

Miklós Földvály, Iván Horváth

A new application of the rule of early vernacular insertions

Translated by Seager-Smith Dániel Michael

The first application was an analysis of the very first French literary text. The second will be a critical edition of the very first Hungarian one.

1. Aims and Goals

The Pray Codex (P) contains the oldest extant Uralic text, and the first piece of Hungarian literature (Halotti beszéd és könyörgés [Funeral Sermon and Prayer], HBK), furthermore it is a singularly important source for the history of Hungarian liturgy, historiography, music and the illuminated manuscripts. The critical edition will be published for the first time in 2020, on the 250th anniversary of its discovery.

The generally accepted theory of the P was coined by László Mezey, and refined by his followers (Edit Madas, Janka Szendrei, László Veszprémy). Research connected to linguistics (Loránd Benkő, Ferenc A. Molnár), history (László Veszprémy), liturgical history (József Török), the history of art (Tünde Wehli, Ernő Marosi) and the history of music (Janka Szendrei) are well synchronised with this theory. However, the observations of literary criticism cause a number of concerns. Edit Madas notes that the HBK is unique in the European literature of the time as the fixed vernacular text of a funeral sermon was placed within a rubricated sacramentary. Nonetheless, her theory does not address the reasons behind its inclusion. Certain textological problems must also be examined. This is the first opportunity since the 1930s to examine the possibility that the texts found in the P were not randomly selected in 13th-century Pozsony (present day Bratislava, Slovakia) but chosen following comprehensive editorial principles towards the end of the 12th century. If the edited nature of the P were to be proven these results would strengthen the doubts surrounding the dating and copied nature of the HBK. (Iván Horváth)

The above would warrant a new edition of the P, if it were not the case that the codex has never been published. Alas, one of the most important books of the Carpathian Basin has never been published in-print.

2. Method

Research will be based on two new approaches, which present untapped potential in the study of the P.

Iván Horváth's hypothesis—founded mainly in information history, and as a result not in medieval studies—claims that the vernacular texts of the time that were based on the dominant Latin tradition were most likely not copies.¹ As a result both the Old Hungarian Lamentations of Mary (ÓMS) and HBK must be re-examined.

The growing databases of liturgical history compiled and edited by István Miklós Földvály will reach the critical mass required for the P to present itself—at least to the trained eye—in a self-evident position within Hungarian and European liturgical history in the next two years. Földvály's available publications already show the P in a new light.

The P is the most ancient level of Hungarian tradition. It is in essence a sacramentary: a manual of the liturgy. Many of its great researchers were priests, and very few of them protestants. The academic disciplines involved (palaeography, liturgical history) all have long histories themselves. Research of the P is not avant-garde field, and this defines our connection to Edit Madas, who is a person of tradition herself, as she is today, what her mentor once was: the most respected scholar of the P.

It would be premature to ask her to participate in our research, as it would be wrong to ask for the moral support of a scholar who is so deeply connected to the traditional approaches of the field when our methods are founded in new theories. However, this does not mean she will not provide aid when needed. We hope that she will provide this project the academic support it requires, as she has done to this day. If over the months or years, of research-seminar-like conversations and through the joint efforts of all parties progress is made, she may decide to occupy her rightful place beside to the two editors of the critical edition, or not. There is no reason to hurry her decision.

Research of this kind will facilitate dialogue in other areas as well. The internationally respected palaeographer Emma Condello (Sapienza University of Rome) will produce an opinion regarding the separation of copyists, as she is less influenced by the traditions of Hungarian scholarly literature. Elena Llamas Pombo (University of Salamanca), a respected scholar of the field will examine the punctuation system of the P in a European context, and the esteemed Uralist, Daniel Abondolo (University College,

¹ HORVÁTH, Iván: „When literature itself was bilingual”, <http://ars-metrica.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/ars-metrica-201411/when-literature-itself-was-bilingual/>

London) will, hopefully, begin a productive dialogue with Hungarian linguists.

3. Digital Critical Edition

ELTE may have been the workshop that first made source documents available in an online edition (Balassa codex, 1994), and also the first to compile and publish a true digital critical edition (Balassi Bálint összes verse [The Complete Works of Bálint Balassi], 1998).² Sadly, such editions are rare worldwide to the present day. (True digital editions being those that are not the digitised versions of in-print publications, but are built from the best possible sources and are compiled to be used primarily as a website.) The norms of digital critical editions are in formation, and the project itself will provide methodological insights regarding them.

The technical editor of the Hungarian–English online critical edition will be Zsófia Ágnes Bartók, who achieved a PhD degree this autumn. The use of video editing software to create visual effects to show how the order of leafs in the P is hypothetical, and to place all photos depicting the whole or a part of the P in an earlier state on a timeline does not present a challenge. However, the critical apparatus, notes and explanations connected to the text must be placed carefully and this is a challenge, as they must foretell, or define the reading habits of the future. In 1998 an attempt was made to digitally model a question of a textological significance ("stochastic reading"). While these efforts did not lead to the adoption of popular methods computer technology remains a great tool for textology. It would seem necessary to compile recommendations regarding website based—thus not pseudo-print pdf or ebook format—critical editions on at least a national level, as the connection between website-books and libraries presents a worldwide problem, as does the implementation of future updates on these sites. The digital edition of the P will be housed on a server of the National Széchényi Library (OSZK), as the codex is in the OSZK's possession. A by-product of the work process will be a new OSZK-standard for digital publications that may be used by other workshops or publishers. If one were to voluntarily follow the guidelines of this standard a copy of the digital edition could be housed on an OSZK server in the knowledge that the library will keep the site up-to-date indefinitely. While critical editions are different on the surface their base structure is similar: body text, notes, variants, explanations. As a result, certain updates can be applied almost automatically.

The technical editor will be tasked with building connections between the critical edition and already existing databases. As a researcher of 15th–16th century reading and genres she has contributed to the Répertoire de la poésie hongroise ancienne [Database of Old Hungarian Poetry] (RPHA)³ and the Database of Old Hungarian Exempla.⁴ Through her work these databases—containing some the texts of the oldest extant Hungarian codices—will be connected to the earlier age of the P. As a result, the well organised and fully integrated website will be an almost complete database of the first 500 years of Hungarian reading. She will also have to provide a monograph about the history of reading from this era. It would be best for the development results of the new site to be integrated into the systems of the handbook-like database of early Hungarian texts.⁵

Ease of access for all, even unversed users, is a requisite despite all difficulties the text itself may prevent. The goal of the project is to continue on the path opened by the linguistic records website of the OSZK.

Zsolt Simon, a university student and programmer-philologist will be tasked with the actual programming of the website.

4. In-print Critical Edition

A digital critical edition is not enough. The distant future, a time when the original P is no longer extant must be considered, in hope that copies of the critical edition may survive. Thus, the P must be published in three print volumes, with similar meticulous care as the Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica series, and not in a

2 <http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/gepesk/bbom/inevjegy.htm>

3 IVÁN, HORVÁTH; HUBERT, Gabriella; FONT, Zsuzsa; HERNER, János; SZÖNYI, Etelka; VADAI, István; GÁL, György; RUTTNER, Tamás (ed.): *Répertoire de la poésie hongroise ancienne* [Database of Old Hungarian Poetry], I–II, Le Nouvel Objet, Paris 1992. (<http://rpha.elte.hu/>)

4 BARTÓK, Zsófia Ágnes (ed.): *Régi Magyar Exemplumadatbázis. Database of Old Hungarian Exempla*, ELTE BTK, Régi Magyar Irodalom Tanszék [Department of Early Hungarian literature], Európai és magyar reneszánsz doktori program [European and Hungarian Renaissance Doctoral Programme], Budapest 2014. <http://sermones.elte.hu/exemplumadatbazis/>

The database is open source. For a bilingual description cf.: <https://github.com/simonzsolt/rmex>

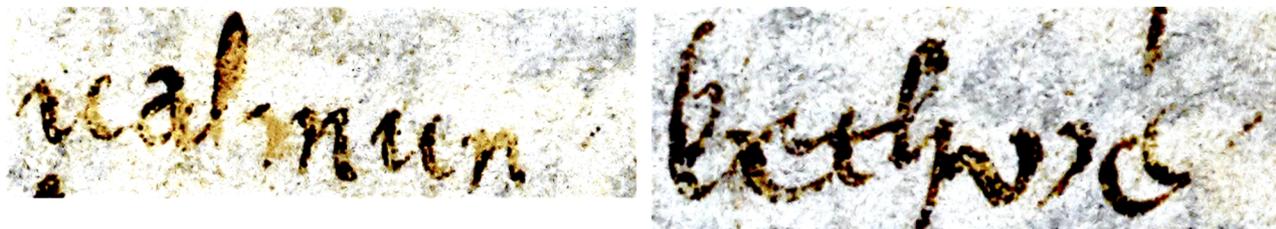
For a description of the database cf.: Zsófia Ágnes BARTÓK: *Az Érdy-kódex exemplumai* [The Exempla of the Érdy Codex], Phd thesis, ELTE BTK, Budapest 2015.

5 <http://nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu>

particularly small number of copies. The three volumes: a full colour photo-facsimile, a transcription of the hand-written text with critical apparatus, and finally, an English commentary volume.

4.1. The Photo-facsimile Volume

Photo-facsimile and critical editions were first connected by the ELTE workshop in 1994 and a similar approach will be adopted on the current project, however working with the P is a much more difficult task. As large sections of the P are yet to be deciphered photography will be an essential element of the work process. The use of ultraviolet illumination seems to be unavoidable, and in some cases the use of infrared may also be necessary. Sadly, the OSZK does not currently own the required equipment for such high-resolution images. As a result, a macro lens that is apochromatic in the 300–1100 nanometre range (made from fluorite rather than optical glass, and thus only usable at room temperature) must be charged to the expenses of the research. A camera similar to the Sony Alpha R2 II or the older Nikon D810, which does not have an ultraviolet filter before the sensor is also required. It should be stated that—keeping other codices in mind—the lens (at the least) will be left in the inventory of the OSZK. The chief investigator was the manuscript photographer for the critical editions of many Hungarian classics (Gyöngyösi Codex, Attila József, Dezső Kosztolányi, Ferenc Wathay). A test photograph of the most important leaf of the Leuven Codex was taken in late afternoon natural light with no artificial lighting by Péter Peti, the distributor of the Phase One camera in 2015. The photograph seems to be the only copy in which the punctuation marks that are nearly invisible to the naked eye—due to the iron gall ink peeling off—are clearly visible. Are the virgules following *ualnum* and *kethwe* visible in any published edition of the ÓMS?



4.2. Transcription Volume

4.2.1. A Few Basic Textological Questions of the Text:

What was deleted from the first pen drawing (XXVIIr)? What was deleted from the end of the Pozsony Yearbook (16v)? What did the P look like in 1830? What did it look like following rebinding in the 19th century? Why does the order of the digital photographs differ from the 1939 order of leaves? Was the P rebound in the 13th century? Were the synodic laws part of the original manuscript? Was the Micrologus? Were the leaves of the pen drawings? Did a third hand copy the Cisiojanus onto leaf IVv? Is this third hand one or two hands? Was the copyist of the dialogue-form explanation of the Mass (15v) and the Alcuin fragment (16r) from the 13th century? Is the HBK the work of a copyist or the author's manuscript? How does the unique way in which the leaves are bound in the 5th quire relate to its contents? Why was the first page (1r) left blank?

4.2.2. Publishing the Latin Text of the Codex

Emma Condello will provide a new professional opinion regarding the separation of copyists.

All source document publication related tasks (transcription, editing, notes) will be carried out by Balázs Horváth (post-graduate student), who will be supervised by Miklós István Földvály. The transcription of the Latin text will follow the principles of the Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica project,⁶ ie. normative spelling, while taking note of, organising, and evaluating all spelling variations.

4.2.3. Publishing the Old Hungarian text of the Codex

The source document publication will be completed by Iván Horváth. The principles to be followed depend on certain textological aspects: the critically edited text will be different if the HBK is considered to have been copied from the model codex of the P, or if it is considered to be an autograph manuscript. In the latter case only minor mistakes in writing can be corrected (*szén*), in the former case copying may have led to further errors in the text. Further research will be completed to form an opinion on the question.

⁶ „Objectives of Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica”, „Principles of this Edition” in DÉRI, Balázs: *Missale Strigoniense 1484 id est Missale secundum chorum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis, impressum Nurenbergae apud Anthonium Koburger, anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIII (RMK III 7)*. Argumentum, Budapest 2009. I–VIII. LII–LIX.

1) Following the rule of early vernacular guest-texts—written before a true readership had formed—the HBK should be considered autograph. Levente Seláf will work through the whole of the European guest-text stock to confirm the validity of this rule.

2) Edit Madas has stated that the HBK is not a guest-text but a fixed and rubricated text in a sacramentary. This would suggest that the HBK is most probably a copy, unless the P itself was created to serve as a model sacramentary. A new theory of the P will answer these questions.

3) Hungarian historical linguists unanimously consider the text to be a copy. Ferenc A. Molnár considers certain questionable parts of the text the mistakes of copyists. However, from a textological viewpoint these are difficult to uphold: the alleged errors do not diverge towards the banal, as is common, but the other way round. Comparative linguistics must be given a chance to explain the words *feze*, *unuttei*, and possibly—for the sake of verification—*kyniuhhad* etc. from the ÓMS. Daniel Abondolo's commentary will attempt to answer these concerns.

4) Following Hungarian efforts to examine the punctuation used by the third hand of the P Elena Llamas Pombo, a widely respected researcher of the field, will examine the document. Her study will aid the decision making process regarding the copied or autograph nature of the document.

4.3. Commentary Volume

4.3.1. A Few Simple Concerns

A new theory of the P must allow for a better understanding of the codex. A few questions to be answered are listed below: Does the inclusion of the ceremonial for the Vigil of the Pentecost (60r) or the context of the HBK (136r) not indicate that the P was not specifically compiled for use by a bishop or an abbey? Is it possible to consider the flexible ecclesiastical environment of the royal court as the place of creation? How can the fact that the same third hand copied the HBK and the Pozsony Yearbook into the codex be interpreted? Is the final entry of the Pozsony Yearbook this third hand's addition? Is the figure seen on the XXVIIr pen drawing wearing an archbishop's pallium? Could editing have been overseen by an ecclesiastic with close ties to the monarch, e.g. Bernard of Perugia? How should the possibility that the Pozsony Yearbook may originate from Székesfehérvár (László Veszprémy), and the fact that the last pen drawing depicts the crown kept in Székesfehérvár (Ernö Marosi) be interpreted? Is the terminus ante quem of the first layer of the P correct (1195)?

4.3.2. The Studies of the Commentary Volume

The commentary volume will contain a collection of academic papers. Written works referred to as papers in this plan may in fact be realised as several separate studies on the same subject.

A final decision is yet to be made, however it would seem best to publish the in-print edition as an *editio minor*, and not an *editio maior* that details the later context and cultural effect of the P. The latter method is supported by the vast effect the HBK has had. While the fact that an *editio maior* would have to examine all scholarly literature connected to the Shroud of Turin questions its viability. The P is known in Hungary mainly due to the HBK, however internationally its alleged depiction of the Shroud of Turin is more established.

Current plans for the volume are as follows:

A general study of the P's history. A synthesis of earlier studies on the P.

A palaeological study of the P (Emma Condello and possibly others).

An analysis of the punctuation in P (Elena Llamas Pombo and possibly others).

A historian of canon law on the synodic laws.

A historian's evaluation of the Pozsony Yearbook.

A music historian on the P's musical material.

An analysis of the pen drawings by a historian of illuminated manuscripts.

Vernacular texts in Latin contexts, a comparative study by Levente Seláf.

A literary (history) analysis of the HBK.

A linguistic analysis of the HBK (Daniel Abondolo and possibly others).

The P as a liturgical source document. It must be stated at this point that Miklós István Földváry does not denounce the traditional theories of the P, but does not express support for them either. He participates in this project without bias.

4.3.3. The P as a Liturgical Source Document.

While the P is rightfully at the centre of interest for a number of fields, it is first and foremost a liturgical book. The majority of its contents is either liturgical or related to the governing concepts of liturgy. Those who once compiled and used the codex most probably considered it as such. It is common in the period that

the normative and practical aspects of the use of liturgical books, and the writing of texts were not fully separated. Thus, the commonly stated normative tendencies of the P are not contrary to the above, as medieval Latin liturgy was broken into a number of traditions and sub-traditions, or as they were called at the time: Uses. The main question of a liturgical analysis is which sub-tradition, or Use the P follows within the broader Hungarian tradition, of which it is unquestionably a part. This question must be answered for research to be truly productive. A complete analysis is yet to be completed, nevertheless partial results have revealed the dual identity of the P. All unique Hungarian characteristics can be found within it, these unequivocally connect the P to the Hungarian Use, while certain characteristics also separate it from the Esztergom Use that was the central Use of the time, and other sub-traditions as well.

Previous researchers, including Zalán Menyhért, Kniewald Dragutin, László Mezey and more recently Janka Szendrei⁷ have all considered liturgical aspects. However, two factors have prevented meaningful answers being given regarding the Use, and as a result, the target audience of the codex. The former scholars worked in the first period of the 20th-century research of sacramentaries, as a result, they did not have the means to effectively analyse the backbone of the P, the sacramentary, and the orations within it, utilising the methods and apparatus first presented by Kunibert Mohlberg and Jean Deshusses.⁸ The other field: the comparison of Sanctoriales and the calendars was—and is to this day—even more rudimentary, thus a hotbed for questionable conclusions. Szendrei's work was based on deeper liturgical knowledge, but concentrated on the melodic items of the liturgy. Since the P contains few such instances, in a nearly complimentary manner, the majority of the source material was left unturned.

While the P itself has not been an element Földvály's research to date, when conducting philological and contents related research of early Hungarian liturgy its contents must be observed, and has, as much as was possible, been placed into the synchronic and diachronic system of Hungarian liturgical variants. The partial results gained as a result of this work already provide guidelines for continued research, and seem to indicate promising final results. Nevertheless, even partial results are wanting in other areas, while the European liturgical database is constantly expanding, and in the future will present the connections between the sacramentary, calendar and Sanctoriale, and the whole system of rituals outside of the Mass in a new light. The following will provide an overview of the subjects in which there are reasonable grounds to expect meaningful new insights into the interpretation of the P.

4.3.3.1. The Rubricated Esztergom Tradition

In his doctorate thesis (defended in 2008) Miklós István Földvály successfully presented and proved that the phrasing of the rubrics (generally written in red ink, containing ceremonial instructions) in the source documents of the Esztergom Use was characteristic. The same phraseology is present in all documents, from the earliest 11th-century to the latest 16th-century sources.⁹ However, it is also unique, separate from

7 ZALÁN, Menyhért: „A Pray-kódex forrásaihoz” [On the Sources of the Pray Codex], *Magyar Könyvszemle* XXXIII/3–4 (1926) 246–278; KNIWALD, Károly: *A Pray-kódex tartalma, kora, jelentősége* [The Contents, Time, and Significance of the Pray Codex] (Trans. KÜHÁR Flóris). Magyar Könyvtárosok és Levéltárosok Egyesülete, Budapest 1940; MEZEY, László: „A Pray-kódex keletkezése” [The Formation of the Pray Codex], *Magyar Könyvszemle* LXXXVII (1971) 109–123; SZENDREI, Janka: *A „mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében* [The Formation of the “mos patriae” Based on pre-1341 Sources with Musical Notations]. Balassi, Budapest 2005. 144ff.

8 MOHLBERG, Kunibert: *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alämannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangalensis 348)*. Münster in Westfalen 1918. (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 1/2); MOHLBERG, Kunibert – BAUMSTARK, Anton: *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche (Cod. Pad. D 47, fol. 11^r–100^r)*. Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster Westfalen 1927. (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 11–12); ID. – SIFFRIN, Petrus OSB: *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*. Casa Editrice Herder, Roma 1960. (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes 4); ID.: *Sacramentarium Veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])*. Herder Editrice e Libreria, Roma 1994. (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes 1); DESHUSSES, Jean: *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits I–III*. Éditions Universitaires, Fribourg 1971–1982. (Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28); DESHUSSES, Jean – DARRAGON, Benoît: *Concordances et tableaux pour l'étude des grands Sacramentaires I–III/1–3*. Éditions Universitaires, Fribourg 1982–1983 (Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 9–14).

9 FÖLDVÁLY, Miklós István: *Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei* [Rubrica Strigoniensis. The Normative Texts of the Medieval Use of Esztergom]. PhD thesis, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd University, Doctoral School of Linguistics, Ancient Studies Doctoral Programme 2008., 179ff., 199ff., Appendix

international parallels and even other Hungarian sub-traditions.¹⁰ As a result these rubrics can prove that documents originate from, and only from Esztergom.

The P is unequivocally a part of this tradition, in fact, following the Aganda of Hartwick it is the second oldest extant document of it, while a number of its ordos (chapters, ceremonial units) indicate the presence of a different tradition. Furthermore, the contents of parts of the original Esztergom text have been changed without altering its unique phraseology. These changes can be divided into two categories: "depontification" and "sacramentalisation", ie. the elimination of the bishop from an inherited rubric, and the reinterpretation of the rubric from a pontifical to a sacramentary.

4.3.3.2. The Significance of the Micrologus

The above quoted thesis also examined the tradition of liturgical commentaries in Hungary, amongst them the Micrologus found in the P.¹¹ The conclusions reached did not touch on the Micrologus itself, but examined the effect of its contents had on the whole of the P, and also later Hungarian liturgical tradition. The significance of the question in regard to the P is whether the Micrologus is a more-or-less random recording as a guest text (as claimed by Edit Madas based on its illogical position in the codex),¹² or a normative text that significantly affected the Use of the codex and the period. If the latter is the case, the P fits into the mainstream liturgical traditions of the time.

Current partial results indicate that this is the case. Firstly, a number of rubrics from the canon of the P and the temporal section of its sacramentary have been proven to be literal quotations from the Micrologus, which has thus greatly influenced the liturgical practice in the manuscript. Secondly, the most reliable source of the Esztergom Use, the Strahov Codex from the end of the 13th century contains a lengthy rubric (connected to the last week of Advent)¹³ that is a direct quotation from the Micrologus, following the wording found in the P.

More recent research into the Esztergom Benedictional has provided deeper insight into the question.¹⁴ It has become apparent that the mature Esztergom Use changed in at least three elements compared to the Use of the 11th century, following the guidelines of the Micrologus in each instance: (1) the celebration of Trinity Sunday on the seventh day following Pentecost was temporarily overruled; (2) the pericopes of the first and last Sundays of the year were changed; (3) the timing of ember days was modified. These changes indicate that the Micrologus—as the text containing the guidelines to the reforms implemented by Pope Gregory VII—is the book that a canon of the Esztergom synod of 1100 referred to,¹⁵ and that the P is the oldest extant source of the Gregorian reforms in Hungary.

4.3.3.3. Non-Mass Ordos

Similarly to other sacramentaries the P provides source texts for a number of non-mass ceremonies. Such are the ceremonies that are connected to certain irregular masses of the liturgical year (Ash Wednesday, Palm

51ff. (online)

10 First summary of results: FÖLDEVÁRY, Miklós István „« Ligatis natibus ». Egy romlatlan szöveghely tanulságai” [“Ligatis natibus” The Information of an Unspoiled text], *Magyar Egyházzene* XII (2004/2005) 387–408.

11 Published with a new introduction and minor changes: FÖLDEVÁRY, Miklós István: „A liturgiamaagyarázat nyomai a XIV. század előtti Magyarországon. A Pray-kódex *Micrologus*-a és annak környezete” [Liturgical Commentaries in Hungary Before the 14th century. The Micrologus of the Pray Codex and its context.], in DÉRI, Balázs (ed.): *Oratoris officium. Tanulmányok a hetvenéves Adamik Tamás tiszteletére*. [Oratori officium. Studies to Honour the Seventy-Year-Old Tamás Adamik.] L'Harmattan – ELTE BTK Latin Nyelvi és Irodalmi Tanszék, Budapest 2008. 87–98.

12 MADAS, Edit: „A Pray-kódex *Micrologus*a paleográfiai és kodikológiai megközelítésben” [The Pray Codex, a Palaeological and Codicological Approach]. A lecture given at the conference given to honour Janka Szendrei's 70th birthday at the Musicology Institute, Budapest.

13 Praha, Strahovská Knihovna (Bibliotheca Monasterii Strahoviensis) DE. I. 7. = SZENDREI, Janka: *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense saeculi XIII*. MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, Budapest 1998. (*Musicalia Danubiana* 17) 3^v.

14 FÖLDEVÁRY, Miklós István: *Az Esztergomi benedikcionále. Irodalom és liturgia az államalapítás-kori Magyarországon*. [The Esztergom Benedictional. Literature and Liturgy around the Founding of the State in Hungary] Argumentum – ELTE BTK VTK Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, Budapest 2014, 25., 28., 53–54.

15 XXVI. fejezet: Ordo divinorum officiorum vel ieiuniorum secundum libellum, quem collaudavimus, ab omnibus teneatur – ZÁVODSZKY, Levente: *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai. (Függelék: a törvények szövege)* [Sources of Laws and Synodic Declarations from the Times of Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislaus and Coloman (Appendix: The Text of the Laws)] István Társulat, Budapest 1904¹. Jókai Mór Városi Könyvtár, Pápa 2002². 200.

Sunday, Trinity Sunday, Easter Sunday, Candlemas), furthermore independent rituals connected to sacraments and the offering of sacramentals (pilgrimage, the consecration of cemeteries, blessings on food, marriage, blessing of water, placing of cornerstones, funeral rites) also fall under this category. As do—from a methodological point of view—all non-central areas of the Mass ordos (preparation and clothing, general absolution, the priest's communion, thanksgiving following the Mass).

Földvály's previous research has centred around these changeable rites.¹⁶ The most important European books and documents (missals, rituals and pontificals) have been collected, and thus the extant Hungarian source material may be examined not only in itself, but as part of an international context.¹⁷ The analyses of the Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and Candlemas ordos have been completed, while the analyses of the variants of the blessing of water and marriage ordos in the P are currently in progress, these already allow certain conclusions to be drawn.

Current results correlate to research of the rubricated tradition. The ordos found in the P are more closely related to the Use of Esztergom than other early (13th century), non-Esztergom sources (eg. the Güssing and Istanbul missals),¹⁸ and later sources from institution not dependant on Esztergom (eg. Pécs, Zagreb, Pauline Fathers, "ultramontane lords")¹⁹ but are never fully identical. Notable foreign connections have already been discovered, (1) Zsuzsa Czégány called attention to the presence of a characteristic Anglo-Norman passage in the ordo connected to the laying of cornerstones,²⁰ and Földvály has found another two similarly Anglo-Norman responsories at the beginning of the Palm Sunday ordo. (2) The blessing of water as described in the P follows the tradition that became an element of the Prague Use, however pre-dates the 14th-century formation of that Use and the Arnošt reforms by almost two centuries. The same ordo is uncommon in Hungary after the P. Certain elements of the Miskolc Missals²¹ and a number of ultramontane missals are closely related to it, however it is currently unclear whether these continued the tradition of the P, or were borrowed from Prague.

4.3.3.4. The Stock and Arrangement of Prayers

The primary contents of sacramentals is the series of the prayers of the Mass: the collect, secret, post-communion and on certain dates with unique propers, the oratio super populum. A significant amount of the prayers in the Roman Rite are of late-classical origin, and their assignation to specific days was set by the beginning of the previous millennium. The study of this common layer is aided by a series of 20th-century

16 Mainly within the 2009–2013 OTKA project: „Középkori pontifikálék Magyarországon” [Medieval Pontificals in Hungary] (K 78680). For a summary of results cf.: FÖLDVÁLY, Miklós István: *Az Esztergomi benedikcionále*; [The Esztergom Benedictional] id.: *Egy úzus születése. A Chartvirgus-pontifikále és a magyarországi liturgia megalkotása a XI. században*. [The Birth of a Use. The Chartvirgus Pontifical and the Formation of Hungarian Liturgy in the 11th Century]. Argumentum – ELTE BTK VTK Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, Budapest 2016–2017. (Műhelytanulmányok [Workshop Studies] 4, 6, 7) (under publication, online); SZASZOVSKY, Ágnes: *A Veszprémi pontifikále templomszentelési ordója*. [The Church Consecration Ordo of the Veszprém Pontifical.] DLA dissertation, Budapest, Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Church Music Programme 2014 (online); FÖLDVÁLY Miklós István: „A római rítus változatainak kutatása I–VI” [Researching the Variants of the Roman Rite I–IV], *Magyar Egyházzene XX–XXI* (2012–2014) (online).

17 *USUARIUM: A Digital Library and Database for the Study of Latin Liturgical History in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (online), „Ceremonies” page.

18 Güssing, Klosterbibliothek der Franziskaner Cod. 1/43. Missal from the Diocese of Zagreb with Musical Notations, beginning of the 13th century (“Güssing Missal”), İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Deissmann 49 and 60. 13th–14th-century Missals from Hungary with Musical Notations (“Istanbul Missals”).

19 *Missale secundum morem almae ecclesiae Quinqueecclesiensis*. Michael Wenssler, Basel 1487; *Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagradiensis ecclesiae ...* Petrus Liechtenstein, Venezia 1511; *Ordinarius secundum veram notulam sive rubricam almae ecclesiae Agriensis de observatione divinatorum officiorum et horarum canonicarum*. Ioannes Haller, Kraków 1509; *Missale fratrum eremitarum Ordinis Divi Pauli Primi Eremitae ...* Petrus Liechtenstein, Venezia 1514; *Ordo missalis secundum ritum Dominorum Ultramontanorum cum quibusdam officiis novis*. Petrus Maufer, Verona 1480.

20 CZAGÁNY Zsuzsa: „Magyar-normann zenei kapcsolatok a középkorban?” [Hungarian–Norman Musical Connections in the Middle Ages?], *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok XII* (1990/1991) 9–21; id.: „Magyar-normann zenei kapcsolatok a középkorban II.” [Hungarian–Norman Musical connections in the Middle Ages II.], in KISS, Gábor (ed.): *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok* [Studies in Musicology]. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézet, Budapest 2010. 11–22.

21 The colophon of Eger, Főegyházmegeyi Könyvtár [Archdiocese Library], U2 VI. 5: „Explicit liber missalis per manus Ladislai de Miskolch anno Domini 1394”.

publications and catalogues. However, it has been proven that many prayers are characteristic of certain Uses, or groups of Uses, the published editions do not contain all of these, and their assignation was also changeable. The opinion that the sacramentaries of the Carolingian-age are the direct predecessors of later practices is thus disproved, it seems likely that parallel local, or order-specific uses were maintained and propagated. Thus the field, which 20th-century research believed to have been exhausted still provides a number of opportunities. Furthermore, it is the arrangement and alternation of prayers that is the main indicator through which the Use of a source document can be identified.

In the past two years the Research Group of Liturgical History has entered data from the sacramentaries of nearly 200 dioceses and monastic orders from the whole of Europe. Balázs Horváth, who will aid the work process of publishing and analysing the P as a post-graduate student processed and organised the data entered.²² Through these efforts the broadest and best selected background to date will aid the analysis of the unique characteristics of the P's main body. The research team hopes to continue development of the database, this is one of the goals of the proposal submitted to the European Research Council, which is currently under evaluation.²³ One of the main directions of development will be to process the sacramentaries of monastic orders: this would allow definite answers to be given regarding the connection of the P to the Benedictine tradition, and if a connection is proven, help name the exact monasteries, reforms and congregations it was connected to.

4.3.3.5. The Calendar and the Sanctorale

The holidays and saints contained in the calendars and sanctorales of liturgical sources have always been important elements in defining their origin, however, no comprehensive collection of the holidays and saints characteristic of a Use based on the available source documents has been completed to date. Connecting certain holidays to the cults of saints, and the cult itself to certain biographical, or historical events is a common mistake. Excepting the most obvious and thus, least informative instances source documents do not prove this assumption. Results are further distorted by the tendency of scholars to use the calendar of the Roman Curia as a base for comparison following—and in part before—the calendar reform of the Second Vatican Council. All elements that differ from it are considered to be local characteristics, while comparative analysis suggests that it was the calendar of the Roman Curia that was atypical among medieval Uses. As a result, all speculation aimed at deducing the origin, users and connections of the P from holidays and saints must be ignored.

Similarly to the system of prayers true answers could only be reached through a systematic comparison with a database of the whole of the Western Church. Such a database would allow researchers to discern the frequency of certain feasts and saints, isolated and over-documented, thus unimportant data could be filtered out. Research on the typical range of holidays could then be conducted in a concentrated manner, which would allow current important and legitimate questions to be answered.

The structural background of the database is complete, data has been processed in the couple of months, while this collection is currently not open to the public it contains the data of approximately 100 dioceses.²⁴

22 *USUARIUM*, „Texts” page.

23 ERC Consolidator Grant 2016: A Handbook and Database for the Study of European Liturgical Uses.

24 The continuing development of the database can be monitored online.