

KÖZLEMÉNYEK

A Fragment of the *Graduale Varadiense* at the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj (Kolozsvár).* In 1872, Bishop János Zalka of Győr (Jaurinum, Raab) undertook the restoration of a lavishly illuminated fifteenth-century antiphonary owned by his diocese, and inscribed his name on a parchment leaf added at the beginning of the newly rebound manuscript. The entire operation and the book itself were described by Flóris Rómer in an article published a few years later¹. What remained of the original two volumes was rebound together, so that in its present form the book amounts to 318 (179+139) fols. and measures 840×570 mm. The resulting volume, often referred to as the ‘Zalka Antiphonary’, now bears the shelfmark MS A 2, and is on permanent display at the Diocesan Treasury and Library (Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár) in Győr. Earlier scholars, like Polycarpus Radó², believed that the book had been made for the Cathedral of Győr, but subsequent research by Janka Szendrei has shown that the Antiphonary contains elements characteristic for the rite of Oradea (Varadinum, Nagyvárad, Grosswardein)³. In the light of its late-fifteenth-century date, it has been suggested that the antiphonary is one of the great choir books ordered by Johannes Filipec, bishop of Oradea (1476–1490) and Olomouc (Olmütz, 1484–1490), and chancellor of King Matthias Corvinus (1485–1490), a remarkable diplomat and humanist of Moravian origin⁴.

* The present research was supported through a grant from the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI (project PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-1795). I would like to thank Dr Eva Veselovská and Dr Zsuzsa Czagány, who kindly read a draft of this text and answered my queries about the musical aspect of the manuscript, and about other fragments they had studied. Many thanks to Dr Bogdan Crăciun, curator of the special collections at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj, Dr Judit Lauf, researcher in the *Fragmenta codicum* project at the National Széchényi Library in Budapest, Dr Ádám Török, archivist at the National Archives of Hungary, and Mr Tamás Kiss, librarian of the Diocesan Treasury and Library in Győr, who kindly allowed me to inspect manuscripts and fragments from their collections. My gratitude is also extended to Prof. Edit Madas and Prof. István Monok for a series of useful onomastic suggestions and corrections.

¹ RÓMER, Flóris Ferencz, ‘A győri káptalan antiphonaléja’ = *Archeológiai Közlemények*, 11(1877), 12–26.

² RADÓ, Polycarpus, *Libri liturgi manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*, ed. László Mezey, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1973, nr. 181, 530: ‘Factum possessionis longaevae ‘in Repositorio istius Cath. Ecclesiae’ valde verisimile reddit, antiphonarum ingens pro hac ecclesia exaratum esse’.

³ SZENDREI, Janka, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, Budapest, MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981, 40–41; *eadem*, ‘A Zalka Antiphonale provenienciája’ = *Zenetudományi dolgozatok*, 10(1988), 21–32.

⁴ On Filipec, see KALOUS, Antonín, ‘Jan Filipec v diplomatických službách Matyáše Korvína’

The Italian Dominican scholar Petrus Ransanus (Pietro Ranzano), who spent time at the Corvinian court in Buda, mentioned the books Filipec ordered for Oradea in the following terms:

Sacram, cuius est Antistes, aedem ditavit pretiosis tum sacerdotum vestibus, tum argenteis vasis, libris praeterea magnis, quos vocant graduarios et antiphonarios, omni ex parte adeo mire exornatos, ut magni ac ditissimi alicuius regis dicata Deo dona possint non immerito iudicari.⁵

He enriched the holy church whose bishop he is with precious vestments, silver chalices, and also with big books one calls graduals and antiphonaries, wonderfully decorated throughout, so that one might consider them, not without reason, the gifts of some great and very wealthy king dedicated to God.

The study of the antiphonary has revealed that both its illumination⁶ and its rhombic musical notation point to Bohemia, and probably to Prague⁷. There are several hypotheses about the time when Filipec's large books were removed from the Oradea cathedral, dismembered, and turned into maculature. It can be argued that the books stayed in Oradea at least until 1557, when an inventory mentioned 'Libri maiores graduales cum optima illuminatione conscripti quatuor' – an indication that the gradual and the antiphonary each had two volumes⁸. They may have been vandalised *in situ* at some later point, or after they had been transferred to Győr. Kinga Körmendy suggests that fragments were scattered along the route followed by Gabriel Bethlen's army in the first decades

= *Časopis Matice moravské* 125(2006), 3–32; *idem*, 'Itinerář Jana Filipce (1431–1509)' = *Sborník prací historických (Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Historica)* 34(2008), 17–43; BAJGER, Matyáš Franciszek, 'Bratr někdy biskup Jan Filipec (1431–1509) a knihy okolo něj', in *Problematika historických a vzácných knižních fondů Čech, Moravy a Slezska: sborník z 19. odborné konference Olomouc, 20. – 21. října 2010*, ed. Rostislav Krušínský, Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci etc., 2011, 115–144. On Filipec's books, see CSAPODI, Csaba, 'Filipec (Pruisz) János nagyváradi és olmützi püspök könyvei' = *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 83(1967), 243–49; *idem*, 'Die erhaltengebliebenen Bücher des Johannes Filipec Pruis, Bischoff von Grosswardein' = *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 50(1975), 338–340.

⁵ RANSANUS, Petrus, *Epitome rerum Hungaricarum*, Tyrnaviae, 1579, f. E3v (ed. Péter Kulcsár, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1977).

⁶ Lóránd ZENTAI argues that 'the decoration was made around 1490 in a significant Czech miniature workshop, possibly in Prague, in Master Matheus' workshop' = *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon. Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban, Budapest, Budavári Palota, 1985. November 12.–1986. Február 28.*, Budapest, Interpress, 1985, 163, nr. 185; L. VAYER, 'Bemerkungen zu einer Schongauer-Zeichnung' = *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*, 1(1954), 131, believed that the decoration was made in Hungary, following a Bohemian model.

⁷ SZENDREI, *cf. supra*; ZSUZSA CZAGÁNY, 'Das Itinerar einer spätmittelalterlichen Prunkhandschrift im 16–17. Jahrhundert. Fragmente des Antiphonale Waradiense in Levoča, Poprad und Esztergom', in *Musica Mediaeva Liturgica II. Zborník príspevkov z muzikologickej konferencie konanej dňa 3.–4. júna 201*, ed. Rastislav Adamko, Ružomberok, Verbum, 2016, 105–106; *eadem*, 'Böhmische "Zutaten" im Waradiner Sequentiar', in *Ars Musica and Its Contexts in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk, Warsaw, Liber pro Arte, 2016, 237–245.

⁸ MIKÓ, Árpád, MOLNÁR, Antal, 'A váradi középkori székesegyház kincstárának inventáriuma (1557)' = *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 52(2003), 316 (p. 392 of the original document in the National Archives of Hungary).

of the seventeenth century, and were used as maculature in some of the places – Trnava (Tyrnavia, Nagyszomta), today in Slovakia or Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) in Transylvania – where the prince installed his printing house, but this theory is not universally accepted⁹.

In recent years, due to intense research concerning *fragmenta codicum* and musical manuscripts in Hungary and Slovakia, an ever increasing number of fragments extracted from the Oradea Antiphonary, but also a precious few fragments from the now lost Gradual and Sequentiale, have been identified in Budapest (National Széchényi Library, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungarian National Archives), Győr, Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran), Debrecen, Güssing (Németújvár), Bratislava (Posonium, Pressburg, Pozsony), Kosiče (Cassovia, Kaschau, Kassa), Modra (Modorinum, Modor), Martin (Túrösszentmárton), Poprad (Deutschendorf, Poprád), Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) and Oponice (Appony)¹⁰. It must be added right away that the fragment now in the National Archives of Hungary was extracted from the binding of protocols made in the first decades of the seventeenth century in Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor), in Transylvania.

While the Antiphonary has survived rather well, only a few fragments from the *Graduale Varadiense* have been discovered so far¹¹. It was therefore a fortunate event to come across one further fragment at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj (Biblioteca Academiei Române, Filiala Cluj). The fragment, extracted from a binding in the twentieth century, is now kept in a box containing several parchment sheets and bifolia that I am in the process of cataloguing. Unfortunately, the origin of the fragment was not recorded, and the fragment itself bears no annotations allowing one to link it to one of the library's volumes, so that its provenance must remain mute. It may have reached Cluj (Claudiopolis, Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) in the binding of a book imported from other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, but it may also have been available locally in the early 1600s, like the fragment used for binding the Protocols of Cluj-Mănăştur, now at the National Archives in Budapest (Q 406.14, extracted from F 15/18.157).

The fragment, excised from the top of the original page, measures ca. 256-65 × 171-82 mm, and contains only a limited amount of text and musical notation. Despite its precarious state of conservation, the text and the musical notation are fully legible. Comparison of the fragment in Cluj to

⁹ KÖRMENDY, Kinga, 'Az ún. Zalka Antiphonale töredékei' = *Zenetudományi dolgozatok*, 10(1988), 38–40; CZAGÁNY 2016, 'Das Itinerar...', 106–107.

¹⁰ Twenty-six fragments were listed by KÖRMENDY, 33–41; see also SZENDREI, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, nrs F 23–26, 71, 83, 84, 88, 109, 233, 296, 365, 457, 490, 566, 567, 609–613, 647, 648, 653, 657. – In the meantime, further fragments have been discovered, especially in Slovakia: cf. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva, *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava*, vol. II, Bratislava, Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006, nrs 76, 88, 115; *eadem*, *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Georgius I*, Bratislava, Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, nrs 7, 10, 26–29, 33, 34, 54, 55, 60–63. See also Zsuzsa CZAGÁNY, 'Töredék, kódex, rítus, hagyomány. A Zalka Antifonále győri és modori töredékeinek tanúsága' = *Zenetudományi dolgozatok*, 33(2011), 123–141; *eadem*, 'A Zalka Antifonále utolsó lapja', in *Tükörzödések: Ünnepi tanulmánykötet Domokos Mária népzenekutató-zenetörténész tiszteletére*, ed. Olga Szalay, Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2012, 503–513; *eadem*, 'Das Itinerar...', 103–16.

¹¹ To the four items listed by KÖRMENDY, p. 36, should be added two further fragments in Modra (<http://cantus.sk/source/192>), one in Bratislava (Central Archive of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences, 115_Lyc B III 414c), and an unpublished one in the State Archives in Bratislava (Eva VESELOVSKÁ, private e.mail communication on 10 September 2017).

the Antiphony in Győr and other extant fragments in Budapest¹² reveals an almost exact overlapping in the spacing of the red lines in the staves (42 mm from between the top and the bottom line, 11-12 mm between two lines) and in the margins (11-12 mm between the two vertical lines). The approximate height of the letters' minims is about 18 mm. The musical notation is identical, and the palaeography also confirms that the fragment in Cluj was copied in the workshop that produced the Antiphony now in Győr. Most characteristically, the *i*'s have a peculiar systematic dotting (b, c), and the hairline of *x* descends underneath the preceding *e* (a/c).



(a)



(b)



(c)

(a), (b) Győr, MS A 2

(c) Cluj, fragm. s. n.

Conversely, the fragment in Cluj has a rubricated section or quire number at the top of the page, whereas such running numbering is absent from the Győr Antiphony (they seem to be present on Gradual fragments, according to Zsuzsa Czagány)¹³. It is impossible to say whether the figure on what I shall call the recto is 'II' or some other Roman number (III, IIII, XII, XIII, XXII etc.).

The text on the recto of the fragment is very short, yet may be just long enough to allow identification. One can read a minim followed by *s* and *exaudi*, which must correspond to *-us exaudi-* (*-is* is excluded, because the minim is not dotted, *-ns* does not occur before *exaudi* in the Bible, and *-ms* is impossible). A search of the Vulgate text yields the following possible matches:

Dominus exaudiet me cum clamavero ad eum (Ps. 4, 4);
 Iste pauper clamavit, et Dominus exaudivit eum (Ps. 33, 7);
 Clamaverunt justi, et Dominus exaudivit eos (Ps. 33, 18);
 Deus, exaudi orationem meam; auribus percipe verba oris mei. (Ps. 53, 4);
 et sic deprecatus exaudietur (Eccl. 33, 4);
 et Dominus exauditor non delectabitur in illis (Eccl. 35, 19);
 Ego Dominus exaudiam eos (Isa. 41, 17);
 Tunc invocabis, et Dominus exaudiet (Isa. 58, 9);
 dicit Dominus, exaudiam caelos (Ose. 2, 21).

Unfortunately, '[Clamaverunt justi, et Domin]us exaudi[vit eos]', corresponding to the *Commune plurimum Martyrum* in the *Commune Sanctorum* of the Gradual¹⁴, or '[De]us, exaudi [orationem meam; auribus percipe verba oris mei]', the responsory on the *feria secunda* in the fifth week of Lent (*Dominica V Quadragesimae, feria II*), which would be good candidates for the text, do not match the music.¹⁵

The verso contains a *melisma*, but almost no text (only *min-* or, less likely, *mim-* is still readable), so that identification is even more problematic. This notwithstanding, the scarcity of frag-

¹² I measured the fragments A 58, 59, 61, 62/1, 66 and E 106 at the Orszá, gos Széchényi Könyvtár.

¹³ Private e.mail communication on 12 September 2017.

¹⁴ Suggested by Dr Eva Veselovská (private e.mail communication on 10 September 2017).

¹⁵ Cf. <http://cantusindex.org/search?t=exaudi&cid=&genre=All&page=1>, last consulted on 14 September 2017.

ments from the *Graduale Varadiense* bestows importance on this hitherto unknown item, which can now join the other pieces in the puzzle.

A jelen közlés a Román Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára kolozsvári fiókjában (Biblioteca Academiei Române) őrzött *Graduale Varadiense* korábban nem ismert részletét azonosítja és írja le. A *Graduale Varadiense*, amelyből csak néhány töredék maradt fenn, a ma a Györi Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtárban őrzött ún. *Zalka Antifonarium* kísérőkötetete volt. A nagy kóruskönyveket Filipec János, 1476 és 1490 között Nagyvárad püspöke Csehországban készítette, és a nagyvárad székeseháznál legalább 1554-ig használták, ti. említést találunk róluk egy 1554-es leltárban. A 16. század végén és a 17. század elején a kódexeket feldarabolták lapjaik javarészt könyvkötésként újrahasznosítva.



Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române, fragment s. n., recto.



Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române, fragment s. n., verso.