu,
<i>Missa pro peste animalium</i>	Up, Sl,
<i>Pro loco</i>	St, Up,
<i>Missa in tempore belli</i>	Vr, Up,
<i>Missa pro amico incarcерato</i>	Up
<i>Pro facientibus elemosinas</i>	Lu, Ha, Sl, Br

c) Die Repertoireübereinstimmung

Im Missale Nr. 387 finden sich in den 63 Messformularen innerhalb der Gruppe der Votivmessen im Ganzen 196 Gebete (*Collecta, Secreta, Postcommunio*). Unter den Vergleichsquellen weist in diesem Bereich das Missale Hafniense die größte Repertoireübereinstimmung von 110 gemeinsamen Texten auf, dicht gefolgt vom *Missale Lundense* mit 105 gleichen Gebeten. An dritter Stelle mit 103 gemeinsamen Gebeten steht das *Missale Bremense*. In der zweiten Gruppe mit 90 bis 100 gemeinsamen Texten findet sich das *Missale Upsalense*, in der dritten Gruppe von 80 bis 90 gemeinsamen Gebeten gibt es zwei weitere nordische Quellen: das *Missale Slesvicense* und das *Missale Strengnense*. Zwei italienische Messhandschriften weisen 70 bis 80 gemeinsame Gebete mit der von uns untersuchten Quelle auf.

Tab. 11. Überblick über die Anzahl der mit dem Manuscript Nr. 387 gemeinsamen Texte.

Rangfolge	Quelle	Anzahl der gemeinsamen Texte
1	<i>Missale Hafniense</i>	110
2	<i>Missale Lundense</i>	105
3	<i>Missale Bremense</i>	103
4	<i>Missale Upsalense</i>	93
5	<i>Missale Slesvicense</i>	89
6	<i>Missale Strengnense</i>	82
7	<i>Missale notatum Troianum</i>	77
8	<i>Missale Vercellense</i>	71

Die drei Quellen mit der größten Übereinstimmung haben eine gemeinsame historische Genese. Alle drei Städte, deren Namen die Missalen tragen, gehörten zunächst zum großen Erzbistum Hamburg-Bremen. Die Stadt Lund im Süden des heutigen Schwedens wurde um 990 gegründet und gehörte bis in die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts zu Dänemark. Im Mittelalter war sie

ein Bischofssitz (ab 1060) und später der Sitz eines Erzbistums (ab 1104).⁶ Die Errichtung eines Erzbistums für Dänemark und das restliche Skandinavien in Lund geschah durch die Aufteilung des umfangreichen Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen.

Zum ersten skandinavischen Erzbischof wurde Asker (Asser) Thorkilsson ernannt, der dort 1089–1104 Bischof war.⁷ Schon 1103 begann der Bau eines repräsentativen romanischen Doms, der bis heute ein Wahrzeichen der Stadt ist. Stifter des Doms war der dänische König Knut IV. der Heilige († 1086, heiliggesprochen 1101), der spätere Schutzpatron Dänemarks. Titelheiliger des Doms zu Lund ist Laurentius von Rom.⁸ Ein Bestandteil des Doms war ein Skriptorium, in welchem zahlreiche Manuskripte angefertigt wurden – wichtige Urkunden, Messbücher und Chroniken.⁹

Schlussbemerkung

Der bisherige Vergleich des Repertoires im „Missale Notatum, Manuscript Nr. 387“ mit den angeführten gedruckten nordischen Missalen führte uns zur Hypothese, dass das untersuchte Missale die liturgische Tradition des Bistums Lund enthält bzw. deren ältere Version, die sich in den gedruckten Missalen aus Kopenhagen, das zur Erzdiözese Lund gehörte, herüberrettete. Diese ältere Version der liturgischen Tradition Lunds dürfte im Laufe des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts am Sitz der Erzdiözese in Lund erneuert worden sein, jedoch wurde diese Veränderung in der Stadt Kopenhagen nicht mitgemacht bzw. nicht angenommen. Dadurch können die Unterschiede entstanden sein, die in den gedruckten Messbüchern Missale Lundense und Missale Hafniense an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert vorkommen. Der geschilderte Repertoireabgleich der Votivmessen untermauert diese Hypothese.¹⁰

⁶ Vgl. die Liste: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Bischöfe_und_Erzbischöfe_von_Lund bzw. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_bishops_of_Lund [Online verfügbar, 16/10/2020].

⁷ Vgl. ebenda, vgl. auch: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asker_\(Bischof\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asker_(Bischof)) [Online verfügbar, 16/10/2020].

⁸ Nilsson Nylander, Eva: To the Glory of Mary. *Liber Scole Virginis* at Lund University Library. In: *Variants* [Amsterdam – New York, NY] 4 (2005), themed issues: *The Book as Artefact – Text and Border*, hrsg. von Anne Mette Hansen – Roger Lüdeke – Wolfgang Streit – Cristina Urchueguía – Peter Shillingsburg, S. 77–88, hier: S.80; vgl. auch: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dom_zu_Lund [Online verfügbar, 16/10/2020].

⁹ Vgl. dazu Hybel, Nils – Poulsen, Bjørn: *The Danish Resources c. 1000–1500. Growth and Recession*. Brill: Leiden – Boston, 2007, S. 90.

¹⁰ Die vorliegende Studie wurde im Rahmen der Studienbeihilfen APVV-19-0043 CANTUS PLANUS in der Slowakei: lokale Elemente – transregionale Verhältnisse [CANTUS PLANUS in Slovakia: Local Elements – Transregional Connections] 2020 – 2024 und VEGA 2/0006/21 Die transregionalen Verhältnisse der Musikquellen aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei aus dem 12.–17. Jahrhundert [Transregional relations of musical sources of sacred and secular character from the territory of Slovakia dating back to 12th – 17th century] 2021 – 2024 verfasst.

ZSUZSA CZAGÁNY

Fragmente böhmischer Choralhandschriften in der Pauliner Bibliothek des Zentralen Priesterseminars in Budapest

Abstract

Im Beitrag werden Fragmente mit böhmischer Notation vorgestellt, die in der sog. Pauliner Bibliothek des Zentralen Priesterseminars in Budapest aufbewahrt werden. Dieser Bestand wurde bereits in dem 1989 veröffentlichten Band *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Seminarii cleri Hungariae Centralis* der Forschungsgruppe *Fragmenta Codicum* behandelt. Eine neue Erschließung des gesamten, 75 Fragmente umfassenden Materials, durchgeführt im Rahmen des 2019 am Institut für Musikwissenschaft in Budapest gestarteten Projektes *Digital Music Fragmentology*, hat jedoch neue Erkenntnisse ans Licht gebracht. Aufgrund breiter zentraleuropäischer Quellenbasis werden neben musikpaläographischen Aspekten Sonderstellen des liturgischen Inhalts sowie der musikalischen Physiognomie diskutiert.

Keywords: Pauliner, Offizium, Fragmente, Antiphonar, böhmische Notation, Pressburg/Bratislava

Am 1. Oktober 2019 wurde die Forschungsgruppe *Digital Music Fragmentology* am Institut für Musikwissenschaft des Forschungszentrums für Humanwissenschaften in Budapest gegründet. Anlass zu ihrer Entstehung war das von der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften finanzierte Projekt „Lendület“ („Momentum“), durch das die Forschungsarbeit der Gruppe für fünf Jahre – bis 2024 – unterstützt wird.¹ Die Forschungsgruppe widmet sich der komplexen Erschließung, d. h. der systematischen Bearbeitung (sowohl der analytischen Untersuchung als auch der synthetischen Auswertung) mittelalterlicher notierter Handschriftenfragmente aus dem Gebiet des mittelalterlichen Ungarns, die in heutigen ungarischen Bibliotheken und Archiven sowie in ausländischen Sammlungen erhalten sind. Das Ziel bzw. die letzte Stufe im Vorgang der Erschließung von Fragmenten ist ihre digitale Darstellung einschließlich ihrer grundlegenden kodikologischen und paläografischen Beschreibung wie auch der inhaltlichen Identifizierung sämtlicher überlieferter Gesänge. Die Beschreibung, die digitale Abbildung und die Inhaltsbestimmung repräsentieren somit drei Grundpfeiler der Methode, die als System zur komplexen Erfassung von mittelalterlichen notierten Handschriftenfragmenten entwickelt wurde.² Das gemäß diesem System bisher bearbeitete Fragmentenmaterial ist auf der zweisprachigen (ungarisch-englischen) Website *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis* abrufbar, die nebst Texten und Faksimiles auch breite Suchmöglichkeiten zur Recherche von Fragmenten anbietet.³

¹ Das Projekt: „Lendület“ („Momentum“) Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group. Notated manuscript fragments of Medieval Hungary – research, systemizing, online appearance. Projektleitung: Zsuzsa Czagány.

² Siehe die einleitenden Texte auf der Website *fragmenta.zti.hu/en/*: Notated Manuscript Fragments from Medieval Hungary, Music-based Fragment Research in Hungary, Digital Music Fragmentology, A Summary of the Goals of the „MOMENTUM“ Project. Für Näheres zur Geschichte der musikbezogenen Fragmentenforschung in Ungarn s. CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis: From Traditional Methodologies Towards a Digital Corpus*. In: VARELLI, Giovanni (Hg.): *Disiecta Membra Musicae. Studies in Musical Fragmentology*, Berlin : De Gruyter, 2020, S. 301-322.

³ Vgl. <http://fragmenta.zti.hu/en/search/>

Die Fragmente sind auf der Website nach ihren Fundorten angeordnet. Bisher wurden insgesamt 170 Fragmente in 10 Sammlungen beschrieben und erschlossen.⁴ Die zwei umfangreichsten Sammlungen befinden sich in der Handschriftenabteilung der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften⁵ und in der Sammlung von Handschriften und seltenen Drucken der Universitätsbibliothek in Budapest.⁶ Bisher nur wenige, dafür aber äußerst wertvolle fragmentarische Dokumente erhielten wir aus Rumänien: aus den siebenbürgischen Sammlungen der heutigen Städte Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós/Niklasmarkt), Odorhei Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely/Oderhellen), Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sankt Georgen) und Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg) sowie aus dem ehemaligen Gebiet des sog. *Partium regni Hungariae*, heute ebenfalls in Rumänien: Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti/Sathmar) und Oradea (Nagyvárad/Großwardein). Eine Sondersammlung stellen des Weiteren die 14 Fragmente eines siebenbürgischen Antiphonars aus dem 14. Jahrhundert dar, die in der Franziskanerbibliothek in Güssing (heute in Burgenland/Österreich; vormals ung. Németújvár) aufbewahrt werden und die kürzlich von Gabriella Gilányi in einer Monographie bearbeitet und mit textkritischem Apparat herausgegeben wurden?

Neben den aufgelisteten Sammlungen mittelalterlicher notierter Handschriftenfragmente wurde im Sommer 2020 der Fragmentenbestand der sog. Paulinischen Bibliothek des Zentralen Priesterseminars in Budapest untersucht.⁸ Die Bibliothek wird als „Paulinisch“ bezeichnet, obwohl sie die ursprüngliche Büchersammlung der Pauliner nicht enthält. Der Paulinerorden – *Ordo fratrum sancti Pauli primi Eremitae* – ist bekanntlich die einzige in Ungarn gegründete Ordensgemeinschaft.⁹ Sie wurde 1250 vom seligen Eusebius, Kanoniker in Gran (Esztergom) ins Leben gerufen, der die bis dahin an verschiedenen Orten vereinzelt lebenden Eremiten versammelte und für diese die Regel des heiligen Augustinus als Lebensgrundlage bestimmte. Nach der Blütezeit im Mittelalter und dem darauffolgenden Verfall während der türkischen Oberherrschaft zwischen 1526 und 1686 kam der Orden in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 17. Jahrhunderts wieder zu neuer Blüte. Im Jahr 1687 wandte sich der Ordensgeneral an Kaiser Leopold I. mit der Bitte, die von den Türken hinterlassene und verfallene Moschee im südlichen Stadtteil von Pest für seinen Orden zu gewinnen, um an dieser Stelle ein neues Ordenshaus für die Pauliner zu erbauen. Der Kaiser willigte ein. Die Bauarbeiten begannen 1693, und bis 1744 war das neue Haus fertiggestellt. Weitere 27 Jahre vergingen bis zum Ausbau der Bibliothek. Der eindrucksvolle barocke

⁴ Stand vom 17. August 2021.

⁵ MTA Könyvtár, Kézirattár.

⁶ Budapest, ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, Kézirat- és Ritkaságta.

⁷ Vgl. GILÁNYI, Gabriella: *Mosaics of the plainchant tradition of Transylvania. Interpreting the 14th-century antiphoner fragments at Güssing* (=Resonus pariter 1. Studies in Medieval Music History, hrsg. von Zsuzsa Czagány). Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019.

⁸ Központi Papnevelő Intézet Pállos Könyvtára. Die Erforschung der Fragmente wurde mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Dr. István Diós, Leiter der Bibliothek, durchgeführt, wofür ihm an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt sei.

⁹ Zur Geschichte des Ordens s. KISBÁN, Emil: *A magyar Pállosrend története I. (1225–1711), II (1711–1786)*. Budapest : Pállos Kolostor Kiadása, 1938 u. 1940; Neuere Forschungsergebnisse s. u. a. in: ELM, Kaspar – BAUER, Dieter R. – KUHN, Elmar L. – SARBAK, Gábor – WEINRICH, Lorenz (Hg.): *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens* (=Berliner Historische Studien 32, Ordensstudien 14). Berlin : Duncker und Humblot, 2000; SARBAK, Gábor (Hg.): *Pállosaink és Pécs [Die Pauliner und Pécs]*. Művelődéstörténeti Műhely, Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4/4. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2016. Für weitere Informationen zur Ordens- und Institutionsgeschichte s. die Website <http://www.palosepiteszet.hu/> [eingesehen am 6.5.2021].

Bibliothekssaal mit kunstvoller, von den Pauliner Brüdern selbst herstellter Holzschnitzarbeit, mit Wendeltreppen und Bücherregalen, die sich über zwei Etagen bis zum prunkvollen Deckenfresko erstrecken, ist bis heute unverändert erhalten.¹⁰ Ganz anders ist die Situation bei den Büchern. Der Bestand der Bibliothek kann auf eine bewegte Geschichte zurückblicken: ebenso wie das Gebäude und die Institution mehrmals ihren Besitzer wechselten, wurde auch der jeweilige Bücherbestand immer wieder durch Neuerwerbungen ersetzt (vgl. Tab. 1).¹¹

Tab. 1. Die Bestände der Paulinischen Bibliothek des Zentralen Priesterseminars in Budapest.

1. Bücherbestand	1770	Bücher aus Pauliner Ordenshäusern, viele aus Oberelefánt (Felsőelefánt, heute Horné Lefantovce in der Slowakei)
2. Bücherbestand	1803	Privatbibliothek von Ferenc Széchényi, Urbestand der Ungarischen (später nach Széchényi benannten) Nationalbibliothek
3. Bücherbestand	ab 1805	Bücher (als Doppel- und Triplexemplare) aus ehemaligen Klosterbibliotheken, überführt in die Universitätsbibliothek, darunter zahlreiche Jesuitika

Nach der Errichtung des Saals wurden die Regale ab 1770 mit Büchern der Pauliner vor allem aus dem Ordenshaus in Oberelefánt (Felsőelefánt, heute Horné Lefantovce in der Slowakei) gefüllt (dieser *erste Bestand* war also in der Tat „paulinisch“). Nach der Auflösung des Ordens durch Kaiser Joseph II. im Jahre 1786 wurden die Bücher der Ordensbrüder an die Königliche Ungarische Universität überführt. Der daraufhin leerstehende Saal diente für eine kurze Zeit (1803) als Depot für die Bücher der neu entstandenen Ungarischen Nationalbibliothek, der späteren Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek. Dieser *zweite Bücherbestand* kam aus dem Privatbesitz des Gründers der Nationalbibliothek Ferenc Széchényi, musste aber auf kaiserliche Anordnung nach knapp zwei Jahren verlegt werden. Als jedoch im Jahre 1805 auf Anordnung von Kaiser Franz I. das Zentrale Priesterseminar vor Ort errichtet wurde, wurde erneut begonnen, in den Bibliotheksräumlichkeiten einen neuen Bestand aufzubauen. Diesmal waren es Bücher, die nach der Auflösungsanordnung Josephs II. aus ehemaligen Klosterbibliotheken in die Universitätsbibliothek gebracht wurden, jedoch noch nicht in das System der Universitätsbibliothek eingearbeitet wurden. Bei diesem nunmehr *dritten Bücherbestand* handelte es sich hauptsächlich um Duplikate und Mehrfache exemplare aus dem Bereich der Theologie, die laut Besitzvermerken aus etwa 160 ehemaligen

¹⁰ Zur Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen barocken Deckenbildes im Bibliotheksaal s. FARBAKY, Péter: Pálos Könyvtár vagy Nemzeti Könyvtár? [Paulinerbibliothek oder Nationalbibliothek?]. In: TAKÁCS, Imre – BUZÁSI, Enikő – JÁVOR, Anna – MIKÓ, Árpád (Hg.): *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Évkönyve* [Jahrbuch der Ungarischen Nationalgalerie]. *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok Mojzer Miklós hatvanadik születésnapjára*. Budapest : MNG, 1991, S. 237–244.

¹¹ Grundlegende Informationen zur Geschichte der Institution und der Bibliothek sind in den Artikeln „Központi Papnevelő Intézet“ [Zentrales Priesterseminar] sowie „Pálos Könyvtár“ [Paulinische Bibliothek] des online zugänglichen Ungarischen Katholischen Lexikon zusammengefasst: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/P/P%C3%A1los%20K%C3%B6nyvt%C3%A1r.html> und <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/K/K%C3%B6nyvt%C3%A1ri%20Papnevel%C5%91%20Int%C3%A9zet.html> [eingesehen am 6. 5. 2021]; vgl. auch: TÖRÖK, József: *A 350 éves Központi Papnevelő Intézet* [350 Jahre des Zentralen Priesterseminars]. Budapest : Mikes Kiadó Kft., 1998; ORLOVSZKY, Géza: *Az Istvánffy-könyvtár egy kötete a Pálos Könyvtárban* [Ein Band aus der Istvánffy-Bibliothek in der Paulinerbibliothek]. In: NYERGES, Judit – VERŐK, Attila – ZVARA, Edina (Hg.): *MONOKgraphia, Tanulmányok Monok István 60. születésnapjára* [MONOKgraphia, Aufsätze anlässlich des 60. Geburtstages von István Monok]. Budapest : Kosssuth Kiadó, 2016, S. 527–532.

Klöstern stammten. Einen bedeutenden Teil machen Bücher aus jesuitischen Sammlungen aus, darunter größtenteils die aus dem Jesuitenkolleg in Pressburg (Bratislava).¹²

Zahlreiche Bücher der Paulinischen Bibliothek sind in Folia mittelalterlicher Pergamenthandschriften eingebunden. Die bei der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften bzw. der Széchényi Nationalbibliothek tätige Forschungsgruppe *Res Libraria Hungariae – Fragmenta Codicum* hat unter der Leitung von László Mezey in den 1980er-Jahren den gesamten, zur damaligen Zeit bereits restaurierten Fragmentenbestand inventarisiert, in einem Katalog zusammengefasst und 1988 als zweiten Band ihrer Editionsreihe *Fragmenta Codicum in Bibliothecis Hungariae* herausgegeben.¹³ Der Katalog enthält die Beschreibung von 246 Fragmenten, darunter 76 mit musikalischer Notation (bezeichnet als *liturgica cum cantu*).¹⁴ Der Katalog bietet wertvolle kodikologische Informationen zu den Trägerbüchern und deren ehemaligen Besitzern, zur Makulatur sowie zum Inhalt der registrierten Fragmente. Was allerdings die Bestimmung und Beschreibung der Notationsarten, die eingehende vergleichende Analyse des liturgischen und musikalischen Inhalts der Fragmente sowie die aus diesen gezogenen Schlussfolgerungen angeht, sind diese nach derzeitigem Wissenstand nicht mehr immer zutreffend, sie bedürfen einer neuen sorgfältigen Klärung. Aus diesem Grund war es notwendig, die notierten Fragmente der Bibliothek aufs Neue, unter Berücksichtigung mediävistisch-musikologischer Aspekte zu untersuchen. Im Folgenden wird eine ausgewählte Gruppe von untersuchten Fragmenten als „exemplarische Fallstudie“ vorgestellt.

Im untersuchten Bestand gibt es 13 Fragmente, die in der klassischen böhmischen rhombischen Notation des 15. Jahrhunderts verfasst wurden. Es handelt sich um Fragmente aus einem Psalterium, drei Antiphonaren, drei notierten Brevieren und fünf Gradualien bzw. Sequentionarien. Bei näherer Untersuchung wurde ebenfalls klar, dass drei Fragmente zu einem Antiphonar, drei zu einem notierten Brevier und weitere vier zu einem Graduale gehörten. Die 13 Fragmente können demnach insgesamt sechs Mutterhandschriften zugeordnet werden (Tab. 2).

Tab. 2. Übersicht der Fragmente mit böhmischer Notation und ihre Trägerbücher in der Paulinischen Bibliothek des Zentralen Priesterseminars, Budapest. Die erste Spalte (Katalog/1) zeigt die Nummerierung der Fragmente in der Datenbank *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis*, in der zweiten (Katalog/2) sind die Nummern des Katalogs *Fragmenta Latina Codicum in Bibliotheca Seminarii Cleri Hungariae Centralis* aufgelistet.

Katalog/1	Katalog/2	Fragment	Besitzvermerk (Possessor)	Trägerbuch (Autor, Titel)
F 660	73	Psalterium s. 15/1	Collegij Tyrnaviensis Soci- etatis Jesu 1632. – Hunc ego possideo librum ... quis sum namque Johannes ... cogno- mine Bochkor [...]gy	Garetius, Joannes: De sanc- torum invocatione liber ... Gandavi 1570

¹² Vgl. ORLOVSZKY, Az Istvánffy-könyvtár, wie in Anm. 11, S. 257.

¹³ MEZEY, László et al. (Hg.): *Fragmenta Latina Codicum in Bibliotheca Seminarii Cleri Hungariae Centralis.* (= *Fragmenta Codicum in Bibliothecis Hungariae I, 2*). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.

¹⁴ MEZEY, *Fragmenta Latina Codicum*, wie in Anm. Ref. 13, S. 73-127.

F 667	80	Antiphonale s. 14/2	<i>Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1697.</i>	Cramerus, Andreas: Prob- und Anzugspredigten... Magdeburg 1617. – Coll. 3. Oswaldus am Enden: Probpredigt über den Lehr und trostreichen Spruch des Propheten Ezechielis ... Magdeburg 1602. – Coll. 9: Garthius, Helvicus: Summarischer Bericht ... Ereybergk 1618
F 679	91	Antiphonale s. 15/2	<i>Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1690.</i>	Franz, Wolfgang: Syntagma controversiarum theologicarum, orthodoxae Christi ecclesiae cum gente Calviniana, pontificia et Photiniana ... disputationibus XII ... Witteberga 1612
F 680	92	Antiphonale s. 15/2	<i>Johannes Stumpfius emebat Znoymae Moravorum 19. Febr. anno 1617. – Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1690.</i>	Bidembach, Felix: Consiliorum theologicorum decas I et II ... Tübingen 1605. – Coll. 6: Bindembach, Felix: op. cit. decas VIII. Frankfurt am Main 1612
F 682	94	Antiphonale s. 15/2	<i>Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1692.</i>	Aussführliche und in Gottes Wort wolgründte Glaubensbekenntnis der Evangelischen Kirchen im Königreich Böhmen. Amberg 1611
F 697	109	Breviarium notatum s. 15/1	?	Reihings, Jacob: In zwei Teil abgeteilte Redaction... seines falschgenannten Catholischen Handbuch... Tuebingen 1626
F 698	110	Breviarium notatum s. 15/1	<i>Coll. 14: Dan[iel] Schmid – Coll. 15: Praestantissimum dominum M. Dannhauerum ad placidum examen praesentium thesim, amice invitat. Praeses cum suo Respondente.</i>	Epistolae Paulinae ad Galatas. Disputationes XIV–XVI. ... Altdorpii [1645]–1647. Coll. 15: Crinesius, Christophorus: De fide Catholica B. Petri. Respondente Johan-Vito Schoppero .. Altdorphi 1626
F 699	111	Breviarium notatum s. 15/1	<i>Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1692.</i>	Vermilius, Petrus: In epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Romanos commentarius, Basiliae 1568
F 844	114	Graduale s. 15/1	<i>Inscriptus Cathalogo Librorum Collegii Gins. S. J. 1739.</i>	Gesner, Salomon: Dodecas disputationum theologicarum ... Lunaeburgi 1621
F 845	115	Graduale s. 15/1	<i>Daniel Schmid manu propria – Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1690.</i>	Baldinus, Fridericus: Disputatio ordinaria de imaginibus ... respondente Paulo Sperlingio. Witteberga 1621
F 846	116	Graduale s. 15/1	<i>Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1694.</i>	Försterus, Johannes: In prophetam Esaiam commentarius ... Witteberga 1620

F 847	117	Graduale s. 15/1	Johannes Stumpfius Posonij Hungarorum emebat anno Christi 1627. – Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1694.	Meisnerus, Balthasar: Nova commentatio per textus analysin, duobium solutionem, et locorum communionum annotationem... Wittebergae 1620
F 859	129	Sequentio-nale s. 15/1	?	Hoe von Hoenegg, Matthias: Viertzig christliche Leich-predigten ... Leipzig 1617

Richten wir nun unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf eine kleinere Gruppe zusammengehörender Fragmente und ihr hypothetisches Itinerar im 17. Jahrhundert. Schlussfolgerungen werden nicht allein aus dem liturgisch-musikalischen Inhalt der mittelalterlichen Fragmente gezogen, sondern ebenso aus dem kulturgeschichtlichen Hintergrund, der sich anhand der Trägerbücher und ihrer Besitzer rekonstruieren lässt.

Wie schon eingangs bemerkt, gehörte vormals eine große Zahl von Büchern der Paulini-schen Bibliothek verschiedenen ehemaligen Jesuitenkollegen. Zehn Trägerbücher des von uns untersuchten Bestandes weisen ebenfalls Eintragungen auf, die ihre Zugehörigkeit zu ei-ner Jesuiten-Sammlung bestätigen (vgl. Tab. 2). Das Buch *De sanctorum invocatione* des Augus-tiner-Kanonikers Johannes Garetius (1. Zeile der Tab. 2) gehörte bspw. 1632 dem Jesuitenkol-leg in Tyrnau (Nagyszombat/Trnava), acht weitere Bände (F 667, 679, 680, 682, 699, 845, 846, 847) tragen den Besitzvermerk des Pressburger Kollegs, *Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonii ad S. Sal-vatorem*. Die Besitzvermerke stammen aus den Jahren 1690, 1692, 1694 und 1697. Die Bücher selbst sind überwiegend Werke protestantischer Autoren. Das ist keineswegs überraschend, im Pressburger Jesuitenkolleg fanden ja bekanntermaßen nicht nur Schüler katholischer Kon-fession, sondern auch einige anderer Konfessionen Aufnahme, und die dortige Bibliothek war ebenso „multikonfessionell“ ausgestattet.¹⁵ Werke protestantischer Autoren wurden des Öf-teren mit der Absicht besorgt, um mit den Verfassern anhand ihrer Werke dann theologische Dispute zu führen.

Zwei der in den 1690er Jahren dem Pressburger Jesuitenkolleg gehörenden Bücher (F 680, 847) tragen noch einen zweiten, früheren Besitzvermerk: Das *Consiliorum theologicorum* des deutschen evangelischen Theologen Felix Bidembach (Trägerbuch von F 680) wurde laut einer Eintragung von 1617 von *Johannes Stumpfius in Znaym* („Znoymae Moravorum“, Znaim: Znojmo in Tschechien) gekauft. Derselbe Johannes Stumpfius erwarb zehn Jahre später – 1627 – das Buch eines anderen lutherischen Theologen, Balthasar Meissner, diesmal aber in Pressburg (Bratisla-va): „Posonii Hungarorum“ (Trägerbuch von F 847). Bei dem genannten Johann Stumpf handelt es sich vermutlich um einen lutherischen Geistlichen, der 1611 von Gießen nach Znaim (Znojmo) kam, sich dort niederließ und die Leitung der örtlichen evangelischen Gemeinde übernahm. Laut Aufzeichnungen der Pressburger städtischen Protokolle wurde er 1623 vom Pressburger Stadtrat

¹⁵ Mehr dazu in: *Jezsuiták a kora újkori Pozsonyban* [Jesuiten im frühneuzeitlichen Pressburg], Studien und Aufsätze in der Zeitschrift: *Történelmi Szemle* LX (2018/2), darunter bes. KÁDÁR, Zsófia: A pozsonyi jezsuita kollégium mint összetett intézmény a 17. században [The Jesuit college of Pressburg as a composite institution in the 17th century], S. 237–282.

aus Znaim (Znojmo) nach Pressburg (Bratislava) berufen und dort zum Pfarrer ernannt.¹⁶ Wie die Bücher des 1632 verstorbenen Stumpf in die Bibliothek der Jesuiten gelangten, ist zwar unbekannt, die Weitergabe von Büchern zwischen Personen und Institutionen unterschiedlicher Konfession war jedoch, wie bereits erwähnt, zur damaligen Zeit nicht unüblich.¹⁷

Zwei weitere Bücher (Träger von F 698, 845) tragen den Besitzernamen *Daniel Schmidt*. Auf dem Titelblatt der *Disputatio ordinaria de imaginibus* des Fridericus Balduinus (Trägerbuch von F 845) ist der Vermerk „*Daniel Schmid manu propria*“ zu lesen. Laut Aufzeichnungen war Daniel Schmidt, ähnlich wie Johann Stumpf, ein lutherischer Theologe, der aus Augsburg nach Pressburg berufen und 1636 da zum Pfarrer der evangelischen Gemeinde ernannt wurde. Er gehörte zu den führenden Persönlichkeiten der Stadt; in den letzten acht Jahren seines Lebens (1652 bis 1660) war er sogar Vorsitzender des sog. Kontuberniums, einer städtischen Körperschaft protestantischer Geistlicher.¹⁸

Sämtliche in Tab. 2 aufgelisteten Bücher waren in Fragmente mittelalterlicher, mit böhmischer rhombischer Notation verfasster liturgischer Handschriften eingebunden. Das erwähnte Buch, das Johann Stumpf im Jahr 1617 in Znaim (Znojmo) gekauft hatte, war in ein Fragment aus demselben Antiphonar eingebunden wie zwei weitere Protestantika des Pressburger Jesuitenkollegs. In Tab. 3 sind diese drei separat aufgelistet.

Tab. 3. Fragmente eines böhmischen Antiphonars und deren Trägerbücher

Katalog/1	Katalog/2	Fragmente	Besitzvermerk (Possessor)	Trägerbuch (Autor, Titel)
F 679	91	Antiphonale s. 15/2	Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1690.	Franz, Wolfgang: Syntagma controversiarum theologiarum, orthodoxae Christi ecclesiae cum gente Calviniana, pontificia et Photiniana ... disputationibus XII ... Wittebergae 1612
F 680	92	Antiphonale s. 15/2	Johannes Stumpfius emebat Znoymae Moravorum 19. Febr. anno 1617. – Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij as S. Salvatorem 1690.	Bidembach, Felix: Consiliorum theologorum decas I et II ... Tübingen 1605. — Coll. 6: Bidembach, Felix: op. cit. decas VIII. Frankfurt am Main 1612

¹⁶ SCHRÖDL, József: *A pozsonyi ág. hitv. ev. egyházközség története* [Geschichte der pressburger lutherischen Ev. Kirchengemeinde]. Pozsony 1906. Online: <https://zope.lutheran.hu/honlapok/protestans/felvidek/pozsony/lelkeszek> [eingesehen am 7.5.2021]. Weiteres zur Biographie von Johann Stumpf in: ZOVÁNYI, Jenő: *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon* [Lexikon der ungarischen protestantischen Kirchengeschichte]. Artikel „Pozsony vármegyei ev. egyházmegye“ [Der ev. Kirchenbezirk der Burggespanschaft Pressburg], 2265. Budapest : o. V., 1977, digitale Ausgabe: Debrecen 2005, S. 485, online: <http://users.atw.hu/csutortoki/zovanyijenoprosttansegyhaztortenetilexikon.pdf> [eingesehen am 1.8.2021].

¹⁷ Vgl. KESERŰ, Bálint (Hg.): *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig* [Ungarische Jesuitenbibliotheken bis 1711]: Kassa, Pozsony, Sárospatak, Turóc, Ungvár. Adattár XVI-XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez 17/1, Szeged : Scriptum, 1990.

¹⁸ Erwähnt in: MELLE, Johann Hermann v.: *Ausführliche Nachricht von dem Leben und Charakter des Doctor Samuel Pomarius [...]*, Erster Theil. Lübeck : Iversen und Comp., 1784, S. 87: „Es hatte das Ministerium in Preßburg, oder, wie es an dem Orte selber heißt, das Contubernium, welches aus 4 Mitgliedern bestand, in der Person Daniel Schmidtens seinen Decanus und Senior verloren.“ Zur Biographie von Daniel Schmidt s. <https://zope.lutheran.hu/honlapok/protestans/felvidek/pozsony/lelkeszek/schmidt> [eingesehen am 1.8.2021].

F 682	94	Antiphonale s. 15/2	Collegii Societatis Jesu Posonij ad S. Salvatorem 1692.	Aussführliche und in Gottes Wort wolgründte Glaubensbekennnis der Evangelischen Kirchen im Königreich Böhmen. Amberg 1611.
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Die drei Bücher tragen den Besitzvermerk des Pressburger Jesuitenkollegs aus den Jahren 1690 und 1692. Sie sind sehr wahrscheinlich an demselben Ort gebunden worden, und zum Einbinden wurde offenbar dieselbe Handschrift – ein böhmisches Antiphonar – verwendet.

Inwiefern ist es sicher, dass die als Einbandmaterial benutzte Handschrift böhmischer Provenienz war? An erster Stelle spricht dafür die Notation (vgl. Abb. 1-3). Sie repräsentiert das voll entwickelte klassische Spätstadium der böhmischen Notenschrift mit allen charakteristischen Merkmalen: mit den uniformen rhombischen *Puncta*, dem *Pes* mit den beiden in entgegengesetzte Richtung geneigten Rauten, dem rechtwinkligen *Clavis*, dem ohne Bindestrichen, nur aus den stark nach rechts neigenden *Puncta* zusammengesetzten *Climacus* und dem quadratförmigen *Custos*. Diese Notationsart wurde fast ausschließlich auf böhmischem Gebiet, in böhmischen Skiptorien, in böhmischen liturgischen Handschriften verwendet. Es gab sehr wenig Ausnahmen: man denke an die fragmentarisch überlieferten spätmittelalterlichen Prachtkodexe der Kathedrale von Großwardein (Nagyvárad/Oradea im heutigen Rumänien)¹⁹ oder an einige Handschriften der Kathedrale zu Agram (Zagreb in Kroatien).²⁰ In diesen Fällen hat man jedoch die fremde (böhmische) Notenschrift zum Aufzeichnen der einheimischen, lokalen liturgisch-musikalischen Tradition verwendet. Bei den hier vorgestellten Fragmenten ist es allerdings anders: Nicht nur ihre Notation ist böhmisch, sondern auch die überlieferten Inhalte. Aufallen drei Einbänden sind nämlich Teile des Reimoffiziums der heiligen Martha *lucundetur in hoc sollemnio erhalten*. Wie aus Tab. 4 ersichtlich, umfasst die Überlieferung Gesänge der ersten Vesper, der dritten Nokturn und die Antiphonen der Laudes. Die Fragmente F 680 und 682 folgen unmittelbar aufeinander: Die 5. Laudesantiphon *Iesus coram populo* beginnt auf Fragment F 680v und wird fortgesetzt auf F 682r.

Tab. 4. Gesänge des Offiziums der hl. Martha, überliefert auf den Fragmenten F 679, 680, 682.

Fragment	Inhalt	[Historia de s. Martha hospita Christi]
F 679 verso (?)	V1 a	lucundetur in hoc solemnio
F 680 recto	N3 R3	Omnes gentes manibus plaudite
F 680 recto	N3 V3	Plebem tuam protege Domine, Gloria Patri

¹⁹ CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV.*, 3 Bde: Bd. I *Proprium de tempore*; Bd. II *Proprium de sanctis, commune sanctorum*; Bd. III *Tanulmányok/Essays*. (= *Musicalia Danubiana* 26, 1-3). Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019.

²⁰ Es ist bis heute nicht geklärt, wieso einige Handschriften der Kathedrale von Agram (Zagreb) in böhmischer Notenschrift verfasst wurden. Es handelt sich u.A. um das *Hymnar MR 27* aus dem 15. Jahrhundert (Zagreb, Metropolitanska knjižnica) und um den Sequentiar-Teil des Graduale III.d.182 aus dem 14. Jahrhundert (Zagreb, Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti). Vgl. dazu: SZOLIVA, Gábel: *Hymnuale ecclesiae Zagrabiensis. Hagyománytisztelet és egyéni alakítás a zágrábi székesegyház 15. század eleji himnáriumában. Traditionalism and Innovation in the Early 15th-Century Hymnal of Zagreb Cathedral*. *Tradicionalni i novi elementi u himnariju Zagrebačke katedrale s početka 15. stoljeća*. (= *Resonemus pariter – Studies in medieval music history* 2, hrsg. von Zsuzsa CZAGÁNY). Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019.

F 680 recto	L a1	Adest dies laetitiae
F 680 verso	L a2	Daemones exterminat
F 680 verso	L a3	Certa fit de transitu
F 680 verso	L a4	Martham Christus visitat
F 680 verso	L a5	Iesus coram populo (1)
F 682 recto	L a5	Iesus coram populo (2)
F 682 recto	L Ab	Martha chorum audit angelicum

Diese „*historia propria*“ der heiligen Martha gehörte ab den 1330er-Jahren bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter zum „*proprium boemicum*“ und ist ausschließlich in Handschriften böhmischer Provenienz oder in unter böhmischem Einfluss entstandenen Handschriften belegt.²¹

Zusammenfassung

Abschließend stellt sich die Frage, wann und wo es zu einem Aufeinandertreffen eines *liber tradens* mit seinem künftigen Pergamenteinband kam, d. h. wann und wo die Bücher in die herausgetrennten Blätter eines Antiphonars eingebunden wurden. Die folgende Hypothese kann anhand des Erkenntnisstandes aufgestellt werden: Da bei einem der drei Bücher feststeht, dass es von Johann Stumpf 1617 in Znaim gekauft wurde, liege nun die Vermutung nahe, dass es auch dort eingebunden wurde. Das Buch, das sich im Besitz von Johann Stumpf befand, enthält, wie oben erwähnt, die Schriften von Felix Bidembach, *Consiliorum theologicorum*, deren einzelne Hefte (*Decades*) ab 1605 erschienen. Die letzte darin enthaltene VIII. *Decas* war 1612, knapp fünf Jahre vor dem Kauf durch Stumpf, in Frankfurt am Main erschienen. In diesen fünf Jahren dürfte das Kolligat nach Mähren gelangt und dort in einer Buchbinder-Werkstatt eingebunden worden sein. Zum Einbinden wurde eine einheimische, nicht mehr gebrauchte Pergamenthandschrift verwendet. Dieselbe Handschrift wurde auch zum Einbinden zweier weiterer Bücher verwendet, als Einband des 1612 erschienenen *Syntagma Controversiarum Theologicarum* von Wolfgang Franz, einem bekannten Vertreter der lutherischen Orthodoxie, sowie für das 1611 erschienene Buch des *Ausführlichen und in Gottes Wort wolgründten Glaubensbekenntnisses der Evangelischen Kirchen im Königreich Böhmen*. Es handelt sich also um drei Bücher mit demselben ideologisch-konfessionellen Hintergrund, die im selben Zeitraum (in den Jahren 1611–1612) gedruckt wurden. Unter diesen Umständen ist es anzunehmen, dass nicht nur eines der Bücher, sondern alle drei im Besitz von Johann Stumpf waren, und als dieser 1623 von Znaim (Znojmo) nach Pressburg (Bratislava) berufen wurde, führte er wohl die drei Bücher mit sich nach Pressburg.

Treffen die geschilderten Hypothesen zu, erscheint das somit rekonstruierbare Itinerar der drei Trägerbücher (*liber tradens*) samt ihren mittelalterlichen Pergamenteinbänden – von Mähren nach Pressburg (Bratislava), von dort aus weiter nach Ofen (Buda) und Pest, inzwischen mit Wechsel des konfessionellen und institutionellen Umfeldes – zwar verwickelt, wäre im zentral-europäischen Raum des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit aber durchaus bezeichnend und für diesen repräsentativ.

²¹ Vgl. die kritische Edition des Offiziums in: CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Historia de sancta Martha Hospita Christi redactio Bohemica. Ein spätmittelalterliches Reimoffizium in seiner böhmischen Überlieferung*. (=Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, Series Historiae 65,9). Ottawa : The Institut of Mediaeval Music, 2004.

Aufgabe der zukünftigen Forschung ist es, sämtliche notierten Fragmente der paulinischen Bibliothek in Bezug auf ihre Trägerbücher, Besitzer, Personen und Institutionen etc. zu untersuchen, um einerseits den Originalzustand der mittelalterlichen Musikhandschriften zu erfassen, andererseits aber auch zur komplexen Rekonstruktion der kulturgeschichtlichen Prozesse beizutragen, die im Hintergrund von Buchtransfer und Bibliotheksbau im Mitteleuropa des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts gestanden haben dürften.

Abbildungen:



← Abb. 1. F 679 verso



↓ Abb. 3. F 682 recto



↑ Abb. 2. F 680 recto

GABRIELLA GILÁNYI

Newly Identified Codex Leaves from a Fifteenth-Century Transylvanian Antiphoner in Martin¹

Abstract

It was almost three years ago when, at the closing of a bilateral mobility research project of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Eva Veselovská, Zsuzsa Czágány, and I made a visit to Martin (Turócszentmárton) to study some musical codex fragments deposited in the Slovak National Library. Among the sources, two codex leaves – undetached book covers with beautiful late Esztergom notation – caught our attention: it was exciting to discover that these two folios (under shelfmarks MSBaFrSk 25757 and MSBaFrSk 02845/02745, see Eduard Lazorík, *Stredoveké rukopisné zlomky v Slovenskej národnej knižnici. Fond: tlače 16. storočia vo františkánskych knižničiach [Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Slovak National Library. Collection: 16th-Century Prints in Franciscan Libraries]*, BA Thesis, Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts, Brno, 2018, Figures 8 and 36) could belong to an already known group of three notated fragments of a fifteenth-century antiphoner from Transylvania. The other connecting fragments, kept in Hungarian and Romanian collections (Pauline Library at the Budapest Central Seminary, Franciscan Library in Gyöngyös, Northern Hungary, Csíki Székler Musem, Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc, Romania), have previously been identified, examined, and reconstructed. All three fragments can be linked to books which belonged to the Franciscan Order, just as the new pieces with which two books of the Franciscan monastery of Skalica (Szakolcza) were covered, according to the possessor inscriptions. Just before this visit in Martin in November 2018, I had finished a study dealing with the previously identified antiphoner pieces and their Franciscan host volumes. So, when the two new folios emerged, all we could do was mention the new discoveries in a brief note at the end the publication, which was later published in the Yearbook of the Csíki Székler Museum (Gabriella Gilányi, „15. századi erdélyi antifonálé-törédékek és ferences hordozkönyveik” / „15th-Century Antiphoner Fragments from Transylvania and their Franciscan Host Volumes”, *Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve XIII–XIV*, 95–110).

This paper focuses on the content of these two fragments, which may fill some gaps in the history of the Transylvanian antiphoner in question and the early modern book culture of the Franciscan Order in medieval Hungary. As only a few notated sources have survived from the medieval Church of Transylvania, every codex fragment emerging from this area is of special value.

The case study also shows the perspectives of Central European fragment research: pieces of known and unknown manuscripts can emerge anywhere, anytime, allowing the grouping and identification of the pieces and the reconstruction of the original codex. The results extend beyond the interests of the narrow field of plainchant research into a broader context and may be important also for parallel disciplines dealing with medieval cultural history.

Keywords: codex fragment, antiphoner, plainchant, Transylvania

Introduction

Few intact codices have survived from the territory of medieval Hungary: less than one per cent of the estimated original number of books in contemporary use.² During research, such huge hiatus can be bridged only by examining a secondary source material, which explains why codex

¹ The research was supported by the ‘Momentum’ – Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group: LP-2019-2-2020.

² The noted codicologist and medievalist László Mezey (founder of the Fragmenta Codicum Research Group of the National Széchényi Library, Budapest) set out in 1978 to gauge the size of the whole original stock of codices from medieval Hungary. Having scrutinized all the known book lists, inventories, and archival documents, he came to a figure of some 45,000 items for the hypothetical repertory of codices in use during that age. See MEZEY, László: *Fragmenta codicum. Egy új forrásterület feltárása [Fragmenta Codicum. Exploration of a New Source Area]*. In: *MTA Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei* 30 (1978), pp. 65–90, here: p. 72.

fragments are so precious to Hungarian medieval studies, including plainchant research. Some regular, systematic examinations of sources of this type were made earlier, notably by Benjamin Rajeczky, Janka Szendrei, and László Dobcsay,³ but attention to fragments became strategic in Hungarian plainchant studies only at the end of 2019 when the ‘Momentum’ Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was established, with Zsuzsa Czagány at its head.

Recent years have brought the discovery and identification of dozens of newfound fragments with musical notation in domestic and foreign collections – multiplying the number of such manuscript pieces registered in the former catalogue of Janka Szendrei.⁴ Running information on these discoveries appears on the website entitled *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Medievalis*.⁵

Certainly, no part of investigation into codex fragments is less than exciting, though researchers are seldom greeted by the amazing sight of *in situ* fragments like the ones found on the fascinating bookshelves of the library of the Franciscan monastery in Güssing, Austria.

Indeed, discovering such fragments and touching them may well be the most memorable moments in the exploration process. The excitement becomes even more special when the musical notation found in a fragment seems familiar and resembles that of another codex or codex fragment. Such a sense of familiarity often denotes a certain workshop or scribes and may even point to more than that: the new piece may fit into a well-known codex or match other fragments from the same parent codex kept elsewhere.

Compared with the number of fully preserved sources, that of the remaining codex fragments from medieval Hungary is significant.⁶ Several major codices were excised and, as book covers, survived the turbulent centuries of Hungarian history: the Ottoman conquest, the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, and the age of enlightened absolutism under the Habsburg King Joseph II, who banned religious orders at the end of the eighteenth century. The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries actually saw in the old parchment liturgical codices merely obsolete and decorative bookbinding material. This applies, for example, to one of the monumental luxury manuscripts of the Hungarian Middle Ages, the *Antiphonale Varadinense*, reconstructed in a virtuoso analysis by Zsuzsa Czagány.⁷

Leaves of magnificent Gregorian “supercodices”, such as the *Antiphonale Varadinense*, were used as exceptionally valuable bindings. Due to this practice, almost all major Hungarian and

³ These overall examinations were aimed at producing some fundamental monographs and editions of plainchant genres based on the surviving source material. See e.g., RAJECZKY, Benjamin (ed.): *Magyarország zenetörténete I. Középkor* [Music History of Hungary I. Middle Ages]. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988; DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka: *Antiphonen* (=Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi V/1–3). Kassel : Bärenreiter, 1999; SZENDREI, Janka: *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon* [Medieval Musical Notations in Hungary]. (=Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez 4.). Budapest : Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1999.

⁴ SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated Sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages]. (=Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez 1). Budapest : Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1981.

⁵ Online: <http://fragmenta.zti.hu>

⁶ The source catalogue of Janka Szendrei contains 655 fragments, see Ref. 3. This number has at least doubled since then.

⁷ CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV III. Tanulmányok/Essays* (=Musicalia Danubiana 26.). Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019.

cross-border book collections have retained a piece from this codex.⁸ The identification of new pieces facilitates the reconstruction of the original codex, which is crucial because the volume is the sole surviving source of plainchant from the medieval Diocese of Várad⁹ under the second Archdiocese of Hungary, that of Kalocsa–Bács.

The prime question for fragment studies in Hungary is whether pieces of further supercodices, unique in their layout and content, have also survived. Indeed, they have: three members of our research group – Zsuzsa Czagány, Gábel Szoliva, and myself – lit upon several fragments that once belonged to other such deluxe codices and may shed light on hitherto unknown sub-traditions of Hungarian plainchant. So, fragment studies provide significant, gap-filling sources for Hungarian musicological research nowadays, too.

This study discusses five fragments of one such “supercodex”, a recently reconstructed, beautifully notated Transylvanian antiphoner. I was able to identify the first three folios of the codex in 2016 in geographically distant locations: Budapest, Gyöngyös (north-eastern Hungary), and Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc, Romania¹⁰ (for their library shelfmarks, see *Table 1*).

The Discovery

In November 2018, two more, almost complete folios of the same codex emerged, which extended the geographical dispersion of the original manuscript into present-day Slovakia. These¹¹ (see *Facsimile 1–2*) appeared during our field research in the Slovak National Archive in Martin (once called Turócszentmárton, see *Map*) as part of a bilateral cooperation between the Hungarian and the Slovak Academies of Sciences.

Let me first describe the excitement of the discovery, made with my colleagues Eva Veselovská and Zsuzsa Czagány. We left on a morning in November 2018 from Bratislava for Martin, 170 km north, in the Great Fatra and Lesser Fatra mountains. Eva Veselovská tell us on the train about the fragments preserved in Martin and handed us Eduard Lazorík's BA thesis,¹² which covers about eighty-five codex fragments in the collections of nearby Franciscan monasteries, some with and some without musical notation. Looking at the fragment images at the end of this thesis, we were surprised to discover that fragment No. 36¹³ seemed to belong to a Transylvanian antiphoner we had identified earlier in three fragments that survived in collections

⁸ Hungary: Győr, Budapest, Debrecen, Esztergom; Slovakia: Bratislava, Modra, Košice, Martin, Levoča, Poprad; Romania: Cluj-Napoca.

⁹ Its seat was in Várad/Nagyvárad, today: Oradea, Romania.

¹⁰ The codex fragments from the library of the Franciscan monastery of Csíksomlyó (see *Map*) are kept in the Csíki Székler Museum in Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc.

¹¹ Shelfmarks: MSBaFrSk 02845/02745, MSBaFrSk 25757.

¹² LAZORÍK, Eduard: *Stredoveké rukopisné zlomky v Slovenskej národnej knižnici. Fond: tlače 16. storočia vo františkánskych knižničach [Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Slovak National Library. Collection: 16th-Century Prints in Franciscan Libraries]*. Bachelor's Thesis. Brno : Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts, 2018. See also LAZORÍK, Eduard: *Stredoveké rukopisné fragmenty na tlačiach 16. storočia z fondu františkánskych knižníč Slovenskej národnej knižnice [Medieval Manuscript Fragments in Sixteenth-Century Prints from the Collection of Franciscan Libraries of the Slovak National Library]*. Martin : Slovak National Library, 2019, Nr. 42-43, pp. 130-133; VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké notované fragmenty na tlačiach 16. storočia z fondu františkánskych knižníč Slovenskej národnej knižnice [Medieval Notated Fragments on Sixteenth-Century Prints from the Collection of Franciscan Libraries of the Slovak National Library]*. In: *Hudobný archív* 18. Martin : Slovak National Library, 2019, pp. 16-42.

¹³ LAZORÍK, Stredoveké rukopisné zlomky, Ref. 12, 2018, p. 111.

in Budapest, Gyöngyös, and Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc. The last round of proofreading for the study on these fragments and their Franciscan host books for the *Yearbook of the Csíki Székler Museum* had to be submitted in a few days, so I could only mention the new discovery in a footnote.¹⁴ But Lazorík's work referred to not one but two fragments, mentioning a number 37 alongside number 36. In both cases, the former owner of the books was the Franciscan Monastery at Szakolca (Skalica),¹⁵ which was no surprise as all three fragments I had previously identified were also from a Franciscan environment, attached to Franciscan books. After that, I could hardly wait to inspect the fragments on site. Entering the library research room, we were shown two huge host books, which would only fit into a large plastic compartment. The folio sizes and the familiar musical notation, noticeably moving modestly and flexibly, like a line of dainty, decorative pattern made it certain that two more leaves of the well-known Transylvanian codex came to light.

The two folios, like the previous three, had been bound onto sixteenth-century printed books as covers and this is what preserved them for posterity. The notation on the fragments seemed exciting already in 2016: in my view, the musical writing can be identified as a rare, peripheral version of the medieval notation of Esztergom and can be connected to the easternmost part of medieval Hungary: Transylvania. Works with Transylvanian notation, described for the first time in Janka Szendrei's monograph on musical palaeography,¹⁶ can be reconstructed only through codex fragments as no complete medieval source survived. The largest corpus with medieval Transylvanian notation is a fourteenth-century antiphoner, belonging to the Franciscan convent in Güssing, Burgenland, Austria, in the form of fourteen fragments.¹⁷

Plainchant Sources from Transylvania

The source material with Esztergom notation from Transylvania is so sporadic that these five new fragments representing a virtual codex can be ranked second.¹⁸ This also indicates how wide the gap is that the two Martin leaves have to fill.

Before presenting the fragments, let me clarify two more important issues: firstly, the reason for the low number of Transylvanian liturgical codices among the already scattered Hungarian source material and, secondly, the connection between the Transylvanian manuscripts and the Franciscan Order.

¹⁴ The study was published in 2019. See GILÁNYI, Gabriella: 15th-century Antiphoner Fragments from Transylvania and Franciscan Books to Which They Belong. In: *Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve 2005 (=Társadalom- és Humán-tudományok)*. Csíkszereda : Csíki Székely Múzeum, 2006, pp. 149–232.

¹⁵ See the inscriptions in ink on the title page: *Conventus Szakolciensis*.

¹⁶ SZENDREI, *A magyar középkor*, Ref. 3, pp. 62–63, 72–74.

¹⁷ For the fragments, see: GILÁNYI, Gabriella: *Mosaics of the Plainchant Tradition of Transylvania – Interpreting the 14th-century Antiphoner Fragments at Güssing (=Resonemus pariter. Studies in Medieval Music History 1.)*. Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019.

¹⁸ The manuscripts from the Saxon cities in Transylvania follow a foreign liturgical practice of the mostly German-speaking Szeben Provostship and Brassó Deaconry, not Hungary's main plainchant tradition and notation practice, so these liturgical codices can be excluded from examination.

The easternmost province of the medieval Catholic Church – Erdély/Transylvania¹⁹ – was not directly subordinate to the Archdiocese of Esztergom, but to a secondary Archdiocese of Hungary, that of Kalocsa–Bács, similarly to Várad (see *Map*).²⁰ Furthermore, the south-western suffragan dioceses of Zagreb and Csanád, and the areas along the south-eastern border of the archdiocese, were grouped into two dioceses: Várad and Transylvania. The Diocese of Transylvania was founded by the first King of Hungary, Saint Stephen, in 1009 and, unlike other Hungarian dioceses, it was named not after its seat (Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár), but after the area. This naming may suggest Byzantine influence. So, even in the beginning, separateness and exoticism appeared as its essential features, stemming perhaps from its territorial and ethnic diversity and its proximity to Eastern Christianity.

The Transylvanian Catholic Church suffered much damage throughout its history, but especially at the end of the Middle Ages.²¹ From the early sixteenth century, Protestantism spread there like wildfire: the Catholic Saxons, settled in Transylvania, converted to the Lutheran faith and, by 1550, the whole population of Transylvania had converted, except in some isolated areas like Csíksék within the Székler (Siculi, Székely) Lands. As a result, by the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church had become disintegrated in the area and its institutions had been abolished. Old, obsolete codices had little chance to survive under such conditions, and new ones were not written as the institutions that would have created them were absent.

As Protestantism took over in full, the Catholic clergy was ousted from Transylvania in 1565. Only the Franciscan Order remained to carry out pastoral or missionary activities in Transylvania and in the central areas of Hungary, held by the Ottoman Turks, as the Franciscans alone were tolerated there. Csíksomlyó in the Székler Lands became the centre of Franciscan missions in Transylvania.²² All these circumstances explain why the remains of Gregorian sources in the Transylvanian diocese are largely confined to Franciscan collections. The Franciscans had easy access to diocesan liturgical books that preserved the local Hungarian tradition and would transmit these to their various monasteries either as bookbinding material or as covers already affixed to host books.²³ This migration of Franciscan books is no mere assumption: an entry of one of the books kept in Martin names among the possessors not only the Franciscan monastery in Szakolca, but also that of Lippa in the Diocese of Csanád in the southern part of Kalocsa–Bács.²⁴

¹⁹ The Hungarian name *Erdély* (*Erdő* = 'forest') or *Erdől(e)* ('beyond the forest') took over the Latin form *Utral-sylvania* or *Transylvania*. See KNIEZSA, István: *Erdély földrajzi nevei* [Geographical Names of Transylvania]. In: Erdély. Budapest : Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940, pp. 71–77; also: *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* [Lexicon of Hungarian Ethnography]. vol. 1 (A–E). *Erdély*. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977, p. 705.

²⁰ See the article *Kalocsai érsekség* [The Archdiocese of Kalocsa] in VICZIÁN, István Diós (ed.): *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* VI. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2001. Online: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/K/kalocsai%20%C3%A9rseks%C3%A9g.html> [Accessible online, 15/10/2020].

²¹ See the article "Erdélyi püspökség" [The Diocese of Erdély/Transylvania] in *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon*, online: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/E/erd%C3%A9lyi%20p%C3%BCsp%C3%B3k%C3%A9s.html> [Accessible online, 15/10/2020].

²² Its library was the only Transylvanian Catholic collection that survived the Reformation. See, among others, MUCKENHAUPT, Erzsébet: *A Csíksomlyói Ferences Könyvtár kincsei. Könyvleletek 1980–1985* [The Treasures of the Franciscan Convent of Csíksomlyó. Book Finds 1980–1985] Budapest–Kolozsvár : Balassi Kiadó, Polis Könyvkiadó, 1999, p. 12.

²³ GILÁNYI, *Mosaics of the plainchant tradition*, pp. 99–100.

²⁴ See the inscription *Liber fratris Francisci monasterii de Lippa*. 1533 in the host book on p. I.

The Layout of the Fragment

The correspondence between the five fragments is clear in the size of the staves and the neumes and, above all, in the shape of the *custos* (see *Table 1*): its special look appears nowhere else, although analogous types may be seen in other manuscripts from the northern or eastern parts of medieval Hungary.²⁵

The parchment covering of the host books contains folio pieces cut to different shapes and sizes to fit (see *Figure 2*). The host book from Csíksomlyó/Şumuleu Ciuc preserved the full width of the folio, while the volumes from Budapest, Gyöngyös, and Martin kept the length of the cover folio intact, but the edges of the leaves were cut off. Even so, the original size of the full folios can be deduced: the large leaves were about 40 cm wide and 60 cm long. Only the restored Budapest piece shows both sides of the folio, the other four leaves remained *in situ*. The largest is the second Martin manuscript: one folio features twelve stave lines. The chant notation is dense and meaningful, transmitting a lot of musical material, and as we see in Fragment 1 (see *Facsimile 1–2*).

Musical Notation

The Franciscans certainly did not write such musical notation themselves. The neume set clearly points to a local Hungarian tradition, a variant of the early medieval Esztergom notation from the eastern peripheries. The fragments show blue and red capitals and black and red cadels, without notable decorative ornaments. The writing, known as *gothica rotunda*, often appears in fragments from Transylvania, as does the very thin *rastrum* with four red stave lines. The shape of the clefs is also telling: unlike the central Esztergom form, there are no round elements. The drawing of the F-clef differs from the swallowtail shape of the Esztergom sign: under the loop that starts with an initial hairline, the notator draws a little horizontal stroke through the stem. Likewise unique is the nexus of *c* and *b* with a common, skewed stem.

Looking at the neumes, the basic elements of the notation of the five fragments confirm their close connection (see *Table 1*). An Eastern Hungarian scriptorium is apparent for example from the basic syllabic sign of the notation, the *punctum*. The angular *puncta* are longish and clockwise, differing from the regular rhomboid shape found in the Gothic notation of that time.

One of the emblematic Transylvanian neumes is a unique *climacus* with a wide, curved line at its top, described as a “hat” or “lying *virga*” by Janka Szendrei.²⁶ This differs from the likewise unique *climacus* of Esztergom, a form of vertical point series beginning with double *puncta*.

The most memorable features of this Transylvanian style of music writing are wavy, conjunct ligatures stretched horizontally. Spectacularly rounded, flowery antecedents of this writing layout can be seen in the codex fragments of fourteenth-century Transylvania. The flexible, curved elements of the archaic, conjunct neume composition in our antiphoner are remnants of an earlier Esztergom practice, contrasting with the separated, rigid neumes of fifteenth-century

²⁵ This form of the custos is called “Northern Hungarian” in Hungarian music terminology. See Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon [Medieval Musical Notations in Hungary]*, 74; also: GILÁNYI, Gabriella: *Jelentéktelen kis apróság? A gregorián custos [A Tiny Little Nothing? The Gregorian Custos]*. *Magyar Zene* 56/4 (2018), pp. 385–397, here: 392, 294–396.

²⁶ SZENDREI, *A magyar középkor*, Ref. 3, p. 63.

Esztergom notation which wrote modern Gothic signs in its choir books even at such a late time, turning away from its own earlier customs. Consequently, it can be established that, in the fifteenth century, Transylvania followed a more conservative writing practice than the Hungarian centre, Esztergom, which had switched to a more modern version.

The writing of the notation in our fragments gives a smooth, spontaneous impression. Yet it is no hastily written shorthand, but a careful, demanding work of art deliberately aimed to be aesthetic and traditional. Even so, it contains some modern elements related to the fifteenth-century origin of the codex. For example, the earlier round *clavis* gives way to a “z” shape consisting of three separate strokes. Such fragmentation of certain neumes and the thick cutting of the pen point to the new fashion of writing grandiose liturgical books.

Liturgical Content

As for their liturgical content (see *Table 2*), the Martin fragments preserve chants from the Temporale part of the Divine Office, from places that fall close to each other during Lent: from the Fourth Sunday and from Feria 2 of the Holy Week. It is exciting to find that the fragment from Gyöngyös also offers Holy Week material (see *Table 2*). Its fully notated Lamentations of Jeremiah for the Good Friday Matins indicate that the host book might have been bound at the same time as the Martin host books and maybe even in the same workshop.

The Budapest leaf prescribes chants for the Octave of Christmas and a Benedictus antiphon for the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the patron saint of Esztergom, which confirms a mixed Temporale and Sanctorale arrangement of the Christmas chants, usual in Hungarian office books. The last surviving folio kept in the Csíki Székler Museum preserved three responsories from a remote place: from the end of the Temporale, from the History of the Prophets. All in all, these leaves may have originally belonged to a Temporale volume.

It remains a question whether there is any special liturgical variant in the fragments that would enable us to locate the provenance of the parent codex more precisely. Thomas Becket’s office, held solemnly in Esztergom, is uniform in all Hungarian sources, which makes it useless for identification. On the other hand, the chant set for the Christmas Octave is too variable and unstable, and its differing solutions from source to source offer no clue to provenance. The first three responsories of the history of the Prophets appear in a fixed order and selection in Hungary, which again makes them useless for localization of the provenance.

The Martin fragments present an individual order of responsories in each Hungarian source for the Monday of the Holy Week. There is nothing extraordinary in this, as almost every Hungarian sub-tradition prescribes a different selection. At the same time, the chants for the Fourth Week of Lent on the other Martin leaves correspond perfectly to the Esztergom tradition. Unfortunately, we get no closer to provenance here either.

The only liturgical peculiarity in the fragments, for which no parallel has been found in Hungarian source material, is the compilation of the Lamentations of Jeremiah for Good Friday. Unlike the solution of the thirteenth-century *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense*, the *Istanbul Antiphoner*, the *Bratislava Antiphoner*,²⁷ and all the fifteenth-century printed Esztergom breviaries with the same structure, an

²⁷ For the abbreviations, see the *Table 1*.

individual text selection for the Lessons from the Book of Lamentations can be found in the fragments: the Biblical verses connected to the Hebrew alphabet are distributed differently over the days (see *Table 2*). The arrangement seems to be much more generous: the assignation of the last verses (21 and 22) from the first part of the Book of Lamentations before the second responsory of Good Friday indicates that this antiphoner prescribed a larger number of Biblical texts for reading from the Lamentations in the Triduum Sacrum than the Esztergom sources usually did. This difference among Hungarian traditions (see *Table 3*) needs further investigation.²⁸ Incidentally, the Lamentations on the Gyöngyös fragment are accompanied by a special, more melismatic, “Hungarian” melody in Mode 4, and not the ordinary and simpler Western European version.

Melodic Comparison

Turning from the liturgical content to the comparison of the melodies sheds light on the individual musical variants on the Martin fragments, different from the usual Esztergom versions represented by some musical excerpts from the thirteenth-century *Breviarium Notatum Strigonense* (BNS)²⁹ and the *Istanbul Antiphoner*.³⁰ *Example 1* shows some formulas in which the musical variants of the comparative codices more or less go against those on the fragments (the differences are framed). *Example 2*, at the same time, brings melodic formulas which appear in three different versions in the sources, although the Istanbul melodies seem to be somewhat closer to the variants on the fragments. These examples also draw attention to the uniqueness of the content of this Transylvanian antiphoner among the surviving Hungarian plainchant sources, which we concluded also from our earlier musical examinations of the three other fragments (from Budapest, Gyöngyös, and the Szekler Land).³¹

Summary

The results of the examination of the provenance, the fate, and the origin of the three plus two fragments point to Transylvania in their book historical and music palaeographical data. The liturgical content and the melodies provide no further detail, but this scant material can also indicate the presence of a special Hungarian plainchant tradition in the easternmost peripheries of the Catholic Church. The fragments are likely to be remnants of a Transylvanian diocesan codex of the fifteenth century, as are the fourteen leaves of an earlier Transylvanian codex preserved in Güssing.³² Based on the sudden emergence of two new fragments in Martin, it can be expected that other pieces of this beautiful fifteenth-century codex will also appear, maybe even while exploring other Transylvanian fragments or plainchant manuscripts, especially as our team is going to continue research in Transylvania. Let us hope that an early end to the COVID-19 pandemic will soon make that possible.

²⁸ In our experience, the Hungarian sub-traditions all differ from the Esztergom order and follow their own path (e.g. Zagreb, Várad). It is strange, at the same time, that the fifteenth-century Transylvanian breviary from Güssing (A-Gü I/34) shows the Esztergom arrangement of the Lamentation verses and not the one that appears on our fragment.

²⁹ Prague, Strahovská Knihovna, DE I 7 (CZ-Pst DE I 7).

³⁰ İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Deissmann 42 (TR-Itks 42).

³¹ GILÁNYI, 15th-century antiphoner fragments, Ref. 14, pp. 102–103.

³² For the full comparative analysis of the latter, see: GILÁNYI, *Mosaics of the plainchant tradition*, Ref. 17.

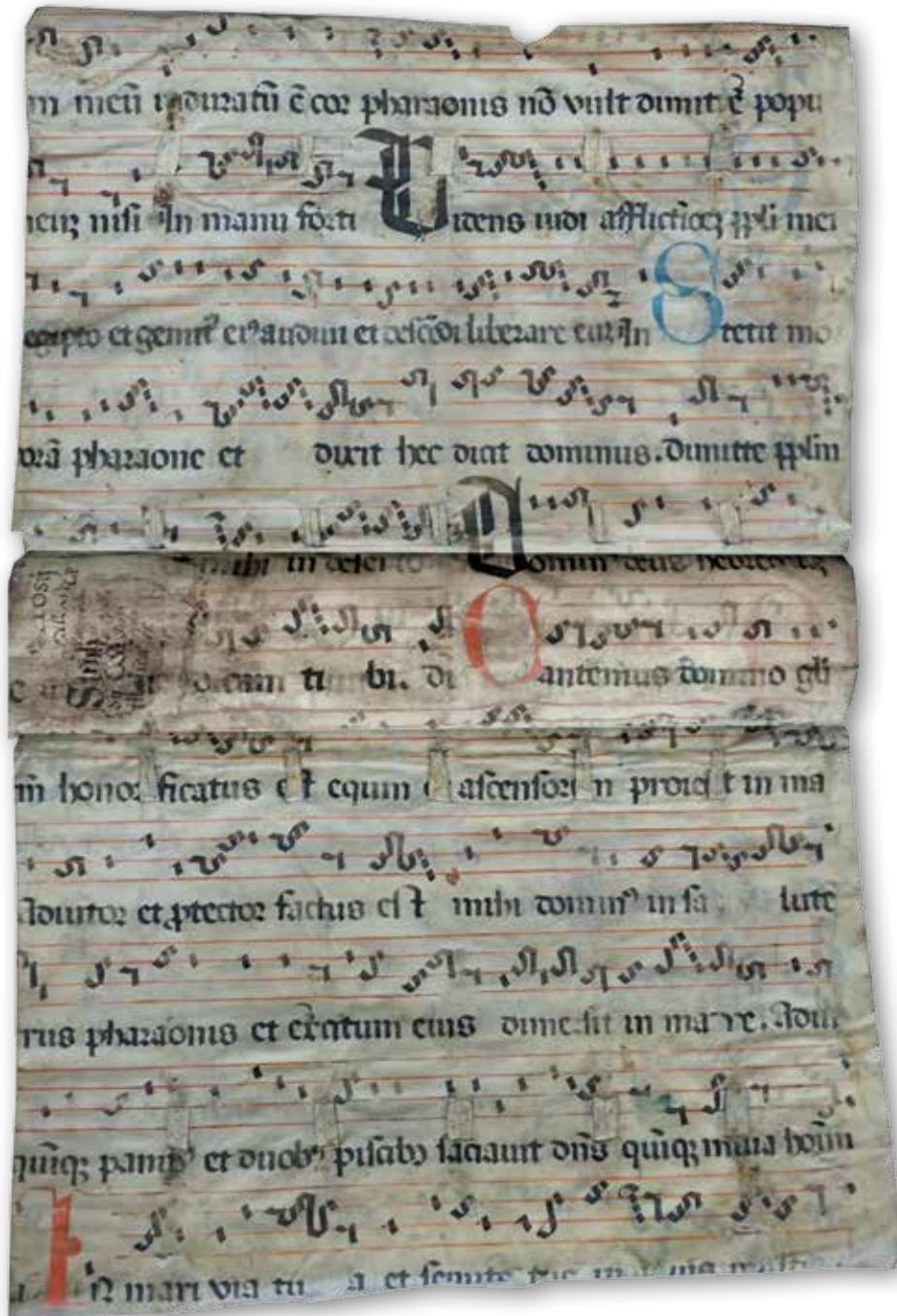
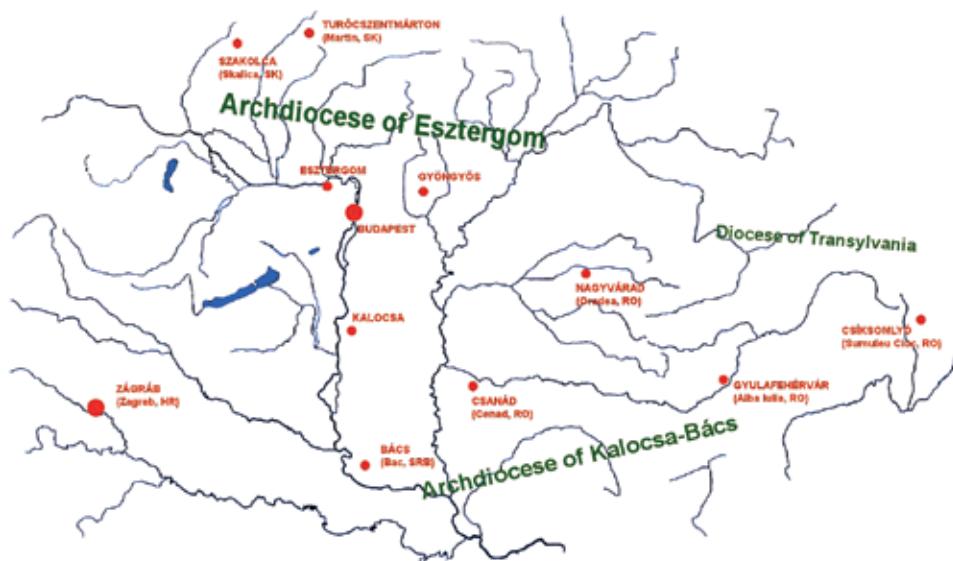


Fig. 1 Fragment 1 from the Slovak National Library Martin SK-Msnk MSBaFrSk 25757



Fig. 2 Fragment 2 from the Slovak National Library Martin SK-Msnk MSBaFrSk o2845/o274



Map - Map of the organisation of the medieval Catholic Church in Hungary

Table 1 Neumes

1. Fragment 1 from Martin (olim Skalica, Franciscan Convent), Archív literatúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice, cover of MSBaFrSk 25757 (SK-Msnk MSBaFrSk 25757)
2. Fragment 2 from Martin (olim Skalica, Franciscan Convent), cover of MSBaFrSk o2845/o274 (SK-Msnk MSBaFrSk o2845/o274)
3. Fragment from Budapest (olim from Gyöngyös), Pauline Library at the Budapest Central Seminary, Fr. I. m. 87, olim cover of Bbj 15 1-4 (H-Bs Fr. I. m. 87)
4. Fragment from Gyöngyös, Franciscan Convent, cover of Ant. 674, H-GGn Ant. 674
5. Fragment from Miercurea Ciuc (olim from Csíksomlyó / Șumuleu Ciuc), Csíki Szekler Museum, Cz. Fr. 10 (cover of Sign. Inv. 1766-69), RO-MCCsm Cz. Fr. 10

Table 1 →

	Punctum	Pes	Clavis	Torculus	Porrectus	Scandicus	Climacus	Ligatures	Clefs	Custos
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										

Table 2 The liturgical content of all the fragments belonging together

Fragment 1 from Martin SK-Msnk MSBaFrSk 25757	<p>Lent, Dominica IV, feria 4, Matins, N1–N2</p> <p>R1 [Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen dicens descendere in Aegyptum dic pharaoni ut dimittat populu]m meum induratum est cor pharaonis non vult dimittere popu[lum] meum nisi in manu forti V1 Videns vidi afflictionem populi mei [qui est] in Aegypto et gemitum eorum audivi et descendere liberare eos R2 Stetit Mo[yses] coram pharaone et dixit haec dicit Dominus dimitte popu-lum [meum ut sacrificet] mihi in deserto Hebraeorum R3 Cantemus Domino glori[ose e]nimir honorificatus est aequum et ascen-sorem projecit in ma[re] adjutor et protector factus est mihi Dominus in sa-lute (sic!) V3 Currus pharaonis et exercitum ejus pro[je]c[t]it dimersit in mare</p> <p>A [De] quinque panibus et duobus piscibus satiavit Dominus quinque milia hominum R1 In mari via tua et semitae tuae in aquis multis [deduxisti sicut oves popu-lum tuum in manu Moysi et Aaron]</p>
Fragment 2 from Martin SK-Msnk MSBaFrSk 02845/0274	<p>Lent, feria 2, Hebdomada Maior, Matins</p> <p>R1 [Viri impii] dixerunt opprimamus virum iustum iniuste et deglu[tiamus eum] tamquam inferi vivum auferamus memoriam illius de [terra et de] spoli-is ejus sortem mittamus inter nos ipsi enim homi[cidae the]saurizaverunt sibi malum insipientes et maligni oderunt sapientiam [et rei facti] sunt in cogitationibus suis V1 Dixerunt impii a[pud se non recte co]gitantes circumveniamus iustum quoniam contrarius est operibus nostris R2 Dixerunt impii a[pud se non recte cogitantes circumveniamus iustum [quoniam contrarius] est operibus nostris promittit se scientiam Dei habere filium [Dei se nomi]nat et gloriatur Patrem se habere Deum videamus si ser-mones [illius] veri sint et si est verus filius Dei liberet illum de manibus nostris [morte] turpissima condemnemus eum V2 Viri impii dixerunt opprimamus vi[r]um iustum iniuste et deglutiamus eum R3 Conclusus vi[as meas inimicus insidiator factus est mihi sicut leo in abscon-dito replevit et inebriavit me amaritudine deduxerunt in lacum mortis vitam meam et posuerunt lapidem contra me vide Domine iniquitates illorum et iudica causam animae meae defensor vitae meae]</p>

Fragment from Budapest H-Bs Fr. I. m. 87	<p>Historia of St Thomas of Canterbury, Laudes</p> <p>Ab [O]pem nobis o Thoma porrige [stantes jacentes erige mores] actus et vi-tam corrigie et in pacis [os viam dirige]</p> <p>in the Octave of Christmas, Vespers–Matins</p> <p>VA [Tecum] principium Ps. Dixit Dominus R [Verb]um caro H A solis or[tus] W Speciosus forma Am Dum medium si[lentium tenerent omnia in] suo cursu iter perageret om-nipotens [sermo tuis Domine a regalibus sedi]bus venit alleluia Inv Christus natus A Dominus [dixit ad me] R1-3 O magnum mi[sterium], Descendit [de celo], Quem vidistis R4 [Continet in gremio celum] terramque regentem virgo Dei [genitrix pro-cesses comitantur he]riles per quos orbis ovans Christo [sub principe pollet] V4 [Domus pu]dici pectoris templum repente fit [Dei intacta nesciens virum verbo concepit filium] R5 Beata Dei genitrix R6 Ecce Ag[nus Dei qui tollit peccata] mundi ecce de quo di[cebam vobis qui post me venit] ante me factus est cuius non sum [dignus corrigiam calcia-menti] solvere V6 Hoc est testimonium [quod perhibuit Ioannes] R7 [Benedictus] qui venit in nomine Domini V7 Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedifican[tes ...]</p>
Fragment from Gyöngyös H-GGn Ant. 674	<p>Lent, Fer. 6 in Parasceve, Matins, N1</p> <p>Lamentations: [SIN. Audierunt quia ingemisco ego,] et non est qui consoletur me. Omnes ini-mici mei audierunt [malum meum, la]etati sunt quoniam tu fecisti. Adduxisti diem consolationis[, et fient simile]s mei. THAU. Et egrediatur omne malum [eorum coram te] et vindemia eos, sicut vin-demiasti me propter omnes iniqu[ates meas: multi enim gemi]tus mei, et cor meum merens. R2 [Velum templi] scissum est et omnis terra tremuit latro de cruce [clamabat dicens.] Memento mei Domine dum veneris in regnum tuum. V2 [Amen dico ti]bi hodie tecum eris in paradyso. Mem[ento]</p>
Fragment from Miercurea Ciuc RO-MCcsM Cz. Fr. 10	<p>Historia of the Prophets</p> <p>R1 [Vidi Dominum sedentem ... et ea que sub ipso erant replebant] templum V1 Seraphim [stabant super] illud sex alea uni et sex alae alteri. Et. R2 Aspice Domine de sede sancta R3 Aspice Domine quia facta est desolata civitas plena diviciis sedet [in tris] ticia Domina gentium. Non est qui consoletur eam nisi Deus V3 Plorans ploravit [in nocte...]</p>

Table 3 Arrangement of the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Good Friday, Matins, 2nd Nocturn) in the Hungarian churches of the Middle Ages

Gyöngyös fragment H-GGn Ant. 674	Esztergom CZ-Pst De I 7 TR-Itks 42 SK-BRsa SNA 2	Transylvania A-GÜ Cod. 1/34	Zagreb HR-Za I. C. 42 HR-Zmk MR 29	Várad I-Rvat 8274
Lesson II # SIN. Audierunt quia 1:21 THAU. Et egrediat- tur 1:22	Lesson II DELETH. Tetendit arcum 2:4 HEE. Factus est Dominus 2:5 VAV. Et dissipavit 2:6	Lesson II DELETH. Tetendit arcum 2:4 HEE. Factus est Dominus 2:5 VAV. Et dissipavit 2:6	Lesson II GIMEL. Confregit in ira 2:6 DELETH. Tetendit arcum 2:4	Lesson II LAMETH [sic!]. Plauserunt 2:15, 2:16
R2 Velum templi V2 Amen dico tibi	R2 Velum templi V2 Amen dico tibi	R2 Velum templi V2 Amen dico tibi	R2 Velum templi V2 Amen dico tibi	R2 Velum templi V2 Amen dico tibi
Lesson III ALEPH. Quomodo obtexit 2:1	Lesson III ZAY. Repulit Domi- nus 2:7 HETH. Cogitavit Dominus 2:8 TETH (sic!). Lux- itque antemurale 2:8	Lesson III ZAY. Repulit Domi- nus 2:7 HETH. Cogitavit Dominus 2:8 TETH (sic!). Lux- itque antemurale 2:8	Lesson III MEN. Tradidit manus 2:7 HETH. Cogitavit Dominus 2:8 TETH. Defixa sunt 2:9	Lesson III BETH [sic!]. Fecit Dominus 2:17

Example 1

R. Stetit Moyses coram pharaone

Fragment 1

ut sa - cri - fi - cet mi - hi in de - ser - to

BNS
Ist

R. Cantemus Domino gloriosae

Fragment 1

Can - te - mus Do - mi - no

BNS
Ist

R. Currus pharaonis et exercitum

Fragment 1

Cur - rus pha - ra - o - nis et ex - er - ci - tum e - ius di - me - sit in ma - re

BNS
Ist

Example 2

R. Dixerunt impii apud se

Fragment 2

li - be - ret il-lum de ma - ni-bus no - stris mor-te tur-pis-si-ma con-dem-ne - mus e - um

BNS
Ist

R. Viri impii dixerunt

Fragment 2

in co - gi - ta - ti - o - ni - bus su - is

BNS
Ist

Liturgy and popular piety in the small town of Svatý Jur before Reformation

Abstract:

The article concerning the example of the town of Svatý Jur presents liturgical life and popular religious piety at the end of the Middle Ages in a context outside the main cities or main religious centres. Back then, this small town had only some hundreds of citizens. It was not the seat of any major Church institutions and it did not reach supraregional significance. Nevertheless, the development of the local parish was positively influenced by the fact that it was one of the main seats of the dynasty of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok. Their impact was manifested also in the field of liturgy, notably through the foundation of new benefices and the enlargement of church inventory thanks to their donations. Apart from the governing dynasty, parish life was also supported by local bourgeoisie who also contributed to material uplift. This paper is based on preserved written mentions and it analyses single elements of liturgical life (Holy Masses, the Liturgy of the Hours, processions, etc.), by also referring to their musical component, incl. expressions of popular religious piety (mainly in terms of benefices and devises). It shall also describe medieval equipment of church (altars, goldsmith works, relics) according to parts that are preserved still today and also on the basis of mentions reported in archival documents.

Keywords: Svatý Jur, liturgy, popular religious piety, clergy, medieval music

Everyday life of medieval people was inseparably connected with religion and with religious rites. From the celebration of the sacrament of Baptism (when newborn babies were welcome in the Church community already in the early hours of their life) up to the funeral, the life of a person was uninterruptedly interconnected with various external expressions of faith and rituals relating to religion. People didn't just regularly attend Holy Masses and Eucharist, but also took part in processions, addressed their prayers to concrete Saints in heaven, prayed the breviary (higher social classes), and practiced several other religious acts. Of course, the spiritual life of single individuals depended on the environment in which they lived. A bourgeois living in a free royal town with several churches, convents, and homilies in various languages or with a plurality of religious fraternities certainly had many more impulses than a subject living in a small village with no church (who had to walk to the nearest town just to attend Sunday worship service). In the Middle Ages, in the Kingdom of Hungary, new types of settlement were formed, representing a half-way solution between a city (*civitas*) and a village (*villa*). Let's call them "small towns" (*oppidum*). These small towns were originally settlements that remained under the government of Territorial Lords. Their houses and bounds were under the domain of the Territorial Lord (bondage) who exercised his judiciary authority. On the other hand, despite their servile position, the inhabitants of these small towns tended to behave like people living in cities. Small towns differed from villages according to three basic criteria: (i) their right to organise markets; (ii) a certain degree of autonomy in judicial matters; (iii) a more favourable tax system in their relationship with the Territorial Lord.¹

¹ OROSZ, István: Minulosť a historické osobitosti uhorských zemepanských miest [The past and historical specificities of Hungarian cities subjected to Territorial Lords]. In: KÓNYA, Peter (ed.): *Zemepanské mestá a mestečká v Uhorsku v ranom novoveku* [Cities and small towns subjected to Territorial Lords in early Modern Period Kingdom of Hungary].

Svätý Jur was a thorough example of the above described model of small town under the hegemony of Territorial Lords. How did the three above mentioned criteria manifest in Svätý Jur? The existence of a market exempted from toll is recorded already in the oldest written document mentioning this locality (1209).² The right to market and commerce means that a small town was a place of exchange of goods, where people came to sell products from surrounding villages. In exchange, the small town had to have a sufficient number of craftsmen who managed to meet the demands of the population from the surrounding villages.³ In the case of Svätý Jur, crafts were developed only insofar as necessary and the main product constituting the basis of local economy was wine. In this region, grape growing already had a multigenerational (probably multisecular) tradition, long before 1209. In mid 16th century, the area of vineyards within the bounds of Svätý Jur was approximately 362 hectares and the yearly production of wine was about 6,100 hectolitres.⁴ As for the second criterion – judicial authority – controversies were usually settled according to customary law. The system was subdivided in three levels. Administration of justice fell under the competence of the first level. On a yearly basis, on the feast of St George (24 April), in the presence of a representative of the Territorial Lord, the whole population elected the Judge (Richter) and the Municipal Council. These authorities had the right to settle disputes. The second level of customary law resided in the individual ownership liberties. The inhabitants of the small town (incl. women) were entitled to freely dispose of their movable and immovable property (e.g. to devise it to other people, inherit it from other people or also assign it to other people after paying the required fee to the Territorial Lord and after obtaining the consent of the Municipality). The third criterion – tax system – was regulated by the third level of customary law. It established the type and the amount of pecuniary fees, payments in kind, and work duties, incl. proceedings for their collection and other formal matters.⁵

During the whole medieval period, the fortunes of the small town of Svätý Jur were shaped by the fact that – from 1209 until 1543 – it belonged to one only noble family – the Counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. It was one of the most important and richest families in medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The members of this house often covered high functions in the royal court. Svätý Jur was one of the main seats of the Counts. They built a castle in the hills dominating the town and they became the main patrons of the local parish church. Under their government, the small town became quite a large settlement, with six streets and about 1,200 inhabitants.⁶

Prešov : Vydavateľstvo Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove, 2013, p. 31. In this paper, the author used the Slovak word "mesto" to translate the Latin *oppidum*, although the most commonly used Slovak equivalent is "mestečko".

² *Concessimus autem prefato Sebus, fideli nostro, ut in supradicto predio Zengurg forum ab omni exaccione tributi liberum possideat, ita quod nullus tributarius convenientes ad iam dictum forum super exaccionem tributi presumat indebito molestare.* A critical edition of the document is available in: MARSINA, Richard (ed.): *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. Tomus I.* Bratislava : Academia scientiarum Slovaca, 1971, pp. 121-122, no. 153. For an analysis of the document and of its single provisions, see: TURCSÁNY, Juraj: Prvá písomná správa [The first written report]. In: TURCSÁNY, Juraj et al.: *Svätý Jur 1209 – 2009. Dejiny písané vínom [History written by wine]*. Svätý Jur : Mesto Svätý Jur, 2009, pp. 32-38.

³ OROSZ, Minulost a historické osobitosti, Ref. 1, pp. 31-32.

⁴ For information about grape growing during the Middle Ages in Svätý Jur, please see: TURCSÁNYI, Prvá písomná správa, Ref. 2, pp. 37-38; also TURCSÁNY, Juraj: Vo vlastníctve grófov 1209 – 1543 [Property of the Counts 1209 – 1543] In: TURCSÁNY, Juraj et al.: *Svätý Jur 1209 – 2009. Dejiny písané vínom [History written by wine]*. Svätý Jur : Mesto Svätý Jur, 2009, pp. 46-52, pp. 54-57.

⁵ For information about customary law in the small town of Svätý Jur, please see: TURCSÁNY, *Svätý Jur*, Ref. 4, pp. 52-54.

⁶ Data about the build-up situation of the town are available with regard to the year 1412. On the basis of the estimated number of houses in 1412, D. Gahér calculated a population of about 800 inhabitants. The estimated

Several factors influenced the local religious life before the spreading of Reformation. In the Middles Ages, apart from the parish, there was no other ecclesiastical institution active in town (e.g. no convents or monasteries) and no relevant secular institutions had their seat here.⁷ On the other hand, the financial capabilities of the Territorial Lords and of town bourgeoisie favoured the creation of several benefices for the clergy, incl. rich arrangement and decoration in the church and the foundation of two religious associations: the Fraternity of Corpus Christi and Fraternity of the Virgin Mary.⁸ In our research on liturgy and popular religious piety, we notice a wide range of Holy Masses, Liturgy of the Hours, and processions, incl. their musical components and church equipment that were used during the rites.

Research sources

We do not have any systematically preserved sources for the knowledge of the studied topic. According to a register dating back to 1663, the municipal archive contained two official books regarding local church: (i) "Liber ecclesiasticus – from 1508 on" and (ii) a publication without date labeled ("The book of the covenant between the town and the parson"). In 1663, due to the incoming Ottoman invasion threats, both the above mentioned books were evacuated to Bratislava and – since then – there are no traces of them.⁹ As for the accounting registers of the

population in 1634 is 1,650 inhabitants (incl. the small village of Neštich, which in 1412 was still part of Svatý Jur). For this reason, in 1543, when the house of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok got extinct, we assume that the total population was 1,200 inhabitants. With regard to the year 1412, see: GAHÉR, Daniel: Svatý Jur a svätojurskí a pezinskí grófi v 15. a začiatkom 16. storočia [Svatý Jur and the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok in the 15th century and at the beginning of the 16th century]. In: ŠTEFÁNIKOVÁ, Zuzana (ed.): *Zo starších dejín Svatého Jura [From older history of Svatý Jur]*. Svatý Jur : Mesto Svatý Jur, 2010, pp. 46-47. With regard to the year 1634, see: BEKE, Margit (ed.): *Pázmány Péter egyházlátagatási jegyzőkönyvei (1616 – 1637)* (=Strigonium antiquum 3.). Budapest : Márton Áron Kiadó, 1994, p. 204.

⁷ The parish of Svatý Jur was created at the very least in the 12th century. Originally, it was made up of the sole town Svatý Jur. In the 16th century, it was joined by a filial church in the nearby village of Grinava (today called Myslenice and part of the city of Pezinok). The history of the parish was not so far elaborated in detail and data are available only in concise overview works. TROCHTA, Jozef: *Zoznam stredovekých fárov Slovenska zostavený podľa účtovných regístrov pápežských kolektorov o desiatkoch zaplatených pápežskej kúrii v Avignoni užívateľmi cirkevných benefícii v Uhorsku v XIV. storočí. Bratislavská stolica* [List of medieval parishes in Slovakia according to accounting registers of pontifical collectors of tithes paid to the pontifical curia in Avignon, by the users of ecclesiastical benefices in the Kingdom of Hungary in the 14th century. Comitatus Posoniensis]. Manuscript preserved at the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, pp. 11-12; RÁBIK, Vladimír: *Formovanie farskej siete na juhozápadnom Slovensku v stredoveku* (Bratislavské prepoštstvo) [The formation of parish network in South-western Slovakia in the Middle Ages (Bratislava provostship)]. In: RÁBIK, Vladimír et al.: *Vývoj cirkevnej správy na Slovensku* [The development of Church administration in Slovakia]. Krakov : Katedra história a Inštitút pre výskum prameňov k slovenským dejinám Filozofickej fakulty Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2010, pp. 76-77.

⁸ So far, the topic of local religious fraternities has not been elaborated in details. Due to the specificity of this topic, we are not going to treat it in this paper. At least some basic information about them is reported in two diploma works: TURCSÁNY, Juraj: *Najstaršia kniha testamentov obyvateľov Jura pri Bratislave z rokov 1577 – 1642* [The oldest book of testaments of the inhabitants of Jur pri Bratislave from the period 1577 – 1642]. Bratislava : Katedra archívnicstva a pomocných vied historických, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 1979, pp. 32-34; JANKOVIČOVÁ, Eva: *Bratstvá Božieho tela na Slovensku a ich ekonomická a spoločenská činnosť* [The fraternities of the Corpus Domini in Slovakia and their economic and social activity]. Bratislava : Katedra archívnicstva a pomocných vied historických, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 1984, pp. 41-45

⁹ TURCSÁNY, Juraj: *Magistrát mesta Jur pri Bratislave 1439 – 1922* [The municipality of the city of Jur pri Bratislave 1439 – 1922]. I vol. Inventory. Modra, 1983, p. VI (typed print available at the Štátny archív v Bratislave, pracovisko Archív Modra [State Archives in Bratislava, branch Archives Modra], hereinafter ŠABA-AM).

Sacristans (managed at least since the beginning of the 16th century), today we can only rely on the preserved logs from 1579 – 1590 and then from 1664 on.¹⁰

The most important written source still available today is a report from a canon from Bratislava named Christopher Pachswell (“About the number of benefices, beneficiaries, beneficed vineyards, and other allowances belonging to the parish church of the town of Svätý Jur”).¹¹ Pachswell, as a young priest, worked with the title of administrator of the altar of St Jadwiga in Svätý Jur. Sometimes in mid 16th century, on the basis of his memories, Pachswell wrote a document aiming at describing the financing system of clergy in the parish of Svätý Jur at times of Counts Peter, Francis, and Wolfgang of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, in 1514 – 1518.¹² The core of his report is made up of data about revenues and assets of single benefices. Nevertheless, Pachswell also recorded very precious information about local priests, equipment of church (altars, organ), parish school (teacher, succentor), and liturgical duties relating to single benefices.

Apart from Pachswell’s report, further relevant sources are also two documents of local Territorial Lords – the Counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. The first of them is a document of Count George III recording the constitution of a benefice (in 1465) for the rector of the Chapel of the Most Holy Trinity. Later on, this chapel became the last resting-place of Count George and – presumably – also of his family members.¹³ The second document is the testament of Peter V (George’s son). In 1514, Peter modified the provisions established by his father with regard to the liturgical duties of the chapel rector.¹⁴

¹⁰ (ŠABA-AM), archival fonds Magistrát mesta Svätý Jur [Municipality of the city of Svätý Jur] (hereinafter MMSJ), inv. no. 5637 et seq.

¹¹ The original of the report named *Signatura anni 1514 de numero beneficiorum, beneficiatorum, vineis beneficiatis aliisque proventibus ad templum parochialem oppidi Sancti Georgii pertinentibus* is likely to be located in the Archives of the Hungarian Chamber, today in the Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (hereinafter MNL OL) in Budapest. Unfortunately, we haven’t been able to find it and use it in this research. We know the text thanks to a copy from the 18th century, preserved as part of a canonical visitation held in 1781 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Church, Parish of Svätý Jur, Visitatio Battianiana parochiae Sancti Georgii die 21 septembris anno 1781 in districtu Baziniensi, pp. 129–132). The edition of the report was prepared by KNAUZ, Nándor: A bazini várkápolna s csukárdi és szentgyörgyi templomok. In: *Magyar Sion*, vol. 3, 1865, pp. 714–715. In his edition, Knauz omitted various longer parts of text. In certain occasions, he marked the omitted passages with dots, but elsewhere in his edition he didn’t insert any mark in the place of omitted passages. As source of his text, Knauz mentioned the “manuscripts of Juraj Palkovič”. In our paper, we repeatedly refer to Pachswell’s report. In order to avoid continuous repetition of identical quotations, from now on we shall no longer quote the specific source, but we shall just remind (directly in the text) that the given information results from Pachswell.

¹² Christopher Pachswell was the son of John Pachswell, a representative of bourgeoisie in Svätý Jur. In 1511 – 1513 he studied at university in Vienna. In 1514 – 1518 he was beneficiary in his native town. In 1523 – 1556 he acted as canon in the Bratislava Chapter. From the 1520’s his name is preceded by the title of “magister”. TÜSKÉS, Anna (ed.): *Magyarországi diákok a bécsei egyetemen 1365 és 1526 között* (=Magyarországi diákok a középkori egyetemeken 1). Budapest : Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára, 2008, p. 310 (no. 6430 - Cristophorus Pachswel de Sancto Georgio); MAISEL, Thomas – MATSCHINEGG, Ingrid (eds.): *Wiener Artistenregister 1497 bis 1555*. Wien: Archiv der Universität Wien, 2007, p. 146. Accessible on the internet: <https://www.univie.ac.at/archiv/artreg/AFA4%20Nr%2021915%20bis%2029258.pdf> [cit. 2021-01-10]; KÖBLÖS, József: *A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan archontológiája 1458 – 1526*. Budapest : Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1987, p. 210, p. 233; RIMELY, Carolus: *Capitulum insignis ecclesiae collegiatae Posoniensis ad s. Martinum ep. olim SS Salvatorem*. Bratislava : Typis Caroli Angermayer, 1880, p. 263.

¹³ Slovenský národný archív [Slovak National Archives], archival fonds Hodnoverné miesto Bratislavská kapitula [Place of autentification – Bratislava Chapter], capsula 63, fasc. 7S, no. 1.

¹⁴ MNL OL, archival fonds E 148 Neo-regestrata acta, fasc. 23, no. 27 (DL 22623). The first researcher to raise attention on the testament was D. Gahér, although he did not report the complete provisions concerning the liturgy. GAHÉR, Daniel: *Grófi zo Svätého Jura a Pezinoka v neskorom stredoveku [The Counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok in late Middle Ages]*. Dissertation thesis. Bratislava : Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 2012, p. 121.

Apart from the above mentioned three sources, as ancillary source of information about liturgy and religious piety we can also use the preserved testaments of local bourgeois from 1473 on.¹⁵ Many of them also include requirements relating to funerals and requiem Masses (in most of the cases, the extent of such materials is just one sentence).

With regard to information about clergy and liturgy, we have at least a few preserved original sources. Unfortunately, as far as church inventory is concerned, the situation is even worse. So far, no medieval inventories of liturgical objects were preserved. For such reason, we can only rely on more recent inventories from 17th to 19th century. The oldest inventories (from times when the church was used by the Protestants) also record some typical Catholic objects (relics, monstrances). The only justification of their occurrence is – of course – their existence already in the period before Reformation. We can also assume that various “ancient” (*antiquus*) or “old” (*vetus*) objects recorded in more recent sources (notably goldsmith works and textiles) represent the last remains of what once used to be a richer church equipment in the Middle Ages.¹⁶ Today, only a torso of the rich church equipment got preserved: one complete altar and some parts of another altar; a bell from the year 1400; a pastophorion from the 16th century; and a pax from the 1st half of the 16th century.

Sacral buildings in the territory of the parish

One of the indispensable elements for celebration of liturgy is the existence of a sacral building. In the Middle Ages, the small town of Svätý Jur had an above-the-standard status, because it comprised five or perhaps even six sacral buildings in its bounds.

¹⁵ ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1936 et seq.

¹⁶ The oldest inventory is part of the canonical visitation held in 1613 (published by LEŠKA, Jan: K starožitnému čtení [Reading the ancient]. In: *Korouhev na Sionu*, vol. 5, 1882, pp. 202–203). In 1618, church inventory was drawn up with regard to its handing over to Catholic administration (MNL OL, archival fonds E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31 – we'd like to thank Mgr. Andrea Farkas for photographic documentation). This inventory was published with some lacks of precision by KOHÚTOVÁ, Mária: *Uplatnenie patronátneho práva v Pezinku a Svätom Jure v prvej polovici 17. storočia* [Application of the right of patronage in Pezinok and Svätý Jur in the first half of 17th century]. In: LOPATKOVÁ, Zuzana (ed.): *Otázky zemepanského hospodárenia a správy v novoveku* [Issues relating to Territorial Lords' economical management and administration in Modern Period]. Trnava : Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2019, pp. 138–139. All the other inventories are part of the canonical visitations: 1634 (BEKE, Pázmány Péter, Ref. 6, pp. 203–204); 1673 (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtár, Manuscripta, sign. Ab., nr. 28 - Visitatio sub archidiaconatu praepositurae Posoniensis parochiarum, seu in comitatu Posoniensi existentium, anno 1673 14. sept. instituta, pp. 204–210 – hereinafter “Visitatio 1673”); 1699 (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtár, Manuscripta, sign. Ab., nr. 30 - Visitatio districtus Baziniensis per me Ottudem Joannem Baptistam comitem a Volkra praepositum, archidiaconum et plebanum posoniensem facta, fol. 8–9 – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1699”); 1714 (Prímási Levéltár Esztergom, Egyházi Levéltár, Visitations canonicae, Liber 17a – Visitatio canonica parochiarum sub archidiaconatu Posoniensi existentium ... peracta 1714, pp. 184–186 – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1714”); 1731 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Church, parish of Svätý Jur, Visitatio ecclesiae liberae regiaeque civitatis Sancto Georgiensis anno 1731 die 19 maii et subsequentiis peracta – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1731”); 1756 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Church, parish of Svätý Jur, Visitatio ecclesiae liberae regiae civitatis Sancto Georgiensis anno 1756 die 18 et sequenti junii peracta – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1756”); 1761 (Prímási Levéltár Esztergom, Egyházi Levéltár, Visitations canonicae, Liber 89 – Conscripicio parochiarum districtus Baziniensis ... 1761, pp. 35–43 – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1761”); 1781 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Church, parish of Svätý Jur, Visitatio Bathianiana parochiae Sancti Georgii die 21 septembri anno 1781 in districtu Baziniensi – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1781”); 1823 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Church, parish of Svätý Jur, Decretum visitationis canonicae in parochia liberae regiaeque civitatis Sancto Georgiensis Anno 1823 peracta – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1823”); 1852 (Archives of the Roman Catholic Church, parish of Svätý Jur, Visitatio canonica celsissimi principis primatis Joan-nis Baptiste Scitovszky de anno 1852 diebus 23–24–25 et 26 aprilis – hereinafter quoted like “Visitatio 1852”).

The centre of religious life and administration of the parish was the parochial church consecrated to St George. The existence of the church in this locality is dated back at least to the 12th century, but it probably existed even before that period.¹⁷ The oldest part of the today's building comes from the first half of the 13th century. After progressive additional works during the period between the 13th and 15th century, the original simple one-nave construction acquired the shape of a two-nave church, with a relatively large presbytery, stone empora, and underground place (likely to serve as chapel in early times).¹⁸ The existence of the tower in the medieval period is dubious, but it is quite plausible.

Today, the church includes the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity, completed around the year 1465. In 1465, the Count George III from Svätý Jur and Pezinok issued the charter for a benefice destined to the rector of this chapel.¹⁹ Until church reconstruction in Renaissance period (at the end of the 16th century), the chapel was likely to be architecturally separated from the church and inaccessible to ordinary believers. Indeed, the crypt under the chapel served as burial ground for Territorial Lords.

During the Middle ages the Church of Saint George was located in a fortified enclosure together with two other buildings. The chapel of Saint Barbara is not mentioned in the medieval sources. More recent descriptions reveal us that it was built in Gothic style. We do not know its original purpose. The zone around the church served as cemetery. Therefore, we can assume that the chapel of St Barbara was used for funeral rites. Another sacral building could be represented also by a construction with circular layout, whose vestiges were identified during a GPR research in 2018.²⁰

Outside the built-up area of the small town, there is also another chapel (at least since the 15th century), today consecrated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Its medieval consecration is not known. It might have had the patrocinium of St Emeric. Indeed, we have proof of processions that were held on the feast of St Emeric (from town centre up to the outer chapel).²¹

The count of the sacral buildings in the territory of Svätý Jur ends with a chapel located in the Biely kameň castle, of unknown consecration. Its existence is documented already in 1412. It was renewed in 1554. In 1560, it served as storage place for flour. And it finally got extinct together

¹⁷ VAVÁK, Július: *Pevnosť v Malých Karpatoch. Vznik, význam a úloha výšinného centra vo Svätom Jure* [A fortress in the Little Carpathians. Origin, meaning, and role of the hilltop complex in Svätý Jur]. Pezinok : Malokarpatské múzeum v Pezinku, 2019, p. 118.

¹⁸ SABADOŠOVÁ, Elena: Svätý Jur, Kostol sv. Juraja, Horné predmestie 18 [Svätý Jur, the Church of St George. Horné predmestie 18]. In: OROSOVÁ, Martina (ed.): *Ročenka pamiatkových výskumov 2010* [Almanac of researches on historical monuments 2010]. Bratislava : Pamiatkový úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2012, pp. 163-166.

¹⁹ See Ref. 13.

²⁰ The medieval consecration of the first mentioned building is not known. The patrocinium of St Barbara dates back to the 18th century. For information about both these constructions, see: LUZ, Rastislav – PAŠTEKA, Roman – KUŠNIRÁK, David – ŠIMONOVÁ, Barbora: Zaniknuté stavby v areáli farského kostola vo Svätom Jure (výsledky geofyzikálneho a archívneho výskumu) [Constructions once located in the complex of a parish church in Svätý Jur : (results of a geophysical survey and archive research)]. In: *Archaeologia historica*, vol. 45, 2020, no. 1, pp. 217-231.

²¹ LUZ, Rastislav: Svätojurská kaplnka Nanebovzatia Panny Márie (Pustý kostolík) [The chapel of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Svätý Jur (Deserted Church)]. In: *Historika: malokarpatský historický občasník* [Historika: Little Carpathian historical periodical publication], vol. 2, 2013, no. 2, pp. 30-33.

with the castle in the 17th century.²² Due to security reasons, this sacral area was supposed to be accessible only to selected personnel of the castle.



↑ View of the church of Saint George, beginning of 20th cent.
(Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ, sign. P 5333)

Local clergy, benefices

During the Middle Ages, the structure of the clergy within a parish was relatively large. We can basically subdivide local clergy in four categories.²³

²² With regard to the year 1412, see: SEDLÁK, Vincent: Príspevok k architektúre stredovekých hradov na západnom Slovensku [A study about architecture of medieval castles in Western Slovakia]. In: KOSOVÁ, Mária (ed.): *Monumentorum tutela. Ochrana pamiatok 4* [Protection of monuments 4]. Martin : Osveta, 1969, p. 449. With regard to the year 1554, see: DUCHOŇ, Michal: Príspevok k dejinám hradov Biely kameň a Pezinok v 16. storočí [A study about the history of the castle of Biely kameň and Pezinok in the 16th century]. In: *Historika: malokarpatský historický občasník* [Historika: Little Carpathian historical periodical publication], vol. 1, 2012, no. 1, p. 21. With regard to the year 1560, see: MNL OL, archival fonds E 156 Urbaria et conscriptiones, fasc. 76, no. 12 (Inventarium tempore resignationis Arcis Sancti Georgii ad manus spectabilis et magnifici domini comitis Ekcii a Salmis etc. octava die maii anno Domini 1560, p. 4).

²³ With regard to the structure of medieval clergy in the Central European area, see – for example – the following works: HLEDÍKOVÁ, Zdeňka: Farní síť ve středověkých Čechách a možnosti jejího studia [Parochial network in medieval Bohemia and possibility of its study]. In: HRDINA, Jan – ZILYNSKÁ, Blanka (eds.): *Církevní topografie a farní síť pražské církevní provincie v pozdním středověku* [Church topography and parochial network of the Prague ecclesiastical province in late Middle Ages] (=Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 8). Praha : Filosofia, 2007, pp. 28-30; or an older work by HLEDÍKOVÁ, Zdeňka: Struktura duchovenstva ve středověkých Čechách [The structure of clergy in medieval Bohemia]. In: ČIERNY, Jan – HEJL, František – VERBÍK, Antonín (eds.): *Struktura feudální společnosti na území Československa a Polska do přelomu 15. a 16. Století* [The structure of feudal society in the territory

The first category is represented by the parson, who was entirely responsible for the parish and for the auxiliary clergymen. The sources usually mention him as *plebanus*. According to Pachswell the parson was – at the same time – the first chaplain of the Territorial Lords. His benefice was materially well guaranteed. Apart from the house and three vineyards, he had the right to receive the tithes from the area of street Neštich, 20 buckets (about 1,100 litres) of wine from bourgeois people, an allowance from local religious fraternities, and natural gifts on a non-regular basis from the Territorial Lords (e.g. fish, cereals, butter, cheese, and game). The benefice of the parson is first mentioned in 1320.²⁴ Until the end of the 16th century, we know by name seven parsons from Svatý Jur.

Apart from the parson, the parish administration was also managed by the non-autonomous component of clergy (i.e. the aides or the deputies of the parson). They were various vicars (*vicarius*) or preachers (*praedicator*). They didn't enjoy any independent benefices, but – in exchange for their duties – they received a defined remuneration by the parson (or they had guaranteed board). With regard to the parish of Svatý Jur, this category is represented only by the preacher. The parson provided board and accommodation for the preacher, incl. a wage of 10 guilders (*florenus*). Moreover, he also received wine, quite probably from parishioners (about one *ternarius*, i.e. 1,100 litres). The parson was also obliged to maintain a teacher (*scholasticus*), although teachers tended to be lay persons; and we don't include them in the clergy category. Even the "under-singer" (*succendor*) was a lay person. He used to act as teacher of music and chant and received a "good prebend" (*bona praebenda*) assured by the local castle.

The chaplains (*capellanus*) constitute a slightly less clear category of clergymen in the medieval context. Their benefice was variable and it was usually separated from the parochial church. They were practically the administrators of the various chapels. According to Pachswell, at the beginning of the 16th century, Svatý Jur hosted three more chaplains, under the care of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok (*capellani comitum*). Two of them were not related to chapels, but rather to altars. That's why it would be more reasonable to call them "altarists" and not "chaplains".²⁵ The first chaplain was the administrator of the altar of St Jadwiga. We know by name only one of such chaplains: Christopher Pachswell in 1514 – 1518. The material background of his benefice was: a house and four vineyards exempted from payment duties of subsidies. The second chaplain was the administrator of the altar of the Three Wise Men. This benefice existed already in the year 1453 and it was the second oldest reported benefice after the parson's benefice. It materially included a house and two vineyards exempted from the payment duty of subsidies. The third chaplain was the rector of the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity. In this case, he was a chaplain in the proper meaning of the word. This benefice was founded in 1465. It included a fi-

of Czechoslovakia and Poland until the period between the end of 15th century and beginning of 16th century]. Praha : Ústav československých a světových dějin Československé akademie věd, 1984, pp. 353–357 (notably with regard to altar benefices and non-autonomous component of clergy). Both works focus on Bohemian context, but their general conclusions can be also applied to the Kingdom of Hungary.

²⁴ *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Series prima. Tomus primus. Rationes collectorum pontificiorum in Hungaria 1281 – 1375.* Budapestini : n. p., 1887, p. 18.

²⁵ According to the canonical visitation in 1714, the church of Saint George hosted three chapels: the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity, a chapel without defined patronage, and a funeral chapel in the empora (*in choro*). These three chapels would match Pachswell's report about the presence of three chaplains. Other sources always mention only one chapel (the Most Holy Trinity). Compare: *Visitatio 1714*, Ref. 16, p. 184.

nancial prebend paid with the revenues from fishing in the municipality of Vysoká pri Morave, two vineyards, and a house. The rector also enjoyed an additional benefice and he was obliged to have a vicar (Pachswell calls him chaplain as well). The board for the vicar of the chapel was assured by the castle. Since 1514, the rector was in charge of three other priests.²⁶

Apart from the parson and the chaplain, there was also a relatively heterogeneous group of beneficed clergymen, notably in case of major parochial churches. Firstly, they were the altarists (*altarista*), i.e. administrators of independent altars equipped with their own properties. They had to celebrate Holy Masses outside of main Mass hours (in some particular days of the week or also every day); and they also had to celebrate anniversary requiem Masses (*anniversarium*) in honour of the founders of the altar. With regard to the Strigoniun diocese, there is no preserved evidence of new foundations;²⁷ therefore, for the sake of identification, we shall base our assumptions either on Pachswell's or on randomly preserved references. According to Pachswell, there were "many" benefices of this kind (*plura*); he specifically mentions only five of them and describes them as "founded by lay persons" (*a laicis fundata*). The first of them was the benefice *permissure*, which included a house with a garden, a vineyard, and a wage of 20 guilders provided by the community of citizens. Pachswell does not explicitly report the founders of this benefice. By considering the nature of the above mentioned financial allowance, it is possible that the founder was the municipality of Svatý Jur. The second benefice was created by the corporate body of butchers and it was connected to the altar of the Virgin Mary. It included a house with a garden, four vineyards, and an allowance of one guilder. The third benefice was that of the Corpus Christi (probably created by the homonymous fraternity). It was related to the organ and it included a house with a garden and two vineyards; moreover, the holder of this benefice also received a revenue of 20 guilders from the organ (*census de organo*). Already in the year 1513, there is a first reference to the benefice of the Holy Cross²⁸. It is the fourth lay benefice also mentioned by Pachswell in his report. Its promoter is not known. It comprised only two vineyards (not exempted from tithe duties). The last benefice was the one founded by the family of Jakob Kheiller and it was related to the altar of St Catherine. The assets were made up of one vineyard only.

Equipment of the sacral buildings from the point of view of liturgy

Several objects are used during liturgy. They have not only practical importance, but also a strong symbolic religious meaning. The number of these objects and their material and artistic value always depend on financial possibilities of local believers or patrons. Although these objects are preserved with extraordinary respect, they are subject to deterioration due to time and wearing. The altars are relatively large architectural works and they are usually made of wood. They are exposed to humid and cold environments causing their slow degradation. Goldsmith objects were often stolen or also used as source of precious metals for the production of new elements which were more suitable for new needs or new artistic styles. The value of medieval manuscripts

²⁶ See Ref. 82.

²⁷ For example, let's think about something like *Libri erectionum* in the Prague diocese.

²⁸ Archív mesta Bratislavy [Bratislava City Archives], archival fonds Magistrát mesta Bratislavu [Municipality of the city of Bratislava], Listiny [Charters], inv. no. 4508.

rapidly fell down after the introduction of press. Many medieval manuscripts were sold – for example – to bookbinding workshops as material for binding new books. Textile products were exposed to natural wearing. Today's conditions of the church inventory are not at all the same as in the Middle Ages. We can only partially reconstruct the original inventory throughout the study of original documents.

Altars

Large parochial churches could also have dozens of altars. Apart from the main altar, located in the presbytery of the church, there were the lateral altars (in small chapels, within the walls or the pillars of the naves). Through consecration of altars it is possible to assess which saints were the preferred ones amongst the believers.

The oldest report mentioning the concrete number of altars in the Church of St George before Reformation dates back to 1634. The dating of this report is relatively late. The report states that the church “used to include eight benefices or altars”, but there is not explicit list of them.²⁹ On the basis of other sources, we can really draw up a list of eight altars. So it seems that the piece of information mentioned in the 1634 report is true. Of course, we cannot exclude possible existence of further altars that are not mentioned in the preserved documents. Indeed, it is possible that information about these additional altars got lost before 1634. Even by assuming that the correct number of altars in the church was eight, we can certainly state that it was quite a big number for a small town governed by Territorial Lords.³⁰

The first altar was the main altar. This altar was probably present in the church since its very beginnings, although – paradoxically – the sources do not mention it. For this reason, we don't have any information about the aspect (or consecration) of the original main altar. We can just conjecture that it was consecrated to St George, just like the church itself. The current main altar of St George was created probably in the year 1519, as it is sculpted in the altar itself.³¹ Apart from the legend of St George, it features three scenes from the childhood of Jesus Christ (his birth, the adoration of the Magi, and the flight into Egypt) and a scene from the martyrdom of

²⁹ *Fuere hic olim 8. beneficia seu altaria.* BEKE, Pázmány Péter, Ref. 6, p. 203.

³⁰ For the sake of comparison, around the year 1500, the parochial Church of St Nicholas in Trnava included 15 altars (RÁBIK, Vladimír: *Mestská kniha príjmov trnavskej farnosti sv. Mikuláša z roku 1495* [Municipal books of revenues of the Trnava diocese of St Nicholas in 1495]. Trnava : Filozofická fakulta, Trnavská univerzita v Trnave, 2006, p. 77); and the Church of St Martin in Bratislava comprised more or less 21 altars at the end of the 15th century (HLAVÁČKOVÁ, Miriam: *Oltárne benefičia v bratislavskom Dóme sv. Martina v 15. storočí* [Altar benefices in the Dome of St Martin in Bratislava in 15th century]. In: N. e.: *Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie 2001* [Almanac of the Slovak National Gallery 2001]. Bratislava : Slovenská národná galéria v Bratislave, 2001, pp. 89-96). Trnava and Bratislava were free royal cities and their socio-economic level was much higher than the small town of Svätý Jur.

³¹ The inscription relating to the dating of the altar was discovered during the latest restoration works in 1989 – 1992. PORUBOVIČ, Jozef: *Traktát o reštaurování oltára sv. Juraja z rímsko-katolíckeho kostola sv. Juraja vo Svätom Jure* [Treatise about the restoration of the altar of St George in the Roman Catholic Church of St George in the town of Svätý Jur]. In: MOLLEROVÁ, Mária (ed.): *Zborník prednášok druhého ročníka seminára reštaurátorov* [Omnibus edition of lectures of the second year of the workshop of restaurateurs]. Bratislava : MARPO, 2004, pp. 12-18. The first known written reference mentioning the consecration of the altar dates back to 1699 (i.e. 180 years after its assumed origination and placement in the church). Thus, in the light of such information, it is not surprising that there is no preserved reference to the older main altar.

St Sebastian. Moreover, it also has the statues of five saints – St Michael Archangel, St Catherine, St Barbara, St Christopher, and St Leopold.³²

The oldest lateral altar documented in the sources was the altar of the Three Wise Men. It is mentioned with regard to the priestly ordination of its administrator in the year 1453 in Rome. It means that this altar had to be originated at least in the first half of the 15th century.³³ It is also mentioned by Pachswell, but it is no longer reported in later sources.

The altar of the Most Holy Trinity was quite probably created in the year 1465, on the occasion of the foundation of the benefice for the rector of the homonymous chapel (or shortly before 1465). It was the longest-serving lateral altar in the church. According to the preserved description, it featured a painting of the Coronation of the Virgin Mary by the Most Holy Trinity, with the figures of the saint Hungarian kings (Stephen and Ladislaus) standing under Mary's throne. The last reference to it is reported in the canonical visitation held in 1823.³⁴

The earliest preserved mention of the altar of the Virgin Mary dates back to 1487.³⁵ At the beginning of the 16th century, it was replaced by a newer altar of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, which is described as "completely deteriorated" (*totaliter ruinosus*) in 1731. Fifty years later, in 1781, the only part left was the central sculptural group (admirable still today in the church).³⁶

The fifth altar was the altar of St Catherine (mentioned only in Pachswell's report).

Pachswell also reports the existence of the benefice of the Holy Cross and there is also another source from the year 1513 mentioning it. Nevertheless, none of the above mentioned references is explicitly confirming the existence of the altar of the Holy Cross. In 1714 and in 1731, the church certainly hosted the "ancient" altar of the Passion of the Lord. It is possible to assume that it was exactly the same altar as that connected to the benefice of the Holy Cross.³⁷

The last altar described in Pachswell's report is the altar of St Jadwiga. It is not mentioned by other sources. By the way – because of its unusual consecration – it is worth special attention. Apart from Svatý Jur, a similar medieval altar consecrated to this saint is known only in Bratislava. St Jadwiga is illustrated in secondary position only in three other Hungarian altars (two from the Spiš region and one from an unknown locality).³⁸ St Jadwiga was not characterised by

³² With regard to the altar, see e.g.: RUSINA, Ivan: Oltár sv. Juraja [The altar of St George]. In: RUSINA, Ivan et al.: *Renesancia : Umenie medzi neskorou gotikou a barokom* [Renaissance: Art between Late Gothic and Baroque] (=History of Slovak art). Bratislava : Slovenská národná galéria; Slovart, 2009, pp. 768–769 (incl. an overview of older works).

³³ RÁBIK, Vladimír (ed.): *Monumenta Vaticana Slovaciae. Tomus IV. Camera apostolica 1. Libri formatarum 1425 – 1524*. Trnava : Institutum historicum Slovacum in Roma apud Universitatem Tyrnaviesnem, 2014, pp. 86–87, no. 31.

³⁴ Visitatio 1781, Ref. 16, p. 23; Visitatio 1823, Ref. 16, p. 12.

³⁵ ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1937.

³⁶ Visitatio 1731, Ref. 16, p. 3; Visitatio 1781, Ref. 16, p. 23. The preserved part of the altar of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary dates back to 1500 – 1510. It cannot be the same altar as that from 1487. With regard to dating, see e.g.: GÜNTHEROVÁ, Alžbeta (red.): *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku. Zväzok prvý A – J* [List of monuments in Slovakia. First volume: A – J], Bratislava : Obzor, 1967, p. 528 (the reported period is 1500 – 1510); or HOMOLKA, Jaromír: *Gotická plastika na Slovensku* [Gothic sculpture in Slovakia]. Bratislava : Tatran, 1972, p. 391, no. 6 (the reported period is around 1510, with a question mark).

³⁷ Visitatio 1714, Ref. 16, p. 184; Visitatio 1731, Ref. 16, p. 3.

³⁸ RADOCSAY, Dénes: *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955, p. 144 (Svatý Jur), p. 259 (Arnutovce), p. 335 (unknown location), p. 376 (Levoča). Radocsay does not know the reference to the altar of St Jadwiga in Bratislava. It was identified by HLAVAČKOVÁ, Oltárne benefičiá, Ref. 30, p. 96.

special veneration in the Strigonium liturgical tradition, except the Spiš region.³⁹ How can we explain the occurrence of her veneration in Svätý Jur? Saint Jadwiga of Silesia (†1243, canonised 1267) is venerated as saint patron of orphans and of various towns and regions (e.g. Silesia, Poland, Berlin, Cracow, etc.). The benefice relating to her altar in Svätý Jur belonged to the benefices founded by the Counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. Therefore, the reason behind the consecration of an altar to St Jadwiga should be searched in family history. The only connection between this aristocratic house and regions with wide spread veneration of St Jadwiga is assured by the person of the princess Judith of Opava – the second wife of Count George III of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. The family of Judith's father (as secondary branch of the Přemyslid dynasty) ruled over the Principality of Opava, between Moravia and Silesia. It was a region where St Jadwiga was very popular. Therefore, we may suppose that – in the 1440's – princess Judith brought the veneration of this saint even to Svätý Jur.⁴⁰ There is also another reason why princess Judith might have shown special attachment to St Jadwiga: through her mother's family, Judith was a direct descendant of St Jadwiga.⁴¹

The last (eighth) medieval altar was quite probably the altar of St Anne. The earliest preserved mention of this altar dates back to 17th century, but it is qualified as "very old" (*praevetustum*).⁴²

An open question remains about the classification of an "old" stone altar, which is mentioned several times in the church in the course of the 18th century. According to descriptions, it was made of the same material and constructed in the same manner as the main altar of St George, but the illustrated scene was the Scourging at the Pillar.⁴³ For sure, it was not the same altar as the altar of the Passion of Christ, because in 1714 both these altars are reported at once. It could have been the ninth medieval altar present in the church.⁴⁴

³⁹ VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Sväťice v stredovekej hudobnej kultúre z prameňov z územia Slovenska [Female saints in medieval musical culture according to the sources coming from the territory of Slovakia]. In: URBANCOVÁ, Hana (ed.): *Žena v tradičnej hudobnej kultúre* [The woman in the traditional musical culture] (=Studia ethnomusicologica V). Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2019, p. 114.

⁴⁰ Documents report that Judith was the wife of Count George III in 1441 – 1443. GAHÉR, Svätý Jur, Ref. 6, genealogical table between p. 48 and 49.

⁴¹ The family relation is as follows (the arrow indicates the relation parent → child): St Jadwiga (†1243) → Henry II the Pious (†1241) → Boleslaus II. Rogatka († ca. 1278) → Boleslaus I the Brave (†1301) → Boleslaus II, Duke of Münsterberg (†1341) → Nicholas, Duke of Münsterberg (†1358) → Boleslaus III, Duke of Münsterberg (†1410) → Catherine of Münsterberg (†1422) → Judith of Opava. According to MAREK, Miroslav: *The Piast family*. Accessible on the internet: <http://genealogy.euweb.cz/piast/piast4.html> [cit. 2021-01-17].

⁴² Visitatio 1714, Ref. 16, p. 184 (here as altar of the Most Holy Trinity and St Anne); Visitatio 1731, Ref. 16, p. 3 (as altar of St Anne).

⁴³ In 1714 it was placed in the chapel (in th empora) and it was marked as *lapis altaris* ("altar stone", Visitatio 1714, Ref. 16, p. 184). In 1731 it stood near the stairs to the empora and it is described as *parvum altare ex gypso, cuius honoris aut memoriae erectum ob vetustatem ignoratur, videtur tamen praese (?) ferre speciem Christi in horto capti* (Visitatio 1731, ref. 16, p. 3). It is recorded for the last time in 1781 in a corner under the empora as *frustrum lapidis, in quo eodem labore, sicut in ara majori, excisa est flagellatio Domini, quantum discerni potest, praे vetustate jam vitiatum, quod num aliquando fuerit pars arae majoris, vel arula lateralis?* (Visitatio 1781, ref. 16, p. 10).

⁴⁴ In this regard, it is necessary to draw attention to the scene of the martyrdom of St Sebastian, located at the top of the oltár of St George [The altar of St George]. In terms of logic and iconographic programme, even I. Rusina considers this scene as anomalous. Moreover, the relief also features some partial stylistic differences and other types of ornaments. It seems that the scene was not originally planned for this altar (RUSINA, Oltár sv. Juraja, Ref. 32, p. 769). The oldest descriptions of the altar do not reckon this scene at all (Visitatio 1781, Ref. 16, p. 8) and the earliest explicit mention of it dates back to 1823 (Visitatio 1823, Ref. 16, p. 7); therefore, we might assume that it is just the above mentioned ninth altar, which was probably transferred to the top part



← Interior of the Church of St George – presbytery with main altar, beginning of 20th cent. (Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ, sign. P 2952)

Goldsmith works

Precious metal objects are described in details in all preserved inventories (of course, even because of their financial value). The oldest reference to these objects in the local church dates back to 1548, when source documents reported the theft of a silver tabernacle for storing the Eucharist, by adding that “a better and a larger part of the church jewels” are located under custody in Bratislava for security reasons.⁴⁵

The basic liturgical object that must be present in every church is the chalice. Due to the high number of priests acting in the parish, it is possible to assume even a larger number of chalices in the inventory of the church. The earliest reference to them dates back to 1613, when the church had three silver gold-plated chalices, incl. patens.⁴⁶ They might have been more recent products from Reformation times. The chalices are recorded also in more recent inventories, but always without specification of their age or artistic production; so it is practically impossible to identify their date of origin. This is not the case of the silver thurible with its boat. It is recorded in the inventory since 1613, but it is classified as “gothic” only in 1718. It was still present in the

of the main altar in an earlier stage. Back in the past, those who recorded the data were not really interested in iconography. Thus, they might have wrongfully exchanged the Scourging at the Pillar with the scene of the martyrdom of St Sebastian. Indeed, the relief shows Saint Sebastian attached to a trunk with two torturers around him (which is schematically similar to the scene of the Flagellation of Christ). Furthermore, detailed parts of the figure (hands, torture instruments) got detached in the course of time, which complicates even more the right identification of the scenes.

⁴⁵ *Similiter dicunt omnia ornamenta ecclesie extare, dempto tabernaculo uno argenteo duarum circiter marcarum, in quo venerabilis Eucharistia servabatur, quod fures sacrilegi efracta fenestra absente domino Seredy abstulerunt, meliorem vero et maiorem ornamentorum ecclesie partem pro tuciori conservacione Posonii habent.* MNL OL, archival fonds E 156 Urbaria et conscriptiones, fasc. 95, no. 12 (Inquisitio super dominum Seredy anno Domini 1548, pp. 4-5).

⁴⁶ *Es sind drey Khelch mit ihren Patenen silbern und übergüldet.* LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202.

church in the year 1869.⁴⁷ In 1731 and in 1781, another “gothic” product is mentioned: the silver gold-plated ciborium with its lid.⁴⁸ Another medieval product was a silver monstrance, reported as “broken” in 1613. At the beginning of the 17th century, the church was under Protestant administration. We know for sure, then, that the monstrance cannot be a new product at that time, since it has no place in the Protestant liturgy. In 1618 and 1634 inventories, the monstrance is not reported. That’s why later references are likely to be related to a new different product.⁴⁹

In 1613, the inventory part relating to metal object also states “the Lamb of God” (*Agnus Dei*).⁵⁰ We do not know the practical meaning of this object. It might have been a statue or a box (reliquary?). In 1618, the church owned a large pontifical ring.⁵¹

Relics and reliquaries

The relics are objects relating to the life of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and the Saints. They can be direct pieces of body (primary relics) or things connected to their lives (secondary relics). In Svatý Jur, we find references to relics already in the oldest church inventories from 1613 and 1618. Back then, the church of St George belonged to Protestants who have a critical standpoint with regard to veneration of relics. Consequently, it is certain that the relics were obtained in times before Reformation.

An element of connection with the life of Jesus Christ was the wooden cross (made of the same wood as Christ’s cross), recorded at the beginning of the 17th century, but later on unreported in the inventories.⁵² Part of the relic collection were also two heads. One head belonged to one of the Holy Innocents of Bethlehem⁵³ and – according to several references – the second head belonged to St Ursula or to one of her companions. This relic is recorded in all inventories from 1613 to 1912. It is also documented in a photographic image from the beginning of the 20th century.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ 1613: *Thuribulum argenteum* (LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202); 1618: *Turribulum argenteum fractum* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31); 1634: *Thuribulum cum navicella argenteum* (BEKE, Pázmány Péter, Ref. 6, p. 203); 1781: *Thuribulum cum navicula argenteum gothici laboris* (Visitatio 1781, Ref. 16, p. 12). References are reported also in: JEDLICSKA, Pál: A pozsonymegyei szentgyörgyi egyház leírása. In: *Magyar Sion*, vol. 7, 1869, p. 519. Today, this thurible is no longer present in the church.

⁴⁸ 1731: *Ciborium argenteum deauratum antiqui operis* (Visitatio 1731, Ref. 16, p. 3); 1781: *Ciborium argenteum inauratum cum cooperculo gothici laboris* (Visitatio 1781, Ref. 16, p. 12). A ciborium without specific description is mentioned already in 1618; it is probably the same object (*Argenteum cyborium pro sacroto unguento baptismatis*, MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31).

⁴⁹ *Eine silberne zerbrochene Monstranz*. LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202. In 1618, the inventory reports a broken thurible. It may be a mistake made by the clerk, who confused the thurible with the monstrance.

⁵⁰ LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202.

⁵¹ *Annulus pontificalis magnus, ex aere, sine lapide*. MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31.

⁵² In 1613: *Crux lignea confecta de ligno crucis Christi (crede si vis)* (LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202); In 1618: *Crux lignea cum fisculo reliquiarum, sine signatura* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31).

⁵³ In 1613: *Caput innocentis pueri (beethlehemita)* (LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202); In 1618: *Caput reliquiarum innocentis parvuli* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31).

⁵⁴ In 1613: *Caput sanctae Ursulae* (LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202); in 1618: *Caput reliquiarum beate Ursulae* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31). Apparently, in the 17th century, the relic remained for a while in the hands of a private holder. Indeed, in 1677, the parish administrator recorded the following text: *Reliquiae vero ex undecim millibus sodalium s. Ursulae seu caput illud inclusum cistulae deauratae oblatum est ab illusterrima domina Amadyana* (Štátny archív v Bratislave [State Archives in Bratislava], Zbierka cirkevných matrík [Collection of ecclesiastical registers], inv. no. 1087, p. 159). The latest known reference to this relic is from 1912:

A very precious reliquary was the one with the shape of a silver hand. A description from 1618 specifies that it was a right hand and it also included a ring. The value of the reliquary did not reside only in the precious metal, but notably in its contents. Indeed, it included the remains of the Apostle Peter (part of his skull and arm). In 1677, the then parish administrator utilised this reliquary as a source of silver for manufacturing a Pax with the weight of more than one kilogram. On that occasion, the parish administrator mentioned that nobody remembers who donated that hand to the church.⁵⁵

In 1618, two circular reliquary boxes were presumably empty, because the inventory does not report which relics are stored inside them.⁵⁶



Finally, the last reliquary (still preserved today as part of the medieval inventory of the church) is the big silver Pax with a red-white star at its base, i.e. the emblem of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok. Thanks to this detail, we can state that this art piece was produced before 1543 (the year of extinction of the house of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok). In 1613, it is officially reported as "silver Pax".⁵⁷ Surprisingly enough, it is not mentioned in other inventories from the 17th century; but then, it reappears in 1714.⁵⁸

← Interior of the Church of St George – pastophorion and container with the relics of St Ursula, beginning of 20th cent.
(Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ, sign. P 10622)

Reliquias praeter caput s. Ursulae non habet (Archives of the Roman Catholic Church, parish of Svatý Jur – Visitatio canonica in parochia Szentgyörgy peracta die 22 mensis maji anni 1912).

⁵⁵ In 1613: *Eine silberne Handt* (LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202); in 1618: *Techa reliquiaria argentea, instar manus dextere cum annulo, particulam reliquiarum capitisi et brachii divi Petri continens* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31); 1634: *Os aliquod sacrum brachio argenteo inaurato inclusum* (BEKE, Pázmány Péter, Ref. 6, p. 204); in 1677: *Pacificale habens duas libras argenti curatum est ex antiqua quadam manu in qua erant inclusae reliquiae s. Petri, nemine amplius recordante a quoniam manus haec fuisse oblatam templo Szent Georgensi* [Štátny archív v Bratislave [State Archives in Bratislava], Zbierka cirkevných matrík [Collection of ecclesiastical registers], inv. no. 1087, p. 159].

⁵⁶ *Una techia reliquiariarum orbicularis in crumena rubra holoserica; Techia reliquiariarum orbicularis, de viridi veluto* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31).

⁵⁷ 1613: *Eine silbern Pacem* (LEŠKA, K starožitnému čtení, Ref. 16, p. 202). The unusual term "Pax" presumably derives from Latin words *pax tecum* that the priest uttered when he brought the crucifix closer to people for them to kiss it. Compare: UNGER, Josef: *Uchovávaní ostatků světců* [The preservation of the remains of the Saints]. In: KOŽIAK, Rastislav – NEMEŠ, Jaroslav (eds.): *Svätec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti I* [The Saint and its function in the society]. Bratislava : Chronos, 2006, pp. 236–237.

⁵⁸ 1714: *Pacificalia argentea inaurata 2* (– it refers to the concerned medieval Pax and the Pax manufactured in 1677, Visitatio 1714, Ref. 16, p. 185); 1731: *Pacificalia argentea 2, majus cum insigni ecclesiae et minus sine* (Visitatio 1731, Ref. 16, p. 4); 1756: *Pacificalia argentea 2* (Visitatio 1756, Ref. 16, p.); 1781: *Pacificale majus argenteum trium librarum cum figura Crucifixi probabilibus a comitibus de Sz. György donatum, cum eorum insigne stellam rubro albam in pedo contineat* (Visitatio 1781, Ref. 16, p. 12). Similar data are reported also in other inventories.

Sacred vestments and liturgical textile products

Unlike goldsmith objects and relics, the earliest records of textile items used in the church date back to the 15th century. In 1487, Magdalene, widow of Jakob Heyperger, left in her testament an amount of 10 guilders for the chasuble (*mesgewantt*) for the altar of the Virgin Mary.⁵⁹ In 1524, Jan Schuester devised 6 guilders for the chasuble for the church.⁶⁰

An interesting legacy is that made by Afra, wife of Augustin Mischulber, bourgeois from Bratislava (!). In 1467, in her testament, Afra ordered to her husband to use her pearl-embellished belt in order to manufacture an amice, to be dedicated to the church of Svatý Jur.⁶¹ We also know a case in which a textile product travelled in the opposite direction. An inventory of the Bratislava fraternity of Corpus Christi (from about 1425) quotes a corporal and its case that were donated to the fraternity by a parson from Svatý Jur (whose name is unknown).⁶²

If carefully treated, the religious vestments and textile objects can also have a surprisingly long life span. In the nearby town of Pezinok, in the year 1618, the church owned four chasubles and one mantle with the embroidered emblem of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok. The dynasty of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok got extinct in 1543. Therefore, we deduce that the textile items were at least 80 years old – probably even older than that.⁶³ In 1618, the church of Svatý Jur had two available chasubles (one chasuble was red, made of silk, and with precious stones embedded in the collar; the second chasuble was made of yellow velvet, interwoven with purple silk). It is not possible to determine their age.⁶⁴ In 1781, the church owned three “ancient” chasubles. According to description, two of them resembled to the chasubles mentioned in 1618 and – therefore – they could have medieval origin.⁶⁵

Books

With regard to the high number of benefices (and – consequently – also to the high number of active clergymen), we assume the existence of a well-equipped library in the parish. It certainly included books for celebration of public Masses and the Liturgy of the Hours (missal, gradual, sequentiary, antiphonary) as well as private liturgy (breviary). Other books contained in the library could have been the Bible, manuscripts with collections of canon rights or theological texts. The library could have been gradually integrated with testament devises of local priests. In the 15th century, books were owned not only by ecclesiastical prelates, but also by members of lower clergy – parsons, preachers, and altarists. In many cases, they used to devise them to their

⁵⁹ ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1937.

⁶⁰ ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1943.

⁶¹ *Item aus meiner gurtel bestift mit perel soll mein man, Augustin, lassen machen ain umbrall, und raichen zw der kirchen zw Sand Jorgenn.* MAJOROSSY, Judit – SZENDE, Katalin (eds.): *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427) – 1529. Teil 1: 1410 – 1487.* Wien : Böhlau Verlag, 2010, p. 339, nr. 262.

⁶² JANKOVÍČOVÁ, Bratstvá Božieho tela, Ref. 8, p. 108.

⁶³ KOHÚTOVÁ, Uplatnenie patronátneho práva, Ref. 16, pp. 139-140.

⁶⁴ *Casula rubra holloserico, cum suo collari gemmis ornato et stola; Casula ex veluto flavo, violacei coloris serico intertexto, alba et stola sua* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31).

⁶⁵ In 1781, the church had three chasubles described as “ancient” (*antiquus*) – one was white, with a red central strip; the second one was blue or light blue (*caeruleus*) with embroidered golden flowers in the central stripe; and the third one was purple. (Visitatio 1781, Ref. 16, p. 13). Two of them (the white-red one and the purple one) could be the same as the chasubles mentioned in 1618.



← Interior of the Church of St George – main and lateral nave, beginning of 20th cent. (Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ, sign. P 10627)

church or to their altar, after their death.⁶⁶ There are only a few direct references to local librarian culture. A particular interesting piece of information comes from the year 1555, when the chapel of the castle contained six books: four missals, one gradual, and one psaltery.⁶⁷ We assume that at least some of them could be real medieval codices. If the chapel of the castle contained six books, then the parochial church library must have been relevantly larger. In 1561, the canonical visitation of the church mentions “de-

corously preserved books”, but does not provide any information about their amount.⁶⁸ Church inventory drawn up in 1618 mentions a manuscript of the Old Testament and a manuscript with statements by John of Prague (both of them can be considered as medieval codices); and we can also include a Strigonian missal and a choral psalter (although we don’t know if they were manuscripts or printed books).⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Examples of such practice are described by ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Stredoveká písomná kultúra na Spiši [Medieval written culture in Spiš]. In: HOMZA, Martin – SROKA Stanislav A. (eds.): *Historia Scepusii. Vol. I.* Bratislava; Kraków : Katedra slovenských dejín UK FiF Bratislava; Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Kraków, 2009, pp. 503–504.

⁶⁷ *Inventarii zu Sanndt Georgen Schloss... In der Cappeln. 4 Mesz puecher. 1 graduall puech. 1 Psalter puech.* IVÁNYI, Béla: *Könyvek, könyvtárak, könyvnyomdák Magyarországon 1331 – 1600.* Budapest: M. N. Múzeum Orsz. Széchényi Könyvtár, 1937, p. 36, no. 80. A record is also available in the online database of the Catalogue of historical libraries: <http://historickekniznice.uniza.sk:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/110> [cit. 2021-01-17].

⁶⁸ *In ecclesia ornamenta, calices et libri decenter servantur.* BUCKO, Vojtech: *Reformné hnutie v arcibiskupstve osstrihomskom do r. 1564 :* (Pramenný príspevok k slovenským cirkevným dejinám): ([Reformation movement in the archbishopric of Strigonium until 1564: (Original study about Slovak Church history)]). Bratislava : Unia, 1939, p. 133.

⁶⁹ *Missale Strigoniensis; Liber manuscriptus responsorius Joanni de Praga; Vetus testamentum manum scriptum; Psalterium corale Strigoniense* (MNL OL, E 150 Acta ecclesiastica, fasc. 52, no. 31).

Fragments of several medieval manuscripts were preserved in the bindings of official and accounting books regarding the activities carried out by the local administration body of Svätý Jur. They come from non-notated⁷⁰ and from notated manuscripts.⁷¹ After the introduction of press, medieval manuscripts started to be commonly sold as wastepaper. For such reason, it is not possible to determine the origin of secondarily exploited folios. Apart from sporadic exceptions, we do not presume the concerned material came from codices used in the local parish.⁷²

Additional church equipment

As for the additional equipment of the church, it is necessary to mention notably items that were used within the frame of the musical component of rituals. According to Pachswell, at the beginning of the 16th century, the church was equipped with an organ (at that time already considered as normal element of churches).⁷³ Bells were also used in various ways in the Middle Ages. They convoked believers to church, invited them to recite private prayers, and accompanied them during funerals. Moreover, they were also utilised in everyday life in the “worldly” sphere. Indeed, they served as communication means (e.g. in case of fire, military attacks, etc.).⁷⁴ The parish of Svätý Jur owned two bells produced in 1400 and 1460. The 1400 bell still exists today. The 1460 bell was destroyed during World War I.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ E.g. a folio from the Old Testament (ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 862) or folios from missals (ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 3981 and inv. no. 5637), and other fragments on books from the 17th century.

⁷¹ Specifically, we are referring to three fragments from antiphonaries and one fragment from a gradual or sequentiary. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi in Slovacia. I. (=Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Georgius)*. Bratislava : Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, pp. 97-99, no. 66-69.

⁷² The practice of dismantlement of medieval manuscripts can be illustrated by reporting the example of the antiphonary from Oradea (the so-called Zalka Codex). Until 2013, it was possible to identify its fragments in eleven places in the territories of three countries (Debrecen, Budapest, Esztergom, Győr, Güssing, Košice, Levoča, Poprad, Martin, Bratislava, and Modra). CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: Rukopis na hranici kultúr: Antifonár varadínskej kapituly z konca 15. storočia [The manuscripts across the border of cultures: the Antiphonary of Oradea Chapter from the end of the 15th century]. In: GERÁT, Ivan at al. (eds.): *Vedy o umeniach a dejiny kultúry. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie [Sciences about arts and history of culture. Omnibus edition from the international conference]*. Bratislava : Slovenská akadémia vied, 2013, p. 134.

⁷³ The first reference to an organ in Slovakia dates back to 1367 in Leles. Then, further organs are mentioned in 1429 in Prešov, 1434 in Bardejov, 1441 in Kremnica, 1466 in Zvolen, and 1475 in Košice. Around 1490, Bratislava was a relevant place of manufacture of organs. RYBARIČ, Richard: *Dejiny hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku I.: Stredovek, renesancia, barok [History of musical culture in Slovakia I: Middle Ages, Renaissance, Baroque]*. Bratislava : Opus, 1984, p. 41.

⁷⁴ For further information about the use of bells for religious rituals and for other purposes, please see for example: BOROVSKÝ, Tomáš: *Zvony a lidé stredovekého města: Komunikační funkce zvonů v městské společnosti* [The bells and people from medieval towns: the communication functions of bells in urban society]. In: ČAPSKÝ, Martin et al.: *Komunikace ve středověkých městech* [Communication in medieval towns]. Opava : European Social Fund a Slezská univerzita v Opavě, 2014, pp. 39-52.

⁷⁵ For more information about the older bell, please see: LUZ, Rastislav: *Svätojurský zvon z roku 1400* [The bell of Svätý Jur from 1400]. In: *Historika: malokarpatský historický občasník* [Historika: Little Carpathian historical periodical publication], vol. 5, 2016, no. 2, pp. 10-12. For more information about the more recent bell, please see: LUZ, Rastislav: *Stratené epigrafické pamiatky Kostola sv. Juraja vo Svätom Jure* [Lost epigraphic monuments of St. George's Church in Svätý Jur]. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá* [Monuments and museums], vol. 67, 2018, no. 1, pp. 44-45.

Liturgy of sacraments and other acts of Divine Service

The whole liturgical life of the Church revolves around the Eucharistic sacrifice and the seven sacraments (Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Anointing of the Sick, Holy Orders, and Matrimony). Apart from that, there are also other acts of Divine Worship – the Sacramentals (notably, various blessings), the Liturgy of the Hours, funerals, veneration of Saints, and relics. Devotion of believers and popular piety are manifested also through other various forms – e.g. visits of shrines, pilgrimages, processions, Stations of the Cross, etc.

Holy Masses

With regard to celebration of most of the sacraments (Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Anointing of the Sick, and Matrimony), we do not have any available information for the local context. We can just assume that they followed the general applicable rite in the archdiocese of Strigonium. The sacrament of priesthood was probably never celebrated in this parish. On the other hand, we have got detailed information about the Eucharist – i.e. celebration of Holy Masses – the core of the liturgical life. Based on assumption that at the end of Middle Ages there were eleven priests acting in the parish at the same time and that each one of them had the duty of celebrating at least one Holy Mass per day, then the daily number of Holy Masses could be as high as eleven or even higher – if we take into account also occasional funeral or anniversary Masses. Unfortunately, the sources do not always show detailed data about all of the above mentioned Holy Masses.

According to Pachswell, the main Holy Mass was the solemn Mass (*missa summa*), celebrated by the parson on a daily basis. The solemn Mass was accompanied by the chant of the local pupils under the guidance of the teacher – in line with the relatively wide spread practices in that epoch. In Bratislava, the pupil choir is mentioned in 1302. Other mentions of such choirs are present in almost all locations in our territory (Bardejov 1459, Kremnica in the same period, etc.).⁷⁶ The chant was probably not performed by all pupils at once, but only by part of them on a turn-over basis. According to an agreement on the duties of the parson in Bardejov (1437), due to negligence in studies, the Holy Mass chant had to be performed only by the chaplain, the teacher, and four or five older students of the municipal school. In Košice, we find references to the following duties of the master of the choir, chaplain, and pupils: to sing *Te Deum laudamus* before the main Holy Mass; to sing during the Eucharistic elevation; and finally also daily chant by ten pupils during the Holy Mass in the chapel of St Michael.⁷⁷

Pachswell also reports another duty of the parson of Svatý Jur: every Monday he had to celebrate a chanted requiem Holy Mass. This Holy Mass included the so-called mortilogium – preliminary reading of a list of dead people, exercised by the preacher.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ RYBARIČ, *Dejiny hudobnej kultúry*, Ref. 73, pp. 46–47. 73–74.

⁷⁷ FEDORČÁKOVÁ, Mária: Medzi radnícou a kostolom: mestská škola v Bardejove v stredoveku [Between the City Hall and the Church: the municipal school in Bardejov in the Middle Ages]. In: *Mesto a dejiny [The city and history]*, vol. 6, 2017, no. 2, p. 55, p. 57.

⁷⁸ These “registers of dead people” are mentioned already in 1409 in the city of Brno. Here, on the occasion of an anniversary, the preserved source reports the duty of two preachers of writing down the name of the donors and uttering them during the exhortations. BOROVSKÝ, Tomáš: Kaplani, oltářníci a jejich beneficia v Kostele sv. Jakuba v Brně (Od nejstarších zmínek do roku 1521) [Chaplains, altarists, and their benefices in the Church of St James in Brno (From the oldest references until the year 1521)]. In: *Brno v minulosti a dnes. Sborník příspěvků*

In the course of the year, the parson also had revenues from some anniversaries (requiem). He was supposed to arrange hosting services for the holders of benefices and to give them the prescribed financial remuneration – and then each one of them celebrated a Low Holy Mass for the souls.

In mid 16th century, a chaplain named Gerhard had the task of singing the Matin Mass. The source does not report the type of local benefice owned by Gerhard.⁷⁹

Since the inauguration of the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity (1465), the celebrations of Holy Masses in the chapel were regulated by a document drawn up by the Count George III of Svatý Jur and Pezinok. The basic task of the chapel rector was to “celebrate or assure celebration” of five Holy Masses a week.⁸⁰ Compared to other foundations of the Counts, this provision is surprisingly vague. Only seven years later, in 1472, the Count Ladislaus II instituted a foundation in the Bratislava Franciscan monastery and he specified in which days the Holy Masses must be chanted and in which days the Holy Masses must be celebrated as Low Mass; furthermore, he also prescribed rules for usage of concrete Holy Mass formularies.⁸¹ Finally, in his 1514 testament, the Count Peter V defined more specific liturgical tasks of the chapel rector. The chapel rector had to have three more priests helping him, good singers (!), and three ministrants; altogether they had to celebrate Mass every day according to the prescribed time schedule. Monday Holy Masses had to be celebrated as requiem Masses for the souls of the founders buried in the chapel. On Tuesdays, they had the task of celebrating altogether two low votive Masses in honour of the Most Holy Trinity. If any feast was due to be celebrated on Tuesdays, then the Mass in honour of the Most Holy Trinity was to be shifted to another day of the week as sung Mass.⁸²

k dějinám a výstavbě Brna XV [Brno in the past and today. Omnibus edition of lectures about history and architecture of Brno XV]. Brno : Archiv města Brna, 2000, pp. 277–278.

⁷⁹ MNL OL, archival fonds E 156 Urbaria et conscriptions, fasc. 99, no. 56 (Regestum connumerationis domorum oppidi Sancti Georgii ad solvendum censum de singulis domibus 1559, p. 2).

⁸⁰ *Statuimus nichilominus eidem rectori, ut ipse singulis ebdomadis in dicta capella nostra quinque missas celebrat, aut faciat celebrari.* Slovenský národný archív [Slovak National Archives], archival fonds Hodnoverné miesto Bratislavská kapitula [Place of authentication – Bratislava Chapter], capsula 63, fasc. 7S, no. 1.

⁸¹ According to Ladislaus' will, the religious men had the task of celebrating seven Holy Masses a week (once a day) for the souls of the closest persons – the Counts Ladislaus and Simon, Ladislaus' sons and descendants (i.e. grand-children and further generations), all his ancestors, heirs, brothers and consanguineous relatives – either those still living and those who had already died. Three of the above mentioned prescribed Holy Masses had to be celebrated as sung Masses (Sunday to Tuesday) and four as Low Masses (Wednesday to Saturday). Ladislaus also specified that the Franciscans had to use concrete Holy Mass formularies (Sunday: the Most Holy Trinity; Tuesday: the Assumption of the Virgin Mary; on the remaining days: for the dead). The founder also established an exception from the duty of Holy Mass celebration. This derogation concerned the days that coincided with some important feasts (incl. their octaves) or other feasts relating to the specific religious order. With regard to this foundation, please see: LUZ, Rastislav: Fundácie grófov zo Svatého Jura a Pezinka v bratislavskom františkánskom konvente [The foundations of the Counts of Svatý Jur and Pezinok in the Bratislava Franciscan convent]. In: *Studio Capuccinorum Boziniensis*, vol. 4, 2017, no. 3, pp. 72–85 (there you shall find also the published version of the Ladislaus' document and its translation into Slovak).

⁸² *Also das ein ieder Rector und Verweser der solben Cappelln halten sol zu Im drey Briester foder guet singer mit dreyn Knaben. Aus welicher Briesteren altag ain Ambt wie es die Zeit erfodert, ausgenomen am Montag ain Seel Ambt fur stifter die da begraben ligen und fur al gelaub hastig sol, und am Erichtag zu ewigen Zeitten von der heiligen Drinaltigkeit mit taglicher vesper nach der Zeit in der Mensur singen und zwo mess lesen, zu trost und hilff den selen als oben verzaichent ist. Wo sich aber begab das ain gross hochzeitlich fest auf den Erichtag khain, das das Ambt von der heiligen Drinaltigkeit mit stat haben mocht, sollen sy es sunst auff ain tag in der Wochen singen.* MNL OL, archival fonds E 148 Neo-regestrata acta, fasc. 23, no. 27 (DL 22623).

At the end of the 18th century, the local parson – Michal Štiavnický – recorded a tradition according to which the Holy Masses were celebrated also in the underground chapel under the presbytery. The chapel was supposed to include an altar with an alabaster statue of crucified Jesus. Every Friday, one of the priests celebrated a Holy Mass on this altar and the Territorial Lords personally attended it.⁸³ The above described reference is relatively recent and Pachswell does not record this specific Mass (neither do any other historical sources). Therefore, we suppose that it was just one of the already quoted Holy Masses, with some modified details due to transfer of information amongst people in the course of time.

A standalone category was represented by requiem Holy Masses. Their type and their number depended notably on the social position and financial conditions of the concrete dead person. We can find information about them in the testaments (although – in the specific case of Svätý Jur – only a minimum amount of testament got preserved until today). In 1473, Anne (wife of Andrew Ratt) gave an amount of 150 guilders for a Missa Aeterna (*zu ayner ewigen mess*).⁸⁴ In 1511, Peter Rumberger donated a sum of 10 guilders to the parochial church in exchange for a requiem Mass to be celebrated for his sake every year.⁸⁵ The most detailed provisions about requiem Holy Masses are reported in the testament of John Schuester from 1524. Schuester devised 5 guilders to the Corpus Christi fraternity. In exchange, the brothers had to ensure celebration a yearly sung Holy Mass for the soul of the donor. Schuester also devised the same amount of money for the same purpose to the fraternity of the Virgin Mary.⁸⁶ The Bratislava testaments help us better understand the real number of Holy Masses that could be celebrated in exchange for those sums. At the end of the 15th century, the local inhabitants used to devise one guilder for celebration of 30 requiem Holy Masses.⁸⁷ The amount of 150 guilders (reported in the testament of Anne Ratt) was then supposed to be enough for celebration of 4,500 Holy Masses.

The Liturgy of the Hours (the Divine Office)

The second component of Divine Worship is the Liturgy of the Hours – the Divine Office. It is a daily prayer of the Catholic Church, to be recited by priests, religious persons, and some lay persons. It is composed prevalently by Psalms and biblical readings. In the analysed historical period, the Liturgy of the Hours was made up of eight parts – Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None.

⁸³ PAVELEK, Juraj: *Kronika svätojurskej rímskokatolíckej farnosti. Vybrané časti z latinských originálov preložil PhDr. Juraj Pavalek [Chronicles of the Roman Catholic parish of Svätý Jur. Selected parts from Latin originals were translated by PhDr. Juraj Pavalek].* Svätý Jur, 1942 – 1992, p. 4 (the manuscript is private property of the author's descendants). The existence of an altar in this underground chapel is recorded also in some descriptions of the church from the 18th century. Nevertheless, its consecration and its artistic design is nowhere mentioned. Probably, it was just the sole "mensa" of the altar. That's why we did not include it in the overview of altars of the parochial church.

⁸⁴ ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1936.

⁸⁵ ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1941.

⁸⁶ ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1943.

⁸⁷ MAJOROSSY, Judit – SZENDE, Katalin (eds.): *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum 1410 (1427) – 1529. Teil 2: 1487 – 1529.* Wien : Böhlau Verlag, 2014, p. 19, no. 451 (year 1487), p. 72, no. 497 (year 1493), p. 99, no. 517 (year 1494) and many others.

Pachswell's report includes information also about the liturgy of the Divine Office. At the beginning of the 16th century, the teacher was expected to sing the Vespers in church (together with his pupils) on a daily basis. The benefice relating to the altar of the Virgin Mary was subjected to the compulsory chanted recitation of the whole Office every Saturday. The holder of the benefice of Corpus Christi had the task of praying the Office *in adventu de salve* every Saturday. The already mentioned 1514 testament of Count Peter also reports the duty of singing Vespers every Tuesday, with specific requirement of polyphonic chant (*in der Mensur*). Apart from benefice holders, the chant had to be performed also by the administrator of the chapel, three priests, and three ministrants.⁸⁸

Funerals

As for the course of funeral rites, we have got only a small number of references. Apart from requiem Holy Masses, Pachswell mentions notably the priest's task of organising a march or procession around the church (*circitum ecclesiae*) – every Sunday, at time of Vespers – with antiphons, responsories, and collects for the dead. We already mentioned the reading of the mortilogium during one of the regular Holy Masses.

The funerals were likely to be held according to the generally applicable rite. Jan Pachswell's testament (about 1529) reports a request of "funeral rite according to customs" with a remuneration of 3 guilders and specifically 1 additional guilder for the reading of the Psaltery.⁸⁹ It is quite likely to be a case of Psalm reading directly before the tomb. One of the persons who could perform this act was – for instance – the teacher.⁹⁰

Even during the funerals, the musical accompaniment was assured by the pupils of the local school. Reference of it is reported in the testament of George Schmid's wife (1591) who devised money to each single priest who accompanied her to the grave as well as to the teacher and to the pupils. It would be difficult to find a different explanation for their participation in the funeral.⁹¹

If the dead person was a member of some of the religious fraternities, his/her confreres participated in the funeral by making a procession.⁹²

Processions

Apart from the already mentioned Sunday procession for the dead and the procession performed during the funerals, the medieval traditions of the small town of Svatý Jur also included several other processions. The most solemn of them was certainly the Eucharistic procession on the

⁸⁸ See Ref. 82.

⁸⁹ *Item mer shaff ich das man zu Sannd Georgen mir auch ein begennckhnus nach gewonheit halten soll, darczu orden ich III fl. Item merr schaff ich umb ein psalter zulesen I. fl.* MAJOROSSY – SZENDE, *Das Preßburger Protocollum Testamentorum*, Ref. 87, p. 552, nr. 844. Coincidentally, John Pachswell was the father of the priest Christopher Pachswell.

⁹⁰ Compare: FEDORČÁKOVÁ, Medzi radnicou a kostolom, Ref. 77, p. 52.

⁹¹ *Zum Ailfftten schaffe ich einem yedes Pharher so mich helffen zu grab beleiten 1 Rhl., dem Schuelmaister 6 sol, und einem yeden schueler ein d(en). aufzuthailen.* ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 1968. Funeral rites are quite conservative. For this reason, even in a relatively recent reference (1591), we can assume the reflection of old-time customs.

⁹² We can read it in the testament of Elisabeth Parbing (1626), where she devises to her fraternity 10 buckets of wine and asks the master of the association to organise a funeral with a procession. TURCSÁNY, *Najstaršia kniha testamentov*, Ref. 8, p. 33.

day of the feast of the Corpus Domini (on Thursday after the 8th Sunday after Easter). We don't have any direct written reference to it. Nevertheless, due to the presence of the Corpus Domini fraternity in town, we can assume that this procession was likely to be held on a regular basis.

Another very important event was – of course – the Easter procession, when local children brought a cross or an “entire column of the crucifixion”. The tradition relating to this procession was so deeply rooted in the minds of local believers that – according to preserved references – it kept being organised even at the end of the 16th century, when Reformation was already largely spread in town.⁹³ None of the preserved records specifies the exact day of the Holy Week in which the procession was held. We suppose they used to hold it on Good Fridays, since the rites of this day also include the element of the adoration of the Cross.⁹⁴

The last known procession was from the centre of the town to the chapel located outside the built-up area. This procession was always held on the feast of St Emeric (5 November) and during the Rogation periods. The local inhabitants abandoned this tradition before the half of the 16th century.⁹⁵

The place of music in liturgy

In the parish of Svätý Jur, we observe three of the five degrees of Holy Mass according to the liturgical form – solemn Mass (*missa solemnis*), sung Mass (*missa cantata*) and low Mass (*missa lecta*).⁹⁶ Celebration of solemn Masses was an everyday duty of the parson. During this kind of Holy Mass, there were not only songs according to liturgical texts, but also chants by the pupils of local schools. The other holders of benefices celebrated sung or low Masses, quite probably without the accompaniment of the singing pupils. Holy Masses could also be enriched by organ playing. In Svätý Jur, we record the presence of an organ at least from the beginning of the 16th century.

A higher portion of chant is recorded during the Liturgy of the Hours. The pupils sang Vespers in church on a daily basis. Two of the benefice holders had the task of singing the whole Office. In 1514, they also added the chant of the Tuesday Vespers in the Chapel of the Most Holy

⁹³ References to expenses for procession: 1583 *Item ich hab dem Jungen gesind so dem Götzen auff Ostern spaciren getragen 2 sol. 4 den.*; 1584 *Item dem Jungen gesindel als sie auf Ostern die Marter umb tragen geben 1 sol. 5 den.*; 1585: *Item dem gesindel von der Marter zu tragen geben 2 sol.*; 1586: *Item dem Jungen gesind so das Creuz umb getragen haben geben 2 sol.* ŠABA-AM, MMSJ, inv. no. 5637 – Account of the sacristan 1579 – 1590 (unpaged, recorded in the expenses of the sacristan for the concerned years).

⁹⁴ In medieval Prague, we have preserved references about a procession held on Palm Sunday, when boys carried veiled crosses and at the end of the cortege there were people carrying a barrow with the image of the Saviour. This description reminds the procession held in Svätý Jur, with the sole difference that children in Svätý Jur carried an object described as *Marter* (column of the crucifixion), whose use on Palm Sunday would anticipate the events of the Holy Week. That's why we believe that the procession in Svätý Jur was likely to be held on Good Friday. With regard to Prague procession, please see: HLEDÍKOVÁ, Zdeňka: Slavnosti církevního roku – v kostele i na ulici [Celebrations of the liturgical year – in church and in the streets]. In: PEŠEK, Jiří (ed.): *Documenta pragensia XII*. Praha : Archiv hlavního města Prahy, 1995, pp. 50-51.

⁹⁵ *Extra oppidum Sancti Georgi est una ecclesia deserta, quam in festo divi Emerici ducis et tempore rogacionum processionatim adire et visitare cives erant soliti, quod nunc facere negligunt.* MNL OL, archive fonds E 156 Urbaria et conscriptiones, fasc. 95, no. 12 (Inquisitio super dominum Seredy Anno Domini 1548, p. 3). Here, the expression *tempore rogacionum* – apart from “Rogation Days” (e.g. during epidemics etc.) – can also indicate the Days of the Cross (Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after the 5th Sunday after Easter).

⁹⁶ The other two types of Holy Masses are the Papal Mass (*missa papalis*) and the Pontifical High Mass (*missa pontificalis*).

Trinity. In this case, the priests had to sing polyphonically (*in der Mensur*), which was considered as a very modern element for that epoch. Indeed, in the territory of Slovakia, early polyphonic singing started only after the year 1500.⁹⁷

Quality of singing was very important. Parishes (or parish schools) used to have not only teachers but also the so-called figure of “under-singer” (*succendor*), i.e. the person responsible for music teaching. Even in the testament of the Count Peter we read that the priests acting in the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity had to be “good singers”.

Summary

The whole liturgical life of the Church revolves around the Eucharistic sacrifice and the seven sacraments (Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Anointing of the Sick, Holy Orders, and Matrimony). Apart from that, there are also other acts of Divine Worship – the Sacramentals (notably, various blessings), the Liturgy of the Hours, funerals, veneration of Saints, and relics. Devotion of believers and popular piety are manifested also through other various forms – e.g. visits of shrines, pilgrimages, processions, Stations of the Cross, etc. In the case of the small town of Svätý Jur, we have information notably about celebration of Holy Masses in the Middle Ages, as well as Liturgy of the Hours, funerals, and processions. Quite relevant data are those concerning the role of music in these rituals.

Holy Masses: At the end of the Middle Ages, there were eleven priests acting in the parish at the same time. For this reason, there could be every day eleven Holy Masses or even more. The main Mass was celebrated by the parson on a daily basis. On Monday, the parson also celebrated the sung Mass for the dead. This type of Mass included the so-called mortilogium – preliminary reading of a list of dead people, exercised by the preacher. With regard to celebration of Holy Masses, the benefice holders had various obligations. Each one of them celebrated requiem Holy Masses. They were also obliged to chant Holy Mass at the Matins or celebrate several times weekly Masses for the family of the local Territorial Lords.

Liturgy of the Hours: Vespers were sung by the teacher and his pupils in church on a daily basis. Even some benefice holders had the task of singing the whole Office. In 1514, they introduced the duty of singing Vespers every Tuesday polyphonically.

Funerals: They were likely to be held according to the generally applicable rite. Some bourgeois people could specifically request a reading from the Psaltery, musical accompaniment by the pupils of the local school or funeral march organised by a religious fraternity.

Processions: In Svätý Jur they held Sunday procession for the dead, directly in the interior of the parochial church. Sometimes, the procession was also part of the funeral rites. The procession held on the feast of the Corpus Domini had a very important character. During Easter procession, children used to bear the cross or an “column of the crucifixion”. The procession from town to the chapel out of the built-up area was held on the feast of St Emeric, during the Rogation periods.

⁹⁷ Polyphonic pieces were probably present in Slovakia also in the 14th century, but the first clear mention of polyphony dates back to the year 1500, in the city of Banská Štiavnica. RYBARIČ, *Dejiny hudobnej kultúry*, Ref. 73, p. 35, p. 75.

Music in liturgy: The solemn Holy Mass (celebrated by the parson) was daily accompanied by the chant of the pupils of the local school. The holders of benefices celebrated sung or low Masses, quite probably without the accompaniment of the singing pupils. Holy Masses could also be enriched by organ playing. In Svatý Jur, we record the presence of an organ at least from the beginning of the 16th century. A higher portion of chant is recorded during the Liturgy of the Hours. In 1514, polyphonic singing also appeared. Quality of music was very important. Parishes (or parish schools) used to have not only teachers but also the so-called figure of "under-singer" who was responsible for chant teaching. The priests acting in the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity had to be "good singers".

Reformation and Transformation: Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts in Early Modern Transylvania

Abstract

The cataloguer of medieval manuscripts in any Western European collection inevitably stumbles upon a great number of portable Bibles, breviaries, and books of hours. All these demonstrate the mobility of books, monks, friars, and laymen, and suggest the vivacity of private devotion associated with increased literacy among the laymen in the later Middle Ages. While studying and cataloguing the manuscript collections of Transylvania, and manuscripts of Transylvanian origin in foreign libraries, I was struck by the scarcity or absence of such books. This paper examines the shape and size of monastic, conventional, and parish collections, and the typology of books used for liturgy and private devotion in the area, in an attempt to explain this peculiar situation.

Keywords: Transylvania, Middle Ages, Reformation, manuscripts, liturgy, libraries

The relationship between the Reformation and the book is ambivalent. While it is associated with an unprecedented increase in printing activity, the Reformation is also accused of destroying innumerable medieval manuscripts. Owen Chadwick expresses common opinion when he writes that

The Reformation closed monasteries and put no value on many of their medieval manuscripts, and sometimes used manuscripts to bind modern books and sold the monastic library in the market cheap, and during civil wars like the Peasants' War in Germany monasteries were burnt and their books went up in flames.¹

In England, the dissolution of monasteries under Henry VIII, and the renewed attacks against Catholicism under Edward VI and Elizabeth I resulted in appalling book losses. According to recent quantitative analyses, the rate of book destruction in sixteenth-century England was twice as high as in the twelfth century.²

In an influential book, Eamon Duffy depicts a gloomy landscape:

... the Mass was abolished and the Mass-books and breviaries surrendered in 1549 and 1550; [...] the Council demanded that the old liturgical books should be 'defaced and abolished' lest their continued existence prove 'a lett to that godly and uniform order, which by a common constent is now set forthe'. [...] Some of this, especially in the capital, was true iconoclasm, expressing deeply held Protestant conviction, destruction as itself a religious act.³

A similar situation, where "post-medieval losses were higher than those during the Middle Ages"⁴ can be encountered in France. The abbey of Fleury, one of the most important Carolingian centres of learning, was sacked by the Protestants in 1562, and pillaged by the humanists, who

¹ CHADWICK, Owen: *The Early Reformation on the Continent*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 4.

² BURINGH, Eltjo: *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West. Explorations with a Global Database*. Leiden/Boston : Brill, 2011, p. 194, based on KER, Neil Ripley: *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*. London : Royal Historical Society, 1964.

³ DUFFY, Eamon: *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*. New Haven/London : Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 478-80.

⁴ BURINGH, Medieval Manuscript, Ref. 2, p. 198.

“borrowed” freely from its holdings.⁵ Venerable manuscripts from Fleury were pitilessly dismembered and scattered, so that many can now be found, as *membra disiecta* or still in one piece, in such places as Bern, Paris, Orléans or, via the library of Queen Christina of Sweden, in the Vatican.⁶

In the former Catholic dioceses of Cenad, Oradea, and Transylvania, book losses were considerably higher than in the European West.⁷ Sometimes, entire libraries had been destroyed before the Reformation: such is the case of the Cistercian abbey of Igriş, in the diocese of Cenad, founded in 1179 by monks coming from Pontigny. None of the books they had brought from Burgundy survived the Tatar invasion of 1241⁸: we know about them because they had been recorded in the catalogue of Pontigny, the *Annotatio librorum Pontiniacensium*—Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H.12, fols 176–182⁹. Other medieval conflicts were equally responsible for book losses; for instance, in 1277, and again in 1307, Saxon colonists sacked the diocesan see of Alba Iulia, “burning and taking away all the ornaments, books etc.”¹⁰

Protestantism, which coincided with the printing revolution, ushered in a new age of hardship for medieval manuscripts and Catholic libraries. Lutheranism reached Transylvania in the 1520s, and became relevant in the 1540s. Johannes Honterus was elected minister of the wealthy city of Braşov in April 1543, a few months after the last Catholic mass was celebrated in the Church of Our Lady, in October 1542.¹¹ In 1545, Lutheranism was adopted as the official faith by the Saxon nation in Transylvania. Calvinism reached the Northern part of the principality after the election of Demeter Tordai as bishop of Debrecen in the synod of Ardud (Co. Satu Mare) in 1555, and the Catholic orders were suppressed in 1556.¹² In Cluj, Franz Davidis/Dávid Ferenc, who had previously been a Lutheran and a Calvinist minister, converted to Unitarianism in the 1560s. Alongside Kaspar Helth/Heltai Gáspár¹³, who operated a printing press, Dávid turned Cluj into the most important centre of “radical Reformation” in Transylvania.¹⁴ In January 1568, the Diet

⁵ MOSTERT, Marco: *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts*. Hilversum : Verloren, 1989, p. 30.

⁶ PELLEGRIN, Élisabeth: *Membra disiecta Floriacensia*. In: *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 117, 1959, pp. 5–56.

⁷ PAPAHAGI, Adrian: Lost Libraries and Surviving Manuscripts: The Case of Medieval Transylvania. In: *Library & Information History* 31, 2015, pp. 35–53.

⁸ HERVAY, Ferenc L.: *Repertorium historicum Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (=Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 7). Rome : Editiones Cistercienses, 1984, pp. 90–97. TURCUŞ, Şerban – VERONICA TURCUŞ: *At the Edges of Christendom. The White Monks' Arts and Institutions in Transylvania (The Twelfth–Fifteenth Centuries)*. tr. Carmen V. BORBÉLY. Cluj : Academia Română–Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2012, pp. 141–153.

⁹ CONSTANTINESCU, Radu – EUGEN LAZEA: O bibliotecă monastică din Transilvania pe la 1200. *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 22, 1969, pp. 1145–1163. PEYRAFORT-HUIN, Monique: La Bibliothèque médiévale de l’abbaye de Pontigny (XII^e–XIX^e siècles). In: *Histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits, avec la collaboration de P. Stirnemann*, J.-L. Benoit. Paris : CNRS, 2001.

¹⁰ ZIMMERMANN, Franz – CARL WERNER (eds.): *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen in Siebenbürgen. I: 1191 bis 1342*. Sibiu : Franz Michaelis, 1892, 254.

¹¹ NUSSBÄCHER, Gernot: *Johannes Honterus*. Bucharest : Kriterion, 1977.

¹² For further reference on the progress of the Reformation in Transylvania, the Anglophone reader is referred to DANIEL, David P.: Hungary. In: Andrew PETTEGREE (ed.) *The Early Reformation in Europe*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 49–69. MACCULLOCH, Diarmaid: *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490–1700*. London : Penguin, 2004. KEUL, István: *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe. Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526–1691)*. Leiden : Brill, 2009.

¹³ cf. SZÉLL, Anita Andreea: *Deutsch-ungarische Sprachbeziehungen: Kaspar Helth, Autor und Verleger*. Cluj : Frank & Timme, 2016.

¹⁴ WILBUR, Earl Morse: *A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England and America*. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1952. WIEN, Ulrich A. – JULIANE BRANDT – ANDRÁS F. BALOGH (eds.) *Radikale Reformation: die Unitarier in Siebenbürgen*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna : Böhlau, 2013.

of Turda recognised Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism as *religiones receptae* (however, Eastern Orthodoxy, upheld by the Romanians, the most numerous ethnic group, was not officially recognised).¹⁵

So far as medieval Catholic books are concerned, they were occasionally the object of confessional hatred. For example, in his testament drafted in 1603, one of the Báthori magnates ordered that, on his estates, “Catholic missals should be destroyed and other large books should be given to schools for pupils to bind their books with them”.¹⁶

One may thus be tempted to believe that medieval Catholic books were destroyed *en masse* during the Reformation. The eminent historian of the book in Transylvania, Zsigmond Jakó, believes that *religious manuscripts, especially those in Catholic church libraries, were scattered or destroyed during the Reformation either because they were contrary to Protestant teaching or because they were harder to read than printed books.*¹⁷

Jakó’s statement needs to be qualified, though. In the following pages, I am going to examine several cases in order to ascertain to what extent the Reformation can be blamed for the deliberate destruction of medieval books and libraries, and of liturgical manuscripts in particular. I am going to look at three major cities — Brașov, Sibiu, and Cluj —, and at the small parish of Jelna (Co. Bistrița-Năsăud). The evidence encompasses surviving liturgical manuscripts, manuscript fragments, book lists and inventories, and accounts about book destruction.

Brașov was relatively rich in books in the later Middle Ages. We have knowledge about books belonging to the Church of Our Lady, which had been operating a school since 1388, and to the Dominican convent of Sts Peter and Paul, established in the first half of the fifteenth century. Johannes Honterus, who had received training as a printer in Basel, became the Lutheran pastor of Brașov in April 1543. His important decisions included setting up a printing house, reorganising public education in the city, and establishing a library.¹⁸ Thus, in 1547, he took over the books of the former Catholic institutions, and integrated them into the new library. Their memory survived for a long time, since the rector of the *Gymnasium*, Petrus Mederus, could still refer to them as *alia bibliotheca sumtuosissima*, in a speech from 1628.¹⁹

Fortunately, the Archive of the Lutheran community, the *Honterus-Gemeinde*, still possesses a catalogue of the library drafted in 1575 (MS IV F 89). This document lists around seventy manuscripts (*libri scripti*), but also parchment incunabula (*missalia impressa in pergameno*), and other possibly medieval books. Altogether, about one hundred and seventy books belonging to the pre-Reformation library were still available in 1575.²⁰ This clearly indicates that medieval books were not destroyed, but rather cherished and protected by the young Lutheran community

¹⁵ BARTA, Gábor: Bedingungsfaktoren zur Entstehung religiöser Toleranz im Siebenbürgen des 16. Jahrhunderts. In: Georg WEBER – Renate WEBER (eds.) *Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa*. Cologne/Vienna : Böhlau, 1985, pp. 227–241. ZACH, Krista: Konfessionelle Pluralität. In: Joachim BAHLCKE – Konrad GÜNDISCH (eds.) *Stände und Nation: ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur südosteuropäischen Religions- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte*. Münster etc.: LIT, 2004.

¹⁶ RADÓ, Polikárp: Sopron Város kéziratos misékonyve: a Golso-Kódex. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* 64, 1940, p. 226.

¹⁷ JAKÓ, Sigismund – Radu MANOLESCU: *Scrierea latină în evul mediu*. Bucharest : Ed. Științifică, 1971, p. 96.

¹⁸ NUSSBÄCHER, Johannes Honterus, Ref. 11, pp. 99–101.

¹⁹ GROSS, Julius, Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek. In: *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 21, 1887, p. 593.

²⁰ PAPAHAGI, Lost Libraries, Ref. 7, pp. 40–41.

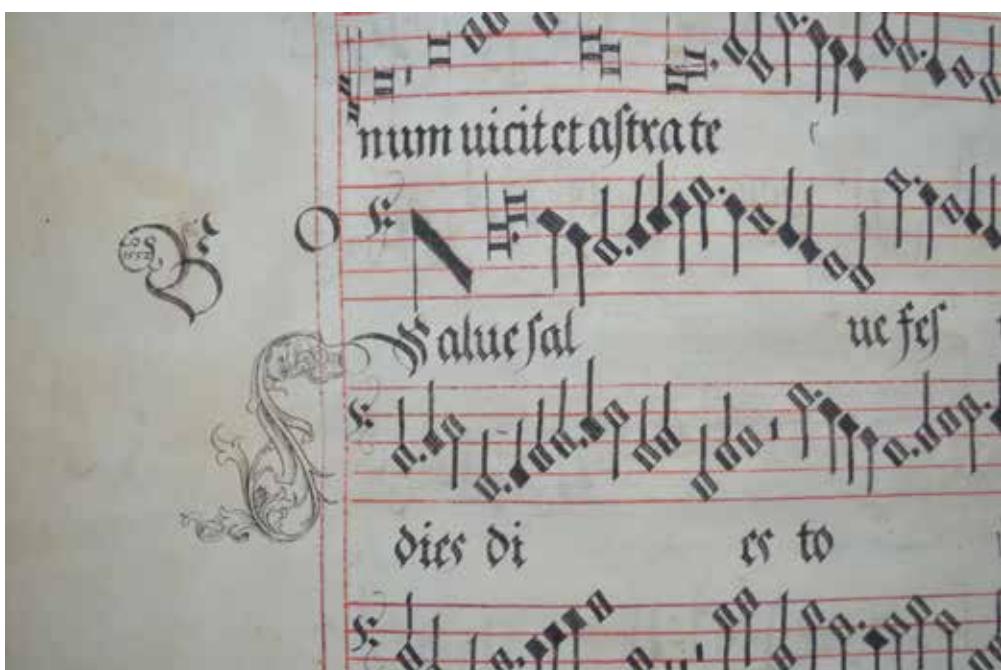
under the leadership of the humanist Johannes Honterus. Unfortunately, a great fire consumed the parish church in 1689, and destroyed most of the enclosed library.

One of the surviving manuscripts, a large gradual produced in the first decades of the sixteenth century, was offered to the governor of Transylvania, Samuel von Brukenthal, in 1782, and can now be consulted at the Brukenthal Library in Sibiu (MS 759 – plate I). Far from being discarded or destroyed, the Catholic gradual was still being used during the early years of the Reformation. For instance, on fol. 1r, a sixteenth-century hand glossed the *Kyrie eleison* in German (*gott aller Schoepffer erbarm dich unsrer* – fig. 1).



↑ Fig. 1. Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, MS 759, fol. 2r.

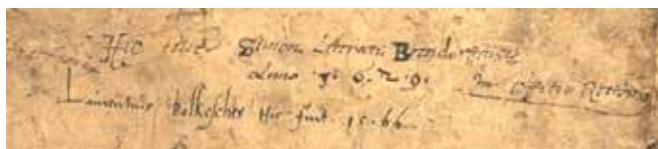
In 1552, further hymns, accompanied by musical notation, were added at the end of the book (fig. 2).



↑ Fig. 2. Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, MS 759, fol. 272v.

In 1782, the Lutherans from Brașov also offered two codices to Ignatius Batthyány, the Catholic bishop of Transylvania, who was also a renowned bibliophile. Batthyány scrupulously recorded this on the fifteenth-century paper codices, a copy of the Gospels (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS I.83), and a miscellany containing the *Expositio Regulae Augustini* composed by the Dominican Humbertus de Romanis around 1248-1254, and Bernard of Clairvaux' *Meditatio passionis Jesu Christi per septem diei horas* (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS II.28). However, in the absence of further provenance notes, one cannot be sure whether these books survived the great fire or came to Brașov at some point between 1689 and 1782.

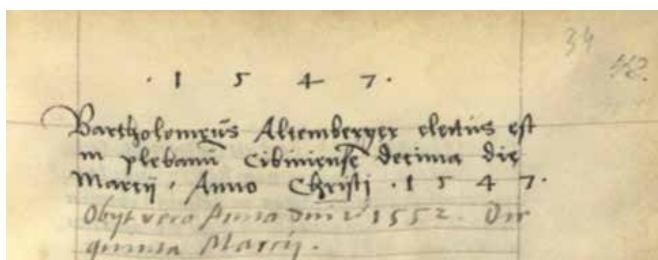
Another late fourteenth-century Transylvanian gradual (Brașov, Honterus Archive, MS I.F.67 – plate II) allows us to see how medieval books were treated during the Reformation. The manuscript changed hands several times: in 1566, it belonged to a certain Laurentius Bolkescher and, in 1629, it was owned by "Simon Literatus" from Brenndorf (Bod. Co. Brașov). Later in that century, it was kept in the Rector's office and, in 1657, its pages were counted (fig. 3), which demonstrates that it was handled with care, and was transmitted as a precious item from one owner to another.



← Fig. 3. Brașov, Honterus Archive, MS I.F.67, front pastedown.

About threescore books belonging to the parish church of Sibiu and to the Holy Cross Dominican convent are still extant at the Brukenthal Museum Library. During the Reformation, these books were concentrated in St James's chapel, constituting the *Kapellenbibliothek*.²¹ The city's arms branded on the books' covers or edges, and various ownership notes prove the local provenance of many (if not most) medieval manuscripts in the Brukenthal collections.

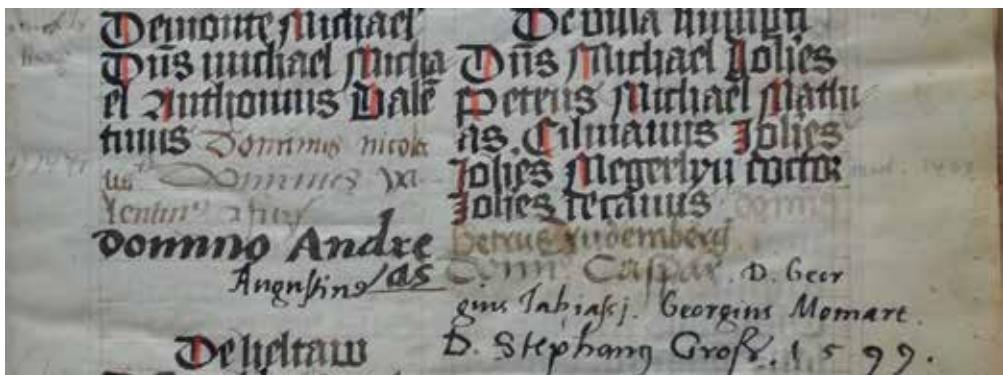
A medieval inventory, the *Matricula plebaniæ cibiniensis* (now Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS II.135), contains several successive or contemporary booklists, the longest of which records over one hundred and forty titles available in 1442. The *Matricula* was kept up to date during the early Reformation, and all the way into the eighteenth century. New entries were copied after the 1540s and, when the medieval Gothic script became hard to read, an interlinear transcript was added (fig. 4).



← Fig. 4. Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS II.135, *Matricula plebaniæ cibiniensis*, fol. 34r.

²¹ GÖLLNER, Carl: Din istoricul unor biblioteci feudale ale sașilor din Sibiu. In: *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie* 5, 1963, pp. 221-229. LUPESCU MAKÓ, Mária: The Book Culture of the Dominican Order in Transylvania. In: *Philobiblon* 22.1, 2017, pp. 187-188. DINCĂ, Adinel Ciprian: 'Biblioteca orașului Sibiu' în evul mediu. Câteva considerații pe marginea unei confuzii istoriografice. In: Mária LUPESCU MAKÓ (ed.) *Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg 700: várostörténeti tanulmányok - studii de istorie urbană*. Cluj : Erdélyi Múzeum- Egyesület, 2018, pp. 431-436.

Continuity of use is demonstrable in the case of some liturgical books. For instance, new entries were made in the obituary of a local missal (Sibiu, Brukenthal Library, MS 665 – plate III) throughout the sixteenth century, as can be seen below (fig. 5). Obviously, the old Catholic book was still being used, at least as a repository of local memory.



↑ Fig. 5. Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, MS 665, fol. 1r.

Incidentally, one may notice the same situation in one of the surviving breviaries from Oradea (Vatican, Vat. lat. MS 8247), whose obituary records deaths until 1660 (e.g. fol. 6v, Kal. (ad Oct), *hic obiit n*c*olaus?> cantor waradiensis, 1660).*

In Cluj, the Reformation went less smoothly than in the Saxon cities of Sibiu and Brașov, whose communities embraced Lutheranism *in corpore*. The Protestant leaders' shifts from Lutheranism to Calvinism, and then to Unitarianism, conflicts between the Saxon and the Hungarian inhabitants, and between the city and the princes of Transylvania, in addition to Counter-Reformation movements, generated turmoil and instability, which resulted in massive book losses.²² One particularly violent incident was recorded in June 1603, when the Unitarian populace sacked the Jesuit college, which had been installed in the former Franciscan convent in 1581, and had rescued books from the medieval Catholic collections. However, contemporary witnesses indicate that members of the Unitarian gentry rushed to the rescue of books and prevented further thefts and destruction. For instance, one Unitarian citizen rescued a medieval breviary (*Breviarium Romanum in membrana conscriptum*).²³

Although almost all the medieval manuscripts from Cluj are now lost, it can be shown that some of them were still available to the Jesuits and, to a lesser extent, to the Unitarians, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Extant books may come from St Michael's parish church, from the Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăstur, and, less frequently, from the Dominican and Franciscan convents.

St Michael's parish church changed hands between the Unitarians and the Catholics several times. It is impossible to know whether the Unitarian occupation was responsible for book

²² SZIGETI, Edit: Klausenburg im Zeitalter der Reformation und der Konfessionalisierung. In: Ulrich BURGER – Rudolf GRÄF (eds.) *Klausenburg. Wege einer Stadt und ihrer Menschen in Europa*. Cluj : Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007, pp. 51–75.

²³ VERESS, Endre (ed.): *Giovanni Argenti jelentései magyar ügyekről 1603–1623*. Szeged : JATE, 1983, p. 171.

destruction, but the Catholics were manifestly able to rescue at least one of its books: a large gradual was preserved in its original binding in the Catholic collections of Cluj until the early twentieth century, when it was transferred to the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (MS I.1, s. XVI¹ – plate IV). The manuscript has an interesting connection to the history of the church: in 1528, St Michael's was renovated, and the sacristy received a new door, whose stone frame was decorated in the Renaissance style²⁴. One of the metal clasps of the book bears the same date as the sacristy door frame.

This large gradual (216 ff., 570 x 410 mm) was severely mutilated over the time, and many of its leaves are now missing. In 1970, two volumes bound in fragments extracted from this book were identified at the Academy Library in Cluj (C. 54660-62, C. 57795)²⁵. The title page of C. 57795 (Martinus Smiglecius, *De erroribus novorum Arianorum*, Cracow: A. Petricovius, 1615) bears the ownership note “Residentiae Monostoriensis 1656”; on the title page of C. 54660 (Aloysius Juglar, *Elogia patriarcharum Christi Jesu dei hominis*, Mainz: J. B. Schönwetter, 1669), one can read: “Domus PP Monostoriensis Cat. inscriptus 1690”. I recently discovered a third fragment from this gradual in the binding of MS C. 83 (a handbook of physics copied at some point in the seventeenth century – fig. 6). The dates of the printed books and their ownership notes show that the gradual was mutilated in the second half of the seventeenth century, rather than in the heat of the Reformation. Of course, the mutilation of medieval books in Catholic environments was motivated by practical needs, since religious hatred can be excluded in this case.



↑ Fig. 6. Cluj, Romanian Academy Library, C. 54660-62, C. 57795, MS C. 83

²⁴ GRANDPIERRE, Edit: *A kolozsvári Szent Mihály Templom*. Budapest: Minerva, 1936, pp. 33-34, fig. 28; BALOGH, Jolán: *Az erdélyi Renaissance*. Cluj : Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943, p. 339, fig. 128; PASCU, Ştefan – Viorica Marica: *Clujul medieval*. Bucharest : Meridiane, 1969, fig. 67.

²⁵ SZIGETI, Kilián: Két középkori erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* 86, 1970, pp. 165-72.

One may surmise that a certain amount of *fragmenta codicum* in the bindings of Jesuit and Unitarian school books come from liturgical manuscripts of local provenance. Such may be the case of fragments used in the bindings of books printed in Cluj, which never left the city, such as the fragments covering the two copies of János Szilvási's *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae*, printed in Cluj in 1597, now Academy Library, BMV C. 218 (fig. 7) and BMV C.219 (which bears the ownership note "Residentiae Monostoriensis Societatis Jesu").



↑ Fig. 7. Cluj, Romanian Academy Library, BMV C.218, front cover.

Actually, further fragments from this Transylvanian antiphonal have survived in Cluj and Budapest. The fragments from Budapest were known to Janka Szendrei, and the Cluj ones (BMV C.218 and C.55090) that I identified recently have made the object of Gabriella Gilányi's detailed musicological analysis.²⁶

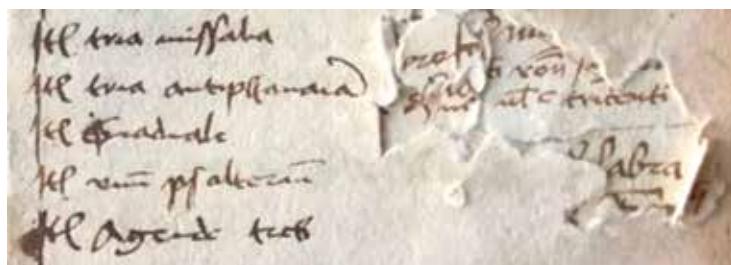
I have so far identified at the Romanian Academy Library around one hundred and eighty volumes whose bindings consist of, or contain, medieval manuscript and incunabula fragments; roughly half of these wrap Catholic books. Most fragments appear in books printed between 1600 and 1700; the practice of using the parchment of medieval manuscripts in the bindings of printed books is less common in the sixteenth century and becomes relatively rare after 1700. Of course, further provenance research and comparisons to books with different kinds of bindings

²⁶ SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981, nrs F. 34, F 348; GILÁNYI, Gabriella – Adrian PAPAHAGL: *Membra disiecta from a Transylvanian Antiphonal in Budapest and Cluj*. In: *Fragmentology* 2, 2019, pp. 5-34.

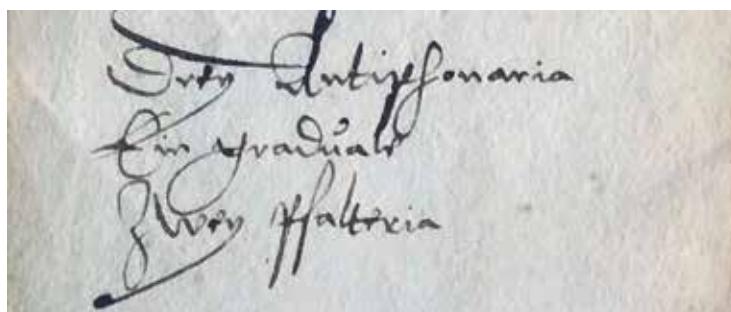
must be undertaken before one can get a clear picture. However, it is obvious that the Jesuits of Cluj and Cluj-Mănăstur had access to more medieval manuscripts than their Protestant competitors, and did not hesitate to turn them into maculature when needed.

One may thus argue that manuscripts and parchment incunabula were dismembered more frequently between 1600 and 1700, when their material and moral obsolescence was greater than in the previous century and printed books were more readily available. Indeed, it seems that medieval manuscripts that had escaped the excesses of the Reformation fell prey to indifference and convenience in the seventeenth century: they had simply become useless, except as a source of parchment. The few books that made it into the eighteenth century were rescued by bibliophiles and libraries with a sense of conservation; the others disappeared or survived precariously, in bindings.

A document kept at the National Archives of Romania in Sibiu (B 1-9, 268 – figs 8-9) tells another interesting story about the treatment of Catholic mass books during the Reformation. The booklet under scrutiny, the parish register of Jelna (Senndorf) near Bistrița, was signalled in 1910, but has commanded little attention, although it allows one to follow the evolution of a little rural church from the late Middle Ages into the early Reformation period.²⁷ The document contains several inventories of church objects, including books, drafted in 1489, 1497, 1558, and 1559.



← Fig. 8. Sibiu, National Archives, B 1-9, 268, p. 37: a passage from the 1489 inventory.



← Fig. 9. Sibiu, National Archives, B 1-9, 268, p. 152: a passage from the 1559 inventory.

This is what the book inventories would look like, placed on parallel columns, so as to enable the comparison²⁸:

²⁷ SCHULLER, Georg Adolf: Gottesdienstliche Geräte und Gewänder einer sächsischen Landgemeinde vor und nach der Reformation. In: *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 33, 1910. Hermannstadt : Druck und Verlag von W. Kraft, 70-76.

²⁸ The order of the items in the later inventories has been changed in the table to match the order of the earliest one (1489).

1489 (p. 37) 11 medieval books	1497 (pp. 43–44) 12 medieval books	1558 (pp. 148–9) 9 medieval books +3 Lutheran books	1559 (pp. 152–3) 9 medieval books +2 Lutheran books
Tria missalia	Missalia quatuor	3 Missalia	Drey Missalia
Tria antiphonaria	Tria antiphonaria	2 Antiphonaria und 1 Speciale	Drey Antiphonaria
Graduale	Unum graduale	1 Graduale	Ein graduale
Unum psalterium	Unum psalterium in pergameno	2 Psalteria	Zwey psalteria
Agende tres	Due agende, una impressa, alia in pergameno conscripta	–	–
	Breuiarium domini Simonis in pergameno conscriptum sub kathedra. Istud breuiarium legatum est pro cathedra Sancti petri in zolna perpetuis temporibus ideo nullus plebanorum attemptat (!) illud ab ea alienare quoismodo.	–	–
		Ein deudscher Bibel 1 deudscher Cantionale 1 deudscher Catechismus	Ein deudscher Bibel Ein Teutsch Cantional –

As can be seen, the three medieval antiphonals, the gradual, the psalter, and three missals appear on all inventories. The two *agende*, Father Simon's parchment breviary, and one missal disappear from the later inventories, which are however enriched by the purchase of Lutheran books in German, and of another psalter. All in all, one may conclude that Catholic mass books were well preserved in this rural church in the early period of the Reformation, which is in keeping with the situation we encounter in Sibiu and Brașov.

Medieval conflicts, wars, and invasions had their fair (or foul, rather) share of book destruction. Also, seventeenth-century librarians may have dismembered and discarded more parchment manuscripts than the early reformers, who were still close to their medieval heritage. The picture is indeed very complex: the Lutheran communities of Sibiu and Brașov preserved their medieval books in the new libraries, and these books survived rather well if spared by fire. Throughout the sixteenth century, medieval liturgical books were used (as in Brașov and Sibiu), or at least preserved (as in Jelna). Although the Reformation was violent and radical in Cluj, learned Unitarians did rescue medieval liturgical books in 1603.

It is only fair to say that there was no uniform attitude towards Catholic books during the two centuries of the Transylvanian Reformation. What doomed medieval liturgical manuscripts

was their progressive obsolescence rather than religious hatred and Protestant zeal. They had become *libri inutiles* in the ways described by Gerhard Powitz²⁹, because their script was increasingly hard to read and, above all, because their contents had been made irrelevant by the increasing abundance of printed editions and by the change of literary tastes and interests.³⁰ Elizabeth Eisenstein has some justification to write that “it was, then, printing, not Protestantism, which outmoded the medieval Vulgate and introduced a new drive to tap mass markets”³¹

However, *inutiles* in one sense does not mean useless in all the others. The material remained precious: parchment was reused when it was available, even in Catholic milieux (e.g. the Jesuits in Cluj). Pragmatism often determined the destruction, preservation, or reuse of books in a region where bibliophile and antiquarian interests had not yet awoken. Yet, one should be grateful even for the medieval fragments that made their way into the bindings of early modern books, thus becoming what Rosamond McKitterick called, in a different context, “evidence preserved by destruction”.³²

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²⁹ POWITZ, Gerhard: *Libri inutiles in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken*. In: *Scriptorium* 50, 1996, pp. 288–304.

³⁰ DANKANITS, Ádám: *Lesestoffe des 16. Jahrhunderts in Siebenbürgen*. Bucharest : Kriterion, 1982.

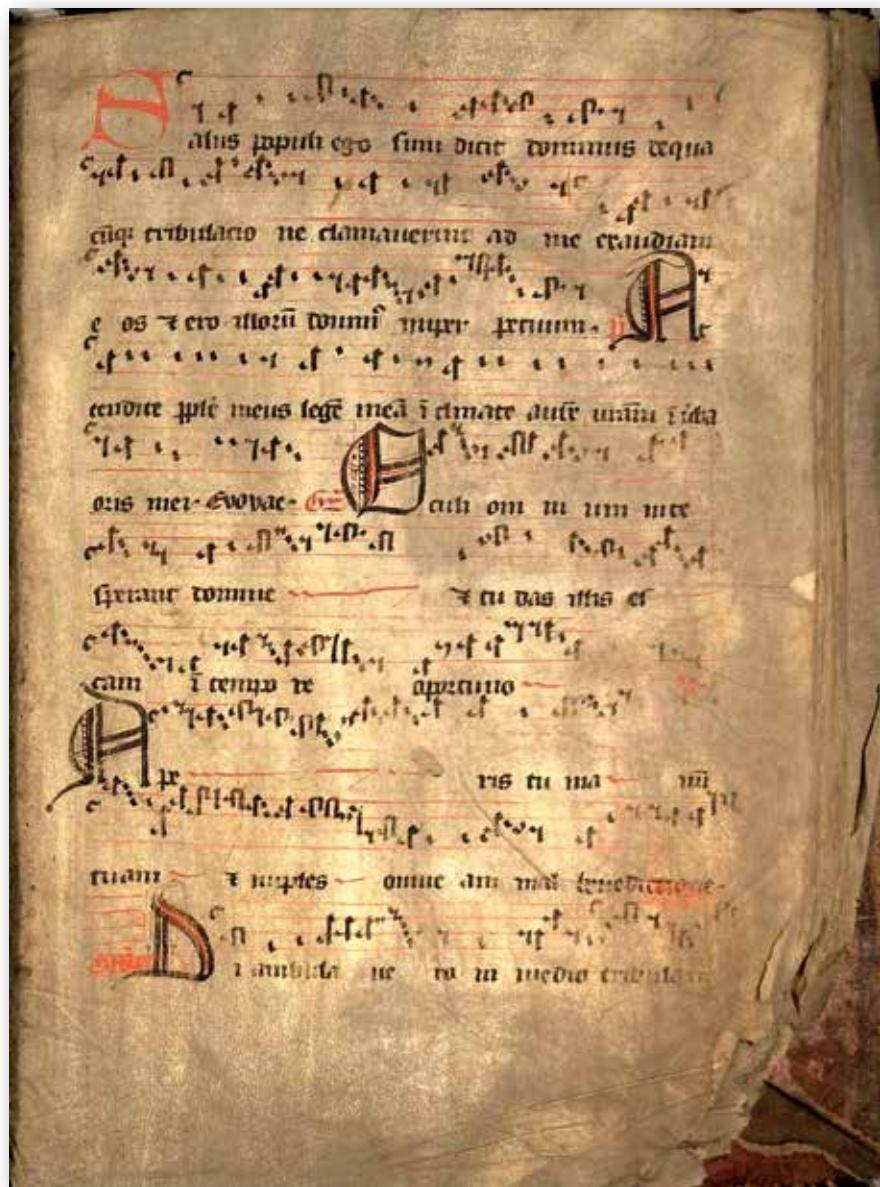
³¹ EISENSTEIN, Elizabeth: *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 177.

³² MCKITTERICK, Rosamond: Palimpsests: Concluding Remarks. In: Georges DECLERCQ (ed.) *Early Medieval Palimpsests*. Turnhout : Brepols, 2007, p. 145.

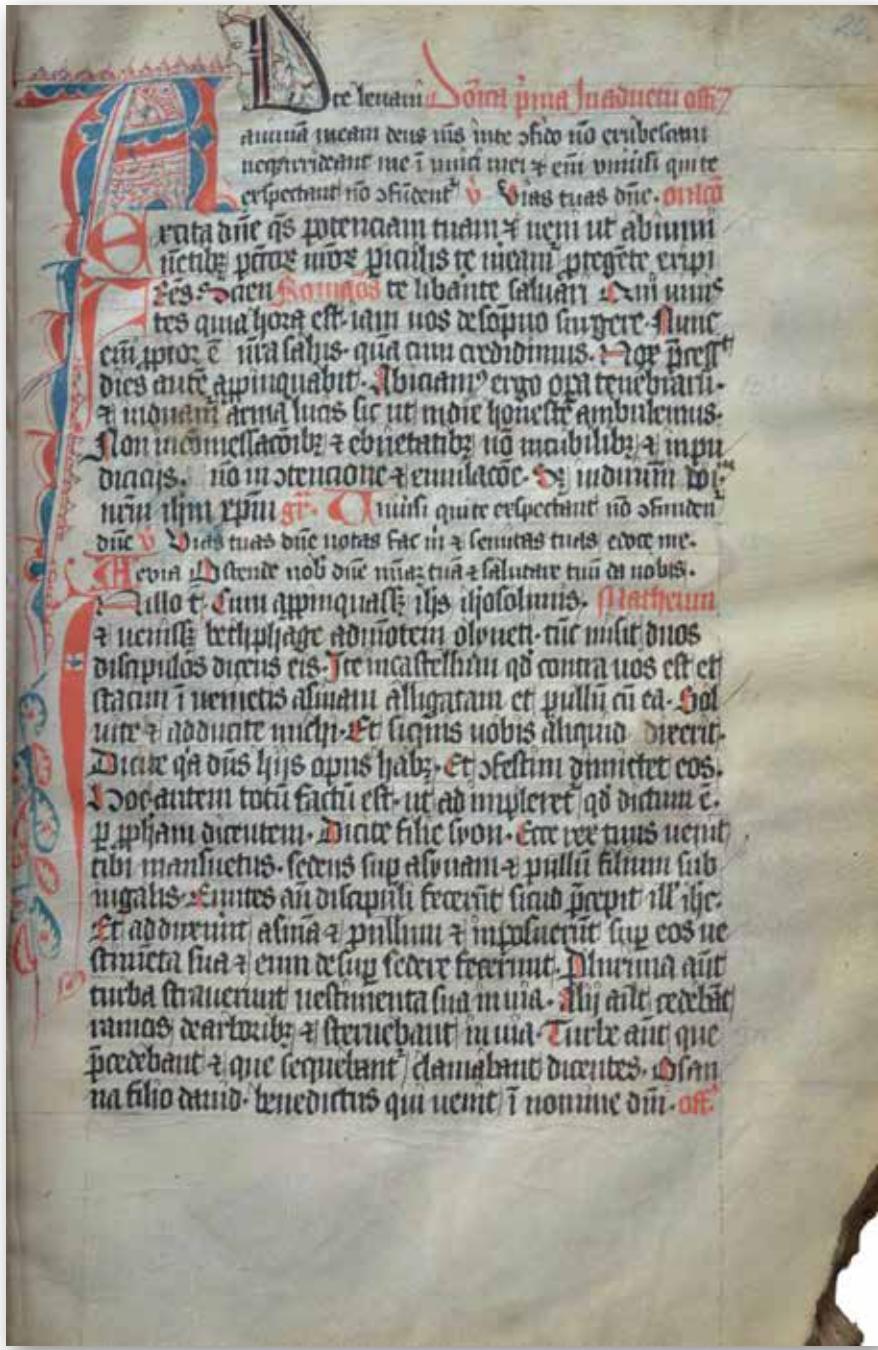
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↑ Plate I. Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, MS 759.



↑ Plate II. Brașov, Honterus Archive, MS I.F.67.



↑ **Plate III.** Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, MS 665.



↑ Plate IV. Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS I.1.

Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit in der epigrafischen Kultur der Slowakei

Abstract

Historical inscriptions (epigraphic texts) are an example of the oldest documents of written culture (not only in our territory). This concerns not only Antiquity (where piety is shown – e.g. – in little votive altars from Bratislava-Rusovce), but also the Middle Ages. Simple votive inscriptions on imported liturgical objects from our territory (Bojná?) can be counted among the earliest written documents of the Great Moravian piety. In addition, it can be said that during the first two centuries of Hungarian Christianity, most of the texts show their form of piety through epigraphic supports. Examples of the latter are especially liturgical objects like chalices and ciboria (the oldest chalice is considered to be the chalice from Vyšný Slavkov – from around the middle of the 14th century, with a votive inscription SANCTO, and later on frequent texts invoking Jesus or the Virgin Mary), patens (dedications to Jesus or to Church), pax crosses (inscriptions of similar contents from the 13th century), etc. Simple dedicatory inscriptions were also found on crosses that believers used to carry on their shoulders as a form of piety (e.g. the kaptorga [box] from Veľká Mača). Inscriptions on pilgrim symbols appear only rarely. On the other hand, the votive inscriptions on book clasping elements were quite common (e.g. Ave Maria). A massive increase of inscriptions expressing religious piety (dedications to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, the Evangelists, saints) was recorded from the Late Middle Ages on (notably in the 15th century) – these are inscriptions on mural paintings or altars, liturgical objects, precious pieces of furniture (e.g. the tabula on wooden choirs with inscription dedicated to all the saints – from Dravce in the Spiš region, from the beginning of 16th century). From the 15th century onwards, the oldest piety inscriptions in ethnic languages can be found (the oldest German piety texts from Bratislava and Levoča; the oldest Slovak or Czech text in a trilingual work from Ratnovce). Nevertheless, a general survey of the territory of Slovakia is not yet complete; therefore, further interesting findings can be expected.

Keywords: Slowakei, Mittelalter, die epigrafische Kultur, die Frömmigkeit

Die christliche Frömmigkeit lässt sich am besten mit Worten der Bibel – der Hauptquelle für das Weltbild des mittelalterlichen Menschen – als das wesentliche Mittel zur Erlangung des glücklichen Lebens im Diesseits wie auch im Jenseits bezeichnen.¹ Sie lässt sich allgemein als Verehrung Gottes und barmherziges Verhalten der Menschen untereinander bestimmen. Diese Charakteristik beinhaltet beide Vektoren der Frömmigkeit – sowohl den vertikalen gegenüber der göttlichen Welt (*pietas divina*) als auch den horizontalen gegenüber den Mitmenschen (*pietas humana*). In dieser kurzen Skizze werden wir uns auf die erstere beschränken und die textuelle Hinwendung des Menschen an Gott oder Heilige untersuchen. Die Frömmigkeit tut sich durch äußere Handlungen und Symbole kund – vor allem in sakralen, aber auch in profanen Räumen.

Mit sakralen Räumen sind fromme Handlungen verbunden – vor allem die Teilnahme an Ritualen wie Prozessionen, Messen, aber auch stille Gebete im Kirchenraum. Für den kirchlichen Bereich waren auch fromme Stiftungen gedacht (Spenden zum Erwerb von liturgischen Gegenständen wie Messegeräten, Paramenten und Handschriften oder die Errichtung und Ausstattung von Kapellen und Kirchen oder Stiftung von kirchlichen Benefizien für langfristige *memoriae*).

¹ Siehe bspw. 1 Timotheus 4,8: „Denn die leibliche Übung ist wenig nütze; aber die Frömmigkeit ist zu allen Dingen nütze und hat die Verheißung dieses und des zukünftigen Lebens.“

Die Handlungen konnten durch visuelle Symbole sichtbar gemacht werden, doch diese Symbole (ob fromme bildliche Darstellungen oder sakrale Texte) konnten auch unabhängig von den begleitenden Ritualen auf ewig die Frömmigkeit ihres Stifters bekunden. Die textuellen Ergebnisse der mittelalterlichen Frömmigkeit lassen sich in kodikologische Quellen (z. B. Stifternotizen oder Kolophone in liturgischen Handschriften), diplomatisches Material (v. a. Testamente) und epigrafische Texte (historische Inschriften) unterteilen. Der letzten Gruppe (oft verknüpft auch mit bildlichen Darstellungen) geht diese Abhandlung nach.

Die Erforschung der postantiken Inschriften ist in der Slowakei erst jüngeren Datums. Gründliche systematische Aufmerksamkeit hat dieser Problematik in der Slowakei erst der Autor dieser Abhandlung gewidmet. Vor etwa 15 Jahren hat er mit ersten Feldforschungen sowie mit der Betreuung von Seminar- und Abschlussarbeiten seiner Studenten am Institut für Archivwesen und Historische Hilfswissenschaften der Philosophischen Fakultät der Comenius-Universität in Pressburg (Bratislava) angefangen. Vor annähernd 10 Jahren konnte er bereits erste Doktoranden an dem Institut betreuen und zusammen mit seinen Postdoktoranden veranlasste er die Umsetzung des Projekts *Corpus Inscriptionum Slovaciae* (gefördert durch die Agentur für Unterstützung der Forschung und Entwicklung APVV). Die Mitglieder des Forschungsteam, das aus vier Projektteilnehmern besteht, haben die historischen Regionen der heutigen Slowakei, die Gespanschaften des historischen Oberungarns (*comitatus*) untereinander aufgeteilt und mit systematischen Untersuchungen sowohl im Gelände als auch in den Archiven begonnen. Bis-her ist es gelungen, Funde von ungefähr 20 % des Gebiets der heutigen Slowakei zu bearbeiten und zu publizieren, zu rund der Hälfte des Gebiets liegen schon mehr oder weniger komplettete Daten vor und zu dem übrigen Gebiet wurden wenigstens zahlreiche gezielte Stichproben genommen. Die bisherige Publikationsbilanz beträgt inzwischen zwei Bücherreihen – eine für Monografien² und eine für Katalogbände³ – sowie ca. 60 weitere Einzelstudien⁴.

Bereits in dieser Phase der laufenden Forschungen lassen sich einige synthetisierende Hypothesen formulieren. Wenn man die Datierung der bisher bekannten Inschriften⁵ auf dem Ge- biet der Slowakei betrachtet (9. Jh.: 3 Stücke, 10. bis 12. Jh.: ca. 5 St., 13. Jh.: ca. 15 St., 1. Hälfte des

² Vgl. ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj (Hg.): *Latinská epigrafia. Dejiny a metodika výskumu historických nápisov zo Slovenska* [Lateinische Epigrafik. Geschichte und Methodik der Untersuchung historischer Inschriften in der Slowakei] (=CIS I.1). Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, 2014; THURZO, Milan – JANČOVIČ, Pavol: *Historické hraničné znaky a nápisy so zameraním na územie Bratislavы* [Historische Grenzzeichen und -inschriften mit Bezug zum Gebiet Pressburgs] (=CIS I.2). Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, 2018. ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Historické nápisy a ich nosiče* [Historische Inschriften und ihre Träger] (=CIS I.3). Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, 2018. Außerhalb der Reihe erschienen: FEDERMAYER, Frederik: *Lausser – príbeh mestianskeho rodu*. Genealogická identifikácia náhrobnej dosky z krypty Katedrály sv. Martina v Bratislavе [Lausser – Geschichte einer bürgerlichen Familie. Genealogische Bestimmung der Grabplatte aus der Gruft des Martinsdoms in Pressburg]. Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, 2016.

³ Vgl. ČOVAN, Miroslav: *Historické nápisy zo Šariša do roku 1650* [Historische Inschriften aus der Scharosch-Region bis 1650] (=CIS II.1). Martin : Verlag P+J, 2016; im Druck: GAHÉR, František: *Historické nápisy z Nitrianskej stolice do roku 1650* [Historische Inschriften aus Neutraer Gespanschaft bis 1650] (=CIS II.2). Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, 2021. In Vorbereitung befinden sich die Bände zu einigen oberungarländischen Gespanschaf- ten: Pressburg (Bratislava) von J. Šedivý und F. Gahér, Zips (Spiš) von J. Šedivý, Trentschin (Trenčín) von F. Gahér, Abau (Abov) von M. Čovan, Barsch (Tekov) von J. Korekáč und zu Liptau (Liptov) von J. Srnková.

⁴ Viele davon sind bspw. auf der Webseite <https://www.academia.edu/> unter den Namen von Juraj Šedivý oder Miroslav Čovan online zugänglich.

⁵ Mit Matrizen ausgeführten Inschriften (seriell entstandene Texte) wie etwa auf Münzen oder Siegeln werden nicht mitgezählt.

14. Jhs.: ca. 70 St., 2. Hälfte des 14. Jhs.: ca. 130 St. und 15. Jh. einschließlich 1. Viertel des 16. Jhs.: ca. 350 Stücke), dann scheint es, dass die epigrafische Kultur in diesem Raum im Wesentlichen erst im letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts aufgekommen ist. Im darauffolgenden Jahrhundert stieg zwar langsam die Quantität der Inschriften, aber die Mehrheit stammt erst aus dem Spätmittelalter (15. und erstes Viertel des 16. Jhs.). Als symbolische Datierungsgrenze für das Ende des ungarländischen Mittelalters gilt die Schlacht bei Mohács im Jahre 1526. Diese Jahreszahl stellt zugleich auch die symbolische obere chronologische Grenze dieser Studie dar.

Des Weiteren lässt sich über die Struktur der Stifter sagen, dass sie der in westlicher gelegenen Ländern ähnelt – anfangs (im 13. Jh.) stifteten die Inschriften meist nur Kleriker für den kirchlichen Bereich, später (im 14. Jh.) kamen adelige Stifter und Ritterbürger in Städten hinzu, um sich selbst, ihre Familien oder soziale Gruppen (immer noch) in kirchlichen Räumlichkeiten zu präsentieren. Erst im Spätmittelalter gesellten sich auch Stadträte und höhere städtische Schichten hinzu, die ihre textuellen Spuren auch in Räumen der Laien hinterließen.

Hinsichtlich der Sprachen kann man bei mittelalterlichen Inschriften aus dem Raum der heutigen Slowakei (entspricht ungefähr dem damaligen Oberungarn) ein Monopol der lateinischen Sprache bis zu Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts voraussetzen. Erste deutschsprachige Texte sind erst für den Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts datiert,⁶ und erste tschechische Inschriften auf dem untersuchten Gebiet kommen sehr selten seit dem ersten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts vor.⁷ Ungarischsprachige Inschriften aus dem Mittelalter wurden in dem untersuchten Gebiet noch nicht gefunden.

Für die Darstellung der Frömmigkeit mithilfe mittelalterlicher epigrafischen Texte aus dem untersuchten Gebiet wurden in sakralen Räumen vor allem Sepulkralien, liturgisches Gerät, Glocken sowie Wand- und Tafelmalerei und Skulptur genutzt. Aus dem profanen Bereich kann die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit gut anhand von Gegenständen des Alltagslebens illustriert werden.

Die Untersuchung mittelalterlicher Sepulkralien aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei ist durch eine Reihe bereits vorhandener synthetischer Vorarbeiten erleichtert. Nach den ersten Versuchen der älteren ungarländischen und ungarischen Forscher⁸ haben sich ihre slowakischen Kollegen und Kolleginnen dem Thema systematisch erst um die Wende vom 20. zum 21. Jahrhundert gewidmet.⁹

⁶ ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Über (Sprach)Grenzen hinweg: Deutschsprachige Inschriften des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei. In: GIERSIEPEN, Helga – STIELDORF, Andrea (Hg.): *Über Grenzen hinweg – Inschriften als Zeugnisse kulturellen Austauschs. Beiträge zur 14. Internationalen Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Epigraphik*. Paderborn : Brill | Ferdinand Schöningh, 2020, S. 159–183.

⁷ ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Čeština, slovenčina a maďarčina na stredovekých nápisoch zo Slovenska [Tschechisch, Slowakisch und Ungarisch in mittelalterlichen Inschriften aus der Slowakei]. In: VIRŠINSKÁ, Miriam (Hg.): *Vita historiae dedicata: Zborník štúdií venovaný životnému jubileu prof. PhDr. Júliusa Bartla, CSc.* Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, 2018, S. 115–128.

⁸ Zur kritischen Rezeption der älteren Forschung s.: LŐVEI, Pál: A középkori Magyarorság síremlékei – kutatási helyzetkép [Mittelalterliche Grabmonumente Ungarns – Stand der Erforschung]. In: *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995), S. 243–252. Für den neueren Blick desselben Autors vgl.: LŐVEI, Pál: Pamiatkové, muzeálne a galérienne zbierky v Maďarsku so slovakickým materiálom a ich katalógy a databázzy [Die Sammlungen des Denkmalschutzinstitutionen, Museen und Galerien in Ungarn mit Slovacica-Beständen und ihre Kataloge und Datenbanken]. In: ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj (Hg.): *Latinská epigrafia. Dejiny a metodika výskumu historických nápisov zo Slovenska* [Lateinische Epigrafik. Geschichte und Methodik der Untersuchung historischer Inschriften in der Slowakei]. Bratislava : Univerzita Komenského, 2014, S. 147–155. Am wichtigsten unter diesen älteren Werken ist vermutlich Vernei-Kronberger, Emil: *Magyar középkori síremlékek* [Ungar(länd)ische mittelalterliche Grabmonumente]. Budapest : Officina, 1939.

⁹ Zu erwähnen sind insbesondere zwei Katalogartikel: FIALA, Anton: Kamenné architektonické články a náhrobníky [Steinerne architektonische Elemente und Grabsteine]. In: GLATZ, Anton C. (Hg.): *Gotické umenie z bratislavských*

Obwohl ein Katalog-Korpus der mittelalterlichen Sepulkralien aus dem untersuchten Gebiet noch immer fehlt¹⁰, kann man zusammenfassen, dass Grabmonumente im 9. bis 11./12. Jahrhundert meist nur in Form von einfachen Grabsteinen bzw. Felsen (ausnahmsweise mit geritzten Kreuzen) vorkommen.¹¹ Den jüngeren Typus vertritt eine Grabplatte mit eingehauenem Kreuz (Einzelfälle seit dem 11.-12. Jh., zahlreicher im 13. Jh.).¹² Eine weitere Stufe stellt die Verwendung eines visuellen Gruppenidentifikators (Waffe für Krieger, Kelch für Kleriker, Waage für Kaufmann) dar.¹³ Auch der Gebrauch eines einfachen Wappens ohne Text lässt sich eigentlich als ein ähnliches mnemotechnisches visuelles Hilfsmittel zur Tradierung der Identität des Verstorbenen deuten. Eine weitere Stufe auf dem Weg zur *Literalität* im Bereich der Sepulkralmonumente stellen Grabplatten aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. und der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts dar, die lediglich kurze Texte beinhalten, manchmal auch ohne grundlegende Angaben. So fehlt zum Beispiel im Text „*Hic iacet comes Iacobus*“ (Grabplatte aus Tscherin (Čerín) aus dem angehenden 14. Jh.) nicht nur eine nähere Bestimmung des gewissen Jakob, sondern auch die Angabe des Todesdatums, um am Jahres- tag eine Seelenmesse feiern zu können. Derlei „Unvollständigkeit“ der Information deutet darauf hin, dass es neben der indirekten Kommunikation durch Inschriften/Texte auch noch eine direkte orale Tradition gegeben haben muss.¹⁴ Wahrscheinlich erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhundert setzten sich Texte auch im sepulkralen Bereich durch, die auch bestimmte Formen von Frömmigkeit ausdrückten.

Zu den ältesten Beispielen gehört wahrscheinlich ein ungewöhnlicher sepulkraler Text auf einer Grabplatte, bestehend aus drei aus Worten gebildeten Kreisen und einer äußeren Umschrift. Um 1362 wurde diese Grabplatte für eine Elisabeth angefertigt. In dem stark beschädigten Text findet man das Fragment eines mit gotischer Majuskel geschriebenen Gebets (?): „*MISER[ERE] N(OST)RI ... [D]VM SPERAVIM(US)*“.¹⁵ Nur wenig jünger ist das Fragment einer Grabplatte

zbierok. Bratislava : Mestské múzeum, 1999, S. 65–68, und HAVLICE, Ivan: Kamenné architektonické články a náhrobníky [Steinerne architektonische Elemente und Grabsteine]. In: GLATZ, Anton C. (Hg.): *Gotické umeňia z košických zbierok*. Košice : Východoslovenské múzeum Košice, 1995, S. 103–131. Von Bedeutung ist auch die erste synthetische Darstellung: LUXOVÁ, Viera: *Memento mori. Formy náhrobnej skulptúry* [Memento mori. Die Formen der Grabmalskulptur]. In: BURAN, Dušan (Hg.): *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umeenia*, Bratislava : Slovenská národná galéria & Slovart, 2003, S. 325–333 u. 664–670. Für eine der neuesten Arbeiten zur Form der mittelalterlichen sepulkralen Texte vgl. ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Littera epigraphica sepulcralia mediaevalium Hungariae superioris*. In: ROHÁČEK, Jiří (Hg.): *Epigraphica et sepulcralia* 2. Praha : Artefactum, 2009, S. 289–312.

¹⁰ Als Ansatz zur Herstellung eines Katalogs (bzw. als ein analytischer Teil) könnte das Werk dienen: LÓVEI, Pál: „*Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria*“ – Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához I., II. Budapest : Akadémiai doktori értekezés, 2009; zugänglich online: http://real-d.mtak.hu/381/1/Lovei_Pal1.pdf; http://real-d.mtak.hu/381/2/Lovei_Pal2a.pdf und http://real-d.mtak.hu/381/7/Lovei_Pal_kepek.pdf (letzter Zugriff 2021-04-30).

¹¹ Zum Beispiel in Dutzo (Ducové) von ca. 1000 Gräbern wurden ca. 200 mit Felsen bedeckt und nur zwei davon waren mit einem geritzten Kreuz versehen.

¹² Als Beispiele können inschriftenlose Grabplatten mit Kreuz aus Pressburg (Bratislava), Dechtitz (Dechtice) oder Lanschütz (Bernolákovo) sowie einige Grabplatten in der Zips, z. B. in Schawnik (Spišský Štiavnik), gelten.

¹³ Zum Beispiel die Grabplatte aus Theben (Devín) mit zwei Kelchen, die ein Kreuz flankieren oder die Grabplatte aus Groß-Scharosch (Veľký Šariš) mit interessanten sprechenden Symbolen (Stab für Abt? Handschellen für Leonard?).

¹⁴ Diese Zwischenstufe von einer rein bildlichen zur entwickelten textuellen Tradierung kann man als semiliterate Phase bezeichnen. Mehr dazu in der im Druck befindlichen Arbeit: ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Slovo, obraz a text. Najstaršie stredoveké sepulkrálie zo Slovenska a semiliteralita [Wort, Bild und Text. Die ältesten Sepulkralien aus der Slowakei und die Semiliteralität]. In: ROHÁČEK, Jiří (Hg.): *Epigraphica et sepulcralia*. Praha : Artefactum.

¹⁵ HAVLICE, Kamenné architektonické články, wie in Anm. 9, S. 122–123.

aus Tyrnau (Trnava) mit einer Inschrift in gotischer Minuskel: „+ An(n)o [_ _ domijna · Anna · Jo-bis / dei [_ _] / hic [_ _]“. Das eventuelle Wort „Dei“ könnte ebenfalls ein erstes Anzeichen von Devotion in mittelalterlichen Sepulkraltexten aus dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei darstellen. Frömmigkeit bei den Rezipienten erwecken die Schlussworte im Text des Sepulkraldenkmals von Georg Eulenbach, Bürger von Leutschau (Levoča), gestorben 1392. Auf seiner Grabplatte liest man in der Umschrift: „anno · d(omi)ni · Mill(esimo) c·c·c·xcii · in octava · corporis · (Christ)i ob/iit · georgius · ule(n)bach · fu(n)dator hui(us) · capelle · orate pro eo“. Erst im 15. Jahrhundert wurde die Formel „orate pro eo“ häufiger angewendet – zu erwähnen sind Agnes von Kutzendorf, †1488, in Mariental (Mariánská) sowie der Pressburger Kanoniker Kaspar Romer, †1515; in alternativer Formulierung auf der Grabplatte des nicht näher bekannten Gregor aus Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica), †1516: „PRO me p(rae)cor ora“.

Mit Frömmigkeit konnotiert ist auch die Formel „dem/der Gott genedig sei“, die sich auf der ältesten Grabplatte mit deutscher Inschrift aus der Slowakei findet, die auf 1474 datiert ist.¹⁶ Im ausgehenden Mittelalter kann man diese Formel relativ oft finden. Gerade in Pressburg ist eine größere Gruppe von Grabplatten für reichere Stadtbürger mit ähnlichem Text erhalten geblieben: für Mert Gailsam (†1484)¹⁷, für einen Unbekannten (vom Ende des 15. Jhs.)¹⁸ oder für Wilhelm von Wulkendorf.¹⁹ Die Formel findet man mehrheitlich in volkssprachigen Texten – sei es in deutschen wie oben oder in einem tschechischen auf der Grabplatte von Raphael Podmanický (†1558) in Waagbistritz (Považská Bystrica): „Leta . Panie . Tisiceho Pietisteho . Padesateho / Osmeho . Prwni. strzedu. w. Pustie. [U]mrzel. gest. Urozeny. Pan. Pan Raffael / Podmaniczky. z Podmanina . A / Na Bistrziczy (etcetera) Gehoz . Dussy . Pan . buoh . Milostiw Racz . beity.“ Der Text ist allerdings von einer lateinischen Version begleitet: „ANNO M D LVIII XXIII FEBRVARI / OBYT GENE-ROSVS AC MAGNIFICVS / D(OMI)N(V)S RAPHAEL / PODMANICZKY / A PODMANIN / (ET) IN BISTRICZE (ET)C(ETERA) / A(NN)O AETATIS SVAE XLIIII CVIVS ANI(M)A / REQVIESTAT / IN PACE.“

Bereits mehr mit dem Weiterleben im Jenseits als mit der Frömmigkeit als solcher ist die Formulierung „cuius anima requiescat in pace“ verbunden. Man begegnet ihr in dem untersuchten Raum seit der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts; als Beispiel sei die Grabplatte von Bartholomeus (†1453) und seinem Vater Kaspar (†1428) erwähnt – zwei reiche Kaufleute aus Pressburg (Bratislava), deren Text mit der Formel „quo(rum) a(n)i(m)e requiesca(n)t in santa pace“ schließt. Einfache Texte dieser Art findet man auch auf Sepukralien Georgs III., Graf von St. Georgen (†1467) in St. Georgen (Svätý Jur), des Kammergrafen Georg Körndl (†1479) oder auch des Bürgers Johannes Hohel (†1480) aus Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica). Eine andere Variante dieser Formel stellt der Text „cuius anima Deo vivat“ auf der Grabplatte des Probstes und Kanonikers von Weißenburg

¹⁶ Es handelt sich um eine fragmentarisch erhaltene Grabplatte eines Pressburger Klerikers, gestorben 1474, noch vor kurzem falsch auf das Jahr 1403 datiert (zur richtigen Datierung und Bestimmung, dass es sich um eine (lateinisch-)deutsche Inschrift handelt sowie zur Lesung „anno · d(omi)ni · m(illesimo) · cccc / und · in · de(m) 74 ist · gestorben _ _ Jus · de(n?) · ai(n)st(?) · [_] de(m) got[.] / genedig sei“ vgl. näher: ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel. Bratislava : Chronos, 2007, S. 208).

¹⁷ Anno do(min)i mo cccc lxxxo iiio ist ge/starbe(n) der erber herr Mert Gail/sam am osterabent de(m) got ge/nadig sei amen.

¹⁸ Hie leid [be]grab(e)n der [Edl/un] / fest l[in _ _ d.] ist gestorb(e)n / des nast(e)n Montag nach [_ _] / [_ _] jar dem got genedig sei.

¹⁹ Hie leid pegrab(e)n der Edel Ritter her Wilhalm Von Wulkendarff vn(d) ist gestarb(e)n an allersel(e)n tag im dem got gnad.

(Alba Iulia) Mathias Illesházy (†1510) oder der Sophia Illesházy (†1547) in Eliášovce in der Südwestslowakei dar.

Das ausgehende Mittelalter bringt bereits kompliziertere und vielschichtigere Darstellungen auf Sepulkralien mit sich. Als Beispiel lässt sich hier stellvertretend etwa die Grabplatte von Johannes de Peren (János Perényi bzw. Ján z Perína, † 1458) in Trebischau (Trebíšov) in der Ostslowakei aufführen. Es handelt sich um eine Grabplatte mit stilisiertem Wappen im Bildfeld: Über dem Wappenschild erhebt sich der gekrönte Helm mit Helmkreis und Helmdecken; neben der Umschrift finden sich Worte auch im Spruchband in der rechten oberen Ecke („ma(r)ia ora p(ro) nob(is)“) und in der bernhardinischen Sonne mit der Inschrift „ih(esu)s“, die man gleichwohl als Frömmigkeit bekundende Texte deuten kann. Der Erlöser wird im ausgehenden Mittelalter auf Sepulkralien von Klerikern auch mit Formulierung wie „(obiit) in Christo NN.“ erwähnt, so zum Beispiel auf der Gedenktafel für den Pressburger Probst Georg von Schomberg (†1486)²⁰ oder auf der Gedenktafel von Ladislaus Sirokay aus Široké (†1487, „in Christo pater“), des Hilfsbischofs von Erlau (Eger im heutigen Nordungarn, slow. Jáger).



Aber auch im Spätmittelalter verraten manchmal die Körperhaltung der abgebildeten Person oder allgemein verständliche Symbole wie der Kelch oder das Ziborium mehr über die Frömmigkeit als ein schematischer Text auf einem Sepulkraldenkmal selbst. Erst am Ende des Mittelalters lassen sich tatsächlich Devotionsinschriften finden wie der die hl. Maria verehrende Text auf der Grabplatte eines Klerikers aus Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica) aus den 1490er-Jahren: „[A]nno [domi]ni 149[.] / O Florens rosa · mater · d(omi)ni · speciosa · o virgo · mitis · o · f[ecun- diissima] / [vitis clari]or · aurora · p(ro). nobis · iv- giter · ora.“²¹ Es handelt sich hierbei um einen Adventsgesang zur Ehre der Jungfrau Maria.²²

← Abb. 1. Die Grabplatte eines Klerikers aus Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica) aus den 1490er-Jahren mit einem Marienlied (Foto: J. Šedivý).

²⁰ Die Inschrift lautet: „a(nno) · d(omini) · mcccclxxvi · in · d(ie) · s(ancti) · Hyeronimi · ob(iit) · r(everendus) · in / (Chris) to · p(ater) · georg(ius) · de · schonberg · prim(us) · poson(iensis) · / eccl(esiarum) · inf(ulatus) · praep(ositus) · et · universitatis · istropolit(anae) · vic(e) · cancell(arius).“

²¹ Transkribiert mit kleinen Fehlern bereits in: ČELKOVÁ, Mária – MATEJKOVÁ, Adriana: Epigrafické sepulkralné pamiatky v zbierkovom fonde Slovenského banského múzea v Banskej Štiavnici. In: LABUDA, Jozef – MATEJKOVÁ, Adriana (Hg.): *Zborník Slovenského banského múzea* 23 (2012), S. 40–69.

²² Vgl. <http://cantusindex.org/id/203438> (eingesehen am 30. 4. 2021).

Im Unterschied zu Sepulkralien wurde dem liturgischen Gerät seitens der slowakischen Wissenschaft bereits etwas mehr Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Als eine der ersten Forscherinnen muss Eva Toranová angeführt werden, in deren Überblickswerk *Goldschmiedekunst in der Slowakei*²³ sich neben Artefakten von den Anfängen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert auch 20 gotische Gegenstände finden. Daran konnte Ilona Cónová anknüpfen, die einen Versuch der Katalogisierung von sämtlichen gotischen liturgischen Geräten und Goldschmiedearbeiten in der Slowakei unternahm.²⁴ Als dritte Autorin, die einen Überblick über die Entwicklung der liturgischen Geräte im breiteren Kontext des ungarländischen Gebiets bot, ist Evelin Wetter zu nennen.²⁵ Da diese Gegenstände leicht (über)tragbar sind, wäre die Behandlung der Sachlage im Bereich des ehemaligen Oberungarns nicht vollständig, wenn man die aus diesem Gebiet stammenden Gegenstände in ausländischen, vor allem ungarischen Sammlungen nicht einbeziehen würde.²⁶

Während bei den Sepulkralien aus dem untersuchten Gebiet die ersten Inschriften erst im ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert und die Frömmigkeit konnotierende Texte erst seit dem ausgehenden 14. Jahrhundert anzutreffen sind, gab es epigrafische Texte mit frommer devotionaler Funktion an liturgischen Geräten vermutlich bereits in der Missionszeit (9. und 11. Jh.). Es ist nicht eindeutig geklärt, aber immerhin wohl vorauszusetzen, dass diese Funktion bei zwei Inschriftenfragmenten auf kupfernen Plättchen aus einem Tragaltar bzw. Reliquiar aus der slawischen Burgstätte in Bojná (9. Jh.) vorlag. Auf einem kann man den Text „[...]VAVM“ und auf der anderen „[...]NDE“ lesen.

Abgesehen von diesem Einzelfund gibt es allerdings kaum erhaltenes liturgisches Gerät wie Kelche, Ziborien, Patenen, Reliquiare usw. aus dem Frühmittelalter. Von den mit liturgischen Ritualen verbundenen Gegenständen sind aus dem Zeitraum des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts insbesondere metallene Kreuze bzw. Metallteile hölzerner Kreuze erhalten geblieben. Sie werden als Pazifikalkreuze (verzierte Kreuze, manchmal mit Reliquien versehen) oder als Prozessionskreuze (hölzerne Kreuze mit Skulptur des Gekreuzigten, getragen bei einer Prozession) gedeutet. Hölzerne Teile der Kreuze blieben nicht erhalten, aber die kleinen Figuren des Gekreuzigten aus Metall gibt es vereinzelt in Sammlungen slowakischer Museen, so z. B. die Plastik des sog. Gekreuzigten aus dem 12.-13. Jh. aus Veľký Kamenec in der Sammlung des Ostslowakischen Museums in Kaschau (Košice).

Sofern die Kreuze mit einer Inschrift versehen waren, handelte es sich um die allgemein verbreitete Abkürzung INRI – dies ist auch zum Beispiel bei einem metallenen Kreuz mit angebrachter Jesus-Metallplastik aus dem 13. Jahrhundert von einem nicht näher bekannten Ort der Fall, das aus dem Nachlass von Emerich (Imre) Henszlmann (1813-1888) in das Ostslowakische

²³ TORANOVÁ, Eva: *Zlatníctvo na Slovensku*, Bratislava : Tatran, 1975.

²⁴ Vgl. CÓNOVÁ, Ilona: Gotické zlatnícke liturgické predmety na Slovensku – inventár [Gotische liturgische Goldschmiedegegenstände in der Slowakei - Inventar]. In: *Galéria – Ročenka SNG*, 2002, S. 99-122. Die Arbeit knüpfte an ein internes Material derselben Autorin an: *Gotické zlatnícke liturgické predmety na Slovensku*, Internes Material des Denkmalschutzamts der Slowakischen Republik von 1995, 1996 u. 1999.

²⁵ WETTER, Evelin: *Objekt, Überlieferung und Narrativ. Spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst im historischen Königreich Ungarn* (=Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensis 8). Ostfildern : Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2010.

²⁶ Vgl. dazu z. B. KOLBA, Judit H.: *Liturgische Goldschmiedearbeiten im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum, 14.-17. Jahrhundert*. Budapest : MNM, 2004, und: LOVAG, Zsuzsa: *Mittelalterliche Bronzegegenstände des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums*. Budapest : MNM, 1999.

Museum gelangte.²⁷ Dieses Kreuz hat auf der Rückseite fünf Medaillons („agnus Dei“ in der Mitte, flankiert von Symbolen der vier Evangelisten, mit identifizierenden Namen). Um den „agnus“ ist die Umschrift mit frühgotischer Majuskel „+ FLECTERE PENDENTI GENVS HVMANVM REDIMETI.“²⁸ Auf dem untersuchten Gebiet gab es während der Romanik und Frühgotik sicherlich auch Reli-



quiare verschiedener Form – einige vielleicht auch mit Inschriften versehen; leider ist aber keins erhalten geblieben.

← Abb. 2: Das Kreuz mit einer Christus bezeichnenden Inschrift, 2. Drittel des 13. Jhs. (?); Kaschau (Košice).

In höherer Zahl kann man jedoch devotionalen Inschriften am liturgischen Gerät erst ungefähr auf dieselbe Zeit wie bei den Sepulkralien datieren – nämlich in das 14. und besonders das 15. Jahrhundert. Vor allem an Kelchen finden sich Dutzende einfacher frommer Anrufungen Gottes oder der Gottesmutter. Gravierte Buchstaben von Namen „+ IHESVS“ bzw. „+ MARIA“ (in älterer Zeit bis ca. 1370-1380 in gotischer Majuskel, in der späteren Periode in gotischer Minuskel) wurden entweder am Nodus bzw. an den herausra-

genden Rotuli oder am Hals der Kelche angebracht. Solche Kelche sind etwa bekannt aus Betheisdorf (Betlanovce; 14. Jh.), Weinitz (Bojnice; 2. Hälfte des 15. Jhs.), Bersewitz (Brezovica; 2. Hälfte des 15. Jhs.), Neusohl – Stadtteil Sankt Jakob (Banská Bystrica – Stadtteil Jakub; 2. Hälfte des 15. Jhs.) u. a. O.²⁹

Außer den kurzen Votivinschriften kamen seltener auch längere epigrafische Texte auf den Kelchen vor, meistens auf der Kuppel. Als Beispiel lassen sich eine fromme Inschrift „ad hono(r)e(m) s(ancte) Marie v(ir)g(inis) Cristanus pl(e)b(a)n(u)s Bartphen(sis)“ und drei hintereinander folgende Ausrufe „s(ancta) m/a/r/i/a“ auf dem Kelch aus Bartfeld (Bardejov; 1450er- bis 1460er-Jahre) anführen. Ein anderer Kelch aus derselben Gegend (1511) trägt eine um Hilfe bittende Inschrift auf Deutsch: „hilf · heilige · frav · sant · ana · salb · drit“ (und kurze Namensnennungen „M/A/R/I“ und „IH(ESU)S“ sowie die Datierung „1511“).³⁰

²⁷ Am oberen Rand des Kreuzes befindet sich der Text „IH(ESU)S NAZ/ARENVS / REX IVD/EORVM“.

²⁸ GINELLOVÁ, Mária: Liturgické zlatnícke práce [Liturgische Goldschmiedearbeiten]. In: GLATZ, Anton C. (Hg.): Gotické umenie z košických zbierok. Košice : Východoslovenské múzeum vo Košiciach, 1995, S. 148.

²⁹ CÓNOVÁ, Ilona: Gotické zlatnícke liturgické predmety, Internes Dokument des Denkmalschutzamts der Slowakischen Republik, wie in Anm. 24.

³⁰ Zur Transkription (mit kleinen Fehlern) vgl. ČOVAN, Miroslav: Historické nápisy zo Šariša do roku 1650 wie in Anm. 3, S. 81 und 98.

Die Verbreitung solcher Kelche kann man sich dank der zeitgenössischen Testamente besser vorstellen: allein in Pressburg (Bratislava) wurden zwischen 1441 und 1516 insgesamt 38 Kelche testamentarisch gestiftet, die meisten sicher wenigstens mit kurzen Namen Gottes und Mariens versehen. Allein in den drei Pfarrkirchen der Stadt, in der Pfarrkirche für den Schlossgrund, in zwei Ordenskirchen und in den Kapellen auf der Burg und in der Stadt kann man also am Ende des Mittelalters das Vorhandensein von 60 bis 100 Kelchen annehmen.

Kurze Inschriften mit dem Namen Gottes oder der Jungfrau Maria kann man auch an Rotuli oder am Hals spätgotischer Ziborien erwarten. An der Kuppa dieser Inschriftenträger konnten auch längere Votivtexte bzw. Verewigungen der frommen Stifter angebracht werden. Kurze Inschriften finden sich auf Patenen, z. B. der Schriftzug „ih(esu)s“ auf der Patene aus Bartfeld (Bardejov; 15. Jh.).³¹ Einfache Darstellungen des Namens Gottes bildeten auch einen Bestandteil weiterer Inschriftenträger im sakralen Raum, die mit der Liturgie verbunden waren, z. B. das Pastoforiumsgitter aus dem ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert im Pressburger Martinsdom.³² In derselben Kirche findet sich auch ein Beispiel eines weiteren Inschriftenträgers, der mit der Sakramentenspendung zusammenhängt: Auf dem oberen Rand der Kuppa eines gotischen Taufbeckens (1409) liest man eine lateinisch-deutsche Inschrift „+ an(n)o · do(min)i · mi(llesim)o o · ccccmo · IXo · tercia feria · ante · die(m) · viti · m(artiris) · sa(n)cctus · martinus · Ulreich · Ravchenbarter · pei · des · ceiten · i(hesu) · n(azareni) · r(ege) · i(udeorum).“ Der Vergleich von Devotionsbezeichnungen auf liturgischen Geräten belegt dieselben Intentionen wie derartige Texte in zeitgenössischen liturgischen Handschriften (z. B. im Pressburger Missale G), nämlich dass die Gegenstände dem allmächtigen Gott, der Jungfrau Maria und den Schutzheiligen der Pfarrkirche bzw. des Stifters gewidmet wurden.



← Abb. 3 a, b.
Beispiel einer kurzen Inschrift mit den Namen Gottes und der Jungfrau Maria auf dem Kelch aus dem Schatz des Martinsdoms in Pressburg (Bratislava): Gesamtwerk und Detail mit „us“ von „ihesus“ oben und „ma“ von „maria“ unten.

³¹ CÓNOVÁ, Ilona: *Gotické zlatnicke liturgické predmety*, Internes Material des Denkmalschutzamts der Slowakischen Republik, wie in Anm. 29, S. 13.

³² Als das zentrale Motiv befindet sich auf dem Gitter die bernardinische Sonne mit dem Text „yh(esu)s“ und darunter eine Inschrift, die einen Meister (und vielleicht einen der Stifter (?)) identifiziert: „Sigmund · fischer · schlosser · zv · wien.“



↑ Abb. 4. Votivinschrift auf dem Taufbecken des Pressburger Martinsdoms: „*pei · des · ceiten · i (hesu) · n(azareni) · r(ege) · i(udeorum)*“ aus dem Jahre 1409.

Eine besondere, abgeschlossene Gruppe bilden weitere Inschriftenträger mit Texten, die oft Frömmigkeit und Devotion konnotieren – die Glocken. Die meisten von den etwas mehr als 100 erhaltenen mittelalterlichen Glocken stammen aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Die beiden ältesten, ein archäologischer Fund aus Bojná aus dem 9. Jh. und eine kleine Sanktus-Glocke aus Deutschendorf-Matzdorf (Poprad-Matejovce) aus dem 13. Jh. tragen keine Inschriften. Auf die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts wurden mehrere Glocken datiert (10-15), aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts stammt eine ähnliche Anzahl (15-20) und aus dem übrigen Zeitraums des ungarländischen Mittelalters (bis ca. 1526) sind ungefähr 70 Glocken erhalten. Die kampanologischen Texte sind also etwa so alt wie die auf Sepulkralien oder Liturgika (die ältesten sind aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., mit Höhepunkt in der 2. Hälfte des 15. und im 1. Viertel des 16. Jhs.). Von den erhaltenen Glocken tragen fast 80 % einen begleitenden Text.³³

Auch bei Glockeninschriften wenden sich die frommen Auftraggeber vor allem an Gott bzw. Jesus Christus, an die Mutter Gottes und an den Pfarrheiligen bzw. die Pfarrheilige. Die Anzahl der Glockeninschriften in der Slowakei ist überschaubar, deshalb kann man eine Übersichtsstatistik realisieren. Am meisten (ca. 32 %) wird in den Texten die Wortverbindung „*O, rex glorie,*

³³ Für die erste Auflistung der mittelalterlichen Glocken aus der Slowakei (mit inschriftenpaläografischen Angaben) s. ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Písmo na stredovekých zvonoch z územia Slovenska [Schrift auf den mittelalterlichen Glocken aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei]. In: *Monument revue* (Bratislava) 4 (2015), Heft 2, S. 26-34.

veni cum pace“ verwendet.³⁴ Es handelt sich um ein Gebet, beruhend auf Texten, die bei der Einweihung einer Kirche benutzt wurden, das später zum meistgebrauchten Glockentext wurde.³⁵ Belegt ist er im Ansatz (nur der Teil „*O REX*“) bereits auf einer der ältesten erhaltenen Glocken aus Kesseck (Kysak; 1375), aber auch auf nur wenig jüngeren oder sogar zeitgenössischen Glocken aus Großkapeln (Veľká Paka), Marksdorf (Markušovce) und Deutschendorf-Matzdorf (Poprad-Matejovce) – alle aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jhs. – und auf zahlreichen jüngeren Objekten.

Nach der Anrufung Gottes kommt an zweiter Stelle in den Glockeninschriften die Anbetung der Mutter Gottes Maria (in ca. 21 % der Fälle). Es kommen einfache Widmungen an Maria vor wie „anno domini millesimo cccc xxxvi fvsa est ista campana ad honorem marie virginis de nagmihal“ in Großmichel (Michalovce; 1436). Ziemlich oft trifft man auf das biblische Zitat aus der Verkündigungsszene: „Ave Maria gratia plena dominus tecum“, etwa in Skrabské (1. Hälfte des 15. Jhs.), Butsch (Budča; 1512), Kaschau (Košice; 1516). Mitunter kommen auch längere Texte vor, so z. B. der Anfang der Antiphon „*regina · celi · letare · alleluia · quia · qvem · mervisti · portare · alleluia · ora · pro no(b)is m cccc l xxix*“ von Sankt Anton in der Au (Svatý Anton; 1479, 1480).

Sowohl der Name Gottes als auch die Mutter Gottes werden immerhin noch bei weiteren 13 % der Texte erwähnt, was zusammen (Gott und hl. Jungfrau Maria) fast zwei Drittel aller Erwähnungen in Glockentexten darstellt. Solch eine Inschrift trägt zum Beispiel die Glocke aus der Pressburger Laurentius-Kirche („yn · dem namen · yhesvs · maria · [g]oss · ich · maister · feyt · mavsser“) oder eine jüngere Glocke aus der Kirche in Kurth (Ohrady; 1482): „*O rex glorie veni cum pace O Maria pia sis nobiscum in via Amen M CCCC LXXXII Magister thoma.*“³⁶

Das übrige Drittel der Erwähnungen fällt unter zwei Kategorien gemäß der angebeteten (angesprochenen) Personen: insgesamt 14 % der Gesamtzahl bilden Texte mit den Namen der heiligen Evangelisten³⁷ und insgesamt 20 % aller anderen Texte mit Namen anderer Heiliger: Je dreimal wurde der hl. Georg zitiert und Allerheiligen, je zweimal die hl. Anna, Sophia, Johannes der Täufer, Bartholomäus und Egidius sowie die drei Könige.

Man findet aber auch Texte, die sowohl in die eine wie auch die andere Gruppe gehören – etwa gemeinsame fromme Stiftungen an Gott, Maria und den Patron der Ortskirche. Als Beispiel ist die Glocke aus Bartfeld (Bardejov; 1486) anzuführen mit dem Text: „*in · dem · 1·4·86 · iore · ist · gemacht · dis · [w]erck · in · der · ere · gots · und · der · junckfraven · marie · vnd · sanct · egidy · dvrch · meister · hansen · vagner · vom · nevndorf.*“

³⁴ Statistik laut ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Písmo na stredovekých zvonoch z územia Slovenska, wie in Anm. 33.

³⁵ LUNGA, Radek – GEMBICKÝ, Juraj: Nejstarší slovenské zvony v souvislostech památkové péče [Die ältesten slowakischen Glocken in Zusammenhängen des Denkmalschutzes]. In: *Monument revue* (Bratislava) 4 (2015), Heft 2, S. 16–25, das Zitat: S. 25.

³⁶ BARČÁKOVÁ, Zuzana: *Pôvodcovia zvonov a zvony v okrese Dunajská Streda* [Die Stifter der Glocken und die Glocken im Landkreis Niedermarkt] (Diplomarbeit). Trnava : Trnavská univerzita in Trnave, Institut für Geschichte, 2001, S. 16.

³⁷ Zum Beispiel im Text auf einer heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Glocke aus Groß-Magendorf (Veľký Meder) von 1467: „*Johannes Lucas Marcus Matheus An(n)o D(omi)no (!) M CCCC LXVII.*“ Zitiert nach BARČÁKOVÁ, Zuzana: *Pôvodcovia zvonov*, wie in Anm. 36, S. 16.



↑ Abb. 5 a, b. Glocke aus der Kirche in Birndorf (Spišský Hrušov) mit einer frommen Inschrift: „*fili dei miserere nobis · anno d(omi)ni · 1521 · per · m(a)g(ist)r(u)m · andream.*“

Der mittelalterliche Besucher einer Kirche nahm sicher die liturgischen Gegenstände in den Händen des Priesters wahr und reflektierte die Sepulkralien an den Wänden und im Fußboden. Die Glocken waren jedoch angesichts ihrer Platzierung in Kirch- bzw. Glockentürmen kaum den Augen der Gläubigen zugänglich. Am meisten haben vermutlich die Wand- und Tafelgemälde

auf die Sinne der Besucher einer Kirche gewirkt. Es gibt bereits einige Überblicke zur Entwicklung der Kunsgattung der Wandmalerei im Bereich des ganzen vormaligen Königreichs Ungarn,³⁸ des Gebiets der heutigen Slowakei³⁹ sowie für einige einzelne historische Regionen wie die Zips (Spiš),⁴⁰ Gemer mit Kleinhont (Malohont)⁴¹ oder die Liptau (Liptov).⁴² Zum Thema der Tafelmalerei liegt bereits eine synthetische Arbeit von Libuše Cidlinská vor.⁴³ Erzeugnisse neuerer Forschungen sowie weitere zusammenfassende Betrachtungen findet man auch in Kataologen zu Landesausstellungen über die Gotik und Renaissance auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei.⁴⁴

Wandgemälde sind bereits für die großmährischen Kirchen des 9. Jahrhunderts in Pressburg (Bratislava) und Theben (Devín) belegt. Auch aus dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert gibt es einige erhaltene Beispiele für Wandmalerei, z. B. in Kostoľany pod Tríbečom. Die bildlichen Darstellungen hätten dort, wo es bereits alphabetisierte Rezipienten gab, wie im Umfeld der Kapitelkirchen in Pressburg (Bratislava), Neutra (Nitra) und später auch in der Zips (Spiš) sowie in den ältesten Klosterkirchen an Orten wie Zobor und Sankt Benedikt (Hronský Beňadik) vielleicht schon zu dieser Zeit auch von Texten begleitet werden können. Allerdings sind die ältesten Inschriften auf Wandgemälden erst seit der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts belegt in den Kirchen in Suwetitz (Šivetice) und Dechtitz (Dechtice). Im 13. und teilweise auch noch im 14. Jahrhundert stellten die Inschriften jedoch nur eine sekundäre Information dar; der Text identifizierte die abgebildete Person sekundär als Ergänzung zu einer primären Identifikation durch ihr visuelles kennzeichnendes Attribut. Zu den ersten Inschriften, die fromme Intentionen für die Nachwelt vermittelten, gehört wohl ein Text bei Szenen von Christi Auferstehung aus dem Grab und vom Schweißtuch der Veronika in der Kirche von Zelis (Železovce) aus dem letzten Drittel des 14. Jhs. Zwischen den beiden Motiven steht eine Inschrift, die mit den Szenen nicht mehr direkt zusammenhängt und eine fromme Stiftung verewigt: „*HOC · OP(US) · FECIT · DEPINGI · IN · HONOREM · CORPORIS · [CHRISTI]*“. Einen weiteren Schritt in der Ablösung des Textes vom Bild stellt die Anbringung von Passagen aus der Bibel bei neutestamentarischen Szenen wie in der

³⁸ Vgl. RADOCSAY, Dénes: *A középkori Magyarország falképei* [Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei aus Ungarn]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954; RADOCSAY, Dénes: *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon* [Wandmalerei im mittelalterlichen Ungarn], Budapest : Corvina Kiadó, 1977; RADOCSAY, Dénes: *Wandgemälde im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, Budapest : Corvina_Verlag, 1977.

³⁹ DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta – KRÁSA, Josef – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku* [Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei in der Slowakei], Bratislava : Tatran, 1978; TOGNER, Milan: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku. Súčasný stav poznania* [Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei in der Slowakei. Heutiger Erkenntnisstand] (Addenda et corrigenda). Bratislava : Tatran, 1988.

⁴⁰ TOGNER, Milan: Fragment aus Debno – älteste Tafelmalerei auf polnischem Gebiet und die Anfänge der Zipser Malerei. In: *Umění* (Praha) 41 (1993), Heft 5, S. 281–286.

⁴¹ TOGNER, Milan: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba v Gemeri* [Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei in Gemer]. Bratislava : Tatran, 1989; PLEKANEC, Vladimír – HAVIAR, Tomáš: *Gotický Gemer a Malohont. Italianizmy v stredovekej nástennej malbe* [Die gotischen Regionen Gemer und Kleinhont. Italianismen in der mittelalterlichen Wandmalerei]. Martin : Vydavateľstvo Matice slovenskej, 2010.

⁴² BIATHOVÁ, Katarína: *Maliarske prejavy stredovekého Liptova* [Malerische Äußerungen der mittelalterlichen Liptau]. Bratislava : Tatran, 1983.

⁴³ CIDLINSKÁ, Libuše: *Gotické krídlové oltáre* [Gotische Flügelaltäre]. Bratislava : Tatran, 1989.

⁴⁴ BURAN, Dušan (Hg.): *Gotika. Dejiny výtvarného umenia na Slovensku* [Gotik. Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in der Slowakei]. Bratislava : Slovart, 2003; RUSINA Ivan (Hg.): *Renesancia. Dejiny výtvarného umenia na Slovensku* [Renaissance. Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Slowakei]. Bratislava : Slovart, 2009.

Kirche in Ludrová dar (ca. 1420-1440); die Texte bestimmen nicht mehr die Personen selbst, sondern sind eher Dialoge der Personen innerhalb der in der Bibel beschriebenen Handlungen.

Erst im 15. Jahrhundert trifft man auf kompliziertere Texte, die keine Identifikation der abgebildeten Personen, keine Dialoge aus der biblischen Vorlage und keine Stifterinschriften darstellen, wobei sie immer noch eine Ergänzung bzw. nähere Erläuterungen der abgebildeten Szenen vermitteln. Als Paradebeispiel solcher längeren, mit Wandmalerei verbundenen Texte frommen Inhalts kann man die bekannten Moralitätsszenen aus Leutschau (Levoča) anführen. Am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts wurden die sieben Werke der Barmherzigkeit wie auch die sieben Todsünden abgebildet und über den abgebildeten Szenen wurden längere Passagen mit Erklärungen in deutscher Sprache angebracht. Die Existenz solcher Texte (notabene in der Volkssprache) verweist auf das Bestehen eines gebildeten Laienpublikums, das sich Beispiele an den frommen

Taten nehmen sollte. Längere Texte an den Kirchenwänden findet man im ausgehenden Mittelalter, auch bereits ohne dazugehörige bildliche Szenen, wie die Wandchronik in der Jakobskirche in Leutschau (Levoča).



← Abb. 6: Das Credo an der Wand der Elisabethkirche in Kaschau (Košice; 1. Hälfte des 15. Jhs.).



← Abb. 7: Fromme Moralitätsszenen aus Leutschau (Levoča) mit Texten über die sieben Werke der Barmherzigkeit und die sieben Todsünden (aus dem frühen 15. Jh.).

Wie einige seltene Beispiele belegen, konnten auch Graffitis einen frommen Inhalt vermitteln. So gibt es in der Kirche von Lechnitz (Červený Kláštor) in einem Wandgemälde der Kreuzigungsszene aus dem frühen 16. Jh. ein nur wenig jüngeres Graffito – positioniert zwischen dem Kreuz und der Johannesfigur – mit einer frommen Notiz, dass die Menschheit durch das Kreuz befreit worden sei: „*Et per sanctam crucem liberati sumus*“.

Im Bereich des Profanen gab es Inschriften, auch mit frommem Inhalt, vor allem an Gebäuden und auf Luxusgegenständen des Alltags. Die Texte der ersten Gruppe kann man insbesondere an wichtigen öffentlichen Bauwerken erwarten (bspw. Rathaus, Eingangstore in der Stadtbefestigung, Pranger etc.). Eine der wenigen mittelalterlichen Bildausstattungen eines Rathauses kann man bis heute in Neusohl (Banská Bystrica) bewundern. Die Wandmalereien sind in diesem Fall vermutlich jedoch bereits vor der Adaptation des Gebäudes für die Zwecke der Stadt an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jh. noch unter Kammergraf Veit Mühlstein im zweiten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts entstanden. An Privathäusern wurden fromme oder sonstige Texte nur selten angebracht. Als eines der wenigen Beispiele findet sich eine beschädigte Inschrift mit den Worten „[be]ned(ica) · d(omi)ne // domu(m) · [i(s)ta(m)]“ an einem Privathaus in Leutschau (Levoča) in der Fleischhackerstraße (Mäsiarska ulica 15).⁴⁵

Zu den ältesten mit Texten begleiteten Gegenständen der Alltagskultur gehören christliche Halsanhänger aus der Missionszeit (9. bzw. 11. Jh.). Sie kommen vor allem in Kreuzform vor, mit oder ohne Figur des Gekreuzigten. Einen solchen Typus illustriert der Fund aus eines der Zentren des Großmährischen Reiches in Ungarisch Hradisch – Stadtteil Derfla (Uherské Hradiště – Stadtteil Sady) mit einer christologischen Inschrift in griechischer Schrift (9. Jh.).⁴⁶ Eine jüngere Analogie, obwohl nur mit Initialbuchstaben Christi in griechischer Schrift (IC XC) versehen, trägt ein Kreuzanhänger (10.-11. Jh.) aus Velká Mača bei Gallandau (Galanta), heute im Archäologischen Museum in Pressburg (Bratislava).⁴⁷

Unter luxuriöseren Alltagsgegenständen kann man seit dem frühen 13. Jahrhundert (Siegel)ringe und später beim Adel (und seit dem 14. Jahrhundert auch bei Bürgern) das Vorhandensein eines Typars (Siegelstempels) voraussetzen. Ein Typar symbolisiert seinen Inhaber. Während man bei königlichen Typaren die fromme Devotionsformel „Dei gratia“ findet, wurde an Typaren der weniger vornehmen Personen im Siegel eine bescheidendere Form der Devotion angebracht, ein Kreuz am Anfang der Inschrift als eine grafische Invokation. Diese Form findet man auf fast allen Siegeln, ob privater Art, wie z. B. auf dem eines Pfarrers vielleicht aus Sillein (Žilina), der in der Darstellung im Siegel vor der Mutter Gottes mit Jesus kniet – ein Fund aus Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica), aus der Zeit ca. 1270-1330 – oder an korporativen Siegeln, wie an denen der Städte, Märkte, Zünfte usw.

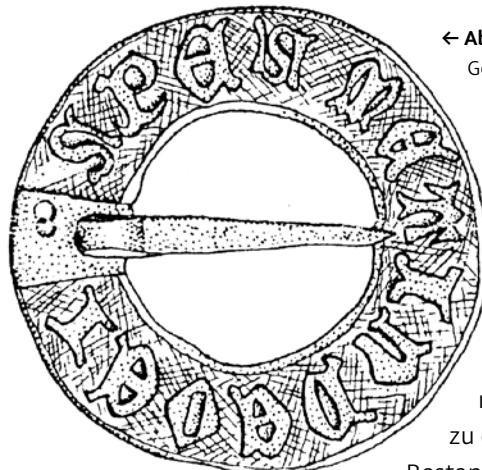
Im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter wurden Votivinschriften auch an Metallschließen oder Buckeln der Bucheinbände realisiert. Zu den am häufigsten vorkommenden Texten gehört „Ave Maria“. Mariologische Invokationen tragen auch Beschläge an Messern aus Schemnitz (Banská

⁴⁵ Für diese Information dankt der Autor an dieser Stelle der Direktorin des Zipser Museums (SNM-Spišské múzeum) in Leutschau (Levoča), PhDr. Mária Novotná.

⁴⁶ SALAŠ, Milan: Kreuzanhänger mit Christusdarstellung und griechischer Inschrift. In: WIECZOREK, Alfried – HINZ, Hans-Martin (Hg.): *Europas Mitte um 1000*, Bd. 3. Stuttgart : Theiss Verlag, 2000, S. 228.

⁴⁷ HOLČÍK, Štefan: Anhänger aus einem Brustkreuz. In: WIECZOREK, Alfried – HINZ, Hans-Martin (Hg.): *Europas Mitte um 1000*, Bd. 3. Stuttgart : Theiss Verlag, 2000, S. 156.

Štiavnica) oder Slowakisch Salzburg (Solivar).⁴⁸ Aus dem Hochmittelalter (ca. Ende 13. bis zweites Drittel des 14. Jhs.) stammt eine Inschrift auf der Gürtelschnalle aus Dutzo (Ducové) „*SPES MEA IN DEO E. I.*“.⁴⁹



← Abb. 8: Gürtelschnalle mit Inschrift „Meine Hoffnung ist in Gott“ aus Dutzo (Ducové; 15. Jh.).

Fromme Inschriftentexte wurden aber auch an verschiedenen anderen Inschriftenträgern angebracht; zum Beispiel findet sich die Inschrift „*Maria hilf uns*“ auch auf einem Keramikbecher aus Pressburg (Bratislava) oder die Inschrift „*Ihesus*“ auf einem Bruchstück eines Keramikgefäßes aus Freistadt (Hlohovec), zu erwähnen ist auch eine Keramikkachel aus dem Bestand des Mittelslowakischen Museums in Neusohl (Banská Bystrica) mit einfacher Inschrift „*marya*“.⁵⁰ Vor allem die letzteren Inschriften illustrieren, dass dieser Ausdruck der Frömmigkeit, der ungefähr bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts noch fast keinen Platz in der epigrafischen Kultur eingenommen hatte und dessen sichtbare Präsenz im nachfolgenden halben Jahrhundert bei Inschriften in Etablierung begriffen war, seit dem 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert vornehmlich in größeren Zentren zu einem festen Bestandteil des täglichen Lebens der damaligen Menschen wurde.⁵¹

⁴⁸ SLIVKA, Michal: Inskripcie v stredovekom archeologickom materiáli z územia Slovenska I. In: *Archaeologia historica* (Brno) 42 (2017), Heft 2, S. 819-847.

⁴⁹ Für die Abbildung s. FURMÁNEK, Václav – RUTTKAY, Alexander – ŠIŠKA, Stanislav: *Dejiny dävnokešho Slovenska*. Bratislava : Tatran, 1991, S. 102.

⁵⁰ SLIVKA, Inskripcie, wie in Anm. 48.

⁵¹ Die Forschungen für diese Studie wurden durch die slowakische Agentur für Unterstützung der Forschung und Entwicklung (APVV), das Projekt APVV-19-0043 CANTUS PLANUS in der Slowakei: lokale Elemente – transregionale Verhältnisse [CANTUS PLANUS in Slovakia: Local Elements – Transregional Connections] 2020 – 2024, unterstützt.

Eva VESELOVSKÁ – Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ

CANTUS PLANUS in Slovakia: Local Elements – Transregional Connections. Images of Piety on the Example of Mediaeval Fragments from Betliar and Kežmarok

Abstract

Sources of mediaeval musical culture from the territory of Slovakia document the musical repertoire of Latin liturgical chant (*cantus planus* in Latin) from the late eleventh century to the early sixteenth century. Most of the materials, however, survived only fragmentarily. Today, mediaeval fragments can be found in their secondary function as bindings of younger books and manuscripts in several archives, museums, and libraries. This study focuses on the analysis of certain musical sources from two historical libraries, the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok, and the former aristocratic library of the Andrásy family in the Betliar Mansion (Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum). A part of the musical materials of both libraries represents samples of European scribal, liturgical, and musical traditions of various provenance. An important part, however, is formed by manuscripts from domestic, Hungarian scriptoria, exhibiting mainly local elements.

Keywords: Slovakia, Middle Ages, fragment, cantus planus, plainchant, liturgy

Research on the mediaeval notated fragments of both these institutions shares several characteristics. All the sources document monophonic liturgical chant, the so-called cantus planus, or plainchant. A part of the musical materials was brought to Slovakia already in their secondary function, i.e. their binding was made outside the territory of Slovakia and these sources of music document the musical and liturgical traditions of other regions. Some bindings, however, were made in Slovakia using manuscripts from mediaeval Hungary, mostly from the Spiš region, as parchment material. Palaeographical and contentual (liturgical and musicological) analysis revealed either the transfer of musical codices from the place of their origin and use (manuscripts from Bohemia, Germany, Poland, Austria, or even Belgium) or the local specificities of Hungarian scriptoria (Spiš circle).¹

The present fragmentary condition of these materials often makes it difficult to specify their provenance and date them accurately. When assessing these materials, three factors must be taken into account in general. The first possible presumption is that the parchment binding with the notated fragments might have been made for a younger manuscript, incunable, or print

¹ The most obvious connections are those with similar materials from Spišská Kapitula, from the Levoča Archives, Spišská Nová Ves Archives, and Poprad Archives of the State Archives in Prešov, and from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Notované fragmenty gregorianského chorálu v archívno-knižničných fondech Bardejova, Prešova a Levoče [Notated Fragments of Gregorian Chant in the Collections of Archives and Libraries in Bardejov, Prešov, and Levoča]*. Ružomberok : Verbum, 2010. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké notované pamiatky v Knižnici Evanjelického a. v. cirkevného zboru v Levoči [Mediaeval Notated Sources in the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Levoča]*. Ružomberok : Verbum, 2010. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké notované fragmenty zo ŠA v Levoči – pobočka Poprad [Mediaeval Notated Fragments from the Poprad Branch of the State Archives in Levoča]*. In: PETÓCZOVÁ, Janka (ed.) *Musica Scepusii Veteris - Stará hudba na Spiši*. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied; Prešov : Súzvuk, 2008, pp. 45-70.

in the place where the print or the younger manuscript was produced (so-called *liber tradens*). The second possibility is that the parchment was placed into the binding in some major European bookbinding workshop. The third alternative is that the cover was made in or near the place where it was used (by a local bookbinder). In Lutheran libraries (e.g. in Bratislava, Levoca, or Kežmarok), all the above possibilities of the origin or production of the bindings can be found. On the contrary, in the case of municipal offices or places of authentication (e.g. Spišská Kapitula, the convent in Leles, the Bratislava Chapter, municipal magistrates – e.g. Bratislava, Trenčín, Banská Štiavnica, Banská Bystrica), local, disused liturgical manuscripts were a lot more frequently used for the binding of younger materials. Aristocratic libraries house almost exclusively imported materials (e.g. the Zays' Library in Oponice). The Andrássy's Library in Betliar represents a mixture of all three above cases in an almost equal proportion.

When formulating hypotheses or assessing the provenance of the fragments, an important role pertains also to a multilevel factor. The scribal or notating features of the sources do not always correspond to the musical contents or liturgy copied. Especially towards the end of the Middle Ages, the surviving mediaeval liturgical books exhibit a mixture of various internal (liturgical musical, i.e. contentual) and external (codicological and palaeographical) elements, which represent transregional combinations of the origin of the scribes and of the liturgical models used for copying the manuscripts. As examples of a multi-provenantial attitude and of fusing local and transregional elements, let us mention the late mediaeval *Gradual of King Vladislav*,² the *Košice Gradual*,³ or the *Antiphonary Varadinense*.⁴

Consequently, statements and conclusions about the origin of the fragmentarily surviving sources may not be definitive, and part of the statements may have to be revised in the future in the spirit of later research.⁵

A quick and relatively accurate identification of fragmentarily surviving manuscripts is largely facilitated by national and supranational databases of complete and fragmentary manuscripts.⁶ A network of these databases and a uniform system of naming and making accessible the chants of the liturgy of the Holy Mass and the offices (melodic versions of the tunes or images of the manuscripts) facilitate a quick but detailed, efficient, and thoroughly comparative analysis of fragmentarily surviving materials.⁷

² KISS, Gábor: Mixing Local and Regional, Traditional and Non-traditional Elements: The Case of the *Graduale Wladislai*. In: *Musicologica Brunensis*, vol. 51, 2016, no. 1, pp. 79–90.

³ ADAMKO, Rastislav – VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Graduale Cassoviense (s. XVI in.): Liturgicko-muzikologická štúdia [Graduale Cassoviense (s. XVI in.): A Liturgical Musicological Study]*. Ružomberok : Verbum, 2016.

⁴ CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV. I.-III. (=Musicalia Danubiana 26)*. Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, Department of Early Music, 2019.

⁵ The latest research results and the methodology of processing the fragments in Hungary were summed up by Zsuzsa Czagány. See: CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: Chant Research in Hungary. Traditional Topics, New Directions. In: *Notated Sources from Medieval Europe and Medieval Hungary. Transregional Research and Online Database Building*. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa (eds.). Bratislava – Budapest : Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020, pp. 45–54.

⁶ <http://cantus.sk>; <http://cantusindex.org>; <http://fragmenta.zti.hu>; <http://fragmentarium.ms> [Accessible online, 07/03/2019].

⁷ <http://differentiaedatabase.ca>; <http://cantus.edu.pl>; <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>; <http://cantusbohemiae.cz>; <http://cantusindex.org>; <http://cantusplanus.at/de-at>; <http://dact-chant.ca>; <http://differentiaedatabase.ca> [Accessible online, 07/03/2019].

Mediaeval Notated Fragments in the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

The bindings of some books in the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok preserved thirty-six notated parchment bindings.⁸ The liturgical manuscripts date back to the twelfth, the fourteenth and, most of them, to the fifteenth century. The Lyceum Library in Kežmarok is the largest historical school library not only in Slovakia but in Central Europe, too. The library currently holds over a hundred and fifty thousand books, including two thousand manuscripts, fifty-five incunables, three thousand old prints from before the end of the sixteenth century, and approximately thirty thousand titles from 1601 to 1800.⁹ Research on notated fragments was carried out in Kežmarok in 2007 and 2019.¹⁰ But for one exception, all the fragments document staved notation systems of the High and the Late Middle Ages. One breviary is notated with South German staveless adiastematic neumes from the turn of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The most frequently occurring fragments are those with Messine-Gothic notation (twenty-four fragments), six of which are notated with elements of Bohemian notation mixed with the Messine-Gothic system. Two materials with Messine-Gothic notation exhibit elements of German Gothic notation. Five fragments are notated with the square system and two with German Gothic neumes. Two manuscripts are notated with Bohemian notation. One missal documents Gothic neumes (Cistercians). Four manuscripts come from the latter half of the fourteenth century. Most of the surviving fragments represent the mediaeval scribal tradition of the fifteenth century. Presumably, particularly the fragments with Messine-Gothic notation come from the territory of Slovakia, namely from its Spiš region. The materials with German Gothic neumes were imported to our territory. Two fragments with Bohemian notation come from Bohemia. As for their contents, the surviving mediaeval materials with notation consist of nineteen antiphonaries, six graduals, three sequentiales, two missals, five breviaries, and one hymnal with a mixed musical material.

Several interesting foreign and local materials were identified in Kežmarok.

Sequentiale 1313 from the latter half of the fifteenth century is a fragment with a specific repertoire.¹¹ Originally, it was part of an antiphonary of a large format with Messine-Gothic notation.

⁸ For a more detailed description and analysis of all the fragments from Kežmarok, see: VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitate Kesmarkini.* (=Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medi aevi in Slovacia. Tomus V.). Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2019. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Stredoveké notované fragmenty z knižnice evanjelickej cirkvi a. v. v Kežmarku – transregionálne vzťahy a lokálne špecifika [Mediaeval Notated Fragments from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok: Trans-regional Relationships and Local Specificities]. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, 2020, vol. 11 [37], no. 2, pp. 165–189.

⁹ <https://www.ecavkk.sk/lycealnakaniznica> [Accessible online, 07/03/2019]. A study on composite musical volumes from the Kežmarok library was written by HULKOVÁ, Marta: Ein Musikkonvolut aus der Lyzeumsbibliothek in Kežmarok (Kesmark). In: BAŤA, Jan – HLÁVKOVÁ, Lenka – KROUPA, Jan (eds.) *Musical Culture of the Bohemian Lands and Central Europe before 1620. Series Subsidia III: Clavis Monumentorum Musicorum Regni Bohemiae*. Prague : KLP, 2011, pp. 234–250.

¹⁰ We are very grateful to the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok and to Katarína Slavíčková, a librarian of the Lyceum Library, for their help in finding the materials.

¹¹ *Liber Tradens: Paed. Systema Ethicum In tres libros distributum et sub forma theorematum etc. Marpurgi, Typis et sumptibus Casparis Chemlini. M.DCXXVI.*

The height of the five-line staves exceeded thirty millimetres. A sequence for the Feast of St. Wolfgang, In *Wolfgangi canamus* (a part of verses 9 and 10), rare in the environment of mediaeval Hungary, survived on the fragment. This sequence appears mainly in manuscripts from Austria, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. The text and the tune probably come from Germany, namely from Regensburg (the sequence is attributed to a Benedictine monk, Otloh of St. Emmeram, † c. 1070) where St. Wolfgang (924 – 994) served as a bishop.¹² Within the celebrations of the liturgical year (*proprium de sanctis*), the Feast of St. Wolfgang falls on 31 October, whereas the feast of the translation of his relics is celebrated on 7 October. From among Hungarian sources, the In *Wolfgangi canamus* sequence figures in three manuscripts: *Travelling Missal No. 6268* of the Passau Diocese from the Franciscan Library in Szombathely from 1459, the printed *Missal Strigoniense 1501* from the Cathedral Library of Esztergom, and the Augustinian *Missal MTA Bud. Lat. cod. 4-r27* from the fourteenth century, written for the Austrian part of the Passau Diocese.¹³ Based on the notation system used on the fragment (classical shapes of Messine-Gothic notation without any other elements, five-line stave system), we assume that the original codex was produced in Central Europe (Spiš, Poland, Austria).



← Fig. 1 *Sequentiale No. 1313* from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

Another interesting manuscript is ***Sequentiale 5810***, which comes from a Bohemian environment.¹⁴ This manuscript from the latter half of the fifteenth century contains a sequence for the feast of the patron saint of Bohemia, St. Wenceslaus. The fragment is notated with Bohemian notation, exhibiting the classical shapes of this system. It contains a part of the text of the *Festa mente jucundemur*

¹² During his life, the saint undertook several missionary journeys, including one to Hungary (971).

¹³ RAJECZKY, Benjamin: *Melodiarum Hungariae Medii Aevi I, Hymny et sequentiae* (hereinafter referred to as MH-MA). Budapest : Editio Musica, 1956, no. 74, 109, 137, p. XLVIII. Cantus Index database: <http://cantusindex.org/id/508006>, Cantus ID: 508006 [Accessible online, 16/10/2020]. DREVES, Guido Maria – BLUME, Clemens – BANNISTER, Henry Marriott: *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (hereinafter referred to as AH, vol. I – LV, 1886 – 1925). LV. *Historiae Rhytmicae*. Leipzig, 1889, no. 346 (55–346).

¹⁴ Liber Tradens: Th. 565 Capita Disputationes Theologicae. De Sacrae Scripturae Origine. M. Georgio Weinrichio. Lipsiae. M. D. XCVII.

sequence for the Feast of St. Wenceslaus (28 September), which was used only in the Bohemian liturgical tradition.¹⁵ In Bohemian manuscripts, it figures in the *Sequentiale of Arnošt of Pardubice* (*Sekvenciárium Arnesti de Pardubice Ms P VIII*, Chapter Library Prague, ff. 168^r-174^v) from 1363 – 1374,¹⁶ and in the *Missal of Canon Wenceslaus of Radeč* (*Missale canonici Wenceslai de Radeč CZ-PKap PV, f. 271^v*) from the early fifteenth century.¹⁷ It is one of the seven Latin sequences for the Feast of St. Wenceslaus (*Christe tui preclari, Dulce melos, Festa mente, Salve pater optime, Psallat ecclesia, Letabundus psallat, and Spe mercedis*), sung as part of the *In virtute tua formulary* of the Holy Mass meant for the feasts of St. Wenceslaus.¹⁸ The sequence has a Bohemian origin and was part of the late mediaeval repertoire of the fourteenth century.¹⁹ It mentions the acts of St. Wenceslaus (curing the blind and the paralytic, caring for widows, preparing hosts, helping priests, describing Boleslav's invitation, the celebration before the murder, and the murder of St. Wenceslaus). The melody of the sequence is not an original one, it is a contrafactum of a sequence for the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, *Laudes crucis attolamus*.²⁰ Five lines of text (the ending of verse 20, *Adest stella*, verse 21, *Timet quippe*, verse 22, *Clamat reus*, and part of verse 23, *Wenceslae rex es factus*) and four staves from the last four verses of the sequence have survived on the fragment. The melodic progression is slightly different from the version recorded in the *Sequentiale of Arnošt of Pardubice* (e.g. for the word *vulnerare*, a melodic sequence consisting of a *punctum*, a *climacus*, a *pes*, and a *punctum* is used: *bb* – *cba* – *fg* – *g*; there is a flat for the note *b*; a similar melodic sequence is present for the words *sanctum dei*, but from the note *e*: – *e* – *dcbba* – *bcd*; the melodic ending of verse 22 on the words *regum gracia* is also different: *c* – *ded* – *cba* – *g* – *cba* – *g*).

¹⁵ AH 9-369, p. 269. http://hymnologica.cz/sequences?t=Festa+mente&siglum=&rubrics=&folio=&field_feast_target_id>All&src=All [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

¹⁶ PODLAHA, Antonín: *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých Knihovny kapitulní v Praze* [Catalogue of the Historical and Artistic Sources of the Chapter Library in Prague]. Praha, 1903, no. 120, pp. 232–234. PODLAHA, Antonín: *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské II (F – P)* [Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague II ((F – P))], Praha, 1922, no. 1678. NEJEDLÝ, Zdeněk: *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu v Čechách* [The History of Pre-Hussite Chant in Bohemia]. Praha, 1904, p. 55. OREL, Dobroslav: *Hudební prvky svatováclavské* [Saint Wenceslaus Musical Elements]. In: *Svatováclavský sborník II.3*. Prague, 1937, pp. 545–548; VLHOVÁ-WÖRNER, Hana: Das Repertorium der Sequenzen in Böhmen bis 1400. In: *CANTUS PLANUS 1990*, Budapest, 1992, pp. 463–468. VLHOVÁ-WÖRNER, Hana: Fama crescit eundo. Der Fall: Domazlaus predicator, der älteste böhmische Sequenzendichter. In: *Hudební věda* 39, 2002, pp. 311–330. VLHOVÁ, Hana: Das Sequentiar des Arnestus von Pardubice: das Repertoire und sein Verhältnis zum „Prager Ritus“. In: *Miscellanea musicologica XXXVII*, Praha : Karolinum, 2003, pp. 69–88. VLHOVÁ, Hana: Sequentiarum Arnesti, PVIII. In: *Miscellanea musicologica XXXVII*, Praha : Karolinum, 2003, pp. 284–289.

¹⁷ PODLAHA, *Soupis rukopisů* [Catalogue of Manuscripts], Ref. 16, no. 1673. PODLAHA, *Soupis památek* [Catalogue of Manuscripts], Ref. 16, no. 115, pp. 216–224.

¹⁸ OREL, *Hudební prvky*, Ref. 16, p. 168.

¹⁹ OREL, *Hudební prvky*, Ref. 16, pp. 200–209.

²⁰ AH 54-120, p. 188. The melody of the *Laudes crucis* sequence was very popular and was sung also for sequences for St. Ludmila, St. Giles, and, in Hungary, St. Ladislaus. For more on sequences in mediaeval Hungary, see: KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Monuments of Medieval Liturgical Poetry in Hungary. Sequences. Critical Edition of Melodies*. (= *Musica Sacra Hungarica 1.*), Budapest : Argumentum – Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music – Church Music Research Group, 2017, p. 93* (hereinafter referred to as MMLPH).



↑ Fig. 2 Sequentiale No. 5810 from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

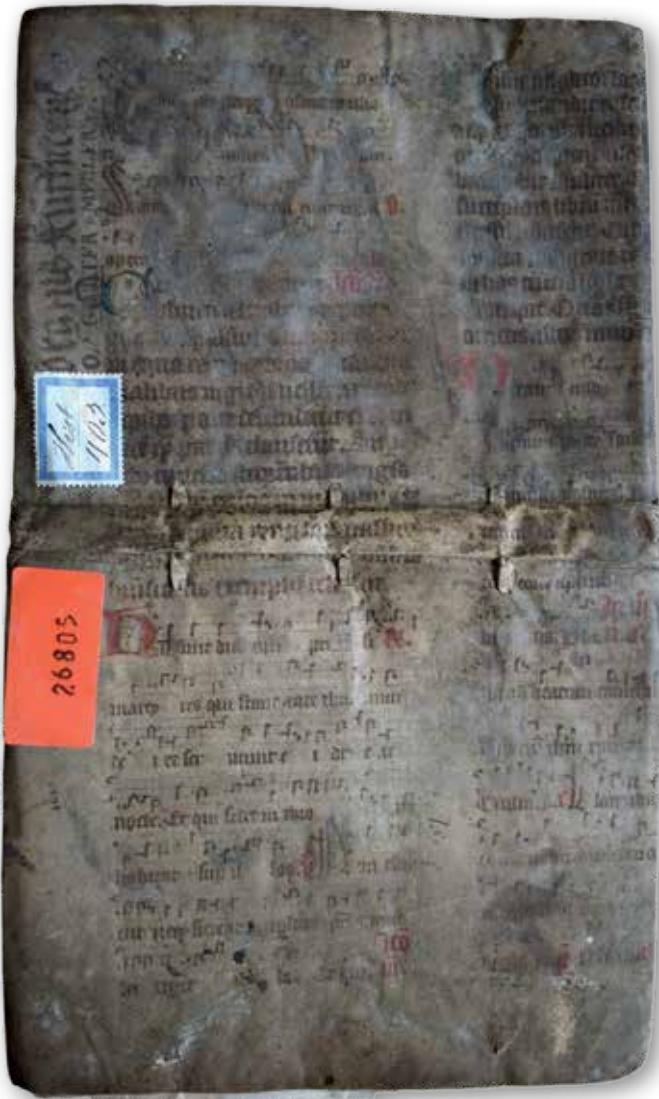
Highly valuable materials include **Breviary 26805** from the late fourteenth century, which documents German Gothic neumes.²¹ The character of the notation points to a Cistercian environment. A similar type of notation, with preference for virga and for German symbols, figures e.g. in *Missal GR 6286* from the State Scientific Library in Košice.²² The fragment preserved part of the liturgical texts and chants for the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (*Exaltatio Crucis*, 14 September) or, more probably, for the Feast of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian (16 September). The source contains responsories and antiphons for the matins, known e.g. from the *Cambrai Antiphonary* (Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 38 /olim 40/ France, c. 1230 – 1250, ff. 332^v-333^r) where they figure as part of the second nocturns of several feasts (R 2.1 *Electi dei pontifices* with the verse *Sancti per fidem vicerunt*, mode VIII, R 2.2 *Hi sunt duo viri* with the verse *Non esurient neque*, mode I, and R 2.3 *Dixerunt milites ad beatum Cornelium* with the verse *Si creditis ex toto corde*, mode I).²³ The chants on the breviary fragments were part of the second nocturns because the *Dixerunt milites* responsory is followed by the rubric *In iii nocturno antiphona*. With respect to the repertoire of these chants, their sequence fully corresponds to that of the chants for the Feast of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian (16 September) in the *Dutch Antiphonary NL-Uu 406* from St. Mary's Church in Utrecht (NL-Uu 406, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406,

²¹ Liber Tradens: Hist. 403 Zeitbüchlein Darinnen gründlich. Valentin Rudolph. Buttelstadt Anno 1586. Testamento Theodori de Jóny

²² VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Stredoveké notované fragmenty Štátnej vedeckej knižnice v Košiciach [Mediaeval Notated Fragments in the State Scientific Library in Košice]. In: *Úloha kníh a periodík v živote mnohonárodnostných Košíc : zborník z konferencie*. Košice : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 2013, pp. 5-28.

²³ <http://cantusindex.org/id/600756> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

shelfmark 3 J 7, late twelfth century). Similarly to the Kežmarok fragment, the *Dixit Salustia ad beatum Cornelium* (201315, mode VII)²⁴ and the *Clamabant milites dicentes nos credimus* (200793, mode VIII) antiphons of the third nocturns follow in the Dutch antiphonary, too.²⁵ The melodies of the chants on the Kežmarok fragment mostly correspond to the melodic progression of the chants in the Utrecht antiphonary (minor deviations can be seen mainly in the melisma-ta of the responsories).



← Fig. 3 Breviary 26805 from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

²⁴ In databases, this antiphon figures only in a Dutch antiphonary, <http://cantusindex.org/ci/201315> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

²⁵ In databases, this antiphon figures only in a Dutch antiphonary, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/node/496449> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

Table 1: Chants in *Breviary 26805* from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

Type of chant	Position	Text	Feast	Cantus ID	Mode
R	2.1	[R. Electi dei pontifices ecclesiarum Christi praecepta vite ab ipso tradita adim] pleverunt et propter ea ostendit illis regnum [suum]	Cornelius, Cyprian	600756	VIII
V	2.1	V. Sanc[ti per fidem vicerunt regna] opera[ti sunt justitiam]	Cornelius, Cyprian	600756a	VIII
R	2.2	Hi sunt duo viri pretiosi martyres qui stant ante thronum dei ac serviunt ei die et nocte. Et qui sedet in throno habitat super illos	Cornelius, Cyprian	601024	I
V	2.2	Non esurient neque sitient amplius [neque cadet super illos sol neque ullus aestus]	Cornelius, Cyprian	601024a	I
R	2.3	Dixerunt milites [ad beatum] Cornelium pater sancte [purifica] animas nostras [per lavachrum] regenerationis	Cornelius, Cyprian	600592	I
V	2.3	[V. Si creditis ex] toto corde aperietur vobis via salutis	Cornelius, Cyprian	600592a	I
A	3.1	[Dixit Salustia] ad beatum Cornelium [adjuro te per] dominum Jesum Christum ut b[aptizes me]	Cornelius, Cyprian	201315	VII
A	3.2	Clamaban[t milites] dicentes nos credimus verum deum ita ut pro illo animas nostras tradere non dubitemus	Cornelius, Cyprian	200793	VIII

A fragment from a multifunctional liturgical book, probably **Canticale 30044** from the first half of the fifteen century (circa 1450), represents a rare manuscript.²⁶ The fragment is notated in Messine-Gothic notation, arranged on red five-line staves with double framing, with *custos* also used. The clefs are not visible since the left part of the folio of the codex is bent into the binding or is cut off. The note structures represent the classic shapes of the Messine-Gothic system. The *punctum* and the *custos* are written in the shape of a rhombus. The *clivis* is right-angled, i.e. Messine type, with a rhomboid ending similar to that of the *torculus*. The *orrectus* is formed by a *clivis* and a *virga*. The *torculus* has an angular shape. The *scandicus* consists of a *pes* and a *virga*, or has a German shape in the form of ascending *puncta* with a *virga*, slanted to the right. Unfortunately, the shapes of the notation do not enable us to definitively specify the provenance of the fragment. The Messine shapes of the elements of the notation do not exhibit any specific or characteristic shapes of a particular scriptorium or circle. Despite the fact that the *liber tradens* comes from Germany (Jena), we do not think this mediaeval fragment was produced there.²⁷

²⁶ *Liber Tradens: Th. 278 Dissertatio De Quaestione illa ardua... Albert Grawer. Jenae, typis Johannis Beithmanni, Anno MDCXVIII (1618)*

²⁷ This type of notation does not use the *virga* and the German, circular *clivis* at all; these were typical features of the so-called Hufnagel (“nailed”) notation which prevailed in several German scriptoria towards the end of the Middle Ages.

As for the musical and liturgical contents of the fragment, it preserved part of the *Decumbebat claudus* (600539) responsory for the Feast of St. Eligius (1 December, Eligius of Noyon, 588 – 660), a part of the *O sanctam virginem cuius anima felix vernal* (203580) antiphon for the Feast of St. Gudula (8 January, Gudila in Latin; Gudula of Brussels, Moorsel, or Eibingen, circa 680 – 712), and part of the rubrics of some chants of the Holy Mass (*Statuit ei Dominus* introit and a gradual) from the proper of the saints.²⁸ This occurrence of chants of St. Eligius and St. Gudula is unique in the territory of Slovakia and very rare even throughout Europe.

The *Decumbebat claudus* responsory was not part of the repertoire of chants for saints in the Hungarian liturgical tradition. This responsory survived in Europe e.g. in the *F-Pm lat. 12044* manuscript from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (*Antiphonary from the Abbey of St. Maur-des-Fossés*, early twelfth century).²⁹ Although the melody on the Kežmarok fragment is close to that in the French manuscript, only two melismata, on the words *lurida* and *mortem*, are completely identical. In the French manuscript, the text *Si in Christo* (600539a) is stated as the responsorial verse. This verse, however, does not contain the words that figure on the Kežmarok fragment (...*t mirabilia...*) with an ornate melisma on the word *mirabilia* (two leaps of a fifth). It might be an equivalent of the verse *Et in morte operatus est mirabilia* for the Feast of St. Laurent (Laurentii, 601170),³⁰ surviving in the *Antiphonary from Zutphen* (a small town in the east of the Netherlands, where a chapter operated from the eleventh century onward), deposited in Stadsarchief en Stedelijke Bibliotheek 6 (NL-ZUa 6).³¹

Saint Eligius was a bishop of Noyon, but also a goldsmith and a counsellor and minister of Merovingian kings. He started to be venerated as a saint shortly after his death and his remains were translated to the cathedral of Noyon (in northern France) in 1066. St. Eligius became a co-patron saint of French kings and was very popular especially in France, Italy, and Flanders (he was venerated as the patron saint of goldsmiths and jewellers). A relic of St. Eligius was brought to Prague by King Charles IV in 1378, who donated it to the goldsmiths' guild of Prague. Subsequently, they renamed their guild to the Guild of St. Eligius and built a Gothic chapel of St. Eligius in Platnéřská Street. A precious manuscript from 1423 (National Széchényi Library in Budapest, Cod. Lat. 377) dedicated to this saint survived from mediaeval Hungary. It was produced for the goldsmiths' guild in Vác by a certain illuminator of the Bishop of Vác. This nineteen-page illuminated manuscript contains a notated office, *Super cilicium cum Eligius orare*. However, the *Decumbebat claudus* responsory does not figure in it.³² This chant is documented e.g. in the Benedictine *Antiphonary Ms. 9 from Saint-Quentin* (*Antiphonaire à l'usage de Saint-Quentin-en l'Isle*,

²⁸ We are very grateful to Prof. Dr. Barbara Haggh-Huglo for her invaluable help in comparing the chants of fragment 30044. She called our attention to the excellent works of Ike de Loos and provided us with materials for comparison from her own research on manuscripts from France (especially from the Abbey of St. Quentin in Cambrai), Belgium, and the Netherlands (Brussels, Utrecht, Zutphen etc.).

²⁹ A single source figures with this chant in the databases: <http://cantusindex.org/id/600539> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

³⁰ <http://cantusindex.org/id/601170> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

³¹ The *Antiphonary from Zutphen*, *Stadsarchief en Stedelijke Bibliotheek 6* (NL-ZUa 6), also contains an office for the Feast of St. Gudula, whose chant figures somewhat lower on the fragment.

³² We are very grateful to Dr. Zsuzsza Czagány from the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for calling our attention to this Hungarian manuscript of St. Eligius.

Bibliothèque municipale) from the modern period, from 1616 (f. 104V), from northern France.³³ A repertoire of chants for the Feast of St. Eligius had been maintained there from the early mediaeval period thanks to the high esteem St. Eligius enjoyed. As the Bishop of Noyon, he enlarged the Chapel of St. Quitinius (martyr, † c. 285) in Noyon in 641.

In the *Antiphonary from Saint-Quentin*, however, we again find the verse *Si in Christo* (600539), just like in the *Antiphonary from the Abbey of St. Maur-des-Fossés*.

The presence of another chant on the Kežmarok fragment, the antiphon *O sanctam virginem* for the Feast of St. Gudula, is also unique. Saint Gudula is the national saint of Belgium and the main patron of the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula in Brussels. She was born in Brabant (present-day Belgium). According to her biography from the eleventh century (*Vita Gudilae*, between 1048 and 1051), she was the daughter of Witger, Duke of Lotharingia, and his wife, St. Amalberga (Amalia) of Maubeuge. St. Gudula's brother was St. Emebert (Ablebertus, † c. 710) of Cambrai and her sisters were St. Reineldis of Saintes (630 – 680) and St. Pharaildis (the patron saint of Ghent). A chapter dedicated to St. Gudula was established in Brussels in 1047. St. Gudula's remains are enshrined in the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula in Brussels, and her skull in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Hildegard in Eibingen, Germany. In Brussels, the veneration of St. Gudula even overshadowed that of its earlier patron, St. Michael. The main feast of St. Gudula was celebrated on 8 January and the feast of the translation of her relics on 6 July.³⁴ It is difficult to reconstruct the liturgy in honour of St. Gudula, since many mediaeval manuscripts are unfortunately lost. No codex with the Holy Mass of her feast survived (consequently, we do not know any sequence) and her office is documented mainly by non-notated breviaries.³⁵ St. Gudula's office was created in the mid-eleventh century. Today, only a few sources of her office are known, with a varying number of chants. The office is accessible online in a single manuscript, in the above-mentioned *Antiphonary from Zutphen* (Zutphen, Stadsarchief en Stedelijke Bibliotheek, 6: NL-Zu 0325-626, from the first half of the fifteenth century, with later additions from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, f. 222^r).³⁶ According to its description by musicologist Ike de Loos, the Zutphen manuscript is notated with the so-called Hufnagel notation (four-line staves, C, F, and G clefs) and was originally meant for the Church of St. Walpurga and the chapter in Zutphen.³⁷ According to Loos, mediaeval manuscripts with Hufnagel notation

³³ MEYER, Christian: *Collectiones du Nord – Pas-de-Calais et de Picardie II*. Ed. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Notés du Moyen Age* 4. Brepols, 2014, Ms. 9. We again thank Prof. Dr. Barbara Haggh-Huglo for providing us this piece of information about the occurrence of this responsory in this source. HAGGH-HUGLO, Barbara: *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350 – 1500*. PhD. diss. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988, pp. 482-486, Appendix 6 with manuscripts that contain chants to St. Gudula.

³⁴ LOOS, Ike de: Saints in Brabant: A Survey of Local Proper Chants. In: *Revue belge de Musicologie*, Vol. 55, 2001, pp. 9-39.

³⁵ AH 26-27. Three sources from the 15th and the 16th centuries. HUGHES, Andrew: *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for Electronic Research*. Vol. 1. Subsidia Mediaevalia. Toronto – Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994, GU-01 (BAMuP ms 14 contains the complete office with chants). http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

³⁶ <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123648> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

³⁷ The chapter in Zutphen was established in the eleventh century and consisted of a provost, twelve canons, and eleven to sixteen vicars. In the fifteenth century, three “chorisocii” were also mentioned. LOOS, Ike de: De liturgie in de Zutphense Walburgiskerk. In: *De Sint-Walburgiskerk in Zutphen. Momenten uit de geschiedenis van en middeleeuwse kerk*. Michel GROOTEDDE et al. (eds.). Zutphen, 1999, pp. 189-185.



contain melodies in the East Frankish dialect. On the contrary, sources with the square system contain West Frankish versions of melodies.³⁸

The interesting repertoire of chants on fragment 30044 points to the French/Belgian/Dutch territory (Cambrai, Brussels, Zutphen). Especially the antiphon for the Feast of St. Gudula represents a precious example of a notated version of a tune in honour of this saint. However, the fragment is not notated with a notation system that was typical for the Netherlands or Belgium (*Hufnagel* or square notation). Therefore, the question of the place of origin of the manuscript remains open.

← Fig. 4 *Canticale 30044* from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

Table 2: Chants in *Canticale 30044* from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

Type of chant	Text	Feast	Cantus ID	Mode
R.	[R. Decumbebat claudus in pavimento artatus cuius manu] porrecta purgavit lurida [membra et accep]it morbus mortem morbus morbidus [recepit salutem]	Eligius	600539	VI?
V.	...mirabilia...spiritus habes...surge	Eligius	?	?

³⁸ LOOS, Saints in Brabant, Ref. 34, p. 29.

A.	[A. O sanctam virginem cuius anima felix vernal in] gloria unde laetantur prophetae [decorantur martyres] virginum turba resultat quem [chorus caelestis an] gelorum invitat dicens mane nobiscum in saecula	Gudula	203580	IV
In.	Statuit*	Comm. s.	g01271	
Gr.	Ecce sacerdos*	Comm. s.	g01332	
Of.	V[erits mea] *	Comm. s.	g01278	

A rare material, probably of local provenance, is *Breviary 5329*, dating back to the early fifteenth century.³⁹ The codex was produced in a professional scriptorium, as the illuminated initial of *Ecce* suggests. The Messine-Gothic notation is arranged in five-line staves without framing. The shapes of the neume structures are the classic ones of Messine notation without calligraphic rendering. The notation of the fragment ranks it among the manuscripts of the Spiš circle (*Spiš Antiphonary*, *Spiš Gradual*, *Spiš Breviary "H"* R III 94 from the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia, and *Missal Clmae* 92 from the National Széchényi Library in Budapest). The fragment contains an extraordinary office, *Terra pontus astra mundus*, for the Feast of St. Anna (26 July), which survived only in two manuscripts from Spiš: in the *Spiš Antiphonary* and in *Diurnal R. II. 125* from the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia. Besides the manuscripts from Spiš, this office appears in Europe only in the Dutch *Antiphonary from Zutphen* (Stadsarchief en Stedelijke Bibliotheek 6). The tune of the responsory is in mode I. It is a late mediaeval composition, close in its melodic progression to the responsories *Laetare Caesarea* (St. Dorothea) and *De paupertatis palea* (St. Elizabeth).

Mediaeval Notated Fragments from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

In 2019, several significant events connected to some remarkable discoveries of mediaeval book culture took place in the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum.⁴⁰ The museum in Betliar organized an exhibition dedicated to an astonishing mediaeval find: the Book of Hours of Ilona Andrássy from the latter half of the fifteenth century.⁴¹ Research on the sources displayed in the exhibition, as well as on other mediaeval parchment bindings from the Library of the Betliar Mansion, was carried out subsequently, processing eighteen notated and twelve (plus two) non-notated mediaeval fragments from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

³⁹ *Liber Tradens: D. 784 Cl. Claudiani [Poe]tae celeberrimi opera. Quorum catalogum post eius vitam ex Petro Crinito ac Volaterrano reperies. Lugduni. Apud Goefridum et Marcellum Beringos fratres. M.D.LI. (1551, 1560). Ex Libris Samueli Steiner*

⁴⁰ BURAN, Dušan (ed.): *Klenot flámskej gotickej miniatúry. Kniha hodiniek Ilony Andrássyovej [A Jewel of Flemish Gothic Miniature. The Book of Hours of Ilona Andrássy]*. Exhibition Catalogue (31/05/2019 – 30/09/2019). OZ Andoras & Slovak National Museum – Betliar Museum & Slovak National Gallery : Bratislava – Betliar, 2019; the curators and authors of the exhibition were Július Barczi and Dušan Buran, and the studies were authored by Katarína Bánýászová, Dušan Buran, Július Barczi, Tímea Mátéová, Matúš Molnár, and Juraj Šedivý.

⁴¹ This precious find was displayed in the exhibition and introduced in the exhibition catalogue. After the exhibition was over, we were able to examine the valuable mediaeval fragments with notation, some of which were displayed in the exhibition, thanks to the authors of the publication and of the exhibition, Dr. Dušan Buran, Mgr. Tímea Mátéová (the director of the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum), and Mgr. Matúš Molnár.

All the notated fragments contain stave systems of the High and the Late Middle Ages. The most frequently occurring notation is again the Messine-Gothic type (eleven fragments). Four sources are notated with the square system, one with German Gothic neumes, and one with Bohemian notation. Two breviaries come from the latter half of the fourteenth century. Most of the surviving fragments represent the mediaeval scribal tradition of the fifteenth century. We assume that the fragments with Messine-Gothic notation without any other elements may come from mediaeval Hungary (mainly the Spiš circle). As for their contents, the surviving mediaeval materials with notation consist of seven antiphonaries, two graduals, two sequentiales, two missals, three breviaries, and two manuscripts which we have not been able to identify yet.

Foreign sources include **Missal Koooo/07118**, preserved in a 1616 print, *Schopff, Johann. Academia Christiana* (Speyer). The two-column fragment contains a part of the chants of the Holy Mass from the *Proprium de Tempore* for Wednesday after the Easter Octave (*Feria 4 post Pascha*). The *Venite benedicti* introit with the verse *Cantate domino* is in mode VII. While *Bratislava Missal I* uses the verse *Confitemini domini* (f. 144va) for this day, the *Spiš Gradual* contains the *Cantate domino* verse. From among other European manuscripts, the *Cantate domino* verse figures e.g. in Polish (PL-SAk 40, PL-WaN 12722V or PL-KiS RL 1) and German (D-Gsta AB III 9, D-KWsr : Drachenfels Missale) codices.⁴² The *Haec dies* chant is stated only in the form of its incipit. The *Dextera domini* verse is in mode II. The melismatic rendering of the chant is close to its Polish version (PL-SAk 40, PL-WaN 12722V or PL-KiS RL 1).⁴³ The German Gothic neumatic notation is arranged into four- or five-line staves of black colour, with colourful lines (red is used for the lines where the F clef is present and yellow for the lines with the C clef). The system uses the C and the F clef (in the form of a rhombus); *custodes* are absent. The notation is characterised by separate *virgae* and circular *clives*, which were typical for the German areas. Separate *puncta* appear rarely (*quod, vo-gis*). The *pes* is formed by a lengthened *punctum* and *virga*, with its head positioned slightly to the right. The *clavis* is used in two shapes, the German (circular, slightly angular shape) and the Messine type (right-angled). The *scandicus* and the *climacus* are formed by descending or ascending *puncta* combined with a *virga*. The character of the *torculus* is close to the German version of *clavis*, but it has a lengthened *punctum* at its beginning. The *porrectus* figures in the fragment only once, within the melisma of *Dextera domini*. It is formed by a Messine *clavis* and *virga*. The ductus of the notation is vertical. Based on the type of the notation, we deduce that the missal comes from a German or Polish environment (separate *virgae*, circular *clives*, colour-coded staves).

Manuscripts which mix transregional and national elements include **Antiphonary Koooo/07751**, dating back to the latter half or the third quarter of the fifteenth century (1450 – 1475).⁴⁴ We were able to identify the manuscript by analysing the melodic progression of the responsorial verse *Vir plenus* (602776a, mode II), which belongs to the *Sacra frequentat responsory* (602776, mode II). The fragment contains a neumatic sequence – *punctum*, *torculus*, *clavis*, *clavis*, *pes*, *punctum* – forming a melody on *d-defe-fd-da-cd-d* to the words *flamine de pedum*. The complete melody

⁴² <http://cantus.sk/chant/24382> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

⁴³ <http://cantus.edu.pl/image/32427> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

⁴⁴ *Liber Tradens: Dietericus, Cunradus. Institutiones Rhetoricae. Leutschoviae : Typis et Sumptibus Laurentii Brever, Anno M. DC. LVII. [=1657]*.



↑ Fig. 5 Missal Koooo/07118 from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

is identical with its version recorded in *Antiphonary R 17* from the Library of the Benedictine Abbey in Rajhrad.⁴⁵ The only difference in the entire melody is in its ending. The Betliar antiphonary uses a *punctum* (*d*), whereas the Rajhrad manuscript uses a *clivis* (*d-c*). The final melisma of the *Sacra frequentat* responsory on the word *vestigia* (*dc-ca-cd-fg-fed-efed-cd*) is also interesting. Although it is unfortunately incomplete, it definitely does not completely agree with the Rajhrad version (*dc-ca-cd-defg-fedcd-fga-agfed-dc-ca-c-d-d*).⁴⁶ The initial melodic line of the *Nocte surgens* responsory in mode III is also legible to a certain extent (the words *Nocte surgens*: *efedc-cg-fe-d-e*, 602777, mode III).⁴⁷

Both responsories come from the versified office *Adest dies laetitiae* for the feast of the patron saint of Bohemia, St. Wenceslaus (907 – 935),⁴⁸ celebrated according to the calendar on

⁴⁵ Benedictine Antiphonary R17 of 1313, Benedictine Library in Rajhrad, f. 201v. <http://cantusbohemiae.cz/source/2161>; Cf.: ŠKVARIL, Lumír: *Středověké chorální rukopisy benediktinského kláštera Rajhrad* (dizertačná práca) [Mediaeval Neumatic Manuscripts of the Benedictine Abbey in Rajhrad (Dissertation)]. Brno : Ústav hudební vědy Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 2017.

⁴⁶ <http://cantusbohemiae.cz/chant/18333> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

⁴⁷ <http://cantusindex.org/id/602777> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

⁴⁸ CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Európae. III/B Prague (Sanctorale, Commune Sanctorum)*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2002 (hereinafter referred to as CAO – ECE III/B).

28 September. The *Sacra frequentat* responsory with the verse *Vir plenus* and the *Nocte surgens* responsory with the verse *Hinc de ortis* are chants of the first nocturns of the matins of this autumnal feast of St. Wenceslaus (the second and the third responsory in sequence).⁴⁹

The fragment contains Messine-Gothic notation arranged into four rows of red four-line staves with double framing. The C clef and a rhomboid *custos* are used. The endings of the basic neume shapes are trimmed (Polish – Spiš circle). On the whole, the notation has a vertical direction. Based on the notation, we may deduce that it is either a Polish manuscript (Krakow, the liturgical arrangement is identical to Polish manuscripts) or the rhymed office was part of some Spiš manuscript.⁵⁰ The *Adest dies laetitiae* office figures in *Esztergom Breviary R. I.* 110 (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, Str-110), *Spiš Breviary R. III.* 94 (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, Sc-94), *Spiš Diurnal R. II.* 125 (Alba

Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, Sc-125), *Spiš Breviary 63.74.I.C* (National Museum, Budapest, Sc-6374), and *Spiš Breviary 63.84.C* (National Museum, Budapest, Sc-6384). Their sequence corresponds to the liturgical tradition of Esztergom, in which both responsories figure as the second and the third responsories of the first nocturns of the September feast of St. Wenceslaus. The absence of Bohemian notation almost completely rules out the Bohemian origin of the codex.



← Fig. 6 Antiphonary Koooo/07751 from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

The fragment of **Antiphonary Koooo/09925**, dating back to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (1425 – 1450), has a Bohemian provenance. The parchment survived in a German print of 1623, *Historische Erquickstunden* (Gera). The antiphonary is notated with Bohemian notation. Five rows of red four-line staves without framing survived on the fragment. The clef is F (two rhombi placed vertically one above the other). A *custos* cannot be seen since the right part of

The monastic and the secular version of the office and its Moravian form are described in further detail by OREL, *Hudební prvky*, Ref. 16, pp. 313–530.

⁴⁹ CAO – ECE III/B, 5 (+2) sources with the Prague liturgical tradition contain this sequence, p. 153, 5.0928.0180–5.0928.0210. Besides this feast, the translation of his relics was also celebrated in Bohemia. It fell on 4 March.

⁵⁰ KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. V/B Esztergom/Strigonium (Sanctorale, Commune Sanctorum)*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2006 (hereinafter referred to as CAO – ECE V/B).

the folio is significantly damaged. No other elements are mixed with the classic shapes of the Bohemian system on the fragment. The *pes* has a typical Bohemian shape, made up of two diamond-shaped rhombi (*puncta*) connected with a very thin line. The *clivis* has a right-angled shape of the Messine type. It is written in vertical placement with a hint of a rhomboid ending. The *torculus* is formed by merging a *pes* and a *clivis*, with the middle (upper) note fluently merging the second note of the *pes* and the first note of the *clivis*. The middle note of the *torculus* forms a narrow *rhombus*. The *orrectus* does not figure on the fragment. The *scandicus* is made up of a *punctum* and a *pes*. The *climacus* consists of two or more descending *puncta* slanted to the right. The fragment of the antiphonary preserved the first antiphon, *Ambulans Jesus juxta mare* (mode I), and part of the antiphon *Mox ut vocem* (mode II, antiphon to the Magnificat) from the first vespers of the *Vidit Dominus* office for the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (30 November). Instead of the initial antiphon, the liturgical tradition of Prague uses *Videns Andreas crucem*; the *Ambulans* antiphon appears only in *Vesperale XIV B 6* from Prague. On the contrary, it is the usual antiphon in the Esztergom rite, opening the Feast of St. Andrew and, in fact, the entire sanctorale. Unfortunately, the fragment is hardly legible and the neumes from the verso side show through to the upper, recto side of the folio. For this reason, it is almost impossible to reconstruct the melody of the antiphon, surviving in its entirety. Nevertheless, we may assume the melodic incipit *df-c-(d)-efd-cd* (*pes*, *punctum*, *punctum*, *torculus*, *pes*) on the words *Ambulans Jesus* (the ending of the melody above the syllable *-sus* is illegible). In any case, the melodic line differs from the Esztergom tradition (the latter begins with the incipit *df-d-fgdfed-cd-d*).⁵¹

It is closer to *Bratislava Antiphonary V* (Prague liturgy).⁵² An obvious melodic deviation can be seen e.g. on the word *fratrem ejus*. Here, the Betliar fragment contains a melisma on *ga-fag-faf* (*pes*, *torculus*, *torculus*) and MMMA/A on *ga-gf-fee-ed*. The final difference to the *Ambulans* antiphon is *aagfgag* (1g1).⁵³

Based on the type of notation, we deduce that the antiphonary is of a Bohemian or Moravian origin despite the fact that it does not use the *Videns Andreas* antiphon.

Table 3: The initial antiphons of the Antiphonary Koooo/09925 of the Feast of St. Andrew in Central European liturgical traditions⁵⁴

	SK-Bet K000/09925	Gran	Prag	Transylvania	Zagreb	Aquileia
VI: A	Ambulans Jesus	Ambulans Jesus	Videns Andreas	Unux ex duobus	Unux ex duobus	Ambulans Jesus
VI: Am	Mox ut vocem	Mox ut vocem	Mox ut vocem	Mox ut vocem	Mox ut vocem	Mox ut vocem

⁵¹ MMMA/A, Nr. 1426, p. 222.

⁵² <http://cantus.sk/image/6911> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

⁵³ MMMA/A, p. 117*.

⁵⁴ CAO-ECE V/B. CAO-ECE III/B. KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Európae, VII/B Transylvania – Várad, (Sanctorale)*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2010. KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Európae, VI/B Kalocsa – Zagreb (Sanctorale)*. Budapest : Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2008. GILÁNY, Gabriella: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Európae, IV/B Aquileia (Sanctorale)*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2014.



↑ Fig. 7 Antiphonary Koooo/09925 from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

Breviary Koooo/11931 has a foreign origin. It is the earliest notated manuscript from Betliar, dating back to the second quarter of the fourteenth century (1325 – 1350). The parchment forms the binding of a Saxon (Bautzen) print, *Hoßmann, Abraham. Genealogia Austriaca*, of 1609. This two-column manuscript is notated with Messine-Gothic notation, arranged into seven rows of red four-line staves without framing. It uses the C clef. The *custos* is softly indicated by a small rhombus at the end of some of the lines. From among the single-note neumes, the notation uses mostly the *punctum*; a separate *virga* figures only once, for the initial syllable of the word *populum*. However, the latter often forms part of multi-note neumes. The *pes* and the *torculus* begin with a separate *punctum*. The *torculus* has an arched shape. The *clivis* is Messine, in the shape of the digit “7”, and is arranged vertically. The ductus of the notation is vertical. It has a fine, calligraphic form. The *scandicus* is formed by ascending, vertically arranged *puncta*. The *climacus* consists of a *virga* followed by descending, almost completely vertically arranged *puncta*. The *porrectus* is formed by a *clivis* and a *virga*. The symbols of the notation also include the *cephalicus* (in the shape of the digit “9”) and the *epiphonus*. On the whole, the notation may be characterised as Messine with German elements. It cannot be ruled out that it comes from a Cistercian environment (Germany, Poland). The neume structures are Gothicised to a minimum extent.

A part of the responsory *Qui persequebantur populum* with the verse *Exclamaverunt filii* in mode VII⁵⁵ and the beginning of the antiphon *Illi ergo homines* from the second nocturns of the

⁵⁵ DOBSZAY, Lászlo – SZENDREI, Janka: *Responsories*. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2013 (hereinafter referred to as R), Nr. 7080, p.1262.



↑ Fig. 8 Breviary Koooo/11931 from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

matins of the Fourth Sunday of Lent survived on the fragment. The beginning of the melody of the responsory is not visible, but we assume it is identical to version no. 7080 from the *Responsories* edition. The final melisma (*clavis + pes + punctum*) on the word *persequebantur (...dc-de-d)* is visible. There is a difference only in the word *populum*, in whose ending a *clavis (punctum + torculus + clavis: d-cdc-ca)* is used, while only the note *c* figures on the final syllable in the published edition. Deviations appear in other places as well (see the comparative table). A very close melodic variant can be found in manuscript *CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4* (Cistercian Antiphonary from Salzinnes, Diocese of Namur, Liège, codex from 1554/1555; currently deposited in Halifax, Canada, St. Mary's University - Patrick Power Library, shelfmark *M2149.L4 1554*).⁵⁶

Local elements prevail in a fragment from ***Sequentiale Koooo/07345***, dating back to the first half or the second quarter of the fifteenth century (1425 – 1450). The fragment contains a part of the sequence *Petre summe Christi pastor* (tetrardus) for the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, namely verses 4 to 11 (4. *Nam dominus Petre*, 5. *Armigerum Benjamin*, 6. *Mare planta te*, 7. *Umbram tui*, 8. *Spermologon philosophos*, 9. *Multiplices victorias*, 10. *Postremo victis*, 11. *Ibi Neronis*), with verses 4 and 11 being incomplete.⁵⁷ The sequence dates back to the tenth century and is part of the fundamental European repertoire (Germany, Austrian Augustinians and Benedictines, Northern Italy, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Hungary – mainstream⁵⁸). It is attributed to Notker Balbulus

⁵⁶ <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123723> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

⁵⁷ AH 53-336, Nr. 210. MHMA I/20. MMLPH I/36.

⁵⁸ According to Kovács, sources from Upper Hungary (i.e. from Slovakia) and from Transylvania did not differ from each other much. However, a distinctive difference can be found in manuscripts from Zagreb, which modify the cadence in verse 6. See: MMLPH, p. 64*.

(840 – 912). The tune of the verses corresponds to the version in the *Gradual of King Vladislav I.* 3 (Cathedral Library of Esztergom)⁵⁹ and in *Gradual R.I.* 96, called by Hungarian musicologists as the *Gradual from Upper Hungary* (Alba Iulia, National Library of Romania, Batthyaneum branch).⁶⁰ It differs from other Hungarian manuscripts in the melodic variant of verse 5 on the word *philosophos* (c-c-c-g) with the leap of a fourth (c-g) and in using a *pes* (a third, f-a) instead of a *scandicus* for the word *dat*.⁶¹ Similarly, a *pes* is used also in the case of the word *pacatos* (fa-c-?) in verse 6.⁶² The melody is syllabic. Consequently, only the *pes* is used from among the multi-note neumes. Six rows of red five-line staves with a red double frame, with the C and the F clef (in a specific shape: two parallelograms in the form of *rhombi* placed one above the other, with the lower *rhombus* having a lengthened stem) survived on the fragment. The rhomboid *custos* is written along with vertical, ornamental lines. The Messine-Gothic notation uses only two symbols, the *punctum* and the *pes*. Based on the musical contents and the shapes of the Messine-Gothic notation used on the fragment (F clef, *custos*, five-line staves), we may deduce that the manuscript originated in Eastern Slovakia (Spiš).⁶³ Moreover, the specific look of the F



↑ Fig. 9 Sequentiale Koooo/07345 from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

⁵⁹ Cf. MMLPH, O = H-Efkö, pp. 33*, 96-98.

⁶⁰ MMLPH, h = RO-AJ R I.96., pp. 33*, 96-98.

⁶¹ This leap of a third is used also in *Špiš Gradual Ms. No. 1* (Špišská Kapitula). AKIMJAK, Amantius – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Špišský gradual Juraja z Kežmarku (1426)* [Špiš Gradual of Juraj of Kežmarok (1426)]. Ružomberok : Pedagogická fakulta Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku, 2006.

⁶² The last note of the word *pacatos* is not visible on the fragment.

⁶³ Transylvanian manuscripts do not use a similar type of the F clef. GILÁNYI, Gabriella: *Mozaikok Erdély ismeretlen gregorión hagyományából. Egy Anjou-kori antifonále töredékei Güssingben* [Mosaics from the Unknown Gregorian Heritage of Transylvania. Fragments of an Antiphonary from the Anjou Period in Güssing]. (=Resonemus pariter – I.). Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019, pp. 140-141.

clef leads us to assume that it was produced by the circle of the notator of the *Spiš Gradual of Juraj of Kežmarok from 1426*.⁶⁴

Sequentiale Koooo/07348, dating back to the latter half or the third quarter of the fifteenth century (1450 – 1475), is a remarkable manuscript of local, i.e. Hungarian provenance. It was an extremely large manuscript. The height of the staves reached 40 mm, which is comparable to the *Antiphonary Varadinense* (45 mm).⁶⁵ The fragment from this monumental codex contains verse 12, *Assistentes regis laudi*, of the sequence *Nova laudis attollamus* for the Feast of St. Ladislaus of Hungary (tetrardus).⁶⁶ This local, Hungarian sequence dates back to the twelfth century and is a contrafactum of the sequence *Laudes crucis attollamus*.⁶⁷ Its text and melody varied greatly.⁶⁸ The final, twelfth double-verse on the Betliar fragment contains the version *ad christum* contrary to *ad ipsum* (Nitra Gradual, Spiš Gradual).

Three rows of Messine-Gothic notation, arranged into five-line staves without framing, survived

on the fragment. The clef is C, characterised by a specific shape with a lengthened upper stem of the letter c (l). The rhomboid *custos* is smaller than the main type of the notation and is written with a subtle tail on the right side of the rhombus. The endings of the neumes are trimmed. The Messine *pes* is written with a separate *punctum*. The *climacus* has no *tractulus* or *virga* at its beginning. The *porrectus* has a vertical direction and is formed by a *clivis* and a *virga*. The melodic variants of verse 12 are close to the versions present in several manuscripts. The initial melisma on the word *con-ve-nire* (*punctum* + *climacus*: e-dcba) is identical to the melody in *Košice Gradual Clmae 172v* (National



← Fig. 10 Sequentiale Koooo/07348 from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

⁶⁴ <http://cantus.sk/source/6778> [Accessible online, 16/10/2020].

⁶⁵ CZAGÁNY, *Antiphonale Varadinense*, Ref. 4. CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: Böhmisches „Zutaten“ im Waradiner Sequentiar. In: GANCARCZYK Paweł (ed.). *Ars Musica and Its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Warszawa : PAN, 2016, pp. 237–345. CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: A Zalka Antiphonále utolsó lapja [The Last Sheet of the Zalka Antiphonary]. In: Tükörződések. Budapest : L'Harmattan Kiadó; Könyvpont Kiadó, 2012, pp. 493–503. CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: Kyriale és szekvencionále. A váradi kódexcsalád két törökékcsoportjának elemzése [Kyriale and Sequentiale. Analysis of Two Groups of Fragments from the Várad Family of Codices]. In: Mestereknek gyengyének. Ünnepi kötet Madas Edit hetvenedik születésnapjára. Budapest : National Szechenyi Library - Szent István Társulat, 2020, pp. 443–464. PAPAHAGI, Adrian: A Fragment of the Graduale Varadiense at the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj (Kolozsvár). In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 2017, vol. 133, no. p. 457. PAPAHAGI, Adrian: A New Fragment of the Antiphonale Varadiense at the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj. In: *Étude Bibliologiques/Library Research Studies*, 2019, no.1, pp. 39–46.

⁶⁶ AH 55–215, p. 242. MMLPH, II 93.3, 369, 222*. MHMA, II/52a.

⁶⁷ AH 54–120, p. 188.

⁶⁸ Kovács mentions 104 melodic variants. MMLPH, pp. 369–373.

Széchényi Library, Budapest), *Gradual I. F. 67* from Brașov (Biserica Neagră Archives, Brașov), *Sequentiale sine Sign.* (Parohia Evangelica C. A. Mediaș), and *Gradual 759* from Brașov (Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, Brașov).⁶⁹ The last word, *gaudia (g-cba-g)*, corresponds to the versions in Košice *Gradual Clmae 172b* (National Széchényi Library, Budapest), Spiš *Gradual Ms. No. 1* (Spišská Kapitula), *Gradual I. F. 67* from Brașov (Biserica Neagră Archives, Brașov), and *Sequentiale sine Sign.* (Parohia Evangelica C. A. Mediaș). The variant of the words *Christum pervenire (e-c-d-d)* does not agree with any other manuscript. Based on the notation (five-line staves) and the close melodic correspondence to Eastern Slovakian (*Košice* and *Spiš Gradual*) and Romanian sources, we deduce that the sequentiale originated in Eastern Slovakia or Romania.

Breviary Koooo/11909, which can be found in the binding of the 1578 print *Joannis Despauterii Ninivitae Grammaticae* (Dillingen), is a material from mediaeval Hungary. The breviary dates back to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (1425 – 1450). The Messine-Gothic notation is arranged into red, four-line staves without framing. The text and the notation are written in two columns. The clefs are C, G, and F (*tractulus* + two rhombi placed vertically one above the other). The *custos* is written in the form of a wave with a very thin horizontal line. The *punctum* has a similar shape. The *pes* is formed by a separate *punctum* and *virga* with a head. The Messine, right-angled *clavis* has a slightly rhomboid end. The *torculus* starts with a separate *punctum* and has an angular shape. The *scandicus* consists of a series of ascending *puncta* slanted to the right, ending with a *virga*. In some places, the *scandicus* is written in the form of a *pes* + *virga*. The *climacus* is a series of descending *puncta* slanted to the right. The overall look of the handwriting and the notation has a cursive character. On the bottom margin of the verso side of the page, a stave is written in fast, cursive notation with doxology for the third responsory of the third nocturns ([*Gloria patri et*] *spiritui sancto*).

The breviary contains notated and non-notated chants of offices for the feasts of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (17 November, the rhymed office *Laetare Germania*⁷⁰) and St. Cecilia (22 November, the office *Virgo gloriosa*; notated chants did not survive). Despite the problematical placement of the fragment in the binding, we managed to identify twenty-nine chants in total. Most of them are notated, some are written out completely but without notation, and some are stated only in the form of their incipit. Notated chants survived only for the Feast of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. The sequence of the chants corresponds to the Esztergom,



← Fig. 11 Breviary Koooo/11909 from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

⁶⁹ MMLPH, Variant no. 93, manuscripts: C, j, k, m, p. 373.

⁷⁰ AH 25-90, LMLO EL61.

the Bohemian, and the Transylvanian liturgical tradition.⁷¹ The only difference is a different hymn for the Feast of St. Elizabeth. Esztergom uses mostly *Ergo Dei famula*, while *Novum sidus* appears in Transylvania. The Betliar fragment contains the hymn *Ergo Dei*. Not all melodic sections of the rhymed office *Laetare Germania* can be reconstructed. Nevertheless, several identical units (melismata) are obvious. One of these is a part of the responsory *O lampas ecclesiae*.⁷² The melisma on the words *tutelam praesta (f-fd-efe-de-f-gag-a)* completely agrees with the published edition of responsories of the Esztergom liturgical tradition. A simpler variant of the melisma appears for the word *fervidis* (Betliar: *cded-dc-c*, R: *cdeodef-dc-c*). The beginning and the ending of the antiphon *Exsultet vox ecclesiae* (mode IV) is almost identical, too.⁷³ At its beginning, with the words *Exsultet vox*, only a *clivis* figures instead of a *climacus* on the word *vox* (Betliar version: *fe-de-e-fa*). The final passage from the word *hoc* differs only in the pes at the beginning of the word *ex-silio* and in the ending of the last melisma on the word *cho-ris* on the note *e* (Betliar version: *g-fg-g-fed-c-c-d-e-d-efe-dc-c-[e-f]-g-a-gfededef-e*). The decoration system of the fragment is close to that of manuscripts from Spiš and Bardejov. We assume this fragment of a breviary comes from Eastern Slovakia (Spiš, Bardejov).

Table 4: Chants for the Feast of St. Elizabeth from the Fragment of *Breviary Koooo/11909*

	f. 1ra	Chant	Incipit	Cantus ID	Mode	Feast
1	f. 1ra	N2 R 3	Caeco nato cui nec sedes	600312	VIII	Elisabeth Hung.
2	f. 1ra	N2 V	Novum haec spectaculum	600312a	VIII	Elisabeth Hung.
3	f. 1ra	N3 A 1	Deo decantent omnia	201155	VII	Elisabeth Hung.
4	f. 1ra	N3 A 2	Juxta lux orta	202798	VIII	Elisabeth Hung.
5	f. 1ra	N3 A 3	Deus palam omnibus	201201	I	Elisabeth Hung.
6	f. 1rb	N3 R 1	Familis se famulam	600875	VII	Elisabeth Hung.
7	f. 1rb	N3 V	Sic sedula paupercula	600875a	VII	Elisabeth Hung.
8	f. 1rb	N3 R 2	Amam in patibulo	600087	VIII	Elisabeth Hung.
9	f. 1rb	N3 V	Manum mittens ad fortia	600087a	VIII	Elisabeth Hung.
10	f. 1va	N3 R 3	O lampas ecclesiae rivos	601586	V	Elisabeth Hung.
11	f. 1va	N3 V	Tu dei saturitas oliva	601586a	V	Elisabeth Hung.
12	f. 1va	L A 1	Dominus Elisabeth induit	201376	non-notated	Elisabeth Hung.
13	f. 1va	L A 2	Deo cum laetita serviens	201154	non-notated	Elisabeth Hung.
14	f. 1va	L A 3	Haec ad deum	202054	non-notated	Elisabeth Hung.
15	f. 1va	L A 4	Domo rebus dum ablatis	201392	non-notated	Elisabeth Hung.
16	f. 1va	L A 5	In tantis virtutibus	202487	non-notated	Elisabeth Hung.
17	f. 1va	L H	Ergo dei famula*	830226c		Elisabeth Hung.

⁷¹ CAO – ECE V/B, Nr. 5.1119.0300–5.1122.0150, pp. 166–167. CAO – ECE III/B, pp. 166–168. CAO – ECE VII/B, pp. 130–131. The Zagreb liturgy is also comparable; similarly to Transylvania, it also uses the hymn *Novum sidus* for the Feast of St. Elizabeth. The antiphon *O beata sponsa Christi* for the second vespers of the Feast of St. Elizabeth is also different from the Esztergom and the Nagyvárad version.

⁷² R 5082, pp. 1058–1059.

⁷³ MMMA/A, Nr. 4328, pp. 678–679.

18	f.1va	LW	Audi filia*	007955		Elisabeth Hung.
19	f.1va	Lab	Cornu salutis hodie	200918	V	Elisabeth Hung.
20	f.1vb	V2 Am	Exsultet vox ecclesiae	201761	IV	Elisabeth Hung.
21	f.1vb	V1 A	Veni electa mea*	005322		Ceciliae
22	f.1vb	V1 R	Domine Jesu Christe pastor*	006498		Ceciliae
23	f.1vb	V1 H	Virginis proles*	008411		Ceciliae
24	f.1vb	V1 W	Specie tua*	008201		Ceciliae
25	f.1vb	V1 Am	Virgo gloria semper	005451	non-notated	Ceciliae
26	f.1vb	N1 A 1	Caecilia virgo Almachium	001749	non-notated	Ceciliae
27	f.1vb	N1 A 2	Expansis minibus membra	002797	non-notated	Ceciliae
28	f.1vb	N1 A 3	Cilicio Caecilia membra	001804	non-notated	Ceciliae
29	f.1vb	N1 W	Specie tua*	008201		Ceciliae

Summary

The bindings of some books in the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok preserved thirty-six, and the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum eighteen notated parchment fragments. Musical manuscripts from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries were used as the outer cover of younger books. The surviving materials stand witness to the local scribal and liturgical tradition, especially that of scriptoria in the Spiš region, but they also include foreign products that made their way to Slovakia in their secondary function (as bindings of younger books). The most precious materials consist of musical sources that contain chants for the feasts of St. Wenceslaus, St. Wolfgang, St. Gudula, and St. Eligius. They are extremely rare finds not only in the Central European, but in the overall European context as well. Important sources of local production include manuscripts with chants for the feasts of St. Ladislaus and St. Elizabeth of Hungary.⁷⁴

Appendix

Table 5: Notated Fragments from the Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Kežmarok

No.	Shelfmark	Type of liturgical book	Dating	Notation	Liturgical contents	Provenance
1	405	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	S	Nat. Innocentium	Central Europe
2	655	Gradual	15 th cent.	S	Dom. Sexagesimae	Central Europe
3	1189	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG-B	Fer. 6 in Parasceve	Spiš/Banská Štiavnica
4	1266	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG	Comm. pl. Conf. TP	Spiš

⁷⁴ This study forms part of grant project APVV-19-0043 “CANTUS PLANUS in Slovakia: Local Elements – Transregional Connections” (2020 – 2024) and VEGA 2/0006/21 *Transregional relations of musical sources of sacred and secular character from the territory of Slovakia dating back to 12th – 17th century*, 2021 – 2024, carried out at the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

5	1313	Sequentiale	15 th cent.	MG	Transl. Wofgangi	Spiš/Austria
6	2965	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	S	Dom. 4 Quadragesimae	Central Europe
7	3012	Breviary	14 th cent.	MG	Joannis, Pauli	Spiš
8	4173	Missal	14 th cent.	MG-C	Dom. 12 p. Pent.	Poland/Cistercians
9	4600	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	GGN	Dom. Quinquagesimae	Germany
10	5329	Breviary	15 th cent.	MG	s. Annae	Spiš
11	5809	Sequentiale	15 th cent.	MG	Undec. mil. vv.	Spiš
12	5810	Sequentiale	15 th cent.	B	s. Wenceslao	Bohemia
13	7653	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	NGCH	Comm. unius Martyris	Germany
14	8299	Gradual	15 th cent.	MG	Fer. 5, 6 Hebd. 2 Quadr.	Spiš
15	10726	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG-B	Fer. 2 Hebd. 1 Quad.	Spiš/Banská Štiavnica
16	10727	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG-B	Dom. 1 p. Pent.	Spiš/Banská Štiavnica
17	10728	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG-B	De Job	Spiš/Banská Štiavnica
18	10729	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG-B	Dom. 3 Quadr.	Spiš/Banská Štiavnica
19	12257	Breviary	12 th cent.	GN	Tiburtii, Susanna, Hippolyti, Assumptio	Germany
20	16602	Missal	15 th cent.	B	Präfationen	Bohemia
21	21639	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	S	De BMV	Central Europe
22	22776	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG-B	Sabbato Sancto	Spiš/Banská Štiavnica
23	25010	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG	s. Jacobi	Spiš/Bohemia
24	26805	Breviary	14 th cent.	GGN-C	Exaltatio Crucis	Poland/Germany
25	27438	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG-GGN	De sanctis TP	Germany
26	30044	Cantionale	15 th cent.	MG	s. Gudulae	Belgium/The Netherlands
27	30055	Gradual	15 th cent.	MG	Dom. 2 - 3 p. Epiph.	Spiš
28	36445	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG	XI milium Virginum	Spiš
29	39820	Gradual	15 th cent.	MG	De evangelistis	Spiš
30	66949	Gradual	15 th cent.	MG-GGN	Fer. 2 Hebd. 3 Quad.	Germany
31	69151	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	S	Dom. Resurrectionis	Central Europe
32	69152	Gradual	15 th cent.	MG	Fer. 4 de Passione	Spiš
33	Ms 19	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG	Dom. 2 Adv.	Spiš (Podolíneč)
34	Ms 1744	Antiphonary	15 th cent.	MG	Omnium Sanctorum	Spiš/Kremnica
35	Ms 1746	Breviary	15 th cent.	MG	Nativitas Mariae	Spiš
36	Ms 1748	Antiphonary	14 th cent.	MG	Dom. 2 p. Pascha	Spiš

Table 6: Notated Fragments from the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum

No.	Shelfmark	Type of liturgical book	Dating	Notation	Liturgical contents	Provenance
1	K0000/00589	Missal	late 15 th cent.	MG	Praephationes	Europe (Germany or Poland)
2	K0000/07118	Missal	15 th cent.	GGN	Fer. 4 p. Pascha	Europe (Germany or Poland)
3	K0000/07120	Breviary	15 th cent., 2/2	S	Sabb. per annum	cursus Monasticus
4	K0000/07345	Sequentiale	15 th cent. (1425-1450)	MG	s. Petri et Pauli	Central Europe (Poland or Slovakia: Spiš)
5	K0000/07348	Sequentiale	15 th cent. (1450-1475)	MG	s. Ladislai	Mediaeval Hungary /Slovakia: Spiš
6	K0000/07751	Antiphonary	15 th cent. (1450-1475)	MG	s. Wenceslai	Poland or mediaeval Hungary: Slovakia/Spiš or Romania
7	K0000/07995	Gradual	15 th cent., 2/2	S	Comm. unius Conf. Pontificis	cursus Monasticus
8	K0000/08022	Antiphonary	15 th cent. (1480-1500)	MG	Feria 4, 5, 6 et Sabbato per annum	Central Europe (mediaeval Hungary or Slovakia)
9	K0000/09925	Antiphonary	15 th cent. (1425-1450)	B	s. Andreae	Bohemia or Moravia
10	K0000/10692	Antiphonary	15 th cent. (1475-1500)	MG	De Sapientia, De Job	Central Europe (mediaeval Hungary or Slovakia)
11	K0000/11897	Antiphonary?	15 th cent. (1425-1450)	MG	?	Mediaeval Hungary or Slovakia: Spiš
12	K0000/11909	Breviary	15 th cent. (1425-1450)	MG	s. Elisabeth Hung., s. Caeciliae	Central Europe (mediaeval Hungary or Slovakia: Spiš, Bardejov?)
13	K0000/11911	Antiphonary?	15 th cent., 2/2	MG	?	Central Europe
14	K0000/11931	Breviary	14 th cent. (1325-1350)	MG	Dom. 4 Quadragesimae	Europe (Germany or Poland/Cistercians)
15	K0000/11987	Gradual	15 th cent., 2/2	MG	Dom. in Palmis	Europe (Germany or Poland)
16	2018/00273	Antiphonary	15 th cent., 2/2	S	Sabb. Sancto	cursus Monasticus
17	2018/00437	Antiphonary	15 th cent., 1/2	S	s. Martini	cursus Monasticus
18	2019/00134	Antiphonary	15 th cent., 2/2 (1475-1500)	MG	s. Joannis Evang.	Europe (Germany or Poland)

Abbreviations of the notations:

B – Bohemian notation

GGN – German Gothic notation

GGN-C – German Gothic notation with Cistercian elements

GN – German staveless neumes

MG – Messine-Gothic notation

MG-C – Messine-Gothic notation with Cistercian elements

MG-B – Messine-Gothic notation with elements of Bohemian notation

MG-GG – Messine-Gothic notation with elements of German Gothic notation

S – Square notation

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THE IMAGE OF PIETY
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IN SLOVAKIA
AND IN EUROPE

Edited by
Eva Veselovská

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