

FROM CHARTVIRGUS TO TOBIAS: ARCHAIC HUNGARIAN TRACES IN THE LITURGY OF PRAGUE

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ABSTRACT

In medieval Central Europe, Prague possessed the most splendid liturgy. Not only did it have a distinctive musical notation, indicative of an astonishing level of book culture, but the Use of Prague was an almost ostentatious parade of voluminous and carefully orchestrated rituals. In addition to the wealth of liturgical poetry and music, Prague's eminence is most evident in the extraordinary ceremonies of the annual cycle, typically recorded in rituals, pontificals, and processions. One of the earliest relevant documents is the Agenda of Bishop Tobias from 1294. This wealth, however, was not created in a vacuum. It was a synthesis from the collection, supplementation, and reordering of a wide range of liturgies from across Europe. 300 years before the emergence of Prague as an imperial capital, a small but dedicated group of prelates was working on the liturgy of another nascent archdiocese, that of Esztergom in Hungary. The surviving key documents of this process are two pontificals, one of which contains the peculiarities of the annual cycle and is known as the 11th-century *Agenda of Hartwick* or, more correctly, the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. It contains the foundation of the mature Use of Esztergom, and bears witness to an almost extravagant creativity, whose output was often discarded during later trends towards consolidation, although it survived to some degree in Prague.

Keywords: liturgy, Middle Ages, Holy Saturday, Candlemas, major blessing of water, Bohemia, Hungary

In almost half of Europe, the Holy Saturday blessing of fire was followed by the hymn *Inventor rutili*.¹ The light was distributed, and the clergy entered the church.

¹ Although a late antique poem, the idea of accompanying the distribution of the newly blessed fire with *Inventor rutili* only emerged around the first millennium. Its first occurrences charac-

The source poem by the 4th-century author Aurelius Prudentius was almost epic.² It consisted of 41 stanzas of 164 lines, each of 12 syllables. It was thus natural that in liturgical practice, the hymn was abbreviated to an extract of 2 to 10 strophes without the opening stanza, which recurred as a refrain as in other processional chants: first in full, then only its second part, and so on repeatedly. The usual method of abbreviation favoured the first strophes that enumerate and describe different kinds of torches and candles, sometimes adding the last strophe as a doxology and occasionally some of the preceding ones, meditating on the deep symbolism of the *lucernarium*.³

In Prague, a different approach prevailed. Between the 2nd and 3rd strophes, the 32nd (*Sunt et spiritibus*) is wedged into the series. This gave voice to the idea that on the night of Christ's resurrection, even the evil spirits are released from hell, enjoying a respite from their permanent torture.⁴ The choice was undoubtedly deliberate. Not only did it select a text that belonged neither to the opening nor the closing section of the poem, but it disrupted the numeric order of the stanzas. The anonymous compiler must have taken a special pleasure in emphasising this aspect of Holy Saturday. Indeed, *Sunt et spiritibus* is a reliable marker of Prague and its sphere of influence.⁵ It does not occur anywhere else in Europe, except in Hungary.

terise the annual cycle associated with the so-called *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* or *Ordo Romanus* L. VOGEL, Cyrille – ELZE, Reinhard: *Le pontifical romano-germanique du 10e siècle = Pontificale Romano-Germanicum saeculi decimi*. 3 vols. Studi e testi 226, 227, 269. Città del Vaticano : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963, II. 97. (No. XCIX. 345.); ANDRIEU, Michel: *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* 5. Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 29. Louvain : Peeters Publishers, 1961. On Holy Saturday, it was ubiquitous in Northeastern Europe, but almost unknown in the Southwest (exceptions are e.g. Perugia, Elne, and Girona). My chronological and geographical observations rely on: Földvály and Research Group of Liturgical History, 'Usuarium (Database)'. Digitised copies of the sources cited in this study can be consulted there. In the following, I quote manuscripts by library and shelf mark, incunabula and early prints by short title and date.

² Text and translation: PRUDENTIUS, Aurelius Clemens. *Volume I*. Translated by H. J. Thomson. Reprint of Heinemann, London, 1949. The Loeb Classical Library 387. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 2006, *Volume I*, pp. 38-49. On the *Cathemerinon* cycle: DÉRI, Balázs: *A részek és az egész: Prudentius Cathemerinon című himnuszciklusának szerkezete*. Apollo könyvtár 22. Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, 2001; O'DALY, Gerard James Patrick: *Days Linked by Song: Prudentius' Cathemerinon*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2012. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199263950.001.0001>>; RICHARDSON, Nicholas J.: *Prudentius' Hymns for Hours and Seasons: Liber Cathemerinon* (trans.). Routledge Later Latin Poetry. New York : Routledge, 2016. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315714295>>; CASTELNUOVO, Elena: Across the Red Sea to the Paradise Regained: Easter Vigil and Baptism in Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 5. In: *Vigiliae Christianae* 75, No. 5, 2021, pp. 524-547. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1163/15700720-12341479>>

³ After analysing 79 sources, 60 of them with full texts, my colleague Katalin Suba found that the first three stanzas are always employed, and typically either of the last two concludes the hymn: *Per Christum genitum* (40.) or *Per quem splendor honor* (41.). Besides *Sunt et* [or: *de*] *spiritibus* (32.), the only remarkable choices are *Hunc ignem populis* (10.), peculiar to Speyer and Strassburg, and *Pendent mobilibus* (36.), characteristic of Trier. In Bamberg, the refrain followed the blessing of the fire (*finita ignis benedictione*), and the rest of the hymn was reserved for the entrance to the church (*versus residui debent servari et cantari in introitu ecclesiae*).

⁴ To the idea's sources: RICHARDSON, Ref. 2, p. 116.

⁵ Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 12, 184r; *Agenda Thobiae* (Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, fond Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, ms. P III) 131; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496,

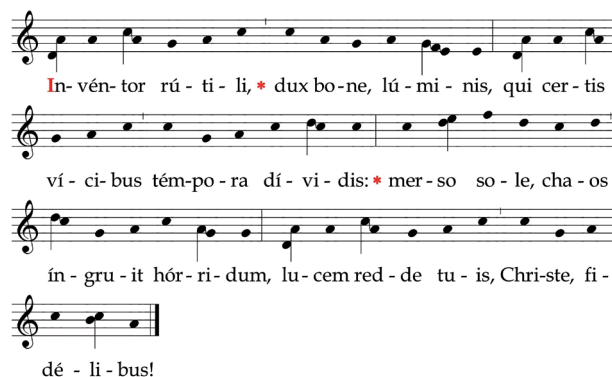
There, however, it was even more prominent. As in Olomouc, *Sunt et spiritibus* immediately followed the first strophe. We find it in this position in every mature source of Esztergom and Zagreb, including service books of unidentifiable, but probably southern parts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, such as the first printed missal of the mysterious *Domini Ultramontani*, or the monumental gradual of Francis de Futhak.⁶ Yet, strangely enough, *Sunt et spiritibus* is missing from the books of the Pauline order, founded in the 13th century, and otherwise closely related to Esztergom, and from all Hungarian sources before the 14th century.⁷ Not so in Prague, where it appears in the 13th-century Agenda of Tobias (who was bishop of the city between 1278 and 1296) and

53r and 1520, 124r. While the stanza is already documented in 12th-century Prague, it is missing from the earliest extant Moravian Missal (with the order: 1. *Inventor*, 2. *Quamvis*, 3. *Ne*, 38. *O res*, 41. *Per quem*): Olomouc, Vlastivědné muzeum, R 59, 78r.

⁶ For Esztergom after the 13th century, see: Štátny archív v Bratislave, *Bratislavský misál Ia* (Missale Notatum Strigoniense) EC Lad. 3/86 f. 114r, SZENDREI, Janka – RYBARIČ, Richard: *Missale notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio*. (= Musicalia Danubiana 1.) Budapest : Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Zenetudományi Intézet, 1982; and *Bratislavský misál II* EL 11, 96v; Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Națională a României – Filiala Batthyaneum, Ms. II. 134, 102r–v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 94, 106r (KOVÁCS, Andrea: Az esztergomi missale notatum és a pozsonyi misekönyvek. In: *Mestereknek gyengyének. Ünnepi kötet Madas Edit hetvenedik születésnapjára*. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2020, pp. 403–414); *Missale Strigoniense* 1484, 65r (DÉRI, Balázs: *Missale Strigoniense 1484, id est Missale secundum chororum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis, impressum Nurenbergae apud Anthonium Koburger, anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIII (RMK III 7)*. (= Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica 1.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Latin Tanszék, 2009.). For Zagreb: *Missale Zagradiense* 1511, 84v–85r. Sources of dubious origin: *Missale Ultramontanorum* 1480, 138r (HOLL, Béla: *Spiritualitas dominorum ultramontanorum. Sulla poesia medievale liturgica in Ungheria e sul suo riflesso europeo*. In: *Storia religiosa dell'Ungheria*, 1992, pp. 123–137; MÁTYUS, Norbert: *A Missale Dominorum Ultramontanorum keletkezéstörténetéhez*. In: *Gondold tovább ezt a kis kóstolót. Olasz-magyar filológia*. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2017, pp. 76–87); İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Gayri İslami 68 (KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Graduale Francisci de Futhak 1463*. (= Musica Sacra Hungarica 4/1.) İstanbul; Budapest : Topkapı Palace Museum, 2021). An overview of the strophes in Hungarian sources: FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: Húsvét vigiliája a Hartvik-agendában. Első fönmaradt ordónk magyar és európai összefüggésben. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, Vol. 25, 2021, No. 1, pp. 33–35.

⁷ Early Hungarian sources without the stanza: İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Deissmann 49, 87r and 60, unnumbered, digital pp. 156–157. (SZENDREI, Janka: *A „Mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2005, pp. 324–349.); Güssing, Klosterbibliothek der Franziskaner, Cod. 1/43, 125r–v (DOBSZAY, László: Árpád-kori kottás misekönyvünk provenienciája. In: *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok* 6, 1984, pp. 7–12; SZENDREI, Ref. 7, pp. 210–248.). Later Hungarian sources from outside of Esztergom still without the stanza: Eger, Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár, U2 VI. 5, 74r; Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 20, 103v; Štátny archív v Bratislave, EL 13, 98r–v; *Missale Quinqueecclesiense*, 1487, 107v and 1499, 92r (facsimile: *Missale secundum morem Alme Ecclesie Quinqueecclesiensis.*), *Missale Paulinum* 1514, 91v; Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 234, 108v; Częstochowa, Archiwum OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze, sygn. III-3, 115v (POŚPIECH, Remigiusz: *Mszał Jagiellonów z Jasnej Góry. Wydanie fototypiczne / Missal of the Jagiellons of Jasna Góra. Phototypical edition*. (= Musica Claromontana. Studia 2.) Opole; Częstochowa : Wydział Teologiczny Opolskiego; Klasztor OO. Paulinów Jasna Góra, 2013) and R. 583, 72. (CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa – SARBAK, Gábor: *Cantuale Paulinorum s. XVI (Częstochowa, Archiwum Jasnogórskie, I-215, R583). Zene- és nyelvtörténeti tanulmányok a Częstochowai pálos kantuáléről*. Budapest : Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Zenetudományi Intézet, Régi Zenetörténeti Osztály – Magyar Pálos Rend, 2022). Most probably, it was missing in Győr too, see the text of Clichtoveus, *Elucidatorium*, pp. 33–35 with a foreword from

features until the last printed rituals of the 16th century. Accordingly, it is a witness of Bohemian influence on Hungarian liturgics in the age of the Angevin kings who, after decades of warfare and hostility, joined a Central European alliance that is still known today as the Visegrád Group after its first summit in 1335.⁸



In- vén- tor rú - ti - li, * dux bo-ne, lú - mi - nis, qui cer - tis
ví - ci - bus tém-po - ra dí - vi - dis: * mer - so so - le, cha - os
ín - gru - it hór - ri - dum, lu - cem red - de tu - is, Chri-ste, fi -
dé - li - bus!

Sunt de spirítibus saepe nocéntibus
poenárúm céleres sub Styge fériae
illa nocte, sacer qua rédiit Deus
stagnis ad súperos ex Acherónticis. Merso.

Figure 1. The beginning of the Holy Saturday hymn in the edition of the *Esztergom Gradual*⁹

A further link between Bohemia and Hungary is the hymn *Quod chorus vatum* sung at the end of the Candlemas procession. Although a popular hymn in the feast's office, it only occurs as a processional chant in the environs of Prague and Esztergom.¹⁰ Here, the relationship cannot be a product of the Angevin period. In contrast with *Sunt et spiritibus*, the Candlemas hymn features in the procession of Prague as early as the

1515 to Ioannes Gozthon (Gosztonyi), bishop of Győr, and based on choir books of that city (unpublished transcription by Ervin J. Alácsi).

⁸ On Czech-Hungarian relationships in the 14th century: BEREND, Nora – URBAŇCZYK, Przemysław – WISZEWSKI, Przemysław: *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900–c. 1300*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511813795>>; ZEČEVIĆ, Nada – ZIEMANN, Daniel: *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Central Europe*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2022. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190920715.001.0001>>.

⁹ SZASZOVSKY, Ágnes: *Graduale Strigoniense. Proprium de Tempore et de Sanctis (Editio ad Experimentum)*. Miklós István Földváry (Ed.). (= Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica, Series Practica, Va.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Latin Tanszék, 2017, p. 237.

¹⁰ *Quod chorus vatum* (Cantus ID 008378) was a widespread hymn for the Vespers of Candlemas throughout Europe, see DREVES, Guido Maria: *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. Erste Ausgabe: 1886–1926. 55 vols. Augsburg : Rauner, 2006. Available online: <<http://webserver.erwin-rauner.de/>>, 50:155; Stäblein, *Hymnen*, nos. 72, pp. 146, 151, 154, 160, 164, 422, 710; LACOSTE, Debra – BAIN, Jennifer: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant – Inventories of Chant Sources*. Available online: <<https://cantusdatabase.org/>>, 2023, No. 008378.

Agenda of Tobias, up to the last printed sources,¹¹ and is also present in the Pauline books and in the earliest Hungarian sources of the 11th and 12th centuries.¹² The early connection proves even closer if we consider *Qui sine peccato*. In Prague and Olomouc, this two-line addition serves as the refrain strophe of the processional variant.¹³ It is not sung in the day's office and, written in distich form, is metrically very different to the Sapphic original. While *Qui sine peccato* is another marker of Bohemia, its first occurrence long predates the Agenda of Tobias. It appears in the late 11th-century Pontifical of Chartvirgus, the earliest reliable document of the annual cycle from medieval Hungary.

The age of the first records can be accidental and is never decisive as regards the direction of borrowing. It could be that lost Bohemian sources were inspired by the surviving Hungarian sources, rather than the other way around. Structural considerations, however, suggest the priority of the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. Although we cannot identify the historical figure of Archbishop Chartvirgus, his pontifical records the liturgy of the Cathedral of Esztergom in the 11th century.¹⁴ Topographical information refers to the old station church of St. Stephen beside the medieval basilica. It is of even greater significance that the well-documented rites of Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, and Holy Week almost perfectly coincide with the established Use of Esztergom, without being identical to any known tradition abroad or even in other Hungarian dioceses.

The *Chartvirgus Pontifical* is highly innovative, and its content can be divided into three thematic groups. The label 'processional' aptly describes the extraordinary days of the annual cycle. 'Pontifical' may denote acts of ecclesiastical discipline performed by the bishop, such as holding a synod or reconciling penitents, and 'ritual' may comprise the core of what later evolved into the agenda of a parish priest, i.e. baptism or sickbed rituals. While the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*'s processional rites enjoyed long and unchanging succession, many of its other chapters underwent a different fate. Its 'pontifical' was mostly replaced by the spread of international books from the 13th century, and its 'ritual' yielded partly to consolidating efforts and partly to future elaboration.¹⁵

¹¹ *Agenda Thobiae*, 47; Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 9, 57r; *Pontificale Alberti de Sternberg* (Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG I 19), 9v; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496, 18r and 1520, 87v.

¹² Częstochowa, Archiwum OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze, sygn. III-3, 208r; *Missale Paulinum* 1514, 183r; *Pontificale Chartvirgi* (Zagreb, Knjižnica Metropolitana, MR 165), 33v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MNy 1, 70r.

¹³ *Qui sine peccato*: STÄBLEIN, Bruno: *Hymnen (I). Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*. (= Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 1.) Kassel : Bärenreiter, 1956, No. 1013.

¹⁴ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Egy úzus születése I. A Chartvirgus-pontifikále és a magyarországi liturgia megalkotása a XI. században*. Műhelytanulmányok 4. Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ, Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2017, pp. 77-93. For earlier opinions favouring Győr, see: MORIN, Germain: *Manuscripts liturgiques hongrois des XIe et XIIe siècles*. In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 6, 1926, pp. 54-67; KNI EWALD, Dragutin: *Hartwick győri püspök Agenda Pontificalis-a*. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* 65, 1941, pp. 1-21; SZENDREI, Ref. 7, p. 69.

¹⁵ HORVÁTH, Balázs: *A Pray-kódex liturgikus összefüggései és filológiai problémái*. Budapest : Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2022. Available online: <<https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/handle/10831/86227>>, pp. 91-111. One might anticipate similar results from the diversity of Hungarian sickbed rituals and burials: FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Gyászszertartások a régi magyar liturgiában*. In: *Írások a Pray-kódexről* (Szerk. Bartók Zsófia, Horváth Balázs).

As the overture of the ‘processional’, Candlemas belonged to the least variable layer. Several case studies indicate that this layer was the product of careful compositional work. For the present survey, one observation is of particular interest. In Esztergom, the processional rites of Candlemas and Palm Sunday fitted precisely the same template.¹⁶ Both rites consisted of sprinkling holy water, marching to a site other than the main church, blessing and distributing candles or branches there, marching back in procession, and observing successive stations before the main church and in front of the choir screen. Moreover, each section deployed identical sets of liturgical genres. The most remarkable parallel was the object blessing with its five orations alternating with voluminous chants and concluding in a consecratory prex. In both cases, this arrangement was unique to Esztergom.

Table 1. Parallels between Candlemas and Palm Sunday

Candlemas	Palm Sunday
<i>In the choir</i>	<i>In the choir</i>
Sprinkling with oration	Sprinkling with oration
<i>Procession to the stational church</i>	<i>Procession to the stational church</i>
Responsories	Responsories
<i>In the stational church</i>	<i>In the stational church</i>
Responsory with Marian oration	Responsory with Marian oration
	Prophecy, chant, Gospel
<i>Blessing of candles</i>	<i>Blessing of branches</i>
	Exorcism
Orations alternating with chants	Orations alternating with chants
Solemn consecratory preface	Solemn consecratory preface
<i>Distribution of objects</i>	<i>Distribution of objects</i>
Antiphon with canticle	Two antiphons
<i>Return to the main church</i>	<i>Return to the main church</i>
Oration for departure	Oration for departure
Antiphon with Ambrosian hymn	Antiphon with Ambrosian hymn
	Adoration of the cross
<i>Entrance to the main church</i>	<i>Entrance to the main church</i>
Oration before the gate	Oration before the gate
Antiphon with Benedictus	Antiphon with Benedictus
Oration before the choir screen	Oration before the choir screen
Refrained metric hymn	Refrained metric hymn

On Candlemas, *Qui sine peccato* with *Quod chorus vatum* played the same role as *Gloria laus* on Palm Sunday. At the earliest stage of the rites, the return procession was accompanied by long rhymed hymns of accentuated metre (*Laetetur omne saecu-*

(= Műhelytanulmányok 5.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ, Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2019, pp. 65-96; SUBA, Katalin: A Pray-kódex temetési szertartásának külföldi párhuzamai. In: *Fons*, 2021, No. 28, pp. 311-340.

¹⁶ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: A római rítus változatainak kutatása III. Virágvasárnap a középkori Magyarországon. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, Vol. 20, 2013, No. 3, pp. 241-245.

lum and *Magnum salutis gaudium*, respectively); stational orations signalled the stop in front of the portal; simple antiphons with the canticle *Benedictus* accompanied the entrance of the assembly to the church; further orations sounded at the stop before the screen; and the refrained, metric hymns were sung when the clergy entered the choir. Later, the ceremonies became simplified by omitting the lengthy, rhymed processional hymns and replacing them with shorter, time-measured alternatives. This development removed the original functions and made *Qui sine peccato* unnecessary. But the parallels between the analogous structures clearly show why the hymn *Quod chorus vatum* was once required on Candlemas and why it needed a distich refrain strophe.

These parallels do not apply to Prague or Olomouc. Therefore, we can conclude that this peculiar combination of two metrically different chants was a second-hand borrowing. The clues, in this case, lead from Chartvirgus to Tobias, suggesting an early Hungarian influence on the nascent Use of Prague, possibly in the 13th century. The observation is especially important, as there is a large chronological gap between the earliest service books of Esztergom from the 11th century and the mature ones surviving from the Angevin period. In addition to the indirect testimony of the Pauline Use, which was being consolidated at this time,¹⁷ Czech remnants preserve something of the ‘dark age’.

21. *Deinde accedant pueri quattuor, et canant hymnum:*

*Qui sine peccato templo est oblatus ad aram
a nobis clemens crimina quæque demat.*

1. *Quod chorus vatum venerandus olim
Spiritu Sancto cecinit replētus,
in Dei factum Genitrice constat
esse Maria.*

2. *Hic Deum cali Dominumque terræ
Virgo concepit, peperitque Virgo,
atque post partum meruit manere
inviolata.*

3. *Quem senex iustus 1341 Simeon in ulnas
in domo sumpsit Domini gavisus,
ob quod optatum proprio videre
lumine Christum.*

4. *Tu libens votis, petimus, p[re]cantum,
regis æterni Genitrix, faveto,
clara quæ celsi résidens (Olympi
regna pe)tisti.*

5. *Sit Deo nostro decus et potestas,
sit salus semper, sit honor perennis,
qui poli summa résidet in arce
trinus et unus. Amen.*

22. *Hymno expleto, celebretur missa per ordinem:*² *Suscépinus, Deus.*

Figure 2. The end of the Candlemas procession in the online edition of the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*¹⁸

¹⁷ On the retrospective value of the Pauline sources: FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: Pauline Customs within the Esztergom Use: Archaism, Variant, or Usage? In: *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 9, 2020, pp. 133-145. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/J.JMMS.5.120399>>, pp. 137-141.

¹⁸ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Pontificale Chartvirgi saeculi XI exeuntis de Hungaria (Strigoniense?)*. (Zagrabiae, Knjižnica Metropolitana MR 165). Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, 2013, p. 47.

My last example points to an even more specific exchange between the Czech and Hungarian lands. Prague and Olomouc celebrated the major water blessing on the Eve of Epiphany.¹⁹ Although this may seem natural in the light of modern Roman practice, it was not at all self-evident in the Middle Ages.²⁰ In Salzburg, Aquileia, and Brixen, the water blessing occurred on Saint Stephen's Day; in Strasbourg on Saint Peter's Chains; in Minden on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; in Cahors and Rodez on Whit Sunday; and in Augsburg on the 2nd Sunday after Pentecost.²¹ Unlike the minor blessing on Sundays, the major blessing had nothing to do with baptism or its commemoration.²² It was a large-scale sacramental, primarily for agrarian purposes.²³ The exorcised water served apotropaic purposes in the fields, the houses, and the stables. Besides sprinkling, both humans and animals could enjoy its benefits by drinking it. This aspect was emphasised by the fact that, in Prague and Olomouc, the antiphon *Fontes aquarum* was sung at the end of the ceremony, including the words 'haurite aquas de fonte Salvatoris' ('Draw ye waters out of the Saviour's fountains'). The passage quotes from the canticle of Isaias (Is 12:3), recited weekly in the Monday lauds, but the antiphon comes directly from the 1st

¹⁹ Beyond Prague: *Agenda Olomucensis* 1486, unnumbered, digital 67–82 and 1498, 60–75. (Olomouc); *Pontificale Alberti de Sternberg*, 1r–6r (Litomyšl); Budapest : Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 252, 3r–11r (Třeboň).

²⁰ The model of the great water blessing on the Eve of Epiphany as found in modern editions of the *Rituale Romanum* probably came from Venice, not independent of Byzantine inspiration: *Liber sacerdotalis* 1523, 205r–212v; *Sacerdotale Romanum* 1554, 189r–196v (*quae licet in Romana Curia non fiat, in multis tamen ecclesiis sollemniter celebratur*). It is missing from all the pre-Tridentine Roman Rituals and still from the editio princeps of 1614: SODI, Manlio – ARCAS, Juan Javier Flores: *Rituale Romanum. Editio princeps (1614)*. Facsimile. (= Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini 5.) Città del Vaticano : Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2004.

²¹ *Agenda Salisburgensis* 1511, 3r (*quae ex antiquo consueta est fieri in die sancti Stephani natalis*); *Agenda Aquileiensis* 1495, 52r (*in festo sancti Stephani*); *Obsequiale Brixinense* 1493, 38v (*in nativitate sancti Stephani protomartyris*); *Agenda Argentinensis* 1489, 148r (*in festo sancti Petri ad Vincula*); *Agenda Mindensis* 1522, 79r (*In Inventionem Sanctae Crucis*); *Manuale Cadurcense* 1593, 331 (*in die sancto Pentecostes*); *Manuale Ruthenense* 1513, 3v (*in die sancto Pentecostes*); *Obsequiale Augustense* 1487, 41v (*habetur dominica prima post octavas Pentecostes*).

²² On the minor water blessing's connection with Baptism, Sundays, and parochial liturgy: BARTH, Médard: Zur Geschichte der Sonntagsprozession nach sonntäglicher Wasserweihe im Elsass. In: *Archives de l'Eglise d'Alsace* 6, 1955, pp. 251–254; PERKOW, Ursula: *Wasserweihe, Taufe und Patenschaft bei den Nordgermanen*. Hamburg : Heidelberger Reprographie, A. Grosch, 1972. In general: MARTÈNE, Edmond: *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri*. Reprografischer Nachdruck der 2. erweiterten Ausgabe Antwerpen 1736. 4 vols. Hildesheim : Olms, 1969; FRANZ, Adolph: *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*. Nachdruck der Ausgabe Freiburg, 1909. 2 vols. Bonn : Nova & Vetera, 2006.

²³ E.g. FRANZ, Adolph: *Das Rituale von St Florian aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert*. Freiburg in Breisgau : Herder, 1904, 140 (*pro infirmitate animalium*); HÜRLIMANN, Gebhard: *Das Rheinauer Rituale* (Zürich Rh 114, Anfang 12. Jh.). (= Spicilegium Friburgense 5.) Freiburg : Universitätsverlag, 1959, p. 132 (*pro peste animalium*); Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 395, 23r (*pro peste animalium*); Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Cod. D 1, 180r; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6425, 224r (*ad pecora*); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 54, 121v and 59, 149r (*pro peste animalium*); *Agenda Argentinensis* 1489, 148r (*contra mortem subitanam hominum et pestem animalium*).

Vespers of the Octave of Epiphany.²⁴ It is curious that, despite the date, there is nothing in the previous rite that has any connection with Epiphany, save a Gospel pericope presenting the figure of Saint John the Baptist.²⁵

Again, the key to the assignment to Epiphany lies in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. Probably, its most flamboyant innovation was a blessing of water on the Eve of Epiphany according to the Greeks: a ritual with the translation of a famous, ancient Byzantine prayer at its heart, surrounded with original Latin elements that evoked an eastern atmosphere.²⁶ One of them was the final *Fontes aquarum*. As its Magnificat antiphon and first proper chant, it hallmarked the office of the Octave of Epiphany, which was famous for being a Greek loan in the West. According to Notker Balbulus, the office was translated from Greek at the behest of Charlemagne, who was charmed by the singing of Greek envoys at his court.²⁷ Indeed, the 7th-mode melody type of the series *Veterem hominem* is unparalleled in the Gregorian tradition and may be the earliest musically decipherable document of Eastern plainchant. The 8th-mode *Fontes aquarum* does not belong to the melody group, but relies on Greek textual models and stands as a prelude before the emblematic series of antiphons.²⁸

²⁴ Its overall position is unstable, see HESBERT, René-Jean: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*. 6 vols. (= *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*. Series Maior. Fontes 7–12.) Roma : Herder, 1963, pp. 69–70; DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka: *Antiphonen*. 3 vols. (= *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* 5.) Kassel : Bärenreiter, 1999, III, pp. 1242–1243, No. 8418. In Esztergom and Prague, it distinguishes the 1st Vespers of the Octave of Epiphany: DOBSZAY, László – KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*. Esztergom/Strigonium 5/A (*Temporale*). Budapest : Zenetudományi Intézet, 2004; CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*. Praha 3/A (*Temporale*). Budapest : Zenetudományi Intézet, 1996, No. 14640. In digital format: Kiss and Czagány, ‘Hungarian Chant Database’. In the context of the major blessing of waters: *Pontificale Chartvirgi*, 28v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 92, 228r (Spiš); Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 12, 68r; *Agenda Thobiae*, 32; Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 9, 12v; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496, 8r and 1520, 76r.

²⁵ *Vidit Ioannes Iesum ad se venientem* (J 1:29–34) was to become the default Gospel of the Epiphany Octave in the Roman Rite, already prominent on the following weekdays in early sources without an explicit octave: KLAUSER, Theodor: *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum. Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*. (= *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen* 28.) Münster in Westfalen : Aschendorff, 1935, p. 191.

²⁶ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: A Latin Blessing of Waters on the Eve of Epiphany According to the Greek Tradition. In: *Archiv Für Liturgiewissenschaft* 60, 2018, pp. 180–207. For the only other Latin translation known so far: PUNIET, Pierre de: Formulaire grec de l'Épiphanie dans une traduction latine ancienne. In: *Revue Bénédictine* 29, 1912, pp. 29–46. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.04713>>.

²⁷ HAEFELE, Hans F: *Notker der Stammler: Taten Kaiser Karls des Großen (Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris)*. (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum*. Nova series 12.) Berlin : Weidmann, 1959, p. 58 (II. 7.).

²⁸ On the Greek models in general: DENYSENKO, Nicholas E: *The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany: The Eastern Liturgical Tradition*. Liturgy, Worship, and Society. London; New York : Routledge, 2016. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315614014>>. In particular: TREMPÉLAS, Panagiōtēs N.: *Μικρόν Ευχολόγιον Β' . Ακολουθία και τάξεις αγιασμού υδάτων, εγκαίνιων, όρθρου και εσπερινού κατά τους εν Αθήναις ιδία κώδικας*. Athenai, 1955, pp. 18–43; VELKOVSKA, Elena: *Nuovi paralleli greci dell'Eucologio slavo del Sinai*. Filologia slava. Roma : Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', 1996, pp. 38–40.

The major blessing of water had several forms. The rite was popular in Germany, and its many local versions differ from the more concise variants of Prague and Esztergom. These, however, are related to one another. Here again, either Esztergom could conform to a pattern provided by Prague or Prague to Esztergom, especially as the latter's patron saint, Vojtěch (Adalbert), arrived from Prague in the age when both the Esztergom archbishopric and the Hungarian kingdom were founded.²⁹

Table 2. Comparison of the major blessings in Esztergom and Prague

Esztergom (Chartvirgus)	Prague (Tobias)
	Deus in adiutorium (3×)
	Ps. Domine quid multiplicati
	Ps. Dominus regit me
	Ps. Afferte Domino
	Ps. Miserere mei Deus miserere mei
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis	Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis
Lc. Dixerunt viri civitatis	Lc. Dixerunt viri civitatis
Ev. Vidit Ioannes Iesum ad se venientem	Ev. Vidit Ioannes Iesum ad se venientem
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura aquae	Ex. Exorcizo te creatura aquae
Or. Praesta Domine tuum salutare remedium	Or. Deus qui ad salutem humani generis
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis	Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis
	Or. Benedic omnipotens Deus hanc
	Haec commixtio
	Or. Deus cui super Cherubim
	Or. Sancte Domine creator omnium
VD Domine Deus caeli et terrae	VD Domine Deus caeli et terrae
Sanctus	[Sanctus]
	Or. Praesta Domine tuum salutare remedium
	Or. Aeterne Deus omnipotens
	Or. Domine sancte Pater omnipotens
	Or. Deus invisibilis et inaestimabilis
	Or. Deus invictae virtutis auctor
	Or. Domine sancte Pater omnipotens
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura aquae	
Or. Deus qui ad salutem humani generis	
	Benedictio Dei Patris
Or. Inclina Domine aurem tuam	
Ant. Fontes aquarum	Ant. Fontes aquarum
	W. Domine apud te
	Or. Praesta nobis Domine per hanc

Yet, structural considerations suggest the opposite. The early agendas and pontificals of Prague start with the major blessing of water on the Eve of Epiphany. In the late

²⁹ On Saint Adalbert/Vojtech: HEGEDŰS, András – BÁRDOS, István: *Ezer év Szent Adalbert oltalma alatt.* (= Strigonium antiquum 4.) Esztergom : Primási Levéltár, 2000.

rituals, called *Obsequialia*, it still opens the section of the annual cycle, preceded only by the life cycle rites. In Prague, neither the date nor the closing antiphon is justified thematically, while in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*, the whole rite of the major blessing of water is inserted into the equivalent blessing according to the Greeks. After the Byzantine call for the bowing of heads, the script is temporarily interrupted with the title *De eodem*, meaning that another version of the same rite will ensue.³⁰ Then follows the typical Latin form of the major blessing without reference to Epiphany, as in Prague. Lastly, the Greek rite continues with the Byzantine prayer of inclination and ends with the often-cited *Fontes aquarum* antiphon.

The Greek blessing must have been abandoned at an early date in Esztergom, as it is not documented elsewhere than in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. Possibly, it was too extravagant for later generations of a more conformist disposition. Nor did it survive in Prague, yet it seems that the Czech scribes who discarded it when adopting the major blessing from an archaic book of Esztergom were not aware of the shift back to the Greek formulary at the end of the rite. Recognising this shift indeed requires careful analysis, as it passed graphically unnoticed in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. The closing antiphon thus remained in Bohemia as the vestige of an imperfectly trimmed prototype for centuries after the total obliteration of both the Greek and the major Latin water blessing in Hungary.

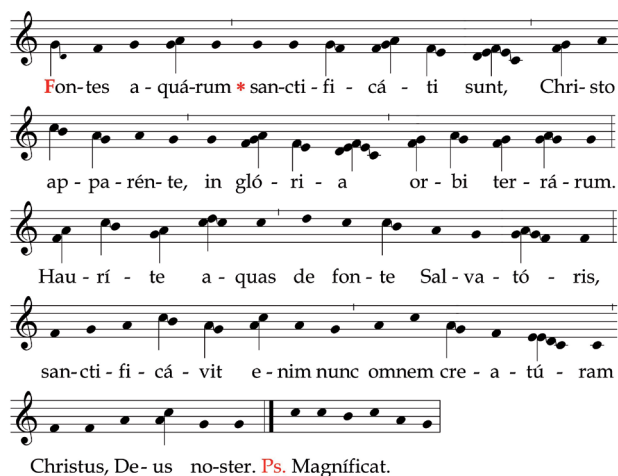


Figure 3. The Magnificat Antiphon on the Eve of the Octave of Epiphany in the edition of the notated *Esztergom Breviary*³¹

³⁰ FÖLDVÁRY, Ref. 26, pp. 182-183.

³¹ NÉNYEI, Sára – CSONKA, Szabina Babett – SZOLIVA, Gábor: *Breviarium Strigoniense. Proprium de Tempore post Epiphaniam (editio ad experimentum)*. Miklós István Földváry (Ed.). (= Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica, Series Practica 4c.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Latin Tanszék, 2017, p. 56.

Conclusion

Arguing for the chronological primacy of the liturgy of Esztergom over Prague may arouse the suspicion of national bias. This, however, was far from being an incentive for this survey. My observations emerged spontaneously in the last fifteen years when studying the earliest service books of medieval Hungary and comparing them to the pan-European context. The list of coincidences between mature Prague and archaic Esztergom could continue with orations, but these would probably be of less interest to an audience of musicologists.³² My study highlights the changing attitudes of liturgical creativity, rather than the priority of one bishopric over another.

No one can deny that in the High Middle Ages, Prague possessed the most splendid liturgy in Central Europe. Not only did it have a musical notation with an astonishing level of book culture, but the Use of Prague was also an ostentatious parade of voluminous and carefully orchestrated rituals.³³ In addition to the bounty of liturgical poetry and music, this eminence is most evident in the extraordinary ceremonies of the annual cycle. Such wealth, however, did not arise in a vacuum. It was a synthesis of the collection, supplementation, and reordering of a wide range of liturgies from across Europe. Prague witnessed a last bloom of the attitude that has recently been called liturgical spoliation.³⁴

³² E.g. the two orations after first communion on Holy Saturday (*Omnipotens ... qui regenerasti; Omnipotens ... maiestatem tuam*): *Pontificale Chartvirgi*, 94v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 94, 126v; *Agenda Thobiae*, 190. They occur in some Gelasian Sacramentaries: DESHUSSES, Jean – DARRAGON, Benoit: *Concordances et tableaux pour l'étude des grands sacramentaires*. (= Spicilegium Friburgense. Subsidia 9–14.) Fribourg Suisse : Éditions Universitaires, 1982, No. 2446; MOHLBERG, Leo Cunibert: *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli*. (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56.) (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*). (= Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior. Fontes 4.) Roma : Herder, 1960, No. 2385, but are not registered by MOELLER, Edmond Eugène – CLÉMENT, Jean-Marie – WALLANT, Bertrand Coppieters't: *Corpus orationum*. (= Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 160 A–M.) Turnhout : Brepols, 1993. Another parallel is the blessing of fishes on Maundy Thursday, later transposed to Easter: *Pontificale Chartvirgi*, 71v; Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 12, 175v; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496, 66v and 1520, 137v.

³³ On the liturgical book production in the age of Dean Vitus (died in 1271) and the bloom under Archbishop Arnestus in the 14th century: NEJEDLÝ, Zdeněk: *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu v Čechách*. Praha : Královské české společnosti nauk, 1904, pp. 18–35; BERAN, Josef: *Mešní liturgie. Secundum rubricam ecclesiae Pragensis ve st. XV. a XVI. Příspěvek k vývoji liturgického práva partikulárního v Čechách*. Praha, 1931; EBEN, David: Die Bedeutung des Arnestus von Pardubitz in der Entwicklung des Prager Offiziums. In: *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*. László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp, and Ferenc Sebő (Eds.). Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1992, pp. 571–577; EBEN, David – RANKIN, Susan: Using the Past as Model: Musical Scripts in Books of the Prague Diocese. In: *Sounding the Past: Music as History and Memory*. Karl Kügle (Ed.). (= Épitome Musical.) Turnhout : Brepols, 2020, pp. 75–100. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.122005>>; KUBÍNOVÁ, Kateřina: Biskupové a kapituly jako objednatelé uměleckých děl. In: *Obrazy v době Přemyslovců. Kontexty a forma*. Jan Klípa (Ed.). Praha : Academia (forthcoming). See also the thematic issue of *Miscellanea Musicologica* 37 (2003) with the publications of Zsuzsa Czágány, Jana Vozková, Hana Vlhová-Wörner, and Jiří Žůrek.

³⁴ PARKES, Henry: Henry II, Liturgical Patronage and the Birth of the 'Romano-German Pontifical'. In: *Early Medieval Europe* 28, 2020, pp. 104–141. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12389>>, pp. 128–129.

Remarkably, the earliest evidence for this comes from the 13th century, which means it was more of a preparation than a following of Prague's emergence as an archepiscopal see and imperial capital in the age of Archbishop Arnestus and Emperor Charles.

About 300 years before, a small but dedicated group of prelates were working on the liturgy of another nascent archdiocese, Esztergom. The surviving monuments of this process are two Pontificals,³⁵ one of which contains the peculiarities of the annual cycle. It contains the foundation of the mature Use of Esztergom, and at times bears witness to an almost overflowing creativity, whose output was often restrained by later trends towards consolidation.³⁶ Esztergom experienced another late blooming, that of liturgy-making in an Ottonian style.

The basic difference between it and the high medieval approach of Prague consisted in the fact that archaic Esztergom was more concerned with structures, and mature Prague with texts and melodies. Esztergom, however, served as a pool of raw material for Prague. Creative rearrangement in Hungary occasionally needed supplements such as the *Qui sine peccato* refrain strophe or the *Fontes aquarum* antiphon. There, the emphasis lay on function. Later in Bohemia, however, such by-products were perfectly suited to enrich a spoliative liturgy, where the emphasis lay on accumulating an insurmountable amount of repertory.

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³⁵ The other codex is: Zagreb, Knjižnica Metropolitana, MR 89, see FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Az Esztergomi benedikcionále. Irodalom és liturgia az államalapítás-kori Magyarországon*. (= Műhelytanulmányok 1.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ, Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2014. Its newly discovered relatives: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. lit. 60; Kraków, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, Ms. 23.

³⁶ To the concept of consolidation: SZOLIVA, Gábor: *Hymnule ecclesiae Zagrabiensis (Metropolitanska knjižnica Zagrebačke nadbiskupije, MR 21). Hagymánytisztelőt és egyéni alakítás a zágrábi székesegyház 15. század eleji himnáriumban*. (= Resonemus pariter 2.) Budapest : Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Zenetudományi Intézet, Régi Zenetörténeti Osztály, 2019, p. 64.

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Summary

FROM CHARTVIRGUS TO TOBIAS. ARCHAIC HUNGARIAN TRACES IN THE LITURGY OF PRAGUE

In this study, I highlighted three musical pieces of Gregorian plainchant that reveal an exclusive interrelatedness of Bohemian and Hungarian sources. The first was the unusual selection of stanzas for the *Inventor rutili* hymn, sung in an abbreviated form on Holy Saturday during the distribution of the newly blessed fire. The original poem's theologically contestable 32nd strophe, *Sunt et spiritibus*, features only in Prague and Esztergom. Second, I showcased the hymn *Quod chorus vatium* with the distich refrain strophe *Qui sine peccato*, chanted at the end of the Candlemas procession, exclusive in this context to the mature uses of Prague and Olomouc, but equally appearing in the earliest source of Esztergom. Third, I drew attention to the antiphon *Fontes aquarum*, a well-known chant of First Vespers on the Octave of Epiphany, which, however, also closed the major water blessing on the Eve of Epiphany in Prague and was unique in this capacity by the end of the Middle Ages. Still, again, it had been present in the earliest manuscript recording the water blessing in Esztergom.

By examining the histories and contexts of these three musical items and their liturgical assignments, I concluded that, while in the first case, it was the late medieval practice of Prague that influenced Esztergom, parallel to the intense political and cultural exchange between Bohemia and Hungary in Hungary's Angevin period, in the second and third cases we encounter vestiges of an archaic liturgy of Esztergom that had died out on their native soil and survived only in Prague. This statement rests partly on chronological and partly on functional insights. The earliest extant witness of the *Sunt et spiritibus* stanza comes from 12th-century Bohemia, yet it only appears in Hungarian

sources from the 14th century and remains restricted to Esztergom. The combination of *Qui sine peccato* and *Quod chorus vatum* in the Candlemas procession and the *Fontes aquarum* in the major blessing of water, however, appear first in the 11th-century Chartvirgus Pontifical, the most significant source of the archaic Esztergom liturgy, and in Prague only in the late 13th-century Agenda of Tobias.

Beyond chronological considerations, only the original context in Esztergom explains why these pieces have been chosen. In the Chartvirgus Pontifical, the order of the Candlemas procession precisely paralleled that of Palm Sunday. Both ended with a metric hymn, divided by a distich refrain, when the clergy entered the choir before mass. *Qui sine peccato* played the same role on Candlemas as *Gloria laus* on Palm Sunday. In the same source, the major blessing of water was wedged into a purportedly Greek blessing of water on the Eve of Epiphany, ending with *Fontes aquarum*. While both the timing and the Greek connotations justify the antiphon's presence in the Chartvirgus Pontifical, they make less sense in Prague, where the water blessing has no other thematic connection with Epiphany and, however surprising it may be, the rite's appointment to Epiphany proves also exceptional in a pan-European comparison.

The first complete Bohemian service book that contains these parallels is the Agenda of Tobias from 1294, suggesting a terminus ante quem for a project of liturgical improvement in Prague, probably overlapping with the manuscript production campaign associated with Dean Vitus, who died in 1271. The masterminds of this project may have also known and utilised contemporary Esztergom sources, which, albeit untraceable in the ill-documented 13th century, did yet survive in the foremost document of the nascent Hungarian liturgy, the late 11th-century Chartvirgus Pontifical.

This liturgical transfer reveals more than the mere connection between two medieval bishoprics in Central Europe. Its key is the identification of formative periods and the understanding of their shifting emphases. Esztergom was the most open to liturgical innovation in the early 11th century. A new church organisation had to be equipped with a distinctive use that expressed its identity. The toolkit of this endeavour relied on models derived from an Ottonian tendency to elaborate rites, such as the Mass ordinary, the processions of the annual cycle, and those of ecclesiastical discipline. It manifested mainly in an interest in developing new structures.

Prague's formative period coincided with the city's rise and transformation into one of Europe's most prominent political and cultural hubs. At that time, the strategy of liturgy-makers was to accumulate an array of lesser-known texts and chants, demonstrating the richness and broad orientation of the emerging cathedral. Adopting the cultural goods of another centre was not considered a gesture of subordination in the Middle Ages. On the contrary, it resembled the attitude of a coloniser or a victorious warlord, parading with spoils appropriated from his subjects. Spoliation has recently been introduced into the vocabulary of liturgical history to describe a similar policy. In this sense, we can truly term Prague's evolving liturgy in the late 13th century spoliative and point to the archaic use of Esztergom as one of its tributaries.

Resumé

OD HARTVIKA K TOBIÁŠOVI. STOPY STAROBYLÉHO UHORSKÉHO RÍTU V PRAŽSKEJ LITURGII

Vo svojej štúdii som upriamil pozornosť na tri hudobné vsuvky gregoriánskeho chorálu, ktoré odhaľujú mimoriadny vzťah medzi českými a uhorskými prameňmi. Prvou je neobvyklý výber strof z hymnu *Inventor rutili*, ktorý sa spieva v skrátenej forme iba na Veľkonočnú sobotu počas rozdávania práve posväteného ohňa. Teologicky sporná 32. strofa pôvodnej básne, *Sunt et spiritibus*, sa objavuje jedine v Prahe a Ostrihome. V druhom prípade som poukázal na hymnus *Quod chorus vatum* s dvojveršovým refrénom *Qui sine peccato*, ktorý sa spieva na záver hromničnej procesie, pričom v tomto kontexte sa

používa jedine v liturgii Prahy a Olomouca vo vrcholnom stredoveku, avšak rovnako ho môžeme nájsť v najstaršom prameni z Ostrihomu. V treťom bode upozorňujem na antifónu *Fontes aquarum*, známy chorál z prvých večer na oktávu sviatku Zjavenia Pána, ktorý však zároveň uzatvára požehnanie vody v predvečer Zjavenia Pána v Prahe a v tejto funkcii bol na konci stredoveku jedinečný. Opäť ho však nachádzame aj v ranom rukopisnom zázname požehnania vody v Ostrihome.

Výskum dejín a kontextov týchto troch hudobných jednotiek a ich liturgických funkcií ukázal, že kým v prvom prípade práve neskorostredoveká pražská prax ovplyvnila liturgiu v Ostrihome, paralelne s intenzívnou politickou a kultúrnou výmenou medzi Čechami a stredovekým Uhorskom anjouovského obdobia, tak v druhom a treťom prípade máme dočinenia so zvyškami archaickej ostrihomskej liturgie, ktorá na svojej rodnej pôde zanikla, avšak prežila práve v Prahe. Toto tvrdenie je založené čiastočne na chronologických a čiastočne na funkčných argumentoch. Najstaršie zachované svedectvo prítomnosti *Sunt et spiritibus* pochádza z Čiech z 12. storočia, avšak v uhorských prameňoch sa objavuje až od 14. storočia a obmedzuje sa na Ostrihom. Kombinácia *Qui sine peccato* a *Quod chorus vatum* v hromničnej procesii a *Fontes aquarum* v požehnaní vody sa však objavujú už v najvýznamnejšom prameni archaickej ostrihomskej liturgie – Hartvikovom pontifikáli z 11. storočia. V Prahe sa vyskytuje až v Tobiašovej agende z konca 13. storočia.

Prečo boli vybraté práve tieto úryvky vysvetľuje jedine pôvodný ostrihomský kontext. V Hartvikovom pontifikáli je poradie hromničnej procesie paralelné s procesiou na Kvetnú nedeľu. Obe sa končia metrickým hymnom, ktorý je rozdelený dvojveršovým refrénom, keď duchovenstvo pred omšou vchádza na chór. Spev *Qui sine peccato* zohráva tú istú úlohu v hromničnej omši ako *Gloria laus* na Kvetnú nedeľu. V tom istom prameni bolo svätenie vody vklinené do údajne gréckeho požehnania vody v predvečer Zjavenia Pána, ktoré sa končí s *Fontes aquarum*. Kým časový parameter ako aj grécke konotácie opodstatňujú prítomnosť antifóny v Hartvikovom pontifikáli, ich prítomnosť je menej zmysluplná v Prahe, kde svätenie vody nemá žiadne iné tematické spojenie so Zjavením Pána a, prekvapujúco, umiestnenie ceremoniálu do liturgie sviatku Zjavenia Pána je výnimočné aj v celoeurópskom kontexte.

Prvá kompletná česká bohoslužobná kniha, ktorá obsahuje tieto paralely, je Tobiašova agenda z roku 1294. Dostávame tak termín *ante quem* súvisiaci s projektom liturgického pokroku v Prahe, zrejme sa prekrývajúci s výrobou tohto rukopisu, spájaného s dekanom Vítom, ktorý umrel roku 1271. Vedúci predstavitelia tohto projektu zrejme poznali a využili aj súdobé ostrihomské pramene, ktoré sú síce v chabo dokumentovanom 13. storočí nevystopovateľné, avšak prežili v poprednom dokumente rodiacej sa maďarskej liturgie, v Hartvikovom pontifikáli z konca 11. storočia.

Tento liturgický prenos odhaľuje viac než iba spojenie medzi dvomi stredovekými biskupstvami v Strednej Európe. Jeho kľúčom je identifikácia formatívnych období a pochopenie ich meniacich sa dôrazov. V ranom 11. storočí bol Ostrihom najotvorenejší voči liturgickej inovácii. Nová cirkevná organizácia mala mať výraznú liturgiu vyjadrujúcu vlastnú identitu. Nástroje tohto úsilia sa opierali o modely odvodené z ottonskej tendencie prepracovať ceremónie ako omšové ordinárium, procesie ročného cyklu a prislúchajúce cirkevné reguly. Prejavovali sa najmä v záujme vyvíjať nové štruktúry.

Pražské formatívne obdobie koincidovalo so vzostupom a transformáciou mesta na jedno z najpoprednejších politických a kultúrnych centier Európy. V tom čase bolo stratégiou zhotoviteľov liturgie nazhromaždiť celý rad menej známych textov a spevov, ktoré by demonštrovali bohatstvo a široký rozhľad rodiacej sa katedrály. Prax prijatia kultúrnych výdobytkov iného centra sa v stredoveku nepovažovala za gesto podriadenia sa, naopak, skôr pripomínala prístup kolonizátora alebo víťazného vojvodu, ktorý sa promenáduje s korisťou zhabanou porazeným. Nedávno sa dostalo do slovníka liturgických dejín slovo, ktoré opisuje podobnú prax – „drancovanie“. V tomto zmysle môžeme pomenovať pražskú vyvíjajúcu sa liturgiu konca 13. storočia za drancujúcu a poukázať na archaickú ostrihomskú liturgiu ako na jedného z jej prispievateľov.