

# THE PRAY CODEX AS A SOURCE OF MUSIC HISTORY

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## ABSTRACT

Since its discovery in 1770, the manuscript known as the *Pray Codex* has been a subject of particular interest in Hungarian cultural history. The codex was written in the 1190s and has been examined by scholars from many fields, who have approached it from many different points of view. Music history research has been primarily focussed on the *Sacramentary*, which makes up the corpus of the manuscript. The service book, containing the series of Mass prayers performed by a priest – *oratio*, *secreta* and *postcommunio*, is not one of the liturgical books of a musical genre. However, the *Pray Codex* is an extended sacramentary, with numerous texts and chants besides the prayers, and its content is closer to the genre of the gradual, processional and missale plenum. Written above the manuscript's texts and on the margins are chants with neumatic and staff notations from the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, providing a unique glimpse into the birth and early development of the Esztergom notation ("Graner Choralnotation"). The following essay discusses the musical content of the *Pray Codex* within the history of plainchant in medieval Hungary and in Central Europe. Special attention is given to influences that affected the liturgy and chant in Hungary in its early formation period and to phenomena which became significant for the later evolution of the repertory.

**Key words:** liturgy, liturgical monody, plainchant manuscripts and fragments, medieval Hungary

Despite this paper's title, it will address other matters aside from music history. The codex is a musical source and contains a number of notated chants, which will be discussed, but it is essential to understand the composition and content of the complete manuscript that includes this music. The musical observations will be incomplete if

we do not also consider their context. I will therefore devote the first half of my paper to a presentation of the manuscript. I will summarize the latest results of historical, ecclesiastical and liturgical research, outlining the cultural historical background of the codex. I will cite my colleagues from co-studies, and refer to their work, which has influenced my own research to a great extent.

## I. The Manuscript

My paper focuses on a late 12th-century manuscript from Hungary. There are few extant manuscripts that date to before 1200 in Hungary, and indeed in Central Europe as a whole, and this scarceness of source material understandably complicates research into this early period.

The manuscript in question is kept in the manuscript collection of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.<sup>1</sup> However, it was not brought here until the beginning of the 19th century. Prior to that, since the 1270s, it was probably in Bratislava, in the possession of St. Martin's collegiate chapter. The earliest surviving inventory of the chapter's possessions, including its books, is dated 1425.<sup>2</sup> In this list, we find the following entry:

*Item unum librum in pergameno in parvo volumine.*<sup>3</sup>

This entry probably refers to the manuscript, or at least to one of its units, which will be discussed in more detail below.

The book was discovered in Bratislava prior to 1770 by György Pray, a renowned Jesuit historian.<sup>4</sup> He wrote about his discovery several times after 1770.<sup>5</sup> In 1813, St Martin's Chapter donated the codex, together with several other manuscripts and printed books,

<sup>1</sup> Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library], MNy 1. Accessible on-line in the Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár [Hungarian Electronic Library]: <http://mek.oszk.hu/12800/12855> (04.04.2022).

<sup>2</sup> *Inventarium rerum sancti Martini in Posonio factum tempore Domini Jacobi custodi eiusdem ecclesie posoniensis. Sub anno domini MCCCC<sup>o</sup> XXV<sup>o</sup> Sabbato proximo post diem cinerum*. IPOLYI, Arnold (Ed.): A pozsonyi káptalan XIV. századbeli könyvtára [The 14th-century library of the Bratislava Chapter]. In: *Új Magyar Múzeum*, Vol. 6, 1856, No. 1, pp. 161-192; SOPKO, Július: Súpis kníh bratislavskej kapitulskej knižnice z roku 1425 [Inventory of books of the Bratislava Chapter Library from 1425]. In: *Slovenská archivistika*, Vol. 4, 1969, pp. 83-101. More to the history of the inventory see ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel*. Bratislava : Chronos, 2007, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> IPOLYI, Ref. 2, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> György Pray (1723–1801). For more on his life and work, see in KÖSZEGHY, Péter (ed.): *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon. Középkor és kora újkor* [Hungarian Cultural History Lexicon. Middle Ages and Early Modern Age] IX. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2009, pp. 283-285.

<sup>5</sup> PRAY, György: *Vita S. Elisabethae viduae nec non B. Margaritae virginis*. Tyrnaviae, 1770, p. 249; PRAY, György: *Dissertatio historico-critica de s. dextera divi Stephani primi Hungariae regis*, Vindobonae 1771, pp. 43-48; PRAY, György: *Diatribes in dissertationem historico-criticam de S. Ladislao Hungariae rege, ab Antonio Ganoczy conscriptam*. Posonii et Cassoviae, 1777, pp. 211-231.

to the Széchényi Library in Budapest, which was then part of the Hungarian National Museum. It was named the “Pray Codex” after its discoverer, György Pray.<sup>6</sup>

Among the written sources of Hungarian cultural history, there are not many that can look back on such a rich and almost unbroken historiographical history as the Pray Codex. Its presence in the Hungarian academic literature of the last hundred years is continuous. Historians have studied ecclesiastical institutions and law in the manuscript, and it has featured in chronicle and liturgy research, as well as in the study of art and literature, comparative linguistics and music history. It is particularly valuable for the research of the history of the Hungarian language and literature, and Finno-Ugric studies, as it contains the earliest continuous text in Old-Hungarian – the Funeral Sermon and Prayer.<sup>7</sup>

Research dates the manuscript, or at least its main corpus, to 1192–1195 or 1192–1200. The *terminus post quem* is clear, as in the main text of the calendar the feast of Saint Ladislaus, a king of the Árpád dynasty, is marked in red ink. King Ladislaus was canonised in 1192, and with this, his liturgy became a permanent part of the *proprium hungaricum*. There is disagreement among scholars regarding the *terminus ante quem*. Some have placed it at 1195, as the chronical notes in the manuscript do not mention the death of Béla III, in 1196.<sup>8</sup> Others considered the text on the third page, predicting the coming of the Antichrist, to be decisive. It has been argued that this type of prophecy was typical before the turn of the century, pushing the *terminus ante quem* forward to 1200.<sup>9</sup>

The manuscript is a compositum, i.e. a collection of several units, bearing the markings of several copyists. This is why earlier Hungarian literature called it a *collectaneum*.<sup>10</sup> In the following section I will introduce these parts, paying special attention to both the looser and closer connections between them and their different interpretations in literature.

**Table 1:** The main units of the manuscript

f. Ir–IIIr	Synodal decrets
f. Vr – XXVIv	“Libellus in romano ordine” (Bernold of Constance, Micrologus)
f. XXVIIr–XXVIIIv	Pictures
f. 1r–16v	Calendar with accessories: Paschal tables, computistic rules, mnemonic verses, cisioianus
f. 9r–v, 16r–v	Cronical notes (“Annales Posenienses”)
f. 17r–144r	Sacramentary

The table illustrates the main parts of the manuscript in their present order, which has changed several times in the past. This happened as newquires were bound to the

<sup>6</sup> JÁVOR, Egon: *Hét kézirat Pozsonyi Missale a Nemzeti Múzeumban* [Seven handwritten Missals from Pozsony in the National Museum]. Budapest : Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Országos Széchényi Könyvtára, 1942, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Sermo super sepulchrum* (Halotti beszéd és Könyörgés), Pray Codex, f. 136r.

<sup>8</sup> KNIEWALD, Károly: A Pray-kódex tartalma, kora, jelentősége [Content, date and significance of the Pray Codex]. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Vol. 63, 1939, No. 4, pp. 426–427.

<sup>9</sup> ZALÁN, Menyhért: A Pray-kódex írásának helye és további sorsa [Place of origin and further fate of the Pray Codex]. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Vol. 34, 1927, No. 3–4, p. 272.

<sup>10</sup> RADÓ, Polikárp: A Pray-kódexről [About the Pray Codex]. In: *Irodalomtörténet*, Vol. 33, 1944, No. 2, pp. 49–55.

manuscript's core, or the order of the quires was changed during rebinding.<sup>11</sup> The many numberings and renumberings of the leaves are attested to by the modern Arabic and Roman numerals inscribed in the upper right-hand corner of the recto folios. This allows us to reconstruct the changes to the arrangement of the parts of the manuscript.<sup>12</sup>

The codex may have been rebound in the Middle Ages. In the mid-19th century it received a new paper binding, but this did not last long. As the leaves were still mixed up, the binding was removed and not replaced after the rearrangement. The last compilation took place in 1939. Today, the layers are individually wrapped in paper and kept in the 19th-century Manuscript Collection of the National Széchényi Library, separated from their 19th century binding.

It might be assumed that the individual units of the codex are randomly placed next to each other without any particular connection. They belong to different layers and levels of medieval literature. What could a ritual book, a theoretical treatise explaining the ceremonial order, a text of synodal decrees and chronicle notes have in common? Was there a reason for binding them together in one manuscript? These are two of the questions that scholars have sought to answer in the past, and it is in this area that contemporary research on the liturgy and the history of the codex has made the most significant progress.

The main corpus of the manuscript consists of a sacramentary. A sacramentary contains those parts of the Mass which are intoned by the priest, i.e. the three prayers – collecta, secreta, postcommunio – structured in liturgical order. The Sacramentary in the codex transcends its genre, since in addition to these prayers, it also includes readings, chants, complete cycles of Masses and processions.

The 21 folios preceding the Sacramentary contain a liturgical explanatory text entitled *Libellus in Romano ordine*. It was identified by Hungarian researchers in the 1920s.<sup>13</sup> The *Libellus* is the well-known treatise *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, written between 1086 and 1090 by the renowned liturgist, Bernold of Constance. The *Micrologus* was part of the ecclesiastical reform programme of Pope Gregory VII. It had a major influence on the later development of Western Latin Christianity, and in particular on the young churches of Central Europe, which were founded around the turn of the millennium.

The relationship between the two textual units, the *Micrologus* and the Sacramentary, which are now together in the same manuscript, has been one of the most discussed and controversial issues in the history of the earlier research on the codex. According to some scholars, it is almost certain that the quoted entry in the Bratislava book inventory

<sup>11</sup> Cf. FRAKNÓI, Vilmos: A Pray-Codex [The Pray Codex]. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Vol. 4, 1879, No. 1, pp. 275-278.

<sup>12</sup> More to the changes in the ordering of the quires s. RADÓ, Ref. 10, p. 55; HORVÁTH, Iván: *Ómagyar szövegemlékek mint textológiai tárgyak* [Old Hungarian text monuments as objects of textology], 3.7. *Halotti Beszéd és Könyörgés* [The Funeral Sermon and Prayer]/3.7.2.1.2. *A levelek sorrendje* [Order of the quires]. Budapest : Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2015, pp. 84-86.

<sup>13</sup> ZALÁN, Menyhért: A Pray-kódex forrásaihoz [To the sources of the Pray Codex]. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Vol. 33, 1926, No. 3-4, pp. 246-278, (here 274), but see also MOHLBERG, Kunibert: Das älteste Sakramentar Ungarns u. eine wiedergefundene *Micrologus*-Handschrift. In: *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Vol. 41, 1927, p. 68.

of 1425 – “*Item unum librum pergameno in parvo volumine*” – refers to the Micrologus of the Pray Codex.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the continuation of the entry reads as follows:

*Item unum librum in pergameno in parvo volumine, cuius rubrica incipit de ieiunio autumpnali cum cruce nigra supra scripta et asseribus cum coopertorio albo.*<sup>15</sup>

If we look at the corresponding folio of the Micrologus (f. XVr, Picture 1), we see the text on autumn Ember days introduced by the rubric *de ieiunio autumnali*, with a black cross (which is a reference mark) above it. The inscription was noticed by the Hungarian historiographer Arnold Ipolyi in the mid-19th century,<sup>16</sup> but it was not until some 70 years later, in 1926, that the small book mentioned in the register was identified as the Micrologus of the Pray Codex<sup>17</sup> by Menyhért Zalán. He, however, believed that the Micrologus was not part of the Pray Codex at the time of the Bratislava register in 1425, and that it was included in the catalogue as a separate libellus. If this was the case, it would have been added to the Sacramentary after 1425.<sup>18</sup>

Shortly after Zalán's identification, Dragutin Kniewald raised the possibility that the small book mentioned in the Bratislava register could also have contained the Sacramentary as well as Bernold's Micrologus, which were bound together in 1425.<sup>19</sup> This close association of the two texts is also supported by examining their content. The most recent research results are linked to this idea, and provide further evidence for the substantive coherence of the texts. In his historical and philological analyses of the liturgy of the codex, Miklós Földvály has drawn attention to the fact that many of the rubrics, instructions and explanations of the Sacramentary are derived more or less directly from the Micrologus.<sup>20</sup> The following comparison illustrates this: The first example is an explanation taken from chapter XVI of the Micrologus, which introduces the oration *Supplices te rogamus* of the canon. This explanation draws a visual parallel between the priest bowing before the altar and Christ giving up his spirit, when dying on the cross (see Table 2).

**Table 2:** Textual parallels between the Micrologus and the Sacramentary. Introduction to the oration *Supplices te rogamus*

	Micrologus, f. Xr	Sacramentary, f. 28v
Canon Missae, introduction to <i>Supplices te rogamus</i>	Ibi videlicet sacerdos se iuxta altare inclinans, Christum in cruce inclinato capite spiritum tradidisse significat	Hic sacerdos inclinat se ante altare usque ad genua, Christum in cruce inclinato capite spiritum tradidisse significat

<sup>14</sup> ZALÁN, Ref. 9, pp. 270-272; KNIEWALD, Ref. 8, pp. 419-420 (note 11).

<sup>15</sup> IPOLYI, Ref. 2, p. 170.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

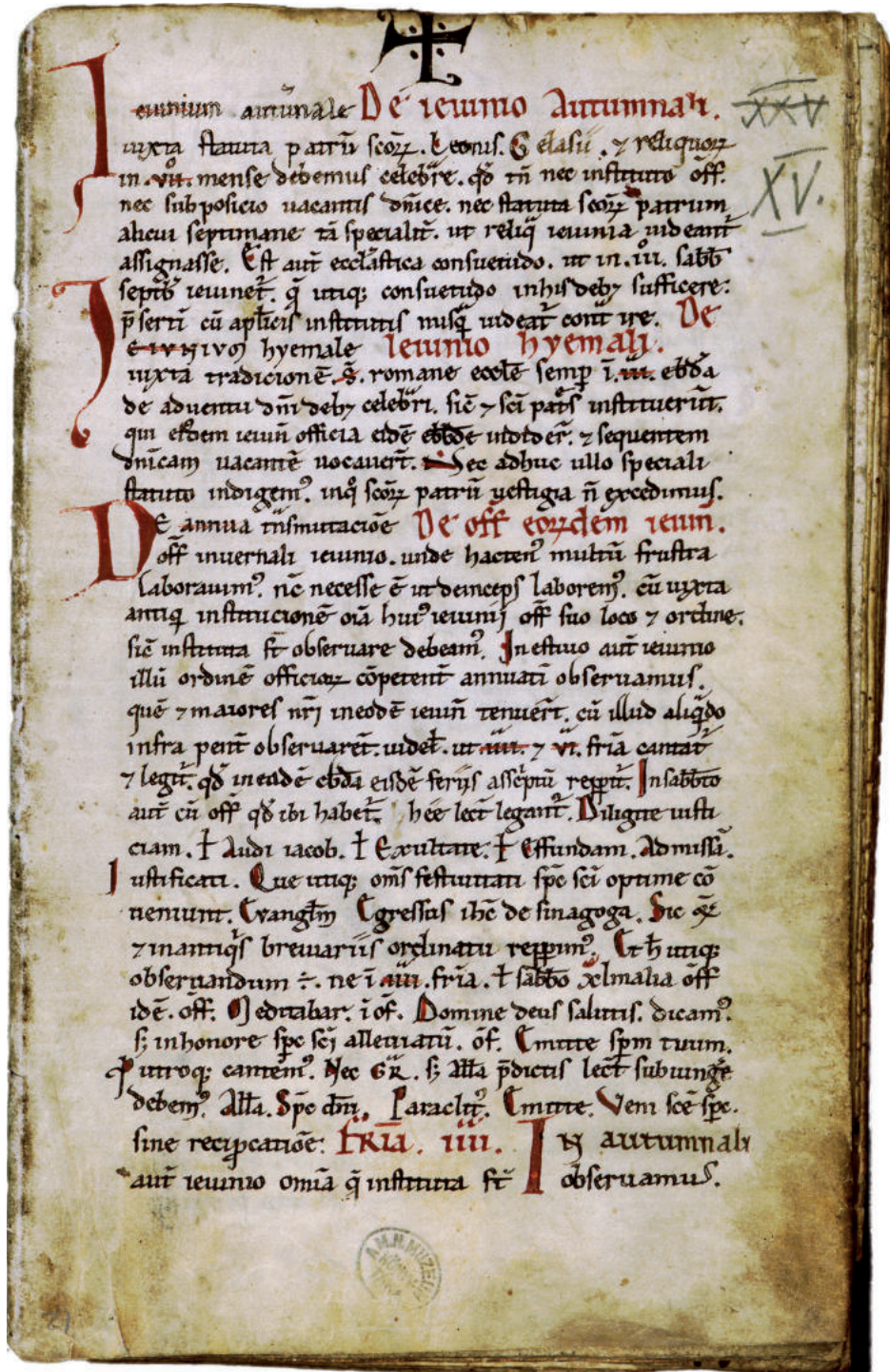
<sup>17</sup> ZALÁN, Ref. 13, pp. 272-274.

<sup>18</sup> ZALÁN, Ref. 9, p. 272.

<sup>19</sup> KNIEWALD, Ref. 8, pp. 419-420 (note 11).

<sup>20</sup> FÖLDVÁLY, Miklós: A liturgiamegyarázat nyomai a XIV. század előtti Magyarországon. A Pray-kódex Micrologus-a és annak környezete [Traces of liturgical commentaries from pre-14th-century Hungary. The Micrologus of the Codex Pray and its contexts]. In: *Oratoris officium. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Adamik Tamás tiszteletére* [Studies in honour of Tamás Adamik for his 70th birthday]. Balázs Déri (ed.). L'Harmattan – ELTE BTK Latin Nyelvi és Irodalmi Tanszék, pp. 81-92 (here: 85-86).





Picture 1: Pray Codex / Micrologus, f. XVr

The second example is the instruction in chapter 54 of the Micrologus on the place of the blessing of the paschal lamb, which reappears in the Easter Sunday Mass of the Sacramentary (see Table 3).

**Table 3:** Textual parallels between the Micrologus and the Sacramentary. Blessing of the paschal lamb

	Micrologus, f. XIIv	Sacramentary, f. 56v
De Agno Paschali	Iuxta romanam auctoritatem agnus in pascha benedicitur non ad altare, sed ad communem mensam	Iuxta romanam auctoritatem agnus in pascha domini benedicitur non ad altare, sed ad communem mensam

Of course, these textual correspondences in themselves only mean that Bernold of Constance's Micrologus, written at the end of the 11th century, influenced the copyist of the Sacramentary some 100 years later. They cannot explain the reason for the two works being bound together. But an explanation may come from a hiatus in the Micrologus of the Pray Codex. This text version lacks chapter 23 of the original, which contains the texts of the Ordinary of the Mass (*Ordo Missae*) and its explanations. Miklós Földvály has convincingly shown that the Ordinary of the Mass, which is recorded at the beginning of the Sacramentary of the Pray Codex,<sup>21</sup> is identical with chapter 23 of the Micrologus, including additions and explanations which are also derived from other chapters of the Micrologus.<sup>22</sup> It seems there was no need for the compiler of the Pray Codex to write chapter 23 of the Micrologus, since it was already included in the Sacramentary. In view of this, it seems logical to assume that the two texts were juxtaposed in a definite concept, and that the Sacramentary can, to a certain extent, be understood as an "applied Micrologus". The instructions and explanations of the Micrologus, formulated at a theoretical level, were embodied in the compilation, structure and rubrics of the liturgical book. Although paleographical analysis clearly distinguishes between the copyists of the Micrologus and the Sacramentary, the two individuals seem very likely to have worked on the two texts at the same time, and to have taken each other's work into account.

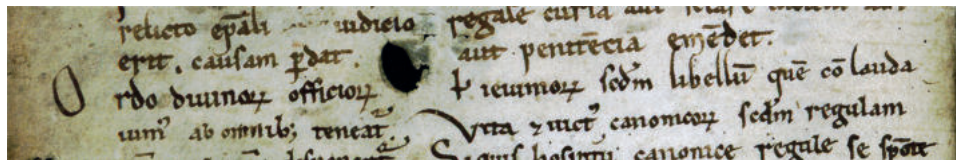
Thus according to current research, the coherence of the Micrologus and the Sacramentary is now believed to be almost certain. Not so clear, however, is the relationship of the other parts of the codex to the main corpus. The first three folios of manuscript as it is today contain ecclesiastical and canonical decisions about the events known as the *First and Second Synods of Esztergom* held during the reign of King Kálmán/Coloman (1095–1116). Historians are not unanimous as to the exact year in which the synods were held, nor as to whether the decrees of the First Esztergom Synod were adopted at a single synod. It is conceivable (according to historian, Dorottya Uhrin) that the "package" containing a strikingly large number of decrees is in fact a later compilation of several decrees adopted during the reign of King Kálmán.<sup>23</sup> The provisions are part of the Gregorian reformist spirit that spread throughout Europe during the 12th century,

<sup>21</sup> Pray Codex, f. 17r.

<sup>22</sup> FÖLDVÁRY, Ref. 20, pp. 84–85.

<sup>23</sup> cf. UHRIN, Dorottya: Az ún. I. és II. Esztergomi Zsinat és a Pray-kódex [The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Esztergom Synods and the Pray Codex]. In: BARTÓK, Zsófia Ágnes – HORVÁTH, Balázs: *Írások*

as did Bernold's *Micrologus*. Moreover, Article 26 of the synodal provisions, written on f. Iv of the Pray Codex (Picture 2) contains the following sentence:



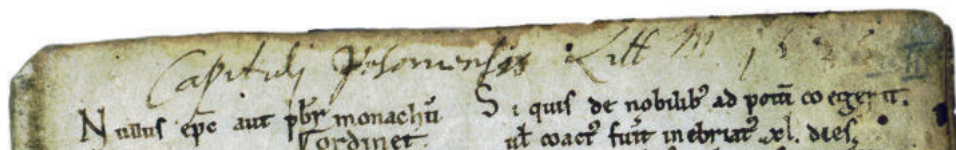
Picture 2: Pray Codex / Synodal Decrets, f. Iv

*Ordo divinorum officiorum et ieiuniorum secundum libellum quem conlaudavimus ab omnibus teneatur.*

In other words, the order of the Masses and fasting ceremonies must be carried out according to the prescriptions of the *libellus*. But which *libellus*? The answer is clear – Bernold's *Micrologus*, which comes after the decrees in the manuscript and which in its title calls itself *Libellus in romano ordine*.

We may, thus, cautiously conclude that, just as the *Micrologus* was not accidentally linked to the Sacramentary, so the synodal decrees were not accidentally placed before the *Micrologus* (and the Sacramentary). This would not fundamentally overturn the traditionally accepted view that the copy of the decrees (the “first hand” of the Pray Codex) is earlier than the other parts of the corpus: the *Micrologus* copied by the “second hand” and the Sacramentary by the “third hand”.<sup>24</sup> They may indeed have been written down at different times, several decades apart, but their compilation may well have been deliberate, and consciously planned.

The itinerary of the codex is not completely clear. As mentioned earlier, the manuscript appears as a separate entry in the inventory of the Bratislava Chapter dated 1425 (the *librum in pergameno in parvo volumine*), and its long residency in Bratislava, probably until 1813, is witnessed to by the possessor's inscription from 1633 on the top of f. 2r: *Capituli Posoniensis Litt. M. 1633*. (Picture 3)



Picture 3: Pray Codex, f. 2r: Inscription of the Bratislava Chapter from 1633

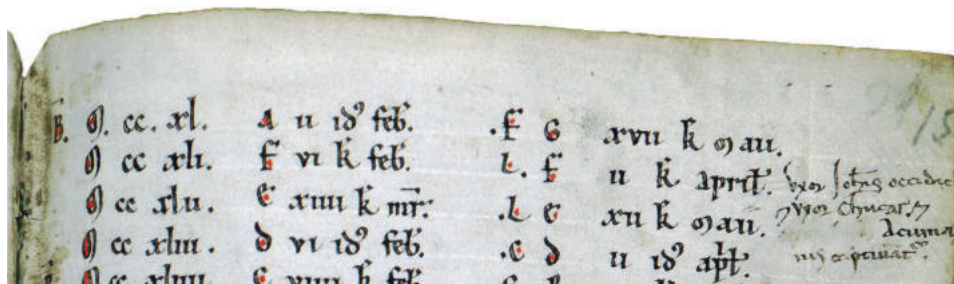
It is also certain that the manuscript had already been in Bratislava for a long time before 1425. The obituary-like entries in the calendar and the Easter tables bear witness to this. One of these entries in the Easter tables, written for the year 1241, records the

a *Pray-kódexről* [Writings on the Pray Codex]. Műhelytanulmányok 5. Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó – ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ, 2019, pp. 19–28 (here: 25–26).

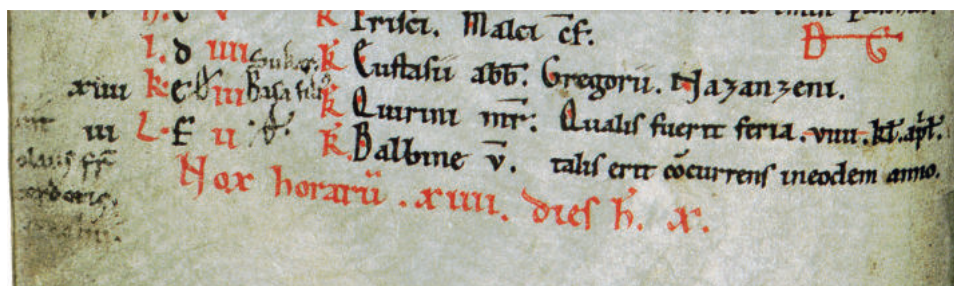
<sup>24</sup> See RADÓ, Ref. 10, pp. 49–52.



death and captivity of certain members of the *Chukar* family.<sup>25</sup> (Picture 4). The same family is also mentioned in another entry in the Calendar.<sup>26</sup> (Picture 5). The family was closely connected with the Bratislava Chapter. It is known that the estate of the same name near Bratislava (Csukárd) was donated to the Bratislava Chapter in 1291.<sup>27</sup>



Picture 4: Pray Codex, f. 15r. Entries in the Easter Tables



Picture 5: Pray Codex, f. 2v. Entries in the Calendar

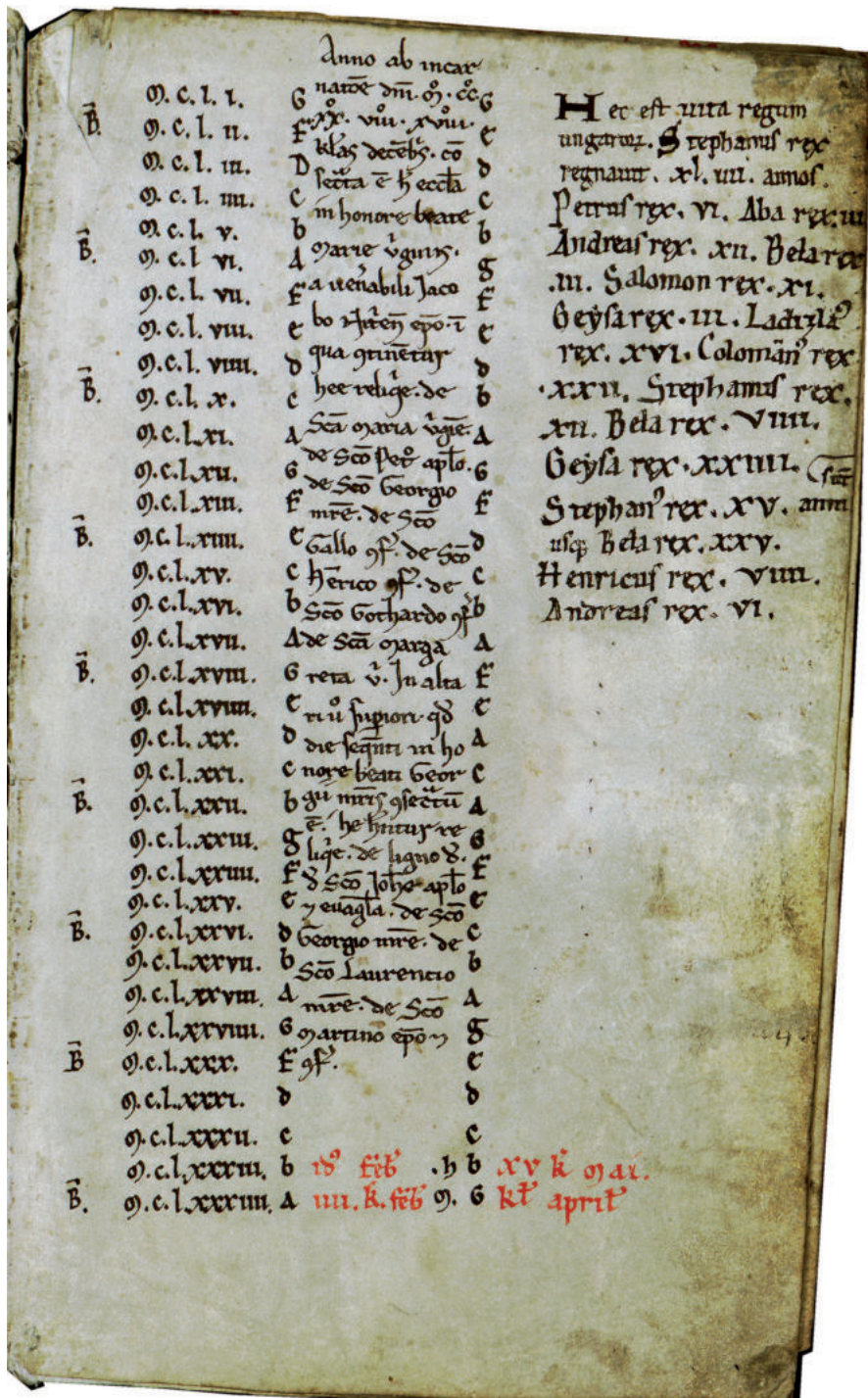
The information entered on empty spaces of folios in the calendar and on the pages preceding the sacramentary, as well as the names of the localities that appear in them, provide important information about the Pray Codex's 13th-century whereabouts. On fol. 10 recto (Picture 6), a voluminous text tells of the consecration of a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary on 14th of November 1228:

*Anno ab incarnatione Domini Mo CCo XXo VIIIo XVIIIo kalendas decembris consecrata est hec ecclesia in honore beate Marie virginis a venerabile Iacobo nitriensi episcopo, in qua hec reliquie: de Sancta Maria virgine, de Sancto Petro apostolo, de sancto Georgio martire, de sancto Gallo confessore, de sancto Henrico confessore, de sancto Gerhardo confessore, de sancta Margarete virgine. In altari vero superiori, quod die sequenti in honore beati Georgii martyris consecratum est, hec habentur reliquie: de signo domini, de Sancto Iohanne apostolo et euangelista, de Sancto Georgio Martyre, de Sancto Laurencio martyre, de Sancto Martino episcopo et confessore.*

<sup>25</sup> 1241: uxor Iohannis occiditur et uxor Chucar... a Cumanis captivatur. Pray Codex, f. 15r.

<sup>26</sup> Pray Codex, f. 2v.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. ZALÁN, Ref. 9, pp. 269-270.

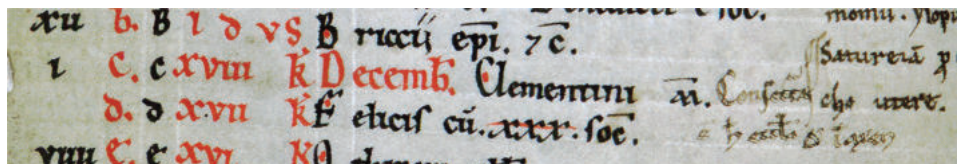


Picture 6: Pray Codex / Calendar, f. 10r. Text referring to the consecration of the church in Deáki / Diakovce



Based on the title and the names of the relics, it is certain that the text refers to the consecration of the church of *Deáki* near Bratislava (Diakovce in present-day Slovakia). From historical data, we know this consecration took place in 1228. Therefore, in 1228 the Pray Codex, or at least part of it, was in or near *Deáki*.<sup>28</sup>

In the November entries of the calendar, we read of another church consecration: (Picture 7)

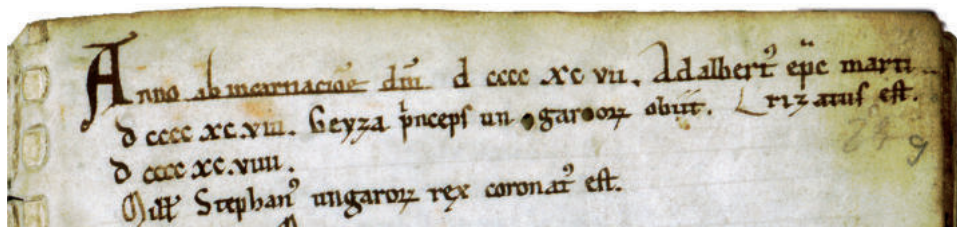


Picture 7: Pray Codex / Calendar, f. 6v. Reference to the consecration of a church in Taksony / Matúškovo

*Consecrata est hec ecclesia de Taxen.*<sup>29</sup>

This time it is about the church of *Taksony*, today Matúškovo in Slovakia, which is also close to Bratislava and *Deáki*. In the first decades of the 13th century (at least from 1228 to 1241), the codex was clearly in circulation in the area east of today's Bratislava. However, its place of origin was most probably not in this region. In order to determine this place of origin, we must look at the chronicle notes of the manuscript, which we have not yet mentioned. These not only bring us closer to establishing the provenance of the Pray Codex, but also give us a relatively precise date for its creation.

In historiography, these chronical notes of the Pray Codex are known as the Pozsony Annals (*Annales Posonienses*). They were probably written before the manuscript arrived in Bratislava (Pozsony) and are, thus, not connected to the city. Unlike the *Micrologus* and the synodal decrees described above, the Annals do not form a physically separate unit in the codex. Their entries are recorded on folios containing a calendar in two parts (fol. 9r-v, 16r-v), and are enclosed by the computistic material of the calendar. The chronicle, the only representative of the *annales* genre in Hungary, records events from Hungarian history from 997 to 1203. The first entries concern the martyrdom of Bishop Adalbert (997), the death of Prince Géza (998) and the coronation of Stephen I (1000) (Picture 8).



Picture 8: Pray Codex / *Annales Posonienses*, f. 9r. First entries of the chronicle

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 269.

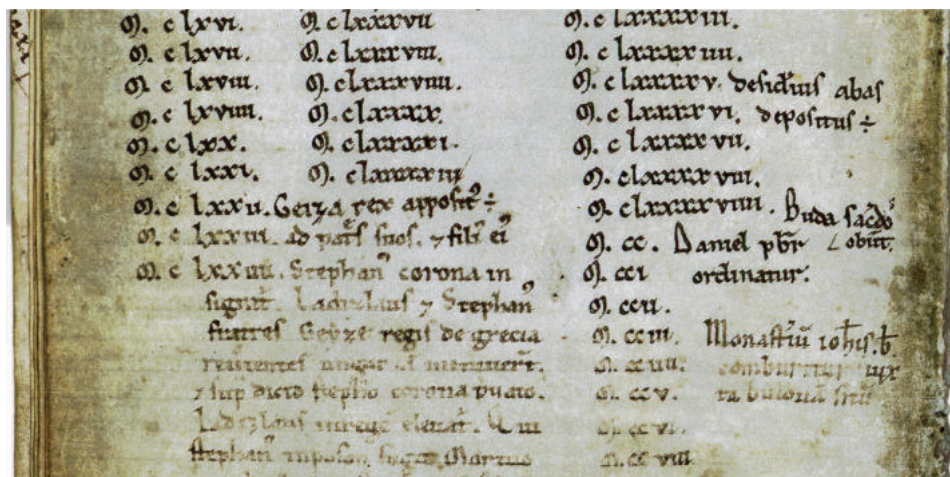
<sup>29</sup> Pray Codex, f. 6v.

(997) *Anno ab incarnatione Domini d cccc xc vii Adalbertus episcopus martirizatus est.*

(998) *d cccc xc viii Geyza princeps ungarorum obiit.*

(1000) *Stephanus ungarorum rex coronatus est.*<sup>30</sup>

After the entry for the year 1187 on f. 16v, the series of historical events is interrupted, and the following years are left empty, without the scribe having recorded any events of importance (coronation and death of kings, important battles, conflicts, canonizations, etc.), as was usual. There is no mention, for example, of the death of Béla III in 1196, or of the coronation of King Imre. The last entries in the chronicle are of a very different type, and it is believed they relate to the internal life of a small community, perhaps a monastic one<sup>31</sup> (Picture 9).



Picture 9: Pray Codex / Annales Posenienses, 16v. Last entries of the chronicle

1195 *Desiderius abas depositus est*

1198 *Buda sacerdos obiit*

1200 *Daniel presbiter ordinavit*<sup>32</sup>

The last entry, dated 1203, is crucial to determining the provenance of the codex:

1203 *Monasterium Iohannis baptiste comburitur iuxta Buldvam situm.*<sup>33</sup>

The monastery mentioned in the text, *Boldva*, is located in today's northern Hungary, on the River Bódva (*iuxta Buldvam*). Its Benedictine abbey dedicated to St John the Baptist was built between 1175 and 1180 and burnt down in 1203. The reference to the fire, which appears twice in the Pray Codex, and the veneration of St John the Baptist, which is evident in several places in the Sacramentary, have led most scholars to consider

<sup>30</sup> Pray Codex, f. 9r.

<sup>31</sup> KNIEWALD, Ref. 8, pp. 427.

<sup>32</sup> Pray Codex, f. 16v.

<sup>33</sup> Pray Codex, f. 16v.



Boldva as the place of origin and first use of the Pray Codex and led the manuscript to be called *Sacramentarium Boldvense*.<sup>34</sup>

I will summarize the evidence so far. The main corpus of the Pray Codex (including all the various texts that comprise the Sacramentary) was written in the last decade of the 12th century, probably, but not definitely for the Benedictine monastery of St John the Baptist in Boldva. After the fire at the monastery in 1203, the book was probably taken elsewhere. By 1228 it was in the vicinity of Bratislava, as is attested to by the names of settlements near Bratislava Deáki/Diakovce, Taksony/Matúškovo and the reference to the Csukár family. In 1241, it was most likely in the possession of the Bratislava Chapter, where it remained for the next 600 years.<sup>35</sup> The question of whether the individual texts of the codex belong together organically, and whether the Sacramentary, the Micrologus and the Synodal Decisions can be regarded together as the core of the manuscript, remains to be decided conclusively. In any case, it seems reasonable to assume that they were all written and assembled in the spirit of an overall concept, reflecting the same intellectual trend at the end of the 12th century, the authors being aware of each other's work and taking each other's work into account. Their compilation in one volume thus may well reflect a deliberate, premeditated intention.<sup>36</sup>

## II. The Chants

The Pray Codex has provided extensive material for scholars from numerous disciplines. Its Sacramentary is an exceptionally important source for music history research. This is due to the following:

- (1) The chants written in the main text and on the margins belong to the earliest examples of liturgical monody in Medieval Hungary;
- (2) Its preserved musical notations provide information on the early stages of the Esztergom notation's development.

In addition to the notation, which will be considered in a different study,<sup>37</sup> two features of the Pray Codex are of particular interest as regards the study of music history: (a) its genre (sacramentary) and (b) its conflicting content as we find numerous chants of the Mass, Office and processions which exceed the classical framework of a sacramentary.

The chants carry important and varying information depending on whether they were written in the main text or on the margins, and whether the addenda are written

<sup>34</sup> ZALÁN, Ref. 9, pp. 272-273; KNI EWALD, Ref. 8, p. 427, 431; RADÓ, Ref. 10, pp. 53-54.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. SZENDREI, Janka: A „*Mos patriae*” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében [The development of the 'mos patriae' in the light of Hungarian notated sources before 1341]. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2005, pp. 148-149.

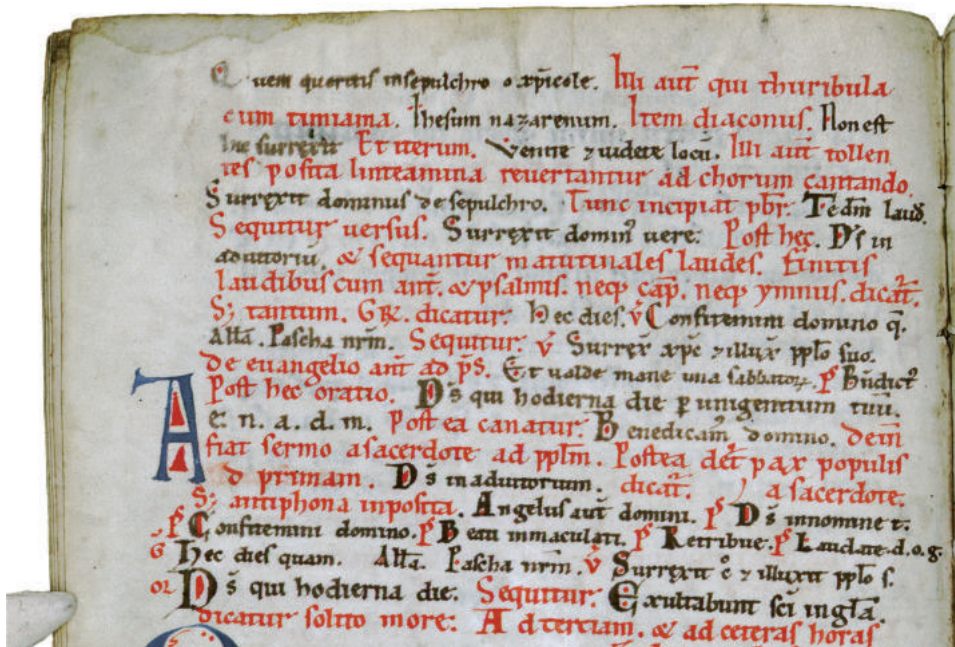
<sup>36</sup> The idea of the parts of the manuscript belonging together, instead of handling them as separate units as was the case in the earlier scholarly literature, is represented also by HORVÁTH, Ref. 12, pp. 76-127. See also his preface *Félúton* [On the halfway] to the monograph BARTÓK, Ágnes Zsófia – HORVÁTH, Balázs (ed.): *Írások a Pray-kódexről* [Writings on the Pray Codex]. Budapest : Argumentum – ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2019.

<sup>37</sup> See the contribution of Gabriella Gilányi in the present volume. Cf. also the comprehensive summary in SZENDREI, Ref. 35, pp. 144-209.

during the same time period as the main text, or later, and finally, whether the representatives of the two layers are written with or without music notation.

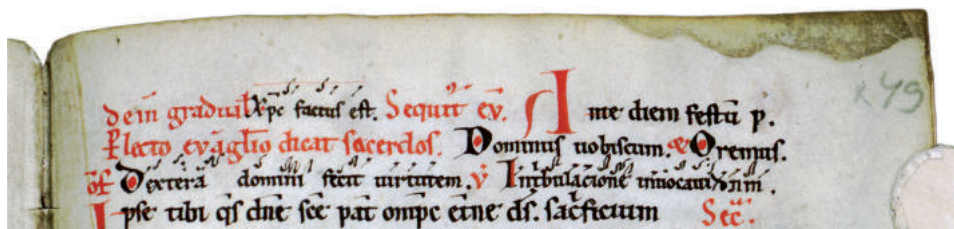
Research must carefully consider each type of entry, and each entry to answer these questions. Occasionally the background history of a chant sheds light on developmental stages, connections between regions or institutions, which otherwise would remain obscure.

In the main text of the Sacramentary, the copyist edited one part of the chants, referring to them only with incipits, and with no use of musical notation. (Picture 10) These entries predominantly refer to chants from the archaic layer of Western plainchant. When the codex was written, they had already been part of the European basic repertoire for centuries, and were connected to specific liturgical settings and functions. The special rites of the Sacramentary, in most cases, only provided a secondary setting and frame to these chants.



Picture 10: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 55v. Chants without music notation

In addition to these incipits, which were written down without music notation, the Sacramentary contains items with incomplete music notation. These chants were sung on Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday and the Holy Week/Triduum sacrum, as well as on Easter Sunday, on Pentecost and during Candlemas processions. They all belonged to the most archaic layer of Western plainchant. The adiastematic notation used to write down the chants, is confined in general to the beginning of the texts: the notated incipits often appear sketched roughly into the narrow space above the text. Often, it seems as if the scribe did not intend to represent the precise melody, and after some musically decipherable information at the beginning threw in only a series of dots, or strokes as a musical “et cetera”. (Picture 11a, 11b)



Picture 11a: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 49r. Chants with „schematic” adiastematic neumes



Picture 11b: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 56r. Chants with „schematic” adiastematic neumes

We can be sure that the chants in the Sacramentary, written down only with text or with music incipits were very well known at the time of the codex's copying. They look back to a distant past in the history of the Frankish-Roman liturgy's development in Hungary and would have been common knowledge to every cleric in Hungary. Their notation, thus, had neither a descriptive nor prescriptive status, but served as a reminder.

The notation of chants appearing at the end of the sacramentary as parts of votive Masses carries a different meaning. These sections represent a collection of chants, which were sampled from the *de tempore* or *de sanctis* parts of the Mass-repertoire and then organized in topical cycles. There are also a larger number of chants, which were relatively new in the 1190s. Chants of this kind can be found in the Mass of Trinity Sunday, in the tract of the Mass of the Holy Cross, and in the basic and supplementary chants of the Saturday Mass of the Blessed Virgin.

In the following section, I will take a closer look at the musical items recorded in the Sacramentary. Considering the entire repertoire is beyond the scope of this paper and would be superfluous, as this has already been done by Janka Szendrei in her monograph summarizing the early sources of chant history in Hungary.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, some characteristic examples will be selected for discussion, with regard to the following questions:

- (1) Is it possible to determine the region, or the rite from which these chants came to Hungary?
- (2) Did these chants become part of the later Hungarian (Esztergom) liturgical chant repertoire?

<sup>38</sup> SZENDREI, Ref. 35, pp. 161-183.



**O**stende nobis dñe mām tuā. *k yrie. x. pē. k yrie. P at nī. Et ne. n.*  
**D**s misereatur nī. *6 la pat. S ic erat. y. Et ueniat sup nos m. r.*  
*nī uobiscum. E xaudi qđ dñe supplicium preces. & c.*  
**I**mmutemur habitu incinerere. *Interi ponendi sūt cineres sūt cap*  
**O**emento homo. quia cinis & puluis es. incinerem &  
 inpuluerem reuerteris. *Sequatur alia a.*  
**I**uxta uestibulum & altare. p. s. *at Media uita in morte sumus. q.*  
**C**oncede nobis domine p̄sidia milicie ap̄iane sc̄s incho  
 are ieiunius. ut contra spiritalis nequicias pugnaturi. cō  
 tinencie muniamur auxiliis. *I ad p̄cessionem.*  
**R** Afflicti p̄ peccatis nī. *R* Emendemus in melius. *R* Paradisi portas.  
**F**iat misericordia tua dñe s. n. *Dñs uobiscum. Et cum spū tuo.*  
**T**ribulationem nrām qđ dñe p̄picius respice. & iram tue  
 indignacionis quam iuste merem̄ p̄picius auerte. *I*  
**P**ost h̄ Oremus. *7 dñe* **P**lectamus genua. *Leuate.*  
**S** qui humiliatione flexeris. & satisfactione placaris.  
 aurem tue pietatis inclina p̄cibus nī. & capribus seruoz  
 tuoz hōz cūnerum aspersione attractis. effunde p̄picius  
 grām tue benedictionis. ut eos - spū cōpunctionis repleas.  
 ut qđ iuste postulauerint efficaciter tribuas. & conces  
 sa perpetua stabilitate manere intactos de cernas. *I*  
**I**ncumiterio. *k yrie. x. pē. k yrie. P at nī.*  
*Et ne nos inducas. f* **L**auda anima mea dñm. *Requie e.*  
*Ap̄ porta inferi. Dñs uobisc.* **D**s incuius miseratione. a.  
**O**dein lea. *k yrie. x. pē. k yrie. In aliis dieb' dicat. h. o.*  
**O**m̄pe sempiternae dī. qui iniuriis incinere & cilicio  
 penitentibus indulgentie tue remedia p̄stitisti. con  
 cede p̄picius. ut sic eos imitemur habitu. quatinus ue  
 nie p̄sequamur obtentu. *I ad missam. or.*  
**P**ra domine fidelibus pplis. ut ieiuniorū uene  
 randa sollempnia. & congrua pietate suscipiant.  
 & secunda deuotione percurrant. *I Secreta.*  
**F**ac nos qđ dñe hīs muneribus offerendis. conuenient

Picture 12: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 39r. Ash Wednesday



## II. 1. Main Corpus of the Sacramentary

*Ash Wednesday* (Pray Codex, f. 39r, Picture 12)

The presence or absence of chant notation may correlate with the status of the prevalence of the chants at the time the Codex was written. The responsories notated without music, indicated only by their incipits had a stable position at specific locations of the office's classical repertoire, in the ferial use (*Afflicti*), and during Lent (*Emendemus, Paradisi*).<sup>39</sup> Musically, they all belong to the primary formulaic layer of plainchant. Their 2nd and 8th mode melodies probably belonged to the basic musical literacy of the clerical singers, and therefore their notation with neumes as a reminder was unnecessary. In contrast to these pieces, three antiphons are certainly more recent compositions; two of them (*Immutemur, Iuxta vestibulum*) were not used in other functions.<sup>40</sup> The antiphon *Media vita* clearly shows the characteristics of "new-style compositions" of plainchant. It only found its place later, as the *Nunc dimittis* antiphon of the Lenten weeks-compline.<sup>41</sup>

Music example 1. the antiphon *Media vita* (see page 24)

*Palm Sunday* (Pray Codex, f. 45r, Picture 13)

The chants in the manuscript for Palm Sunday cannot be traced back to a single source, and their later use in the Hungarian tradition is not uniform.<sup>42</sup> The responsory *Surgite sancti*,<sup>43</sup> which opened the Palm Sunday procession, was not adopted in the mainstream of the Hungarian (Esztergom) rite. The responsory *Circumdederunt*, however, accompanying the arrival to the *statio*, later became a standard item among the Hungarian sources' processional chants.<sup>44</sup> The responsories *Dominus Iesus* and *Cogitaverunt autem principes sacerdotum*, which were performed between these two during the procession, are unique chants. Earlier and later, they are not a part of Hungarian traditions. They are exceptional in the European context and are possibly of Norman

<sup>39</sup> DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (Eds.): *Responsories*, Balassi Kiadó: Budapest, 2013, nr. 8058 (*Afflicti*), 2023 (*Emendemus*), 8126 (*Paradisi*).

<sup>40</sup> <http://cantusindex.org/id/003193>, <http://cantusindex.org/id/601299> (04.04.2022). Both antiphons included in the *Missale Notatum Strigoniense* written before 1341: f. 30v, facsimile edition: SZENDREI, Janka – RYBARIČ, Richard (Eds.), *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio*. Musitalia Danubiana 1. HAS Institute for Musicology, Budapest, 1982. More to their specific role see in FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós: A „magyar” hamvazószerda változatai és eredete [Variants and origin of the „Hungarian” Ash Wednesday]. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, Vol. 23, 2015/2016, pp. 127–144, 135.

<sup>41</sup> DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (Eds.): *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi V. Antiphonen*. Kassel; Basel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1999, nr. 4257. Online: *Melodiarium Hungariae Medii Aevi Digitale*: <http://melodiarium.zti.hu/cantus-officii/>, Ant-4257; <http://cantusindex.org/id/003732> (04.04.2022).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós: A római rítus változatainak kutatása – III. Virágvasárnap a középkori Magyarországon [Examining the variants of the Roman rite – III. Palm Sunday in medieval Hungary]. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, Vol. 20, 2012/2013, pp. 235–258; FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós: „A római rítus változatainak kutatása – IV–V. Virágvasárnap a középkori Európában I–II–III [Examining the variants of the Roman rite – IV–V. Palm Sunday in medieval Europe I–II–III]. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, Vol. 21, 2013/2014, pp. 115–147, 227–260.

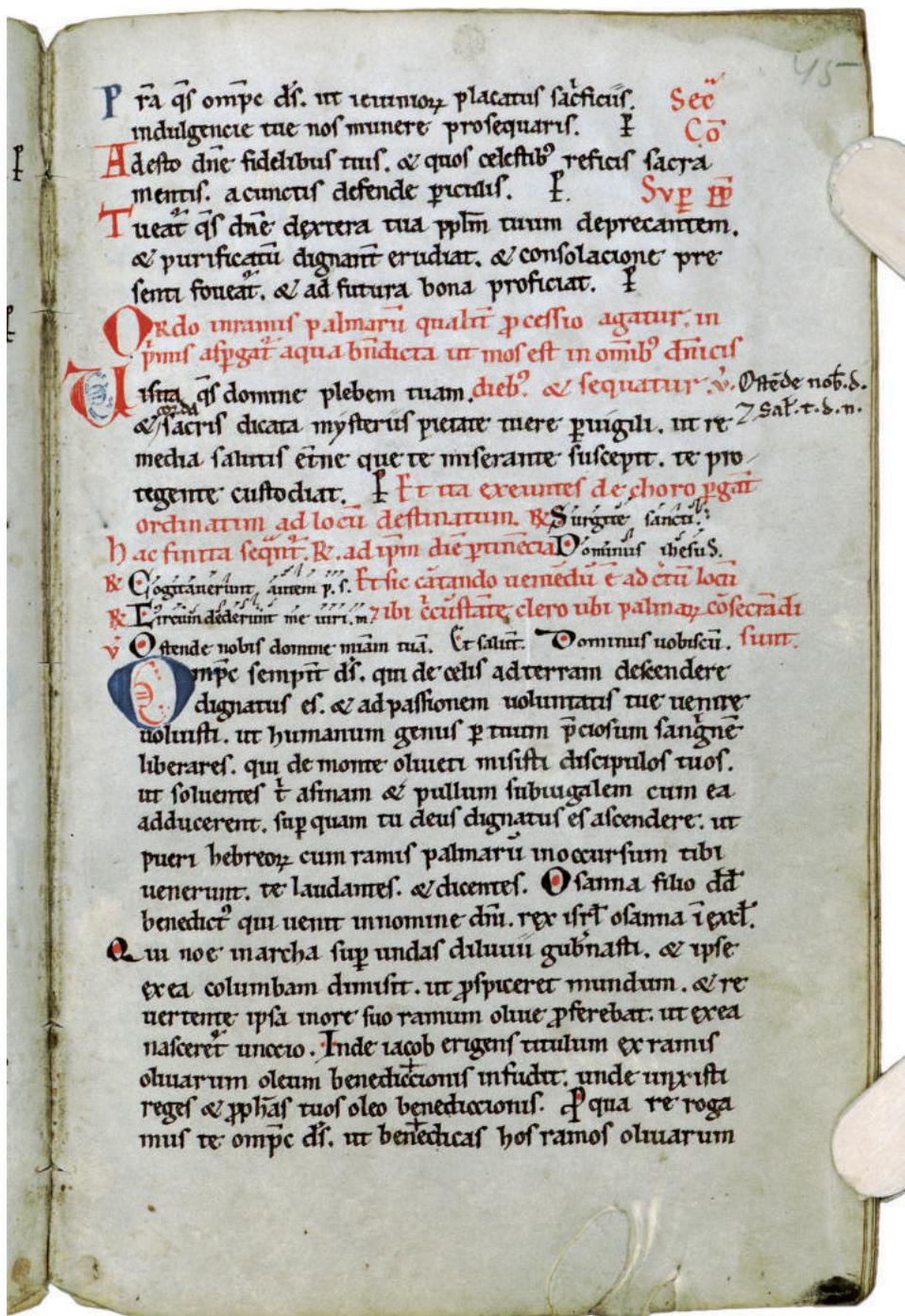
<sup>43</sup> <http://cantusindex.org/id/204825> (04.04.2022).

<sup>44</sup> DOBSZAY – SZENDREI (Eds.), Ref. 39, p. 1139.

**Music example 1:** Antiphona *Media vita*

Source: Antiphonale Strigoniense (Budense). Bratislava, Štátny archív, EC Lad. 6, f. 66v





Picture 13: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 45r. Palm Sunday



origin.<sup>45</sup> Their notated version can be found in the 14th-century Penpont Antiphonal (an antiphonal representing the Use of Sarum)<sup>46</sup> and also in the 13th-century Gradual from Rouen Cathedral;<sup>47</sup> in the gradual both chants are sung during the Palm Sunday procession (as in the Pray Codex), in the Antiphonal however, they are integrated into the responsory-cycle of matins of the Palm Sunday Office. The comparison of their melodies with the neumatic notation of the Pray Codex makes it clear that the chants are musically identical.

In addition to these two responsories, there is another musical witness in the Pray Codex extending the small group of chants, which most likely show signs of Norman influence in the early 12th-century history of Hungarian liturgy and music. On fol. 132v, a chant was added *in margine* to the main corpus with the text: *Ab Oriente portae et tres* with the Psalm *Fundamenta*<sup>48</sup> (Picture 14). The antiphon is part of the *benedictio lapidum*: the ceremony of blessing the cornerstones of a new church. The ordo itself is included in the main text with a detailed description of the ceremony: according to the text, 7 stones are chosen for blessing: three of them for marking the altar (*Et tres ex septem lapidibus ponantur in loco altaris ita dicendo*), followed by a procession around the site of the future church singing the responsory *Domine Iesu Christe ne despicias*. The bishop then takes the remaining 4 stones placing them in the direction of the four corners: *episcopus quatuor reliquos lapides angulos ponendo per singulos*. Then the psalm *Fundamenta* follows. There was no antiphon in the original text framing the psalm, and it is not even marked with a short textual incipit, as in other cases. However, there is an antiphon added slightly later on the left margin of the folio with complete text, which contains a music notation over the whole text. The neumes are clearly diastematic.<sup>49</sup> The antiphon *Ab Oriente portae* is a unique chant in Central Europe, as it is not found again in later Hungarian sources. However, it is found in a small number of distant sources, mostly pontificals, written in the 12–13th centuries from Norman Sicily (see Table 4).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> <http://cantusindex.org/id/600630> (*Dominus Iesus*), <http://cantusindex.org/id/600374> (*Cogitaverunt*) (04.04.2022).

<sup>46</sup> The National Library of Wales, 20541 E. EDWARDS, Owain Tudor (Ed.): *The Penpont Antiphonal*. Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts No. 22. Ottawa, Canada : The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997, f. 81r (*Dominus Iesus*), f. 81v (*Cogitaverunt*).

<sup>47</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 00904, f. 78v, online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324657> (04.04.2022).

<sup>48</sup> First discussed by CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Magyar-normann zenei kapcsolatok a középkorban II* [Hungarian-Norman musical connections in the Middle Ages II]. *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok* 2010. Ed. Gábor Kiss. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2011, pp. 11–22.

<sup>49</sup> It cannot be excluded that originally there was a line, however, it is no longer visible.

<sup>50</sup> Discussed by HILEY, David: The Chant of Norman Sicily. Interaction between the Norman and Italian Traditions. In: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30, Fasc. 1/4, 1988, pp. 379–391. The sources mentioned by Hiley were made accessible online recently as part of the database *Usuarium*. A Digital Library and Database for the Study of Latin Liturgical History in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: <https://usuarium.elte.hu/> (04.04.2022).



Ab oriente portae et tres. ab occidentem portae et tres. amethystino portae et tres. ab aquilone portae et tres. I. Fundamenta. I. cor.

fecit gentem tuam et nostrum confessorumque tuorum preparata in hoc loco  
habitatione tuam aptam servat. Qui de virgine natus pro salute humani  
generis et mortem subire dignatus est. I. prepara. Sequitur ps.  
**F**undamenta. I. corum. Kyrie. x. pet. Kyrie. Pat. n. r. t. n. e. n.  
**O**stende nobis domine. m. r. t. E. f. lo nobis domine turris f. Non nobis domine no. n.  
**F**iat pax in iustitie tua. D. s. tu conuersus uiuificabis nos. I. recolet est  
in conspectu d. C. onfiteantur t. d. n. e. o. D. ne gaude o. D. n. s. uobiscum.  
**D**omine deus qui licet celo et terra non capiaris. orx  
domui tam tibi in terra fieri iussisti. in qua non tam  
iugit inuocet. hunc locum qd beate Marie semp uirginis.  
omniuique scorum tuorum antecedentibus meritis. sereno tue pie-  
tatis intuitu visita et uide. et illum ad fabricandum elige.  
per infusionem gratie celestis ab omni inquinamento purifica.  
purificationemque conserua. ut qui dilecti tui dauid deuo-  
tione in filiis salomonis opere complesti tui famuli. I.  
in opere hoc ita precamur: uota pfice. ut illud te in-  
spirante incipiat. te adiuuante pficiat. suique laboris  
premium in terra consequatur uiuentium. Effugiat  
igitur hinc te iubente domine omnes nequicie spirituales.  
ut cum fraudibus suis cuncta diaboli turba. tua uirtute  
depulsa. Resurgat hic tue ecclesie pura simplicitas. et  
amabilis tibi innocentie candor. sicque hunc locum per-  
uigenti filii tui domini nostri dilectionem. coeterni tibi  
spe per aracti rore secunda gratissimo. ut quicumque  
hic pro suis necessitatibus auribus tue benignitatis in-  
gerit. uota uotorum suorum consequatur effectu.  
I. e. n. d. o. m. i. n. u. a. n. o. s. t. r. u.  
**B**enedictio dei omnipotentis patris. et filii et  
spe sci descendat et maneat in hoc loco. I. xpm  
dominum nostrum. A. a. e. n.

Picture 14: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 132v. The antiphon *Ab Oriente portae et tres* written in the margin

**Table 4:** Sicilian pontificals containing the antiphon *Ab Oriente portae*

Genre	Library, shelfmark	Origin, date
Troparium	Madrid, Bibl. Nacional 289	Palermo, s. 12
Pontificale	Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana A. 92 Infra	Palermo, 1165
Pontificale	Madrid Bibl. Nacional 742	Messina, s. 12/ex
Pontificale	Madrid Bibl. Nacional 678	Messina, s. 13
Pontificale	Bibl. Apost. Vaticana lat. 6748	Monreale, c1300
Pontificale	Bibl. Apost. Vaticana lat. 4746	Siracusa, c1300

The antiphon *Ab Oriente* is part of the *Ordo Dedicationis Ecclesiae* in the Sicilian pontificals, and instead of the blessing of stones, it accompanies the candle-ceremony: placing 12 candles in the direction of the four corners, three for each compass direction, as is shown by the rubrics of the 13th-century Pontifical from Messina:

*Tunc demum presule precipiente inferantur xii cerei ardentis et ponantur terni in quattuor angulis ecclesie omnibus canentibus sonora voce: 'Ab oriente porte tres (...)'*<sup>51</sup>

Further research is required to uncover the history and prehistory of this remarkable antiphon in early Norman sources, which may go back as far as the earliest surviving English pontificals. The results of such an investigation will serve as a basis for reconstructing the itinerary of *Ab Oriente*. For now, we can only assume that the appearance of the antiphon in the Pray Codex is an application – and a very creative one – of a chant otherwise belonging to the processional items of the *Dedicatio ecclesiae*, an application, unfortunately which is not found in later sources.

## II. 2. Votive Masses

The second part of the Sacramentary contains votive Masses, being the first source in the expanding and narrowing system from the early centuries of the Middle Ages, which induced the weekdays with allotted liturgical meaning.<sup>52</sup> The order of these votive Masses in the Pray Codex is as follows:

**Table 5:** Order of the votive Masses in the Pray Codex

fol.	Day	Mass	Rubric of the codex
99v	Sunday	Trinity	de sancta Trinitate
100r	Monday	Angels	ad poscenda angelorum suffragia
100v	Tuesday	Wisdom	de Sapientia
101r	Wednesday	Holy Spirit	ad gratiam Sancti Spiritus postulandam
101v	Thursday	Charity	de Karitate
102r	Friday	Holy Cross	in honore sanctae Crucis
102v	Saturday	Mary	in honore sanctae Mariae

<sup>51</sup> Madrid Bibl. Nacional, 00678, f. 44v.

<sup>52</sup> For more on the changes to this cycle, see JUNGSMANN, Josef Andreas: Der liturgische Wochenzyklus: Verfall und Neubildung. In: *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vol. 79, 1957, No. 1, pp. 45-68.

In this part, the codex contains not only chants with rough neumes, but a relatively large number of entirely notated chants. Here, they are even notated on staves, partially edited in the main text, and partially later written on the margins. The Sunday Mass in honour of the Trinity, the Friday Mass in honour of the Holy Cross and the Saturday Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary contain the most extensively notated chants.

The chants for the celebration of the Holy Trinity are placed within the framework of two votive ceremonies. We find a *Missa de sancta Trinitate* beginning on fol. 99v (Picture 15) and a Trinity-focused nuptial Mass (*Missa de Sancta Trinitate super sponsum et sponsam*) on fol. 116v (Picture 16). They share an almost identical set of chants (Table 6), though the two small differences between them are significant.

**Table 6:** Chants for Trinity in the Pray Codex

	Missa de S. Trinitate, f. 99v	Missa de S. Trinitate super sponsum et sponsam, f. 116v
Off	<i>Benedictus sit Deus Pater</i>	<i>Benedictus sit Deus Pater</i>
Off-V	<i>Benedicamus Patrem et Filium</i>	–
All	<i>Benedictus es Domine Deus</i>	<i>Honor virtus et imperium laus</i>

The offertory is the same in both cycles (*Benedictus sit Deus Pater*); however, it has a verse in the first one (*Benedicamus Patrem et Filium*) which is missing from the second. The Alleluia of the first Trinity-Mass is *Benedictus es Domine Deus*. It is used across Europe and belongs to the archaic layer of Western plainchant.<sup>53</sup> In the second Mass, this alleluia is replaced by All. *Honor virtus et imperium laus*. The melody was added on the upper margin of the manuscript by a later user with staff-notation.<sup>54</sup>

Though both chants belong to the main corpus, it is difficult to date them. But taking the repertoire's later formation and fixation in Hungary into account, some conclusions can be drawn.

The offertory verse, which was transmitted in the early Western sources disappeared from practice during the 13th century almost everywhere. The scribe of the Pray Codex's first Trinity-Mass did not mention it. A later user of the manuscript at the beginning of the 13th century, however, felt it necessary to add the missing part of the chant on the right margin of fol. 100r. The notation is precise. Despite being an addition, the scribe also paid attention to connect each section of the melismatic melody to the corresponding syllable with a thin line. The Verse is not present among the marginal additions of the *second* Mass: the main part of the offertory written in the *main* text (with notated incipit) stands alone here, as is also the case in later sources.

The *Alleluia Honor virtus* is a similar innovation. (Picture 16) It replaces the *Benedictus es* in the second Mass formula. As Janka Szendrei pointed out, the first written source of Alleluia *Honor virtus* is the Pray Codex.<sup>55</sup> It records the nascent state of the order of chants, which unfolds during the 14–15th century in sources representing the full Esztergom rite.<sup>56</sup>

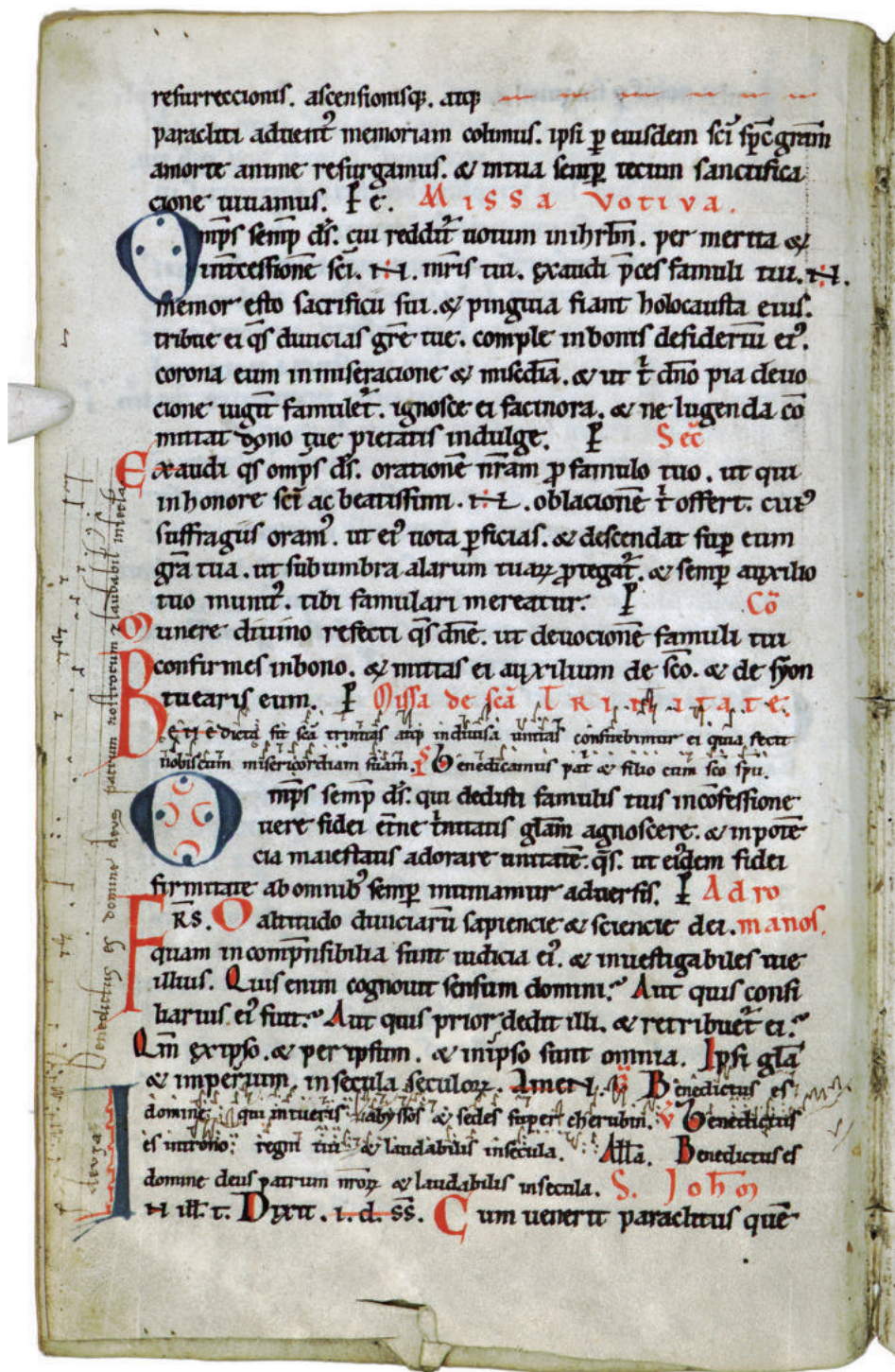
<sup>53</sup> <http://cantusindex.org/id/g01113> (04.04.2022)

<sup>54</sup> The chant starting on the upper margin of the f. 116v continues on the recto of f. 117.

<sup>55</sup> SZENDREI, Ref. 35, p. 176.

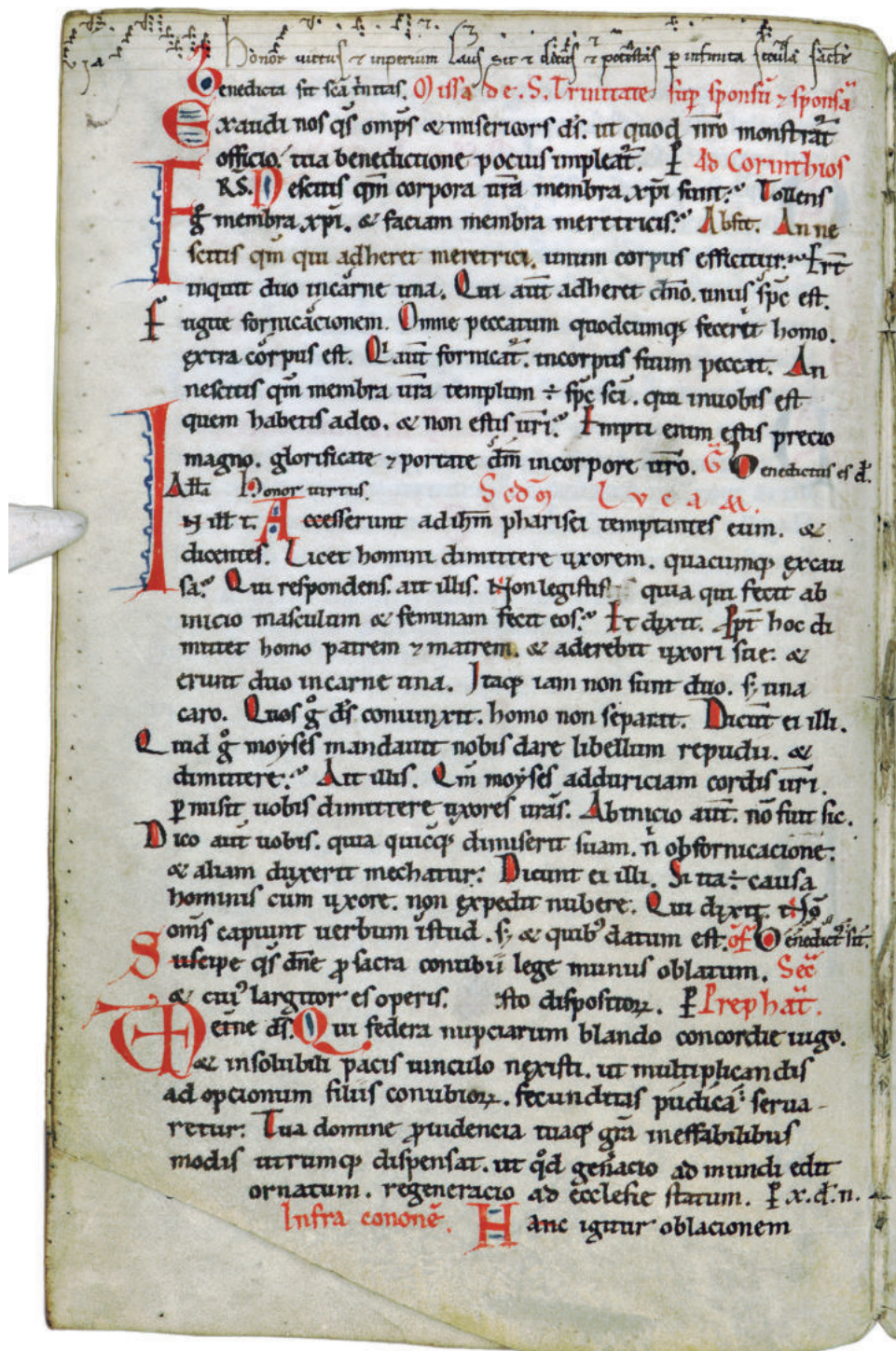
<sup>56</sup> Later sources containing the All. *Honor virtus*: Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341, f. 175r, Graduale Strigoniense archiepiscopi Thomae card. Bakócz (Cathedral Library of Esztergom, Ms.





Picture 15: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 99v. Missa de Sancta Trinitate





Picture 16: Pray Codex / Sacramentary, f. 116v. Missa de Sancta Trinitate super sponsum et sponsam

The *Alleluia Honor virtus*, a chant possibly dating to 12th-century Hungary, became part of the central Mass sources of Esztergom as an unvarying and rite-defining element of the Mass on Trinity Sunday.

**Music example 2:** *Alleluia Honor virtus et imperium laus*

Source: Graduale Strigoniense archiepiscopi Thomae card. Bakócz. Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár (Cathedral Library of Esztergom), Ms. I. 1a-1b, I/f. 172v



Two formulas of the Saturday Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary can be assembled from the chants written in the main text and on the margins of the Pray Codex.<sup>57</sup> The entire Proper of the main text (the first Mass formula) was left without notation. However, a later user supplemented the second Mass on the margins with alleluia and sequence, offertory and communion. The *Alleluia Dulcis mater*, with its “innovative” melodic style<sup>58</sup> was certainly a novel composition at the turn of the 13th century. But, in contrast to the *All. Honor virtus* from the Trinity-Mass, this chant did *not* become part of the central Hungarian (Esztergom) tradition. It reappears as a traveling piece in late codices from the peripheral regions of medieval Hungary.<sup>59</sup>

I. 1a-1b, I/f. 172v); Graduale Francisci de Futhak (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi 68, f. 128r); Graduale Nitriense (Bratislava, Slovenský národný archív, 67), f. 70r.

<sup>57</sup> Pray Codex, f. 101v–104r.

<sup>58</sup> For more on late medieval musical taste and its manifestation in different genres of plainchant, see SZENDREI, Janka: *Egy középkor-végi dallamstílus jelentkezése az alleluia-műfajban* [The appearance of a late medieval melodic style in Alleluias]. Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2004-2005. Ed. Márta Sz. Farkas. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2005, pp. 107-146; KISS, Gábor: *Egy késő középkori műfajfüggetlen dallamstílus Közép-Európában* [A late medieval genre-independent melodic style in Central-Europe]. Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2008. Ed. Gábor Kiss. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2008, pp. 71-92.

<sup>59</sup> Graduale from Gyöngyöspata (Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Fol lat. 3522), f. 105r; Graduale of András Gyöngyösi Szántó from Gyöngyös (Budapest, University Library, A 114),

## Summary

The chants which are listed in the corpus of the Pray Codex by their first word, with or without neumes, and sometimes referred to in the rubrics without highlighting, represented the basic layer of medieval liturgical monody. This melodic material was common knowledge at the time and did not need an explanation, or musical notation.

The majority of chants which are recorded more extensively in the main text, or added on the margins are newer pieces, or at least were considered new in the Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the 12th century. They thus required a more exhaustive and precise record of the text and music.

If we consider the chants written both in the Sacramentary and on the margins against the context of contemporary Western, and later Hungarian transmission, the picture is inconsistent. The pieces of the archaic layer, with almost no exceptions, continued unaltered both in their original and their applied functions. They contributed only marginally to regional or local variability. The newer layer is, however, more differentiated. Some of its elements became integral parts of the full medieval Hungarian chant repertoire. Some lived on in the sources of peripheral regions, or occur randomly in a peripheral manuscript. Some do not reoccur at all in later Hungarian sources.

We can find examples of chants belonging to the basic repertory with special and unique assignation, liturgical role, or application. It is certain, that the antiphon *Media vita* was used outside of its conventional functional boundaries, to close the Pray Codex's antiphon cycle for the imposition of the ashes in the liturgy of Ash Wednesday.

Among the unique pieces of the codex are the chants which had no roots in the full Hungarian tradition *per se*. But their appearance sheds light on a decisive process which occurred during the era. The antiphon *Ab Orientae portae et tres*, which accompanies the blessing of church's cornerstones (*benedictio lapidum*) is probably evidence of Norman influence on the Hungarian liturgy during the 12th century. The antiphon has not survived, however, in addition to other pieces which became part of the tradition, it is an important witness of the Esztergom use's slight, but often tangible connection to the Norman repertoire.

For the music historian, the Pray Codex offers both more and less than the far more complete late-medieval manuscripts for Mass and Office. Less, as it contains the chants of only a few exceptional ceremonies in a fairly inconsistent and irregular manner. More, as it captures many layers of the liturgical chant-repertoire in a lifelike manner, in the process of its emergence and transformation. Around 1200, its base layer and addenda offer us an invaluable glimpse into the process which led to Hungary's established high-medieval liturgy and liturgical chants.

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f. 19, Cantionale from Csíksomlyó/Șumuleu-Ciuc (Șumuleu-Ciuc, Library of the Franciscan monastery, A V 5/5252), f. 25r.



## Resumé

### PRAYOV KÓDEX AKO HUDOBNOHISTORICKÝ PRAMEŇ

V dejinách strednej Európy sa zachovalo pomerne malé množstvo písomných prameňov, ktoré by vznikli pred rokom 1200. Ku každému dokumentu z tohto raného obdobia sa preto pochopiteľne pristupuje s osobitnou pozornosťou. Jeden takýto prameň je rukopis napísaný po roku 1192, známy v maďarských i slovenských kultúrnych dejinách ako Prayov kódex. Prameň pozostávajúci z viacerých viac-menej samostatných textových jednotiek je od svojho objavenia v roku 1770 jezuitským historikom G. Prayom v knižnici bratislavskej kapituly predmetom záujmu viacerých vedeckých disciplín. Historiografia ho považuje za dôležitý historický prameň, keďže jeho súčasťou je i odpis Bratislavských análov (*Chronicon minor Posoniense*), stručný opis historických udalostí v Uhorsku od roku 997 do roku 1187. Samostatnú časť kódexu tvorí aj *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, dielo Bernolda z Kostnice (Bernoldus Constantiensis), napísané v rokoch 1086 – 1090. Traktát koncipovaný v duchu cirkevných reforiem iniciovaných pápežom Gregorom VII. je mimoriadne dôležitým dokumentom raného formovania liturgie a jej prameňov v Uhorsku. Historici umenia sa zaoberajú piatimi perokresbami zachovanými na fóliách 27<sup>r-v</sup> a 28<sup>r-v</sup> kódexu, viažucimi sa k Veľkonočnému sviatku, zobrazujúcimi utrpenie, smrť, zmŕtvychvstanie a slávu Krista. Pokladajú ich za jednu z najstarších pamiatok knižného maliarstva na našom území. Pre literárnu vedu a lingvistiku je rukopis predovšetkým vzácnym náleziskom najstaršieho súvislého maďarského textu, *Pohrebnej reči a modlitby* (*Halotti beszéd és Könyörgés*).

Hudobná historiografia sa zaoberá sakramentárom tvoriacim korpus rukopisu. Tento typ bohoslužobnej knihy obsahuje omšové modlitby prednesené kňazom – *oratio, secreta a postcommunio* –, nepatrí teda medzi liturgické knihy primárne hudobného žánru. Sakramentár v Prayovom kódexe sa však odlišuje od liturgických kódexov podobného typu: okrem základných modlitieb zahŕňa totiž ďalšie texty a spevy omšovej liturgie, čím sa obsahovo približuje knižným druhom ako je graduál, procesionál a *missale plenum*. Na stránkach rukopisu sa nachádzajú početné interlineárne a marginálne zápisy – čiastočne notované –, ktoré vznikli koncom 12. a na začiatku 13. storočia. Tieto poskytujú jedinečný pohľad na zrod a prvé obdobie tzv. ostrihomskej notácie.

Prekladaná štúdia poskytuje analytický prehľad relevantného obsahu Prayovho kódexu z hudobnohistorického hľadiska, a vyznačuje jeho miesto v dejinách gregoriánskeho chorálu stredovekého Uhorska i strednej Európy. Hľadá odpoveď na otázku, aké udalosti, okolnosti a procesy ovplyvnili liturgiu a liturgický chorál v Uhorsku v období raného formovania a z ktorých oblastí tieto vplyvy pochádzali. Zvlášť pozorne sleduje procesy, v rámci ktorých sa niektoré vplyvy ukázali z hľadiska neskoršieho vývoja repertoáru ako rozhodujúce, a naopak, ktoré zanikli bez pokračovania.