

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

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Membra disiecta from a Transylvanian Antiphonal in Budapest and Cluj

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Abstract: This article discusses four fragments from a fifteenth-century antiphonal with Hungarian chant notation. Two of these *membra disiecta* are kept at the National Archives of Hungary, and at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, and are well-known to scholars of medieval music and liturgy. Two further fragments have recently been identified in the bindings of printed books at the Library of the Romanian Academy, in Cluj, and are studied here for the first time. The authors suggest that the original choir book was used in Transylvania and was possibly dismembered in the former Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

Keywords: Antiphonal, Transylvania, Cluj-Mănăştur

The most complete census of medieval musical manuscripts of Hungarian origin lists two fragments from a fifteenth-century antiphonal with Hungarian notation (F 34 and F 348), for which a Transylvanian origin is suggested.¹ F 34 (Budapest, Library of the

* The authors would like to thank the following persons and institutions for granting them access to the collections and providing the manuscript pictures reproduced in this article: Dr Bogdan Crăciun, Head of Special Collections at the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj, Dr Gábor Tóth, Librarian at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the staff of the National Archives of Hungary.

1 J. Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, Budapest 1981, F 34, F 348.

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T 422/b² – hereafter A, Figure 3) was extracted from the binding of a printed book bearing the shelfmark Tört. F. 256, which had belonged to Count Ádám Teleki of Szék (d. 1792), administrator of Dăbâca (Hungarian: Doboka), Co. Cluj/Kolozs, and then to his heir, Countess Mária Teleki, according to a note on the front flyleaf.³ The second fragment was detached from the binding of protocols from Cluj-Mănăştur/Kolozsmonostor (Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, F 15, Kolozsmonostor, *Protocollum maius I 1629-1638* – B, Figure 4), which proves its Transylvanian provenance.

This article identifies two further fragments belonging to the same medieval manuscript in the bindings of two printed books: Cluj, Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218 – C, Figure 5, and C. 55090 – D, Figure 6. These books can also be linked to the former Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur, which in the seventeenth century had become a Jesuit school (*gymnasium*) and was functioning as place of authentication (*locus credibilis*).⁴ Furthermore, the history of the collections and of the books under scrutiny suggests that the antiphonal discussed in this article had been in use at some other religious institution in Transylvania before the Reformation.

A brief historical overview is necessary at this point. The royal Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur was established in the second

2 Not just ‘T 422’, as in the available literature, nor ‘T 422/6’ as written in pencil on the verso. T 422 consists of leaves from a printed book; the printed sheets of paper constituted the cardboard of the binding, and the parchment leaf provided its covering. Fragment T 422/b is kept in a separate envelope, together with two other large unrelated fragments (T 638 and T 995/b). The register of fragments at the Hungarian Academy Library (*Töredék registrum I, 422*) indicates Cluj/Kolozsvár as the provenance of the printed book fragments.

3 “Ex Bibliotheca Excellentissimi quondam Domini Comitis Adami Teleki de Szék primis Mensis Septembris diebus in Anno 1793 in tres partes divisa cessit in partem Illustrissimae Dominae Comitissae Mariae Teleki de Szék”. The book’s binding was restored in 1973, according to a label on the rear pastedown. The volume contains Sigmund of Herberstein’s *De legatione Basilii magni principis Moscoviae liber...*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1551 [USTC 690718].

4 In medieval and early modern Hungary, chapters and abbeys functioned as places of authentication, following an old Byzantine model. Cf. L. Mezey, “Anfänge der Privaturkunde in Ungarn und der glaubwürdigen Orte”, *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18 (1972), 290–302.

half of the eleventh century, a few miles away of Cluj, on the road leading to Oradea/Nagyvárad and Buda. It rose to prominence as Transylvania's secondmost important *locus credibilis*, after the chapter of the diocesan capital, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár. Its wealth and independence attracted the hostility of the bishops of Transylvania, who demolished it in the first decades of the thirteenth century.⁵ In 1241, it was plundered by the Mongols and Tatars, who swept through the region. It flourished again in the late Middle Ages, producing a great number of documents.⁶ Although the notarial activity was intense,⁷ the scriptorium does not seem to have produced many books, and the abbey's library was relatively modest. An inventory drafted in 1427 mentions less than fifty titles: among them, items 23-24 are "duo antiphonalia unum de tempore et reliquum de sanctis".⁸ Unfortunately, another inventory drafted in 1508 is too cursory, and mentions only one handwritten missal and "diversi libri vetusti multi".⁹

The Reformation led to the suppression of the Catholic orders in Transylvania in 1556. Although the Benedictine abbey was dissolved in that year, its notarial activity restarted in 1575 with lay personnel (*requisitores*), and continued until 1874.¹⁰ In 1579, the Catholic prince of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory invited the Jesuits to establish a college in Cluj. Until 1581, when they moved into the city, the Jesuits had their headquarters in the former Benedictine abbey. Their activity in Cluj was short-lived, though: they functioned only about

5 For the history of the abbey, cf. A.A. Rusu, ed., *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș*, Cluj 2000, 114-17; E. Benkő, "Mănăstur (Kolozsmonostor) bei Klausenburg", in *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, ed. A. Wiczorek and H.-M. Hinz, Stuttgart 2000, 597-599.

6 Zs. Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, 2 vols., Budapest 1990.

7 5444 notarial acts drafted between 1289 and 1556, cf. *supra*.

8 National Archives of Hungary, DL 36403, pp. 1-26, edited by K. Tagányi, "Adatok a hazai középkori könyvtárak történetéhez", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 14 (1889), 88-98.

9 In 1508, a general inventory of Benedictine abbeys in Hungary was carried out: National Archives of Hungary, DL 21890, edited by D. Csánki, "Magyarországi benczések egy bibliographiai becsű inventariuma 1508-ból", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 6 (1881), 289-99.

10 Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, 161, 166.

twenty-five years, not without interruptions, in the former Franciscan convent.¹¹ One of the significant episodes of hostility they had to endure occurred in 1603, when the Unitarian citizens sacked the college. Contemporary witnesses mention that books were thrown into the mud, trampled upon and destroyed.¹² In 1604, the Jesuits inventoried what was left of their library, placing ownership marks on the books, including C. 55090 (discussed below).

The Jesuits would soon be forced to end their activity in the city of Cluj, and in 1606 they were banished from Transylvania. Despite this decision, their presence was tolerated in Cluj-Mănăstur, and they appear to have transferred their library there. In 1618 they opened a lower-grade school (*gymnasium*), which functioned until the late eighteenth century, when it moved back into the city.¹³ During the Habsburg rule, the Jesuit school was taken over by the Piarists, became a royal high-school (*lyceum regium*), and its library integrated the old holdings.¹⁴ Under the communist rule, the book collections of the religious institutions of Cluj were nationalised and transferred to the local branch of the Romanian Academy; to the present day, books belonging to the *Lyceum* library are identified by call numbers bearing the prefix 'C' (Catholic).¹⁵

11 K. Jáko, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója 1579-1604*, Szeged 1991; eadem, "History of the Library of Báthory University in Kolozsvár/Cluj from 1579 to 1607", *Philobiblon* 1 (1996), 63–89; J. Marton, "The History of Roman Catholic Theological Education in Transylvania", *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Theologia Catholica Latina* 52 (2007), 15–23; I. Costea, "Gli inizi della vita accademica a Cluj: il Collegio dei Gesuiti (1581)", in *Antonio Possevino. I Gesuiti e la loro eredità culturale in Transilvania: Atti della Giornata di studio, Cluj-Napoca, 4 dicembre 2007*, ed. A. Castaldini, Rome 2009, 105–119.

12 E. Veress, ed., *Giovanni Argenti jelentései magyar ügyekről 1603-1623*, Szeged 1983, 171.

13 J. Varga, *A kolozsvári Jezsuita Gimnázium és Akadémia hallgatósága: 1641-1773* (1784), Budapest 2007.

14 L. György, *A kolozsvári római katolikus Lyceum-könyvtár története*, Budapest 1994.

15 For a survey of the library's historical collections, see G. Sipos et al., *A kolozsvári Akadémiai Könyvtár régi magyar könyvtár-gyűjteményeinek katalógusa. Catalogul colecțiilor Biblioteca Maghiară Veche a Bibliotecii Academiei Cluj-Napoca*, Cluj 2004.

While the surviving medieval books from Cluj-Mănăştur were integrated into the local collections of the Jesuit and Piarist schools, and ended up in the Academy Library of Cluj, the notarial archive was transferred to the National Archives of Hungary, in Budapest. Since the parchment of discarded medieval books was reused for the binding of both printed volumes and handwritten protocols, *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript from Cluj-Mănăştur may be found in Cluj and in Budapest, apart from other places where books may have travelled.

One final remark must be made before proceeding to the investigation of the fragments under scrutiny: it can be demonstrated that the Jesuits had access to all the medieval collections from Cluj. The Catholic, or *Lyceum* sub-collection at the Academy Library includes books that once belonged to the medieval Dominican convent (e.g. Inc. C. 61), and to St Michael's parish church (e.g. C. 54660-62, C. 57795, MS C. 83, excised from the church's gradual, now Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library MS I.1).¹⁶ Consequently, medieval fragments identified in the bindings of early modern printed books may come from any of these collections. Of course, since the overwhelming majority of printed books were imported, the parchment fragments used in their bindings may stem from foreign sources. In some cases, this is confirmed by owners' notes; for instance, the two volumes of U. 61808 were purchased in Venice and bound in Bratislava/Pozsony in 1634.

Nonetheless, we have every reason to argue for the local provenance of this antiphonal, as B stems from Protocols of Cluj-Mănăştur drafted in 1629-1638, while C was used in the binding of a book printed in Cluj, which has never left the area. This book is a copy of János Szilvási's *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae*, printed in Cluj in 1597, on the press founded by Gáspár Heltai.¹⁷ The

16 K. Szigeti, "Két középkori erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 86 (1970), 165-172.

17 János Szilvási was born in Dej/Dés around 1570. He was brought up in Cluj in the Unitarian faith, but converted to Calvinism in his last schoolyear. In 1587 he became a student at Heidelberg. Back in Transylvania, he served as reformed archdeacon in Târgu-Mureş/Marosvásárhely and Orăştie/Szászváros. In 1595, he converted to Catholicism. *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae*... is his third and last published work — the previous ones advocated Unitarian and

book's title page is missing, but the next page bears two ownership notes – "Soc<ieta>is JESV in Monostor" (s. XVII), "Biblioth<eca> Lycei R<egii> Claud<iopolitani> 1831" – and a modern stamp reading "A Kolozsvári Róm. Kath. Főgymnázium. Lyceumi könyvtára" (Figure 7).¹⁸

As was common in the sixteenth century, books were sold unbound, and owners provided them with the bindings they could afford. The catalogue of old Hungarian printed books identifies nineteen copies of Szilvási's Catholic treatise: twelve of them are still in Transylvania, and seven can be found in Bratislava, Budapest, Debrecen, Gyöngyös and Pannonhalma.¹⁹ Eight copies are bound in medieval manuscript fragments: Cluj (Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218 and BVM C. 219), Sibiu (Brukenthal Library, Tr. XVI/150), Sighișoara/Segesvár ("Zaharia Boiu" Municipal Library, IV.361), Miercurea Ciuc/Csikszereda (Csíki Székely Múzeum, 1775 and 1897), Debrecen (University Library, 702065), and Pannonhalma (Abbey Library, 123b F 2), and two more have beautiful Renaissance bindings (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library XIII.58a and 58b). The other extant copies were rebound in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All this suggests that the two copies owned by the Jesuits from Cluj, now at the Romanian Academy Library, were bound locally, with parchment extracted from available manuscripts.

Furthermore, D also belonged to the earliest book collection of the Jesuit College, which survived the 1603 plunders and was catalogued in 1604. The book is a copy of *Caius Julius Caesar, sive historiae imperatorum caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae liber primus. Accessit Caii Julii Caesaris vita et res gestae*, written, illustrated and printed by Hubert Goltz (Brugge, 1563; USTC 401143). The frontispiece has the ownership notes: "Collegii Soc<ieta>tis JESV Claudiop<olitani> 1604", "Bibliothecae

Calvinist positions. See J. Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, third edition., ed. S. Ladányi, Budapest 1977, s.v. 'Szilvási János'.

18 Former shelfmarks: 7 H 31 (handwritten label, spine, ink note on front paste-down, s. XVIII?); N 7 I 22 (red pencil, front flyleaf, and ink, dedicatory page (iir), s. XIX?); 113.d.32 (label s. XX, front pastedown); BVM II/218 (stamp, p. 116, 1962).

19 G. Borsa et al., *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok 1473-1600*, Budapest 1971, 808.

R<egii> Lycei Claudiopol<itani> 1832”, as well as an explanation of the woodcut engravings written by a seventeenth-century hand (“Musai. Mathem.<atica> Phys.<ica> Experi.<entia>”) (Figure 8). The page also bears modern stamps of the Catholic Lyceum (as in C) and of the Academy Library.²⁰

The four fragments in Cluj and Budapest stem from a large antiphonal, which measured around 500×345 mm (the size of Fragment A). At present, the four fragments have the following measurements: A (full leaf) – 500×345 mm; B (full leaf) – ca. 500×345 mm; C (the centre of a leaf) – ca. 315–330×190–200 mm (the size of the cover is ca. 190×150 mm); D (the top of a bifolium) – ca. 480–490×295–310 mm (the size of the cover is ca. 295×210 mm).

The order of the pages would be D, C, A, B, since the passages they transmit are the office of St Stephen the Protomartyr (26 December – D), the Feast of the Innocents (28 December – C), the office of St Vincent (22 January – A), and the office of St Gregory the Great (12 March – B).

The texts transmitted by the two hitherto unknown fragments from Cluj are:²¹

C. *Nativitas Innocentium*

[Regem] <re>gum dominum venite ad|<ore>mus quia ipse est coron<a> | <sanc-to>rum innocentium. Ps. |++++ an. Herodes uidens| <qu>ia illusus esset a ma<gi>|s misit in bethleem e<t> | <occi>dit omnes pueros q<ui>...

D. *Officium S. Stephani protomartyris*

front cover:

[An. Lumine vultus tui do]mine insignitus prothomartyr | stephanus sacrificium iusticie | seipsum tibi sacrificium (!) ideo|que in leticia cordis in pace | <ob-dor>miens requiescit. ps. | an. B[enedictionis tue...]

back cover:

[Mortem enim quam salvator dignatus est pro omnibus pati] <ha>nc ille primus red|<idit sal>uatori. Ipsum. | <Gloria> patri et filio et | <spiritui> sancto. Ipsum. | <A>ue prothomartir...

20 Former shelfmarks: 30 B 6 (handwritten label, spine, ink note on front pastedown, s. XVIII?); 62 B 2 (ink note, front flyleaf); N 24 D 23 (red pencil, front pastedown, and ink, title page, s. XIX?); 113.d.32 (label s. XX, front pastedown); BVM II/218 (stamp, p. 116, 1962).

21 For the full identification, see Table 2, below.

On the surviving pages there is no illumination that would suggest that the antiphonal was a luxury book, although one may surmise that the first leaf and the openings of sections did display decorated initials or even miniatures. One finds the usual rubricated Lombard initials and highlighted caedels decorated with masks (human heads).

However, the text is written in a highly regular *textus praescissus*, a demanding calligraphic script “considered appropriate only for the most formal (usually liturgical) manuscripts”.²² The fact that no feet were applied to the minims (*sine pedibus*) involves supplementary calligraphic efforts, and adds to the script’s mannerism.²³ Some scholars therefore consider that *textus praescissus* ranks highest in the hierarchy of Gothic book scripts.²⁴ The antiphonal from Cluj-Mănăstur was certainly a book of good quality, produced in a professional workshop in Transylvania, elsewhere in medieval Hungary, or in some foreign centre. (A.P.)

Musical-Paleographical, Liturgical and Melodic Analysis²⁵

The musical script follows the common system of the main Hungarian plainchant codices: the notation is written in black ink over a set of four red horizontal lines²⁶ occupying the whole width of the writing space. The text lines are unusually short, but the text

22 A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 2003, 76.

23 M. Steinmann, “Textualis formata”, *Archiv für Diplomatik* 25 (1979), 316–319. On the calligraphic execution of *textus praescissus*, see M. Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique*, New York 1980, 149–152 and D. Harris, *The Art of Calligraphy. A Practical Guide of the Skills and Techniques*, London 1995, 54–57.

24 M.P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, London 1990, 80.

25 This part of the research was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the NKFIH research project, nr K 120.643.

26 In central Hungarian scriptoria (in the Esztergom archdiocese) thicker lines were used in chant notation. At the same time, exactly these kind of thin staff lines can be observed in various Transylvanian fragments, such as Szendrei,

itself is large compared to the musical notation, which suggests that text and music are of unequal value in these musical fragments. The texts of the melodies are also written in black ink and separated by rubrics, which mark the genre of the items (e.g. *an.* – antiphon, *p.*, *psal.* – psalm, *Ma.* – Magnificat antiphon) and guide the readers. Initials written in red and blue ink appear at the beginning of each chant. Both the texts and the melodies appear to be carefully executed, but we believe that the style in which the chants were written is archaic and rather provincial, which also explains the unusually small neumes.

In Fragment D, there are six staves with melodies and their corresponding texts. Fragment C also contains six lines of text and music, but this is a smaller part of the original book, and thus offers restricted liturgical contents on the truncated lines and staves. However, due to the fact that the Budapest leaves (A and B) have conserved their original size, we are able to determine that each page contains seven staves. On the last music staff of fragments C and D some of the neumes are missing due to the way the leaf was cut. The tonality is determined at the beginning of each line by using the double keys of *c* and *f*, (and, in some cases, *f* and *b*) in a typical way for Hungarian plainchant notation.

The neume system represents a variant of calligraphic Hungarian/Esztergom musical notation.²⁷ The formulation of the main neumes corresponds to the central Hungarian style of medieval plainchant notation, which flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century in the scriptoria of the archdiocese of Esztergom, and was comprehensively documented by Janka Szendrei.²⁸ The writing direction of the neumes is typically Hungarian: ↗↓. Important provenance signs are the vertical *climacus* beginning with two points, the conjunct *pes*, *scandicus*, *torculus* and *porrectus* signs, and generally, the continuous and flexible neume combinations and ductus of writing. These elements suggest that the writing is

A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai, F 325, 337, 361, 362, Cluj, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară MS 706, or the Güssing fragments (see below).

27 As a metropolitan archdiocese, Esztergom was the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church from 1001.

28 J. Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, Budapest 1999, 30–61.

relatively archaic for a fifteenth-century manuscript. As a matter of fact, by the middle of the century, this type of musical notation was outdated in musical manuscripts observing the main Esztergom tradition, which then was using a more modern mixed Gothic chant notation, suitable for writing high-grade, large choir books.²⁹

Surprisingly, there are no *custodes* at the end of the musical lines. In Hungarian sources, the *custos* mark, which appears at the end of staves anticipating the first note of the next line, was introduced in the fourteenth century. Its absence may generally be considered a *terminus ante quem*. However, the neume structure, the style of writing and the size of the book lead us to believe that the fragments were produced in the first half of the fifteenth century, so that the lack of *custos* is just an archaism. Of course, the paleographical characteristics of this musical notation (the four-line staves, their remarkably thin lines, the relatively large distance between them, their unusual shortness, the archaic neume system, the ductus of the writing etc.) also apply to Janka Szendrei's fragments F 34 (A) and F 348 (B), which seem to stem from the same antiphonal.³⁰

Despite its demonstrable Transylvanian provenance, we are unable to pinpoint the community for which the antiphonal was made; nevertheless, the connection of B with the Cluj-Mănăştur Benedictine abbey make its neighborhood the likeliest candidate. A comparative musical and liturgical analysis would perhaps be the best way to determine this.

Janka Szendrei regarded the two Budapest fragments as some of the strangest examples of Hungarian musical notation, and mentioned their similarities to the fourteenth-century Esztergom calligraphic style. She also identified peculiarities that would imply that these fragments' musical notation is more recent, thus creating a subtype of Hungarian/Esztergom notation. Szendrei named this 'peripheral notation' and considered that its place of origin was most

29 During Gothicisation, the earlier flexible character of the notation was lost, and the musical script became increasingly more loose and fragmented. See G. Gilányi, "Használatától a műremekig: a 15. századi hangjelzett esztergom-budai kódexek", in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2015–2016*, ed. G. Gilányi, Budapest 2016, 24–35.

30 Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 34 and F 348.

likely Transylvania, but she was cautious about offering a definition.³¹

The indisputable Transylvanian provenance of our four fragments confirms Szendrei's conclusions. Moreover, the musical notation contains many unique and peripheral elements, compared to the central Hungarian calligraphic style: the writing's layout is spacious, the neumes are lengthened horizontally, the musical notes nearly disappear on the four thinly drawn red staves. The size of note-heads does not grow with the greater space between staff lines. By and large, the notator tends to follow the refined central Esztergom style in a kind of rustic manner, with stumpy strokes, so that the notation does not display the predominantly delicate calligraphy of the main Hungarian style in the fourteenth century. Instead, thick ligatures stand in stark contrast with the thin lines of the staves. The change in Hungarian notations at the end of the fourteenth century was most likely inspired by Gothic script, which became popular in Central Europe. The early stages of this change of style is featured in our fragments, as the notator thickens, but does not enlarge and separate the elements of the neumes in the way of the late central Esztergom/Buda notation, or even of some peripheral Hungarian chant notation (e.g. the neume structure of the fourteenth-century Transylvanian antiphonal kept at Güssing/Németújvár).³²

The basic syllabic sign used in the fragments is the *punctum*, which comes in two shapes: either a regular rhombic shape, or a mostly elongated rectangular form (for the neume shapes, see Table 1). Although there is no standard *punctum* form, these types are reminiscent of the rhomboid note-heads of the new style of Gothic notation, popular at the time in Central Europe. The elongated rhomboid forms could be placed onto the lines and spaces only

³¹ Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, 73.

³² On the notated fragments belonging to the fourteenth-century antiphonal kept in the library of the Franciscan convent in Güssing/Németújvár (shelfmarks 4/4, 4/30, 4/48, 4/49, 4/68, 4/80, 4/82, 4/116, 4/119, 4/124, 4/137, 4/142, 4/273, 19/40) see G. Gilányi, *Mosaics of the Plainchant Tradition of Transylvania. Interpreting the 14th-Century Antiphoner Fragments in Güssing*, forthcoming as the first volume of the new series *Resonemus Pariter*, published by the Early Music Department at the Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, 2019, ed. Zs. Czagány.

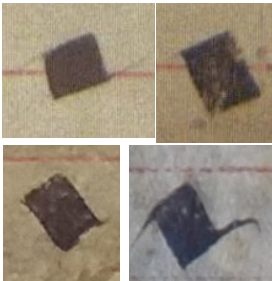
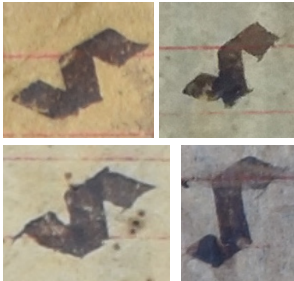




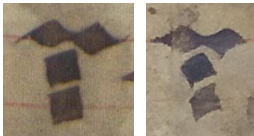

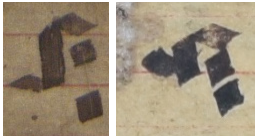



Punctum 	Pes 	Clivis 
Torculus 	Porrectus 	Scandicus 
Climacus 	Cephalicus 	Pes subbipunctis 
Neume Combinations 	Keys 	Custos 

Table 1: The Basic Signs of the Fragments’ Chant Notation



Figure 1: Climacus in our fragments (left) and in Pauline notation (right)

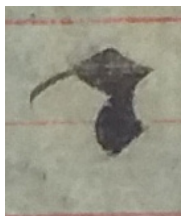


Figure 2: Hairlines and thick strokes of different neumes

irregularly: the sign is slanted to the right at a peculiar angle – a solution that has also been observed in other manuscripts that are considered East-Hungarian and Transylvanian.³³ Due to the special placement of the *punctum*, notes beneath one another in the descending *climacus* neume or a structure containing a *climacus* (see Table 1) are joined at their sides, not at their angles, so that they turn from a rhomboid form to a square shape. This is another significant feature of peripheral plainchant writing styles in fifteenth-century Hungary.

The fragments' notation shares some similarities with the contemporary musical script used by the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit. The Pauline style was also conservative in the fifteenth century. The notators used thick lines in conjunct ligatures, and a vertical *climacus* with double points, but they drew regular rhombic *puncta*, which were placed on the staff lines precisely across their angles (Figure 1).

Furthermore, in the downward series of notes, the rhombic elements always meet at their upper corner, creating a strict vertical note series. Based on these differences, the Pauline origins of the

33 Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 45, 143, 174, 325, 332, 337, 361, 362, 406 etc. Since then we have expanded the database, e.g. with the fragments found at the Eötvös Lóránd University Library in Budapest.

fragments can be ruled out (see also the results of the liturgical analysis below).

Other archaic characteristics, which may help us establish the fragments' origin, are the conjunct, linearly elongated neume shapes, and the emphasis on each neume's horizontal elements. This type of notation diverges from the rounded, flowing Esztergom style of the fourteenth century, and shows a more angular, linear and robust ductus, which was stylized in its own way.³⁴ The entry lines of the neumes are longer and more important, and there is a considerable contrast between the thick strokes and these hairlines. The extremely thin, delicate entry lines give the notation a more ornate look,³⁵ and thus the playful shift between thick and thin strokes is also a significant trait in the forms of *punctum*, *clivis*, *climacus* and *porrectus* (Figure 2).

Some neumes must be addressed separately as well. The upper part of the *climacus*, a 'hat', consists of two *puncta* stuck together (the second *punctum* is even more roughly executed than the first one). The note series underneath them meet at their sides and not at their angles. These notes are also slightly larger than the ones on top, so that, for lack of space, they tend to lean to the right. All in all, this '*climacus* with a hat' seems to be characteristic for medieval Eastern Hungarian musical notation.³⁶

The *pes* also differs from the Esztergom-style flexible S-shape, and resembles an inverted Z: it is not a rounded line, but a more angular form. This *pes* is also a prominent feature, typical of medieval Eastern Hungary. The *pes* depicting a larger interval, e.g. a third, has

34 Similar examples: Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 174, 337, 586 etc.

35 The Hungarian adjective 'sallangos', meaning 'flashy, flourished' was used by Janka Szendrei to describe this style.

36 In similar cases (Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 337) the two top *puncta* melt together into a horizontal *virga*. See also Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, 63. The same *climacus* type was found in the Güssing fragments and in five other fifteenth-century Transylvanian antiphonal fragments covering Franciscan books. See G. Gilányi, "15. századi erdélyi antifonále-töredékek és ferences hordozókönyveik...", in *Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve XIII–XIV* (2017–2018), 95–110, and eadem, *Mosaics from the Plainchant Tradition*.

a more archaic conjunct form: the two notes at each end of this sign are not even full *puncta*, and are linked with a thicker line.

The *clivis* also has a dumpy look, as it is based on two short and thick strokes – only the refined entry line lends it a more fluent character.

The *scandicus* also has an old conjunct form; the thick line is interrupted in the middle, but the scribe tries to keep the two parts together. This is not yet the separated *scandicus* from the end of the fourteenth century found in the Güssing fragment, but appears to be more archaic.

In the *torculus*, the unity of the inverted Z-shaped *pes* and a thick vertical stroke can be observed: the notator breaks the long, wavy horizontal element with a bold, thick vertical stroke at the end. The *torculus*, with this wavy element and the firm vertical ending can be linked to fragments of probable Transylvanian origin.

The *porrectus* sign generally begins with a thin entry line, and it is a combination of a *clivis* and a *pes*. Perhaps this sign best preserves the plasticity of earlier Esztergom-style calligraphy.

A conservative feature of the fragment is the use of the so-called *cephalicus* neume, which is a variant of the *punctum* used to mark voiced consonants in the melody. Its rounded 9-shape is characteristic of earlier Hungarian notation: it disappears from the modern mixed Gothic chant notation of the fifteenth century.

We found one ligature that may be considered a modern neume structure: the *pes subbipunctis* found in Fragment D is not only separated into points and line elements, but the vertical series of the notes is also shifted to the right,³⁷ in the fashion of more modern mixed Gothic chant notation, which replaced the earlier Esztergom notation over the course of the fifteenth century. The change of the traditional writing direction above is one of the main differences between the modern and the old plainchant notations in Hungary. In this fragment, the *pes subbipunctis* appears in the older style as well.³⁸ In the case of the third or fourth interval, the formation of the

37 The change of direction in the writing of the *pes subbipunctis* neume: from ↗↓ to ↗↘. See Table 1.

38 Archaic combination of conjunct *pes* and vertical points in the case of the third interval: ↗↓. See Table 1.

Fragment	Feast	Liturgical Hour	Chant	CANTUS ID
D	Saint Stephen protomartyr – 26 December	1 st Vespers	Responsory. <i>Lapides torrentis illi</i> (only the <i>repetenda</i> is visible: * <i>Ipsum</i>) Verse. <i>Mortem enim quam</i> Verse. <i>Gloria patri</i> Magnificat Antiphon. <i>Ave protomartyr Stephane</i>	007075 007075a a00504
D	Saint Stephen protomartyr – 26 December	Matins, 2 nd Nocturn	1 st Antiphon. <i>Lumine vultus tui</i> 2 nd Antiphon. <i>Benedictionis tuae</i>	003646 001713
C	Innocents – 28 December	Matins, 1 st Nocturn	Invitatory Antiphon. <i>Regem regum Dominum</i> 1 st Antiphon. <i>Herodes videns</i>	001146.2 003035
A	Saint Vincent martyr – 22 January	Matins, 3 rd Nocturn, Lauds	2 nd Responsory. <i>Miles Christi pretiosus</i> (only the <i>repetenda</i> is visible: * <i>Cuius</i>) 3 rd Responsory. <i>Gloriosus Dei amicus</i> Versus. <i>Felici commercio</i> Laudes, 1 st Antiphon. <i>Assumptus ex eculéo</i>	006277 006785 006785a 001504
B	Saint Gregory the Great – 12 March	Matins, 1 st Nocturn	2 nd Antiphon. <i>Lineam sui generis</i> 3 rd Antiphon. <i>Adhaerebat moralibus</i> 1 st Responsory. <i>Fulgebat in venerando</i> Versus. <i>Beatus vir qui</i>	003629 001270 006752

Table 2: The Chants in Liturgical Order

neume follows the conservative way: a combination of a conjunct *pes* and a strictly vertical post-point.

The in-depth analysis of the musical notation leads us to believe that the antiphonal was copied in a peripheral scriptorium of medieval Hungary, most likely in Transylvania. This is proved by the conservative neume structures, in spite of the relatively late age of

the antiphonal, by the angular but conjunct forms, by the robust writing style etc.

Liturgical analysis may offer more clues about the fragments' provenance. Fragment D contains parts of chants from the office of Saint Stephen the protomartyr.³⁹ The cover turn-in is also readable, and discloses a verse belonging to a great responsory (*Mortem enim quam salvator*), and at the end, there is an abbreviation, *Ipsum*, a *repetenda* that allows the identification of the responsory itself: the *Lapides torrentis illi dulces fuerunt ipsum sequuntur omnes animae justae* could be the antecedent. So the fragment prescribes its partial repetition (*Ipsum*) after the verse. It is followed by the doxology (*Gloria patri*), which lends the responsory a more solemn character, and then ends with the same *repetenda* (*Ipsum*) again.

The responsory and *Gloria* pair could refer to two liturgical positions: it could either be the last (ninth in diocesan rites) ornate *responsorium prolixum* of the Matins, or secondary, in the Vespers as a borrowing from the Matins. A very particular choice of chant allows the identification of the liturgical hour. The *Ave protomartyr Stephane* antiphon⁴⁰ is a rare item: it is only present in the liturgical sources of the Esztergom diocese, in the office of Saint Stephen protomartyr. The choice also defines the chant's function: it is used as a Magnificat antiphon, so it is clear that the fragment contains part of the Vespers, and namely the opening of the feast day. This may also help us establish the antiphonal's origin, because the *Ave protomartyr Stephane* cannot be found in musical sources elsewhere in Europe, nor in traditions subordinate to the main Hungarian use. In liturgical uses and sources that developed more independently, like the *ritus Varadiensis*, the use of Zagreb, or in the so-called Istanbul

39 Our liturgical research was aided by the CAO-ECE project and related publications by the Department of Early Music at the Institute for Musicology, Research Centre of Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences: V/A *Esztergom/Strigonium (Temporale)*, V/B *Esztergom/Strigonium (Sanctorale)*, VI/A *Kalocsa-Zagreb (Temporale)*, VI/B *Kalocsa-Zagreb (Sanctorale)*, VII/A *Transylvania-Várad (Temporale)*, VII/A *Transylvania-Várad (Sanctorale)* and the *Cantus Index* (see n. 39).

40 Full text: "Ave protomartyr [Stephane signifer aeterni regis invicte prece quaesumus continua dominum pro nobis exora ut ipso inspirante in suo servitio persistamus devoti et a cunctis hostibus te propiciante conservemur illaesi]."

Antiphonal, the item *Ave senior Stephane* appears instead of the *Magnificat* antiphon, while the Codex Albensis and the sources of the Szepes area contain the *Stephanus autem plenus* assignation. It is remarkable that the fragment contains a very special antiphon, only known in the narrow Esztergom region. Among the Hungarian rite variants, the same *Magnificat* antiphon is chosen in manuscripts for the use of the Pauline Order, but their Vespers differ from the above solution, in that Pauline sources only prescribe half of the Vespers, and therefore do not give a responsory. Thus, the Pauline origins of the fragment may be excluded not only on account of differences in the musical notation, but also due to this kind of liturgical differences: our fragments offer full Vespers, and there is no hymn in the Matins.

As for the other legible parts of Fragment D, we are able to recognize the first and second antiphons of the Matins' second Nocturn, beginning with *Lumine vultus tui* and *Benedictionis tuae*. We are certain that the last item on the folio is indeed the *Benedictionis tuae*, not only because of the traditional Esztergom order it follows, but also because of the distinct upper part of the trimmed capital B. The presence of this chant is also proven musically: there is the usual *pes* neume over the 'o' syllable in *Benedictionis*.

Fragment C was cropped from the antiphonal only a few pages later, and belongs to the Christmas period. We can see the very beginning of the Matins of the feast of Innocents, the invitatory antiphon (*Regem regum Dominum*), followed by the first antiphon of the first Nocturn (*Herodes videns*). The invitatory text seems to be the usual *Omnium Sanctorum* item. This is characteristic only of Central European sources, but barely enough to allow one to speculate on the fragments' exact origin.

Fragments A and B may offer more significant information about the liturgical contents. Fragment A contains parts of the office for Saint Vincent, on 22 January. The *repetenda* (*Cujus*) in the Matins' third Nocturn refers to the common *Miles Christi* responsory which appears in the liturgy of the Esztergom rite. The third responsory is the *Gloriosus Dei amicus*, accompanied by the *Felici commercio* verse. This is followed by the first antiphon of Lauds, *Assumptus ex euleo*. The *Breviarium Varadiense* (RISM: I-Rvat Vat. lat. 8247) is

the only source that documents the complete Saint Vincent office and that belongs to the East-Hungarian tradition, but the order of the chants in our fragment does not agree with it. In the *Breviarum Varadiense*, the Matins' last two responsories are not *Miles Christi*, but *Agnosce o Vincenti*, followed by *Gloriosus Dei athleta*. Surprisingly, the fragment's use follows the Esztergom tradition, as opposed to the solution of the geographically closer *ritus Varadiensis*.

Fragment B contains a part of the office of Saint Gregory. This feast has a fixed chant selection and order throughout Europe, and the Hungarian sources are also homogeneous.⁴¹ The second and third antiphons of the Matins' first Nocturn can be seen (a2. *Lin-
eam sui generis*, a3. *Adhaerebat moralibus*), then the first responsory (*Fulgebat in venerando*) and its verse (*Beatus vir qui*) follow. This arrangement is common, so it does not offer any clues about the fragment's origin.

Thus, liturgical analysis leads us to a puzzling conclusion. At two points, the examination has detected a close connection between the Cluj-Mănăştur/Kolozsmonostor fragments and the main Hungarian (Esztergom) use, instead of the seemingly more logical Transylvania-Oradea/Várad relationship.

Finally, let us examine the fragments from a melodical point of view, by comparing all the melodic segments to other instances of plainchant sources from medieval Hungary.⁴² The melodies confirm our earlier findings, in that they also adhere to the Esztergom tradition. Unfortunately, the only relevant Eastern source that survives, the so-called *Antiphonale Varadiense* (or Zalka Antiphonal) is also fragmentary,⁴³ and the liturgical places available in our fragment are missing from the antiphonal, so that we cannot perform a comparative examination. Previous research has shown, however, that the

41 Manuscripts observing the *ritus Varadiensis* assign a unique Lauds antiphon series to Saint Gregory's office, but our fragments do not contain these items.

42 For musical comparison we used the great editions of the Hungarian antiphon and responsory repertoires, J. Szendrei and L. Dobszay, *Antiphonen (Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi V/1-3)*, Kassel 1999; iidem, *Responsories*, vols. 1-2, Budapest 2013.

43 Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, C 53. The antiphonal's main body can be found under the call number H-Gc s. in the Diocesan Library and Treasury of Győr.

melodies in the *Antiphonale Varadiense* diverge from the Esztergom tradition and also from the melodic content of other Transylvanian fragments.⁴⁴ Conversely, our fragments' melodies follow the central Hungarian tradition to such an extent that the connection to the *ritus Varadiensis* may be safely excluded. So, what church may have used this antiphonal?

Melodic comparison reveals that, with one or two exceptions, the musical formulas diverging from the Esztergom rite usually agree with the variants documented by the Istanbul Antiphonal, a manuscript of uncertain origin.⁴⁵ What is more, of all known Hungarian sources, our fragments' melodic versions stand in the closest relationship with the Istanbul Antiphonal.⁴⁶ The musical examples in the Appendix illustrate the similarities. An interesting tonal tendency is also discernible: like the Istanbul Antiphonal, the melodies found in the fragments occasionally use diatonic melodies, while the Esztergom sources mainly have pentatonic versions.⁴⁷

The Istanbul Antiphonal, which resurfaced and was scientifically analyzed in the 1990s, has still not been localized with certainty, but it most likely represents some peripheral Hungarian liturgical tradition.⁴⁸ It would be daring to say that the fragments and the antiphonal came from the same place. Unfortunately, there is not enough musical content in the fragments to support such a claim.

44 The musical analysis of the Güssing antiphonal fragments allows one to conclude that the plainchant variants of the *Antiphonale Varadiense* differ from the melodic versions found in medieval sources from the dioceses of Esztergom and Transylvania. Consequently, the Gregorian chant in Oradea and Transylvania could not be the same. See Gilányi, *Mosaics from the Plainchant Tradition*.

45 See TR-Itks 42 (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi, Deissmann 42). Facsimile edition: J. Szendrei ed., *The Istanbul Antiphonal: about 1360*, Budapest 1999. Surprisingly, the Istanbul melodies often overlap with the musical formulas of the Güssing fragments as well.

46 We discovered the same thing through the melodic analysis of the Transylvanian fragments of the Franciscan convent of Güssing.

47 Pentatonic melodic versions use fewer semitone steps, but more minor thirds; this is a general characteristic of the Central European plainchant style.

48 László Dobszay believes that the codex was most likely used in the Titel collegiate chapter in the middle of the fourteenth century; the Ottoman armies took the book to Istanbul in the sixteenth century. See L. Dobszay, "A kódex eredete és sorsa", in J. Szendrei ed., *The Istanbul Antiphonal: about 1360*, 48.

Moreover, the liturgical order is significantly different; for instance, for Saint Stephen protomartyr's office, the Istanbul Antiphonal does not prescribe the *Lumine vultus* and *Benedictionis tuae* antiphons during the Matins, as our fragments do. According to the musical details, however, the fragments are rather close to the unknown peripheral tradition represented by the Istanbul Antiphonal.

With regard to the origins of the Cluj-Mănăştur/Kolozsmonostor antiphonal fragments, we are certain only about what we can safely rule out. In his article on the Cluj Gradual,⁴⁹ Kilián Szigeti also mentions Fragment A, which he calls the 'Cluj-Mănăştur Antiphonal' ('Kolozsmonostori Antifonále'), assumes that it preserves the medieval office liturgy of the Benedictines, and on the basis of unknown criteria claims that it is contemporary to the sixteenth-century Cluj Gradual.⁵⁰

In our opinion, it is highly unlikely that the antiphonal was produced in the scriptorium of Cluj-Mănăştur/Kolozsmonostor, although the Benedictine abbey certainly functioned as a prolific place of authentication and manuscript production throughout the medieval period. Since the Benedictines used square plainchant notation all over Europe, it is safe to assume that they did not change it to a local, Hungarian style. The Benedictine origin of the antiphonal can also be excluded on liturgical grounds. The Matins' arrangement suggests that it was planned for secular use, as three instead of four antiphons of monastic Matins appear in the Nocturns. The order of the antiphons corresponds exactly to the central Esztergom tradition. Furthermore, the antiphonal cannot be dated in the sixteenth century; although the notation found in our fragments is antiquated, based on our examination and experience,

49 See K. Szigeti, "Két középkori Erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 3 (1970), 165–172. The main body of this manuscript is Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, Batthyaneum Library, MS I.1. Szigeti identified two fragments from this manuscript in the bindings of books from the Academy Library in Cluj; one further fragment has recently been identified in the same collection by Adrian Papahagi. These three fragments can be found in the bindings of Cluj, Romanian Academy Library, C. 54660–62, C. 57795 and MS C. 83. See A. Papahagi, A.C. Dincă, with A. Mârza, *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România. Census*, Iaşi 2018, nr 1.

50 K. Szigeti, "Két középkori Erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése", 168.

we can say that the manuscript was copied in the first half of the fifteenth century. Such an archaic notation style could not survive into the sixteenth century – not even on the periphery of medieval Hungary. (G.G.)

Conclusion

To conclude, our fragments may have been produced for an affluent Transylvanian parish church in the first half of the fifteenth century. This church had closer ties to the Esztergom rite than to the fifteenth-century *ritus Varadiensis*. We do not know much about the origin of the manuscript, and about its liturgical use during the Middle Ages. On account of the musical and liturgical content, it may have come to the Jesuit library of Cluj-Mănăştur/Kolozsmonostor from another Transylvanian parish church in the early modern period.

In the absence of fully notated office books from medieval Transylvania, we know very little about this plainchant tradition. Only one disputed source is available today: the *Codex Albensis* (Graz, University Library, MS 211, copied in the early twelfth century).⁵¹ However, at that time the liturgical practice of the Transylvanian diocese was still at an early stage, so that this antiphonal is not entirely relevant for comparison; moreover, the *Codex Albensis* cannot be compared musically, because it was notated in German neumes. We must therefore rely almost exclusively on manuscript fragments and retrospective chant sources to reveal the medieval Transylvanian plainchant tradition. In this respect, research has just begun to put

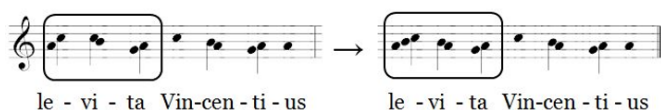
⁵¹ László Mezey considered that the manuscript was copied in the chapter school of Székesfehérvár (Alba Regalis). This conclusion was based mainly on a letter draft mentioning the place name 'Alba' (fol. 58v). The subsequent liturgical examination by László Doboszay and Janka Szendrei linked the book to a Transylvanian church, and considered that 'Alba' could stand for Alba Iulia. See L. Mezey, Z. Falvy, *Codex Albensis: Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. nr. 211), Budapest 1963, 24, 28; and the refutation in J. Szendrei, *A "Mos patriae" kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, Budapest 2005, 104–109.

together the pieces of *membra disiecta*, in the hope to reconstruct the larger puzzle whenever possible. (G.G./A.P.)

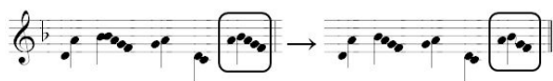
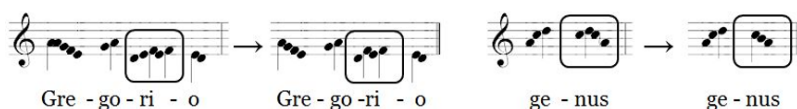
Appendix: Musical Examples

Musical formulas in the Istanbul Antiphonal and in fragments A-D, compared to the Esztergom melody (after the arrow). For the musical analysis, we used Dobszay and Szendrei, *Antiphonen*.

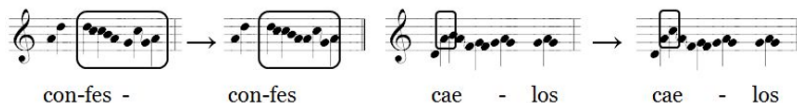
Ant. / *Assumptus ex eculeo*
 Vincent.m./L/a1 MMMAe 1394



Resp. / *Fulgebat in venerando*
 Greg. cf./N1/R1 Responsories, 1187



Resp. / *Gloriosus Dei amicus*
 Vincent.m./N3/R3 Responsories, 1121



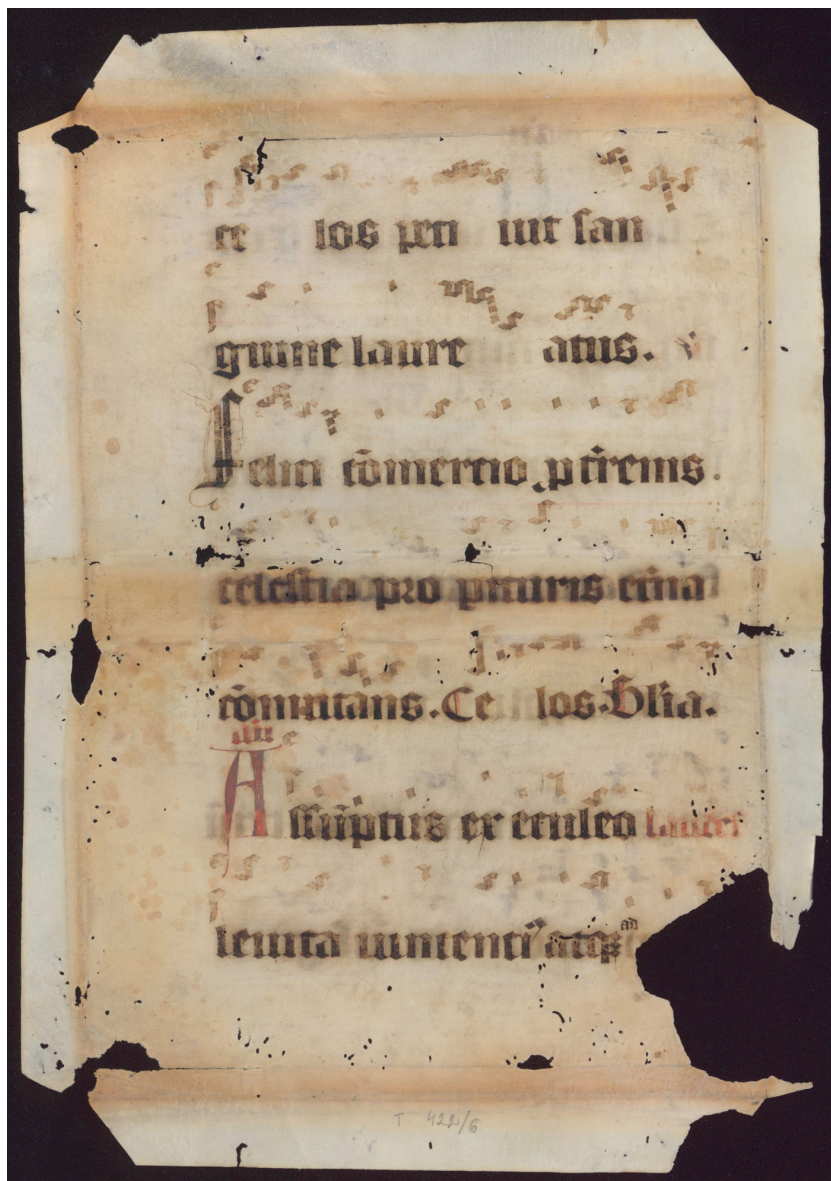


Figure 3: Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár/Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T 422/b, verso

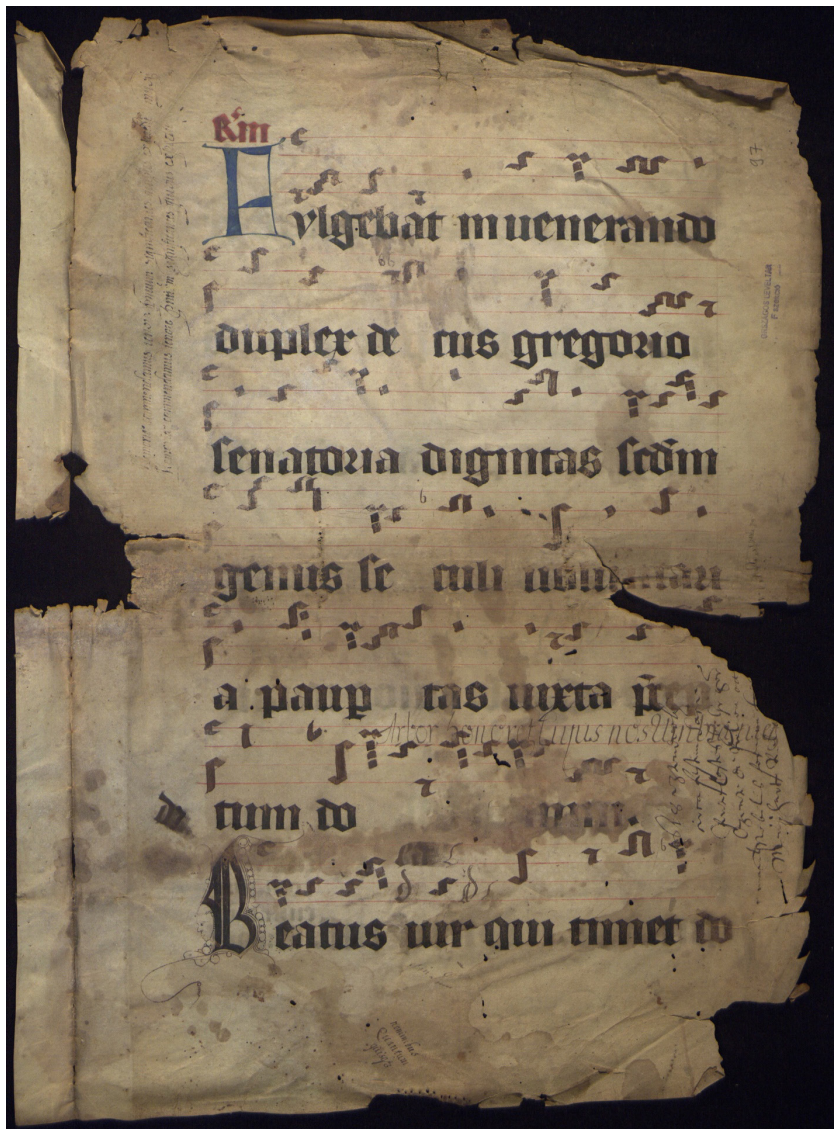


Figure 4: Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára/National Archives of Hungary, F 15 – Protocollum maius I 1629-1638, verso



Figure 5: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218, cover

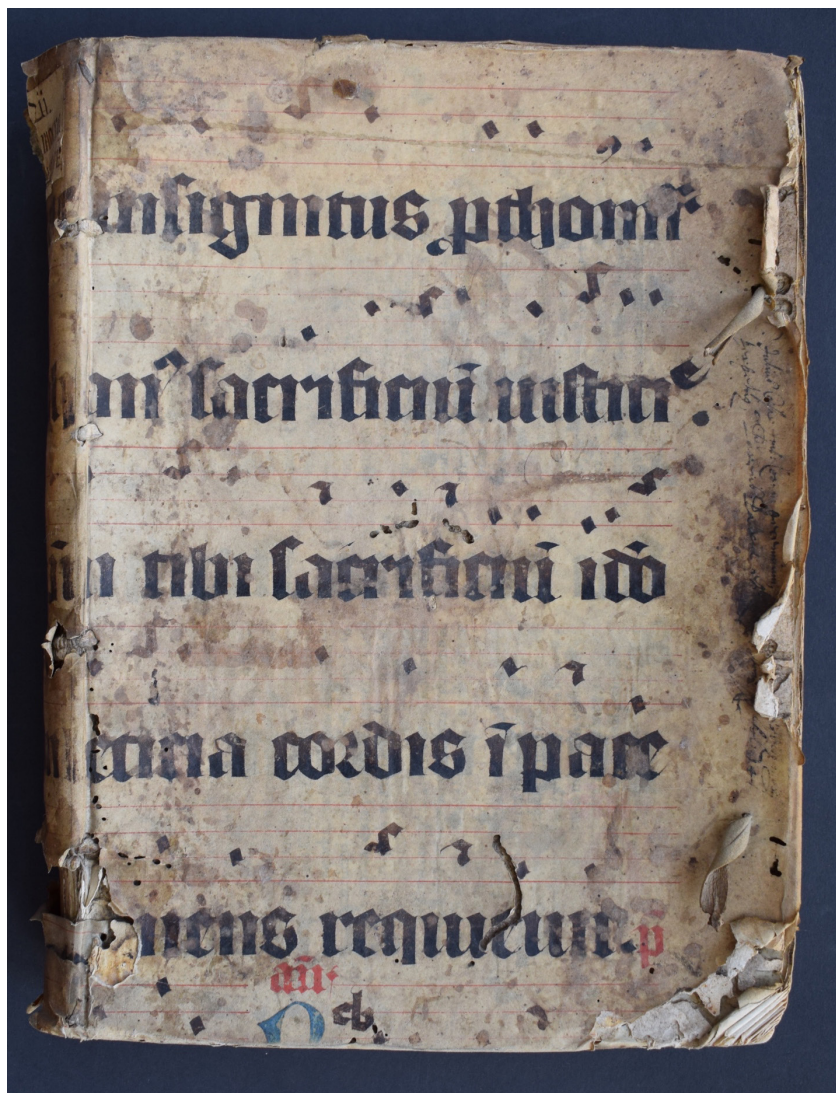


Figure 6: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, C. 55090, front cover

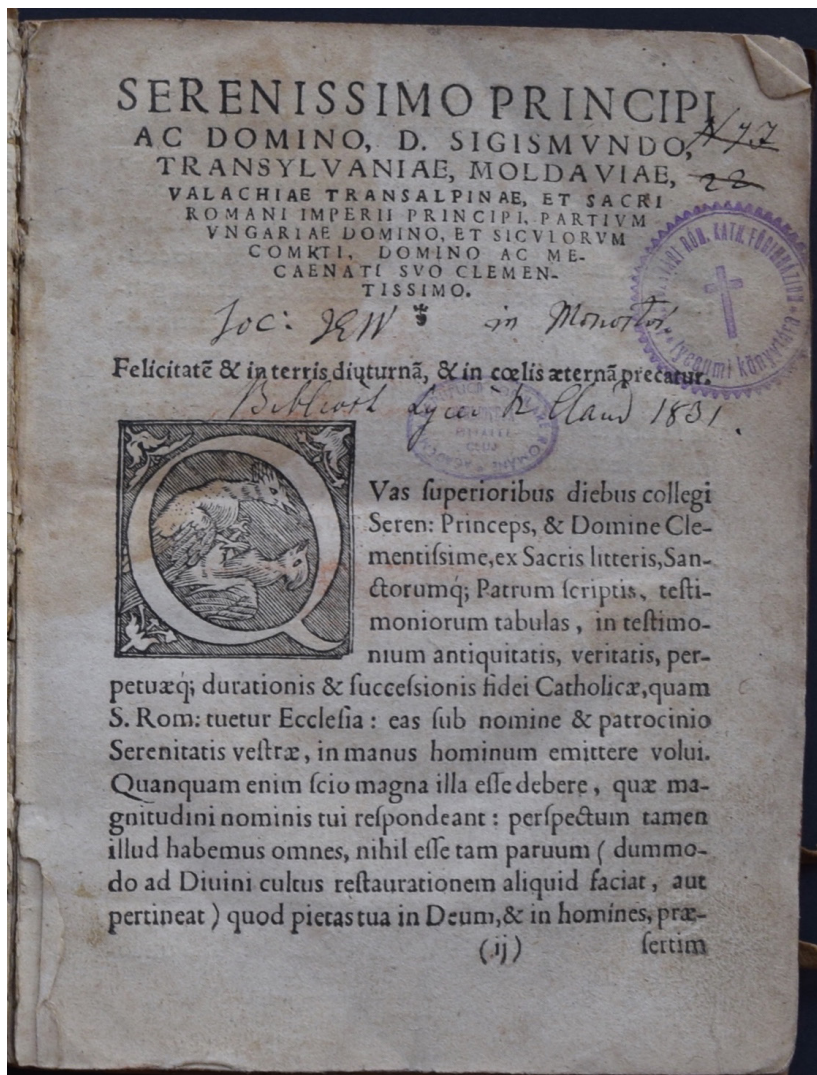


Figure 7: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218, fol. 2r

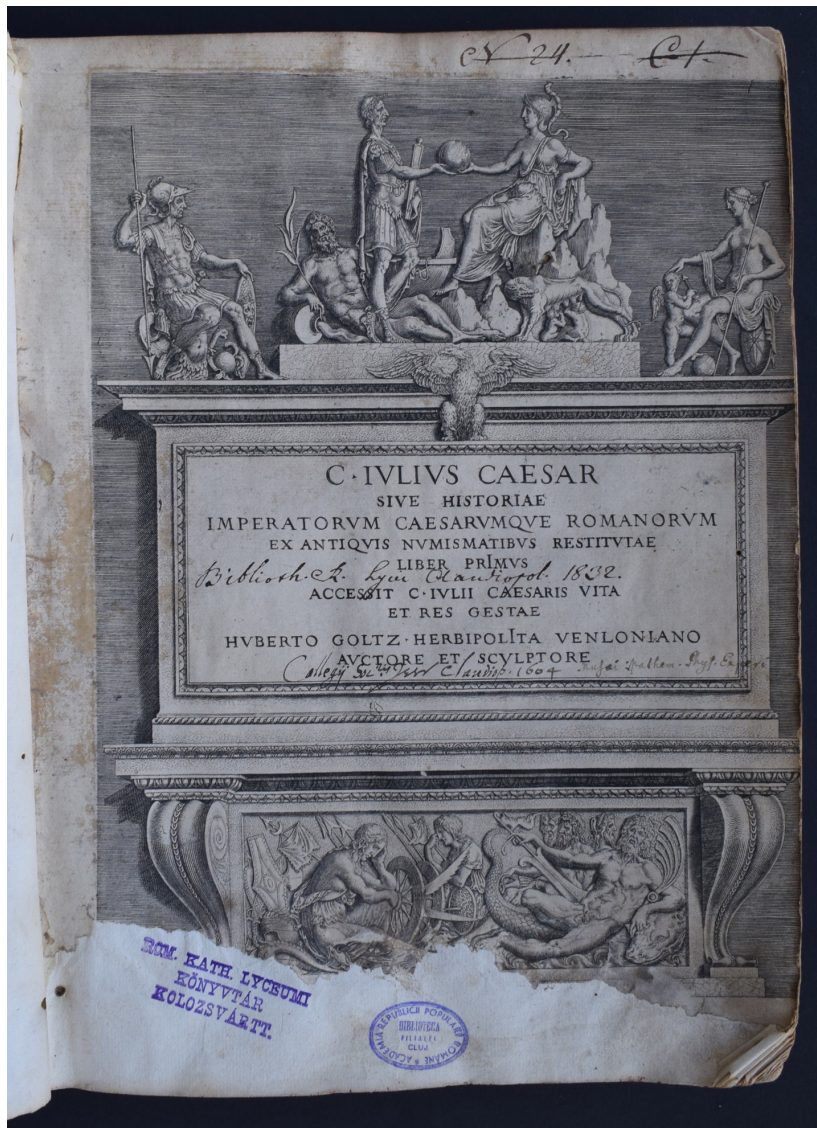


Figure 8: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, C. 55090, frontispiece