

**TREASURES UNCOVERED IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE
AND THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER OF ZAGREB. RECONSTRUCTING THE
SANCTORALE OF ESZTERGOM CATHEDRAL'S 13TH-CENTURY
NOTATED BREVIARY***

GÁBRIEL SZOLIVA, OFM

*Research Centre for Humanities,
Institute for Musicology
Táncsics Mihály utca 7.
H-1014 BUDAPEST*

UDK / UDC: 783.2"12" (497.5 Zagreb)

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Abstract

A 13th-century notated breviary of Esztergom (Strigonium, Ostrogon) has recently been discovered in the Metropolitan Library of the Archbishopric of Zagreb. The codex was found in 258 fragments which had been glued to the covers of 129 books printed between the 15th and 17th centuries. The fragmented manuscript is the missing second volume (i.e. *sanctorale*) of the *Breviarium notatum Strigioniense* (BNS), now kept in the Strahov Library of the Premonstratensians in Prague (Strahovská kni-

hovna) under the shelf mark DE I 7. The paper reports the details of the reconstruction.

Keywords: medieval fragmentology; musical fragmentology; 13th century; divine office; breviary; medieval musical notation; Esztergom; Strigonium; Zagreb

Ključne riječi: srednjovjekovna fragmentologija; glazbena fragmentologija; 13. stoljeće; božanski oficij; brevijar; srednjovjekovna glazbena notacija; Ostrogon; Strigonium; Zagreb

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In this study I intend to make the reader familiar with details of the identification and reconstruction of a codex of exceptional significance from the perspective of the music and text history of medieval Hungary. The story begins in January of 2019 when I conducted research in the valuable book collection of the Metropolitan Library of Zagreb (Metropolitanska knjižnica Zagrebačke nadbiskupije).¹ As I was working on the music-historical and codicological analysis of a 15th-century notated hymnal of Zagreb cathedral (kept under the shelf mark MR 21), more precisely, on a facsimile edition of that source soon to be published,² I requested permission to study the manuscript fragments of the library more comprehensively.³ Since the hymnal has large lacunae, I was hoping that among the fragments I might be able to find some notated folios from earlier Zagreb hymnals. By having them to hand, I could attempt to complement the planned facsimile edition. There was also a slight chance of finding some fragments of the hymnal MR 21 itself which could shed light on the content of the missing parts. Given that the 15–17th-century early printings of the library – 3564 volumes in all – had mostly been bound in parchment folios cut out of old manuscripts, the effort was not without some promise of success. I carried out the analysis of the found fragments between the 7th and 11th of January, 2019. The material thus recovered far exceeded my expectations, even though I was not able to find any fragments of the particular Zagreb hymnal I had set out to analyse.

In the process of studying the covers of incunabula and early printings, I managed to identify coherent fragmentary material on the covers of 126 volumes. Based on its musical notation, the original manuscript must have been a breviary from medieval Esztergom (Strigonium, Ostrogon) or its immediate sphere of ecclesiastical influence.⁴ The volume contained the Sanctoral part of the Divine Office. Much to my surprise, it became clear from the style of its letters and its neumes that the old codex is indeed very closely linked to the medieval liturgy of Eszter-

¹ Today the collection is located at the Hrvatski državni arhiv in Zagreb; the proprietor is the Archdiocese of Zagreb. On the history and the holdings of the library, see: Vladimir MAGIĆ – Milan PELC – Mirna ABAFFY: *Cimelia Metropolitana: The History and Treasures of the Zagreb Archdiocese Library*, Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Prvostolni kaptol zagrebački, 2016.

² In the meantime the hymnal was published: Gábor SZOLIVA, OFM (ed.): *Hymnuaie ecclesiae Zagradiensis: Hagymánytiszelet és egyéni alakítás a zágrábi székesegyház 15. század eleji himnáriumában. Traditionalism and Innovation in the Early 15th-Century Hymnal of Zagreb Cathedral. Tradicionalni i novi elementi u himnariju Zagrebačke katedrale s početka 15. stoljeća*, Resonemus pariter – Studies in Medieval Music History 2, Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, Department of Early Music, 2019.

³ During my research, I received invaluable assistance from two colleagues at the Metropolitan Library: Mirna Abaffy and Emilia Domazet to whom I am very much indebted.

⁴ On the medieval Esztergom notation, see: Janka SZENDREI: *Középkori hangjegyzések Magyarországon: A magyar notáció története. Német neumairások Magyarországon* [Medieval chant notations in Hungary: The history of the Hungarian notation. German neumatic notations in Hungary], Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténehez 4, Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1983.

gom Cathedral. Historians of medieval music in today's Hungary were long aware of a 13th-century notated breviary which contained the Temporal part of the office of Esztergom. It was in all likelihood produced in the central scriptorium of the archbishopric. The fragmentary manuscript from Zagreb could very well be the second volume of this *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense* (from here on: BNS), long thought to have been lost. The mentioned first volume is now kept in the library of the Praemonstratensian (Norbertine) Monastery of Prague, in the Strahovská knihovna collection, under the shelf mark DE I 7.⁵ Janka Szendrei published a facsimile edition of the first volume in 1998, and in its introductory essay she remarks with regret that the second volume, containing the Common and the Proper of saints, texts and melodies for the Offices of the Dedication of a church and for the Dead has been lost.⁶ I am happy to report that it has been found again.

The unexpected find recovered in Zagreb generated many questions. How many additional fragments of the codex can be found in old book bindings? Can the entire Sanctorale be restored? Is the entire volume located in Zagreb, and if so, how and when did it end up there? What sort of conclusions can be drawn from the recovery of the lost volume in terms of music and literary history? – In order to answer these questions, a thorough analysis of the entire material and the reconstruction of the original sequence of fragments were needed to be accomplished first, and these had to be preceded by the clarification of the historical background of both the book and the library where it is kept.

Characteristics of the »archiepiscopal binding« of Zagreb

According to the former director of the library, Vladimir Magić, the uniform binding of the incunabula, early printings and 17th-century books of the Metropolitanska knjižnica was done at the behest of Aleksandar Mikulić, Bishop of Zagreb

⁵ Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, Praha (Prague), DE I 7. The Temporale codex is available in its entirety: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-KKPS_DE_I_7_____05X6099-cs> (5 February 2021).

⁶ Janka SZENDREI (ed.): *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense* (s. XIII.), Musicalia Danubiana 17, Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1998, 38. As to the Sanctorale volume, see also: Janka SZENDREI: 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, 249, 252. After the recovery of the fragments in Zagreb (March of 2019) I had the possibility of taking a personal look at the volume in Prague, and I noticed a not unimportant note on the margins. Within Matins of the fourth Sunday after Epiphany the order of readings was subsequently altered. Crossing out the reference to the Gospel at the seventh reading (fol. 86v), the correct one is indicated on the margin: »Confiteor tibi Pater Domine [caeli]. Require in libro festivali, in festo Matthiae apostoli.« The Gospel reading and the concomitant homily was then to be found in the Sanctorale volume (!), at the feast of the Apostle St Mathias. Among the fragments found in Zagreb, at the feast of St Mathias (24 Feb), I could actually find the appointed homily (on the front panel of book MR 1029). The marginal note of the first volume directly proves that BNS originally had two volumes.

between 1688 and 1694. This work was most likely carried out by making use of parchment folios from old, obsolete manuscripts at hand.⁷ Croatian scholarly literature refers to the group of books thus bound with the expression: »archiepiscopal binding[s]«. ⁸ The spines and the corners of the covers uniformly received a brown leather binding. The medieval fragments were glued to the front and back covers. These covers follow a very simple pattern: the corners of the oblong parchment fragments overlaying the book covers were cut at a 45° angle at the bottom and at the top, and this side was fit to the corners of the cover reinforced with leather (Figure 1). Accordingly, once the book was placed on the shelf, it showed only its 17th-century leather-covered spine. Nothing can be seen of the medieval part of the binding. Narrow strips of paper were glued to the upper part of the spine, on which handwritten numbers indicate the sequence that these volumes once followed. In the modern storage system of the library these numbers are no longer relevant.

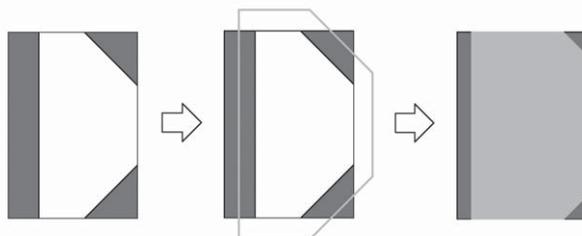


Figure 1. Different stages of making the »archiepiscopal binding«:

- 1. Assemblage of the binding, coating the spine and the corners of the front and back covers with leather.**
- 2. Cutting and pasting the medieval parchment fragment.**
- 3. Folding and pasting the turnins, insertion of the endsheets.**

In addition to the remnants of the Sanctorale of BNS, I also identified the extensive and coherent fragments of a 13th-century Curial pontifical and perhaps a 14th-century breviary of Kalocsa (Kaloča) or Zagreb, as well as further fragments of other breviaries and missals. In smaller quantities, I found fragments of other breviaries, missals, incunabula, and a few notated manuscripts of the Pauline Order. Apart from the liturgical material, mostly commentaries, legal texts and theological works can be detected on the fragments. Among the latter, mention must be made of the fragments from the gospel harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (*De concordia evangelistarum sive unum ex quattuor*), written with letters in the style of the 12th cen-

⁷ Vladimir MAGIĆ – Milan PELC – Mirna ABAFFY: *Cimelia Metropolitana*, 40-41.

⁸ Ibid., or Vladimir MAGIĆ: *Katalog knjiga XVI. st. u Metropolitanskoj knjižnici u Zagrebu*, Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2005; Šime JURIĆ: *Katalozi inkunabula crkvenih ustanova u Hrvatskoj. I. Zbirka inkunabula Metropolitanske knjižnice u Zagrebu*, *Croatia Christiana Periodica*, 8 (1984) 13, 154-215. The authors of the catalogues at each item refer to the »archiepiscopal binding« by the note »Metropolitanski uvez«, or »Uvez: metropolitanski«.

ture.⁹ The systematic exploration and identification of the fragmentary material and of the manuscripts used for book binding will be the task of future research. This research offers formidable possibilities for a scientific collaboration between Hungarian and Croatian scholars. In what follows, I will discuss some of the remnants of the Sanctoreale of BNS, and of some other fragments related to it.

General description of the fragments and restoration of their original sequence

The BNS, owing to its originally large-sized folios,¹⁰ proved to be an ideal material for book binding. The folio-sized half (2°) of an original bifolium was sufficient for the covers of even the largest prints of the library. For middle-sized books quarto- (4°), and octave-fragments (8°) of BNS were used, and there is a very small volume which is bound with a sedecimo-fragment (16°) (*Figure 2*).¹¹

Most of the fragments evince the work of one scribe's hand who was in charge of the Temporale part. Among the 126 carrier books there are only three where one cover contains the handwriting of the scribe of BNS, while the other bears witness to the work of another scribe.¹² All of these folio-fragments contain readings for Matins arranged in two columns per folio. Most likely they were part of a later addendum to the Sanctoreale of BNS.

The conclusions drawn by Janka Szendrei about the notators of the Temporale are entirely valid for the fragments of the Sanctoreale too.¹³ The larger portion of the musical notation in the Sanctoreale was actually written by the main notator of the first volume. His characteristic, expertly written neumes, drawn with a single stroke, reflect the practice of the central scriptorium of Esztergom. On the other part of the notated fragments in Zagreb, however, we can identify the hand of the

⁹ See M 24423, M 12542, M 2106, M 2118, M 2119, M 2120, M 6458, M 6472, M 22478.1-2 etc.

¹⁰ It is not easy to determine the original size of the folio. The Temporale was trimmed during its 19th-century rebinding (its present size is 43,5×30 cm), and it is hardly possible to reconstruct a complete folio using the fragments found in Zagreb. The size of the written space is 36–37×22–23 cm. Based on the fragments kept in Budapest, and introduced below, the outside edge of the folio was 6–6,4 cm, the inside edge (closer to the crease) was 3–3,5 cm from the written space. Accordingly, the original folio must have been around 32 cm in width, while close to 47–48 cm in height (supposing a wider bottom margin).

¹¹ Based on their size, the early printed books of the Metropolitanska knjižnica could be placed in four categories which were identified by the same marks of 2°, 4°, 8°, 16°. The catalogues also indicate this storage size. The storage size of a »BNS carrier book« and the relative size (in correlation with the original bifolio) of a fragment used for binding often coincide, but not always. For instance, a fragment containing the two columns of the codex must be marked as size 4°, since the binding – with more or less wastage – was made with a half folio. It may still occur that the carrier book – due to its smaller size – was placed on a shelf marked 8°.

¹² The fragments in question are to be found on the back panel of M 9439, the front panel of M 7942 and the back panel of MR 1021.

¹³ Janka SZENDREI: *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense* (s. XIII.), 10-13; Janka SZENDREI: *A »mos patriae« kialakulása*, 278-281.

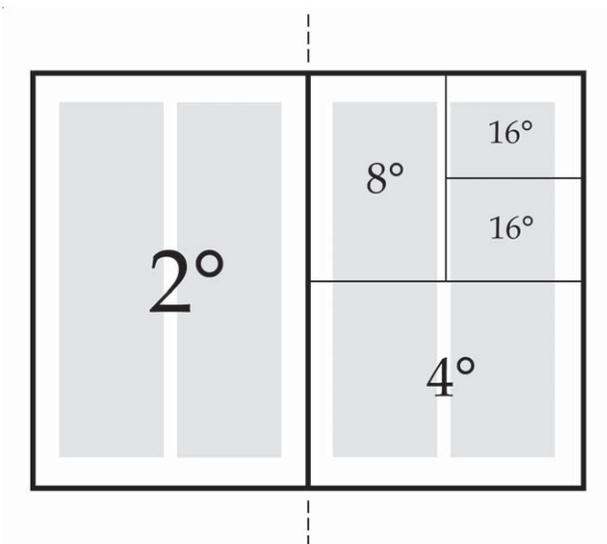


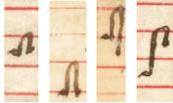
Figure 2. Relative measurements of the fragments cut off from an original bifolium of BNS

Temporale's secondary notator. This kind of notation can be seen in the first volume's folios containing the chants for Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christi.¹⁴ The style of the secondary notator – while for the most part structurally in line with the notation of Esztergom – is much less fluid, his neumes are less continuous, built of smaller elements, that is, not written with a single stroke of the pen. Among the Hungarian notated sources, this style of less fluid notation first appears in the first half of the 14th century.¹⁵ Nonetheless, the identical features in the writing of letters and neumes confirm without any doubt the closest possible relationship between the Temporale and the Sancturale: they are both the work of the same scribes and notators from the scriptorium of Esztergom (*Table 1*).

¹⁴ BNS I, fols. 208r-222v.

¹⁵ Janka SZENDREI: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated musical sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages], *Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez* 1, Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981, F 347, F 359, F 540.

Table 1. Basic and compound neumes of Esztergom notation written by BNS notators

	Main notator	Secondary notator
<i>punctum</i>		
<i>pes</i>		
<i>scandicus</i>		
<i>clivis</i>		
<i>climacus</i>		
<i>torculus</i>		
<i>porrectus</i>		
<i>liquescent neumes</i>		

<p>compound neumes (conjunctions and ligatures)</p>		
<p>custos</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">-</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">-</p>
<p>clefs</p>		

Much to my surprise, the characteristic neumes of the secondary notator also appear on two folio-fragments (2°) which can in no way be connected to the workshop at Esztergom, neither through their scribe nor their main notator. These two, along with other four fragments, form a separate group and contain details of the archaic office of Corpus Christi, the *historia Sapientia aedificavit*.¹⁶ By reason of the later entries of the secondary notator of BNS, these few folios may also once have belonged to the Sanctorable of BNS – they might even have bound them together at some point in the same volume.

¹⁶ The entries made by the secondary notator of BNS can be seen on the back panel of MR 1081 and on the front panel of M 10610. Two more fragments on the panels of MR 1127 can be added to the four fragments of the above-mentioned two volumes. On the *historia*, see: Andrew HUGHES: *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994, XCX0 [126-127]; Barbara R. WALTERS – Vincent CORRIGAN – Peter T. RICKETTS: *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006, 184-239.

The original sequence of the fragments of BNS in Zagreb is restored and indexed in the Summary table at the end of this paper. For the sake of brevity, the items of individual feasts are given in an abbreviated form and in a single line, but in due accord with the original sequence of the codex. In the first three columns I indicated the sequential number(s) of the fragments, the calendar date, and the name of the feast.¹⁷ Each of the fragments is referred to by the signature of the carrier books. The front covers are identified by adding »_a«, the back covers by adding »_b«. In the last column I identify the notator of the feast. The three folios that I suppose to have been added to the codex later are included at the end of the Summary table, in *Appendix I*, while the Corpus Christi fragments are to be found in *Appendix II*.

The reconstruction of the Sanctorale of BNS entailed a work process consisting of several steps. First – following the order in which I identified the fragments – I endeavoured to recognize the liturgical contents, to determine the feast days to which they belonged, and to assign the proper dates to the feasts according to the Esztergom calendar. By arranging the descriptions of the fragments systematically according to their calendar date, I managed to restore loosely the original sequence of the manuscript folios. Thus, the larger, closely related groups more or less found their place, and only their sequence within the individual feasts remained in question. There were also 15–20 fragments (with text only) whose positioning could not be safely determined. Even as a result of this preliminary arrangement of the fragmentary material, it became manifest that the notations of the main and secondary notators can be differentiated very easily according to the feasts of the calendar. From the beginning of the Sanctorale, from the feast of Pope St Sylvester (31 Dec) until the second nocturn of Matins on the feast of St Cecilia (22 Nov) we see the hand of the main notator, then the task was continued by the secondary notator, from the end of the second nocturn of St Cecilia until the feast of St Thomas the Apostle (21 Dec), as well as in the entirety of the Commune Sanctorum and in the Office for the Dedication.

The second step of the reconstruction was to compare the contents of each fragment (proceeding in liturgical order) with the Sanctorale of the *Breviarium Strigoniense* of 1484 printed at Nuremberg (from now on: BS 1484).¹⁸ This authoritative edition, typical in size to a *breviarium chori*, for the most part contains the same antiphons, responsories, orations and chapters of the BNS fragments. Most of the varieties are found in the readings of Matins. In comparison to the manuscript

¹⁷ For the entries I used the abbreviations applied during the CAO-ECE research. Cf. Andrea KOVÁCS: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae: V/B Esztergom/Strigonium (Sanctorale)*, Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2006.

¹⁸ *Breviarium Strigoniense* (Norimbergae [Nuremberg]: Georg Stuchs, 1484), MTA Könyvtár, Budapest, Kézirattár, Ráth F. 1042 (RMK III 9). For a short description of the breviary, see: <<https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/740272>> (5 February 2021).

source, these were usually shortened in the printed edition. The phenomenon of gradually shortening lessons, sermons and homilies in the course of the Middle Ages is well known.¹⁹ Consequently the disparities between BNS and BS 1484 could be considered a natural occurrence. At the same time, significant parallels prove that these two books are both witnesses to the same Esztergom office tradition coming from different periods.

The notated fragments and the fragments which preserved the sequential numbers of the readings (or whose details could be identified based on the material of BS 1484) could then with much greater certainty and safety be arranged in their proper order. A greater challenge was posed by those fragments whose place in the sequence could not be determined even by comparison to the later control source. It was exceedingly difficult, for instance, to identify and sequentially arrange the fragments belonging to the readings of the feast day (20 Aug) and the octave day (27 Aug) of St Stephen of Hungary. Based on the fragments, it seemed that BNS had once contained in its entirety the Legend of St Stephen, commissioned by King Coloman the Learned (1095–1116) and written by Bishop Hartvik.²⁰ BS 1484 however contains the same legend, but in a significantly abbreviated form.²¹ It could, thus, be of little help in this case. First, proceeding from the identifiable end of the octave day, I marked the textual fragments whose position could be determined with any certainty.²² The fragments, which were obviously contiguous based on the content as it was structured in the original legend,²³ I assigned to the same readings, and this way I could reconstruct with high probability the units of the original office arrangement. According to this, BNS began the octave day's first reading from the middle of Hartvik's Legend.²⁴ The correctness of the reconstruction is indirectly confirmed by later sources, since the archaic first

¹⁹ Cf. Eric PALAZZO: *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1998, 150, 158.

²⁰ Emericus SZENTPÉTERY (ed.): *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* [henceforth SRH], Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica, 1938, vol. 2, 401-440.

²¹ BS 1484, fols. 317v-318r. The folio numbers refer to the copy kept in Budapest, mentioned in footnote 18.

²² The beginning of the third reading (MR 1184_a) and the end of the sixth reading (M 11776_a) are the secure divisions for the readings of the octave. The end of MR 1106_b is very closely connected to the second reading of MR 1184_a. Likewise, MR 1184_b belongs to the beginning of MR 1106. Based on their content, the MR 1106_a and MR 1085_a follow each other, the former is the bottom part of a verso, the latter the upper part of a recto. These two fragments probably preserved parts of the octave's fourth and fifth reading. The second column of MR 1106_a most likely belongs to the latter, hence the textual division must have fallen on the folio's lost upper quarto-fragment (4^o).

²³ The editions used in determining the divisions of the readings are: János ÉRDY (transl.): *Szent István első magyar király életirata Hartvik regensburgi püspök szerint* [The life of St Stephen, the first king of Hungary according to Hartvik, the bishop of Regensburg], Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1854; SRH II, 401-440.

²⁴ SRH II, 422-424 (15-16).



Nos.	Shelf mark	Size	Date	Feast
142	M 7876_b	2°	0815	Ass. BMV in Oct.
143	M 6453.4_a	2°	0820	Stephanus r.
144	M 10629_a	2°	0820	Stephanus r.
145	M 10629_b	2°	0820	Stephanus r.
146	M 6453.4_b	2°	0820	Stephanus r.
147	M 7876_a	2°	0820	Stephanus r.
148	MR 1108_b	4°	0824	Bartholomaeus ap.
149	M 24846.1_b	2°	0824	Bartholomaeus ap.
150	MR 1085_b	4°	0824	Bartholomaeus ap.
151	M 11776_b	4°	0824	Bartholomaeus ap.
152	MR 1184_b	4°	0827	Oct. Stephani r.
153	MR 1106_b	4°	0827	Oct. Stephani r.
154	MR 1184_a	4°	0827	Oct. Stephani r.
155	MR 1106_a	4°	0827	Oct. Stephani r.
156	MR 1085_a	4°	0827	Oct. Stephani r.
157	M 11776_a	4°	0827	Oct. Stephani r.
158	M 24846.1_a	2°	0828	Augustinus cf.
159	MR 1108_a	4°	0828	Augustinus cf.

Table 2. Sequence of the carrier books on the feast and octave day of St Stephen of Hungary

reading in question contains in its entirety all of the six readings that BS 1484 assigns to the octave day. Therefore, the reference point for the subsequent gradual abbreviations is the first reading of BNS as it may be reassembled on the bases of its fragments. The readings of the octave day were then eventually reduced to this section. The last printed edition of the *Breviarium Strigoniense* published in 1558 features essentially the same arrangement for the octave day's readings as BS 1484.²⁵

In the arrangement of the readings for the principal feast day I followed the same methodology as in the case of the octave day. This was followed by an unexpected realisation: the carrier books of the fragments of the main feast and the octave

²⁵ In the breviary of Miklós Oláh (Nicolaus Olahus) the 6th reading suffered yet another, albeit insignificant abbreviation, cf. *Breviarium secundum usum almae et metropolitanae ecclesiae Strigoniensis etc.* [henceforth BS 1558] (Viennae: Raphael Hofhalter, 1558), fol. 624v-625v. For a short description of the breviary, see: <<https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/616970>>; for the digital version of the Sanctorale: <<http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10185965-0>> (5 February 2021).

day represent separate groups and, what is more, the fragments of the offices in question follow each other in the perfect sequential order of the calendar (*Table 2*).

Based on the identical signatures, I composed pairs from the fragments of the front and back covers of individual carrier books in the table. This resulted in a characteristic, intertwining scheme. This phenomenon is not accidental. Assuming that the binding of the 17th-century library material was accomplished within the framework of a coordinated, systematic procedure – and most likely this is exactly what happened – then the phenomenon is basically inevitable. The bookbinder cut off a quire from the binding of BNS, unfolded it and began to proceed with the innermost bifolio at hand. Once the binding was done, the front and the end panels contained contiguous or nearly uninterrupted liturgical material. If, due to the larger size of the book, he had to use folio material (2°), there is only one such »continuous« pair of covers (Nos. 144–145). If he had to use quarto-material (4°), there are two pairs (Nos. 152–154, 153–155). After disposing of the leftover bits and pieces, he continued his work with the innermost bifolio of the remaining quire. The liturgical material of this bifolio was no longer continuous but rather it »surrounded« the material of the former bifolio »in a symmetrical fashion«, and so forth. Obviously, the liturgical contents of the last bifolio in the quire »fell« the farthest away from each other in the calendar. Hence the scheme at the principal feast and octave day of St Stephen (shown in *Table 2*) has special significance, since it bears witness to the original structure of the medieval manuscript. It proves that the sequence of fragments supposed on the basis of content is correct.

Noticing these promising results, I extended this method to all of the fragments. I systematically linked the groups of fragments taken from the same carrier book, and as a result the complete sequence of quires revealed itself. Accordingly, it became apparent that the Sanctoreale of BNS must have originally consisted of 24 quires (*Table 3*). The bookbinder, when using the fist quire, was not yet completely systematic: here several independent, content-wise continuous bindings were produced from the quarto-fragments (4°). Beginning with the second quire, however, the fragments steadily follow the exact sequence of the quires. Given that quires 5, 8, 16, 19 and 24 were certainly quinternions, the whole manuscript must have contained mostly quires of such material, thus consisting of no more than $10 \times 24 = 240$ folios.²⁶

²⁶ In comparison: at present the Temporale volume has 328 folios, but originally it probably amounted to 340 folios. If we also include a calendar, it would mean another 12–16 folios. Cf. Janka SZENDREI: *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense* (s. XIII.), 9. Since the quire sequence of the Temporale is somewhat irregular, we may presume that the Sanctoreale also had different units of varying sizes. The quires of the Temporale are: [2IV?] + (IV-1)¹⁻⁷ + 3V⁸⁻³⁷ + IV³⁸⁻⁴⁵ + III⁴⁶⁻⁵¹ + V⁵²⁻⁶¹ + IV⁶²⁻⁶⁹ + 14V⁷⁰⁻²⁰⁸ + IV²⁰⁹⁻²¹⁶ + III²¹⁷⁻²²² + 6V²²³⁻²⁸² + (V-1)²⁸³⁻²⁹¹ + IV²⁹²⁻²⁹⁹ + (V-1)³⁰⁰⁻³⁰⁸ + 2V³⁰⁹⁻³²⁸.

Table 3. Quire-fragments according to the sequential numbers of the Summary table

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Quire</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Quire</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Quire</i>	<i>Nos.</i>
1	1–14	7	74–89	13	148–159	19	202–219
2	15–28	8	90–107	14	160–168	20	220–227
3	29–36	9	108–123	15	169–174	21	228–233
4	37–44	10	124–139	16	175–184	22	234–239
5	45–61	11	140–141	17	185–197	23	240–247
6	62–73	12	142–147	18	198–201	24	248–257

The structure of the quires outlined by the preliminary content-based reconstruction of the fragments proved to be very helpful in clarifying some further questions. It became a certainty that in the 17th century the entire Sanctorale codex was in Zagreb, and it was used for binding library books there. Furthermore, in the course of their comparison with the texts of BS 1484, most of the fragments found their place within the outlined order. Some mistaken previous identifications were also discovered, yet there remained 4–5 fragments that could be assigned to several feast days with equal probability. These are placed within the table only for the time being. Having connected the fragments of the same carrier book in the table, the ambiguous fragments in question remained without their counterpart in every single instance – most likely due to their mistaken assignment. After locating their counterpart according to the signatures, I attempted to find their place within their »symmetrical surroundings«. I succeeded in each case. Here is an example: The text on fragment M 7652_b preserved sections from the 13–14th chapters of Book II in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. These sections relate that the Gospel of St Mark was written on the basis of St Peter the Apostle's preaching. Given that the continuation of the text (now partly lost) treats of the Evangelist's merits and the details of his mission in Egypt, I assigned the fragment to the feast of St Mark (25 Apr). Since I was unable to find a parallel text in BS 1484, I had no other ground to stand on insofar as the content was concerned. The fragment remained without its counterpart in quire 6 after the pairing. Its counterpart signature (M 7652_a) is in quire 9, and it contains the liturgical material for the Commemoration of St Paul (30 Jun). Its symmetrical position within the quire falls on the octave day of Sts Peter and Paul (6 Jul) which may also be linked to the above-mentioned text of Eusebius. M 7652_b must have once belonged to this latter feast day. Consequently, it seems that as far as the liturgical authorities of Esztergom were concerned, the real emphasis of the story preserved by the fragment was not on St Mark writing his Gospel, but on the apostolic preaching of St Peter.

The efficiency of the control method I applied in trying to reconstruct the correct fragment-sequence is greatly dependent upon the procedure followed by the bookbinder. Fortunately for us, the bookbinder in Zagreb used the manuscript folios very methodically, thus contributing to the success of our reconstruction

attempt more than 300 years later. There are only a few exceptions where – apparently for »economical« reasons – the procedure was not strictly followed. For instance, the above-mentioned fragments of *Appendix 1* are necessarily unpaired within the quire.²⁷ In addition to these, both fragments of carrier book M 6053 can safely be identified, yet they are very far apart from each other in the liturgical calendar.²⁸

This method of reconstruction cannot be used absolutely, only in an iterative way, that is, the conclusions drawn both upon the content and the structure of the quires must be compared with each other again and again, until the final precision is securely reached. By the circumspect application of this method, however, preliminary suppositions can be verified, mistakes and uncertainties can be eliminated, which paves the way for an accurate reconstruction until now impossible. The importance of this process of iterative reconstruction is also confirmed by the fact that it may also be used rather effectively in the (digital) reassembly of other related fragments likewise preserved in the bindings of early printed books from the Metropolitan Library (Metropolitanska knjižnica).

The fragments of the Sanctorale of BNS in Budapest

Janka Szendrei remarks in the facsimile edition of the Temporale of BNS that there are four codex fragments in the University Library of Budapest, obtained from book bindings, which in all probability once belonged to the lost Sanctorale volume.²⁹ Her theory has now been proven entirely accurate, since all these four fragments can be reattached quite neatly to some of the Zagreb fragments. These fragments are as follows (in calendric order): St Agnes (21 Jan), the Conversion of St Paul (25 Jan), St Cecilia (22 Nov) and St Catherine of Alexandria (25 Nov).³⁰ (See *Figure 3.*)

According to László Mezey the fragments of the University Library were applied to the covers of the carrier books in Nagyszombat (now Trnava, Slovakia).³¹

²⁷ See in the quire 14: MR 1021_a, M 7942_b, M 9439_a.

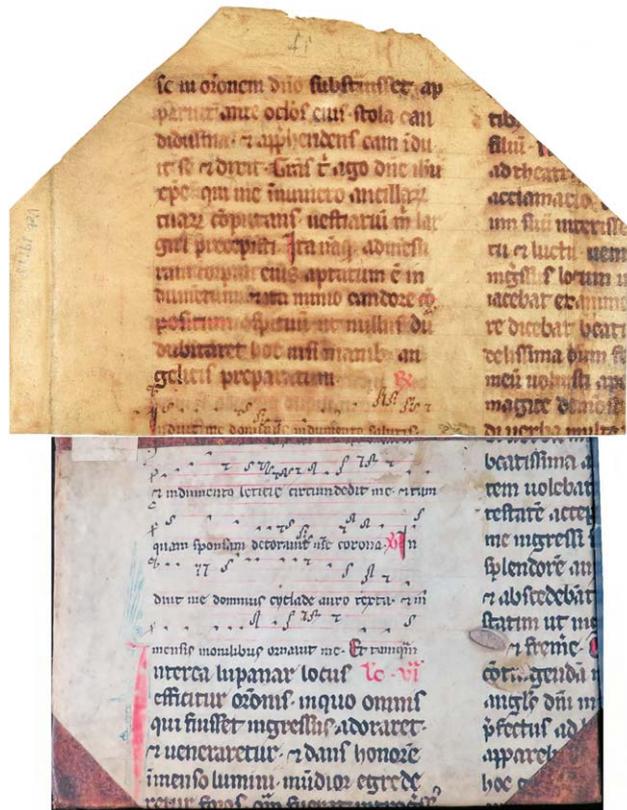
²⁸ On the front cover we find material for the Translation of St Adalbert (6 Nov), while on the back cover the material is for the feast of St Benedict of Nursia (21 Mar).

²⁹ Janka SZENDREI: *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense* (s. XIII.), 12-13 [20-21].

³⁰ St Agnes: U. Fr. l. m. 265, fol. 1v (Bp.) and M 9499_b (Zag.); Conversion of St Paul: U. Fr. l. m. 265, fol. 2v (Bp.) and M 9499_a (Zag.); St Cecilia: U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 1r (Bp.) and M 24816_b (Zag.); St Catherine of Alexandria: U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 2r (Bp.) and M 24816_a. See the detailed description and digitized photos of the fragments kept in Budapest here: <<http://fragmenta.zti.hu/breviarium-notatum-strigoniense-s-13-2-2-csonka-folio-budapest-egyetemi-konyvtar-fr-l-m-265/>> and <<http://fragmenta.zti.hu/breviarium-notatum-strigoniense-s-13-2-2-csonka-folio-budapest-egyetemi-konyvtar-fr-l-m-266/>> (22 March 2021).

³¹ Ladislaus MEZEY (ed.): *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983, 47-49, 218.

Figure 3. Complex fragment of Matins for the feast of St Agnes, virgin and martyr. End of the second nocturn with the responsory *Induit me Dominus* (a. Budapest, University Library, U. Fr. I. m. 265, fol. 1v; b. Zagreb, Metropolitanska knjižnica, M 9499_b)



However, since they can be perfectly reattached to four fragments in Zagreb, and since they are cut in the same way as those in Zagreb, we can be certain that they were actually used during the »great rebinding« under Bishop Mikulić. Nonetheless, we cannot rule out their use in Nagyszombat, as it was duly demonstrated by Mezey on the basis of their handwritten entries. How did these two books make their way from Zagreb to Nagyszombat? The most obvious explanation is the great attraction of the University of Nagyszombat. Given that an identical copy of the carrier book for the fragments of Sts Agnes and Paul is still owned by the Metropolitan Library (Metropolitanska knjižnica),³² and the carrier book for the fragments of Sts Cecilia and Catherine of Alexandria was the *Summa Theologiae*

³² Henricus INSTITTORIS – Iacobus SPRINGER: *Malleus maleficarum opus egregium*, Norimbergae [Nürnberg], 1519. Known copies: University Library, Budapest, Ant. 1036 (olim Vet. 19/28), cf. Ladislav MEZEY: *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*, 217 (U. Fr. I. m. 265);

of St Thomas Aquinas, of which several copies of different editions are kept in the library,³³ it seems probable that it was the duplicates of the library that got misplaced. These could have been checked out by a talented student of the cathedral school who applied to the University of Nagyszombat, or by a canon of the cathedral who needed them for private study. For a reason unknown to us, these books were then deposited in the collection of the University Library of Nagyszombat. When the University was relocated to Buda in 1777, and later, in 1784 to Pest, the books »travelled« with the institution. It is highly possible that it were not only the duplicates of the Cathedral Library that were checked out, since several folios of the above-mentioned valuable manuscript of Chrysopolitanus also show up on the bindings of books owned by the University Library.³⁴ Their carriers, however, cannot be found in the Library of Zagreb – at least not at present. Yet the Zagreb-provenance of the carrier books for the fragments of BNS is irrefutable.

The significance of the Sanctorale of BNS in terms of music and literary history

In what follows I shall attempt to give a summary of the most important musicological and literary discoveries based on the Sanctorale of BNS reconstructed from the fragments of Zagreb. The philological analysis and critical textual edition of each of the historiae mentioned has yet to be accomplished. Hence the summary below should be considered as an indication of future tasks.

The Benedictine hermits of Mount Zobor, Sts Andrew Zorard and Benedict were sainted in 1083 during the reign of King Ladislas, along with Sts Stephen, Emery and Gerard.³⁵ Their legend was written around 1064 by the Benedictine

Metropolitanska knjižnica, Zagreb, M 10745, cf. Vladimir MAGIĆ: *Katalog knjiga XVI. st. u Metropolitanskoj knjižnici u Zagrebu*, 441 (nr. 0838).

³³ Thomas de AQUINO: *Summa sacrae Theologiae. Prima pars*, Venetiis, 1516. The copy in Budapest: University Library, Budapest, Ant. 1799 (olim Vet. 16/45), cf. Ladislaus MEZEY: *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*, 217 (U. Fr. l. m. 266). The other editions of the Summa in the Metropolitan Library of Zagreb: Metropolitanska knjižnica, Zagreb, M 6100, M 9654, M 9264, M 6464, cf. Vladimir MAGIĆ: *Katalog knjiga XVI. st. u Metropolitanskoj knjižnici u Zagrebu*, 580-581 (nr. 1218, 1219, 1221, 1222).

³⁴ Ladislaus MEZEY: *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*, 47-56 (U. Fr. l. m. 23-28), cf. László MEZEY: *Deákiség és Európa. Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* [Latinity and Europe. An outline of the foundation of Hungary's literary culture], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979, 137.

³⁵ On the hagiography of the Benedictine hermits of Mount Zobor, see: Marina MILADINOV: *Lives of the Holy Hermits Zoerard the Confessor and Benedict the Martyr by Blessed Maurus, Bishop of Pécs*, in: Gábor Klaniczay (ed.): *Saints of the Christianization age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh centuries): Vitae sanctorum aetatis conversionis Europae Centralis (Saec. X-XI)*, Central European medieval texts 6, Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2013, 317-323.

bishop of Pécs, Maurus (†1070).³⁶ Since the two holy hermits were buried in the Cathedral of St Emmeram in Nyitra (now Nitra, Slovakia), and their relics were not transferred somewhere else after the elevation, the textual and musical source for their general cultic veneration in the kingdom of Hungary must have been their locally composed office. Until now, the earliest notated source for this office is the well-known antiphonal from about 1360, preserved today in the library of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul.³⁷ Based on the stylistic features of this antiphonal's office, Janka Szendrei dated the composition of the office in question to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.³⁸ This office of the holy hermits is preserved on seven fragments of the Sanctorale of BNS. As a 13th-century witness, BNS is now the earliest known notated source for the historia.³⁹

I have already mentioned the readings adopted from Hartvik's legend of St Stephen when I discussed the reconstruction of the sequence of fragments. The Zagreb fragments of BNS bear a singularly important witness to the archaic division of readings for the principal feast and the octave day of the saint.⁴⁰

From the two versions of the legend of St Ladislav, BNS gives the shorter version (*Legenda minor*) adapted to liturgical use.⁴¹ Again, the 13th-century text preserved by the fragments of BNS is the earliest available textual witness to the legend, considerably older than the ones published in the critical editions. Based upon the 14–15th-century sources and using philological methods Kornél Szovák just recently attempted to reconstruct the original 13th-century text, which is no longer extant today. Fortunately, Szovák's speculative proposal is completely confirmed by the text I have re-discovered.⁴² For the office of St Ladislav BNS rubricates the antiphons and responsories from the *Commune Sanctorum*, which means

³⁶ For the text of the legend in Latin, see: SRH II, 357-361; and in English: Marina MILADINOV: *Lives of the Holy Hermits Zoerard the Confessor and Benedict the Martyr by Blessed Maurus, Bishop of Pécs*, 325-338.

³⁷ Janka SZENDREI (ed.): *The Istanbul Antiphonal about 1360: Facsimile Reproduction and Studies*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999. The historia in question can be found on fols. 194v-197v of the codex.

³⁸ Janka SZENDREI: »In basilica sancti Emmerami«: Historia sanctorum Andreae et Benedicti, in: David Hiley – Walther Berschin (eds.): *Die Offizien des Mittelalters. Dichtung und Musik*, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte 1, Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1999, 143-152.

³⁹ Cf. Summary table, Nr. 125–131: M 7672_a, MR 1060_b, M 10523_b, MR 1136_a, M 10697_a, M 360_a, M 8021_b.

⁴⁰ As to the arrangement in later breviaries, see: Adrienne J. FODOR: Szent István legendák a középkori magyarországi breviáriumban [The legends of St Stephen in medieval Hungarian breviaries], in: József Török (ed.): *Doctor et apostol: Szent István-tanulmányok*, Studia Theologica Budapestinensia 10, Budapest: Márton Áron Kiadó, 1994, 141-170; or Edit MADAS: A magyar »szent királyok« középeurópai kultusza liturgikus és hagiográfiai források tükrében [The Central-European cult of the 'saint kings' of Hungary as reflected in the liturgical and hagiographical sources], *Ars Hungarica*, 29 (2013), 145-152.

⁴¹ See Summary table, Nr. 95–98: M 12161_b, M 6914_a, M 11930_b, M 6068_a; cf. SRH II, 509-527.

⁴² Cf. Kornél SZOVÁK: Szent László alakja a korai elbeszélő forrásokban [The figure of St Ladislav in early narratives], *Századok*, 134 (2000), 117-145.

that the scribes of the codex did not yet know the saint's later very popular historia »Fons aeternae pietatis«. ⁴³

The first three readings for the feast of St Gerard preserved on fragment M 6453.3_a make use of the text of the so-called *Legenda minor*. BS 1484 does the same, and applies the same textual divisions. ⁴⁴ BNS is the second earliest witness to this legend. ⁴⁵

Unfortunately, the fragments of BNS identified on the books of the Metropolitan Library (Metropolitanska knjižnica) did not preserve any material for the feasts of St Emery (2 Sept and 5 Nov) or of St Elisabeth (19 Nov), even though they must have been included in the original volume.

In addition to the historiae of the saints of the Árpád era, it is important to mention fragment MR 1174_b with details of the office for the feast of St Francis of Assisi (4 Oct). On the folio (2°) book cover we find a portion of the Shorter Life (*Vita brevior*) of St Francis, (which was long thought to have been lost before its rediscovery in 2014). ⁴⁶ This text was composed by Thomas of Celano between 1232 and 1239, while Elias was the Order's minister general, and it was written for the internal use of the Franciscans. The fate of this text was sealed by two general chapters: in 1263 at Pisa the *Vita* of St Bonaventure (*Legenda maior*) was accepted as the official biography of St Francis, in 1266 at Paris it was decided that all the other legends – including the *Vita brevior* – were to be destroyed. The latter directive called upon all the friars to seek out and destroy all the earlier legends, both inside and outside of the Order. ⁴⁷ This explains why only a single complete text and a few fragments survived of the *Vita brevior*. This is now complemented by the fragment of BNS. Since the *Vita brevior* was intended for the internal use of the Order, the MR 1174_b directly proves a 13th-century relationship between the Archiepisco-

⁴³ The earliest complete notated source for the historia »Fons aeternae pietatis« is the Antiphonal of Istanbul (fols. 182r-185v), already mentioned in connection with the holy hermits, Andrew and Benedict in footnote 37. For the text of the historia, see: Clemens BLUME – Guido M. DREVES: *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi: XXVI. Historiae Rhythmicae: Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters*, Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1897, 227-230; Andrew HUGHES: *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, LA01 [154].

⁴⁴ Cf. BS 1484, fol. 335v-336v.

⁴⁵ For a critical edition of the legend, see: SRH II, 461-506, as to the sources, *ibid.* 463-470. The manuscript from Venice (*Ven*) mentioned in this edition is probably older than BNS.

⁴⁶ The lost text, reconstructed from its fragments, was published by Jacques Dalarun under the title *Umbrian Legend*, who later – after finding its only complete manuscript copy (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, NAL 3245) – prepared a critical edition. Cf. Jacques DALARUN: Thome Celanensis Vita beati patris nostri Francisci (*Vita brevior*): Présentation et édition critique, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 133 (2015), 23-86. For the complete manuscript, see: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10516082m/fl.item>> (5 February 2021).

⁴⁷ Cf. Andrew G. LITTLE (ed.): *Definitiones Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum 1260-1282*, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 7 (1914), 678 [8]. The particular circumstances of changing the official Legend are comprehensively analysed in Jacques DALARUN: *The Misadventure of Francis of Assisi. Toward a Historical Use of the Franciscan Legends*, Saint Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, Saint Bonaventure University, 2002, 245-247.

pal See of Esztergom and the Franciscans. Its text is an unknown variant, except in the dioceses of Hungary where it was used later as well.

The abovementioned fragments from the appendix of BNS with portions from the liturgy of Corpus Christi are also noteworthy, as these are probably the first witnesses to the use of the office of Corpus Christi completed by 1264 in the Archdiocese of Esztergom.⁴⁸ This seems to be confirmed by the Central French musical notation of the fragment, as well as by the earlier version of the feast's historia (*Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum*).⁴⁹ The original ternion must have been used in the scriptorium of Esztergom, and later it was inserted into the second volume of BNS which was then sent to Zagreb.⁵⁰

Genre and age of BNS

Among the matutinal readings of the fragments found in Zagreb, the Passio of St Catherina of Alexandria (25 Nov) is the longest one.⁵¹ This text, preserved on 13 fragments, represents 36,7% of the entire Passio.⁵² If we consider that the text continues on the glued sides of the folios, approximately 73% of the complete work is present here. Theoretically, the lost fragments could have accommodated the missing part, hence BNS could have contained the whole text of the Passio. More or less the same result could be reached with other legends as well.

The great extent of textual elements in BNS could be explained in two ways. The codex either contained the festive liturgies of Esztergom Cathedral, that is, the representative form of its tradition which in later centuries was gradually abbreviated, or it was never used as a liturgical book but served as a prototype (*exemplar*) for copyists. This latter could explain why its second volume – used practically as

⁴⁸ Cf. Summary table, Nr. 261–266: MR 1127_b, MR 1081_b, M 10610_a, M 10610_b, MR 1081_a, MR 1127_a.

⁴⁹ Cf. Anna SANDA: »Sapientia aedificavit«: Phasen der Entstehung des Offiziums und der Kodifikation eines spätmittelalterlichen Festes, in: Gabriella Gilányi – Gábor Kiss (eds.): *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2015–2016*, Budapest: MTA BTK Zenetudományi Intézet, 2018, 61–85.

⁵⁰ The same archaic version of the historia is found in the first volume of BNS, where the musical notation is written by the secondary notator. Cf. BNS I, fols. 213v–221r. Cf. Barbara R. WALTERS – Vincent CORRIGAN – Peter T. RICKETTS: *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, 80–83, 95–96, 184–239. The authors of this study incorrectly identified the first volume of BNS as Praemonstratensian, based on the fact that it is now kept in the Norbertine Library of Prague. This mistake is rather strange considering that they actually included in their bibliography the facsimile edition of Janka Szendrei whose introduction proves its Esztergom provenance beyond any reasonable doubt. Cf. Anna SANDA: »Sapientia aedificavit«, 62.

⁵¹ Cf. Summary table, Nr. 209–221: MR 1130_b, MR 1074_a, MR 1074_b, MR 1117_a, MR 1130_a, M 24811_a, M 641_b, MR 1163_b, U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 2v, M 24816_a, U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 2r, M 11738_a, MR 1082_b.

⁵² Cf. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1899, vol. 1, 252 (nr. 1663), also <https://la.wikisource.org/wiki/Passio_S._Katharinae> (5 February 2021).

a thesaurus – contained the legends of saints in their entirety. Essentially, both explanations may be correct, perhaps at the very same time, yet the second theory seems more likely. If it was used as a model exemplar, the scribes, depending on the particular needs of the commissioner, could copy abbreviated sections of the long legends contained by BNS in their entirety. Given the genre of BNS, it could be a prototype for an antiphonal, a breviary or even a lectionary used in the choir.⁵³ This explanation could also answer the question why the Sanctoriale volume »travelled« to Zagreb. Perhaps the experts in charge of formulating the liturgy of Zagreb requested this manuscript from Esztergom in order to serve as »basis literature« so that, drawing upon it or deliberately departing from its content, they could create the characteristic, proper custom of their cathedral. If that is what actually happened, this could have taken place during the tenure of Bishop Osvát Thuz, between 1466 and 1499. It was at his command that the first printed edition of *Breviarium Zagradiense* was published in 1484.⁵⁴ In order to prepare this breviary for publication, the revision of the entire liturgical and musical tradition of the diocese had to be accomplished first. This question remains open for now, it has to be clarified by further musicological and liturgical research. Yet another dilemma seems to arise: just how many of these prototypes were produced in the scriptorium of Esztergom? Is it possible that several two-volume breviaries were prepared? This could be suggested by the fact that the musical notation of the manuscript had to be finished by a second hand. If there was only a single pair of such books, could it have been left unfinished for some time, and could it have been transferred to Zagreb? Or was the request made when the volumes had already been considered superfluous in Esztergom? If originally more than one pair of such volumes were produced, is it possible that the Temporale of Prague and the Sanctoriale of Zagreb – although the works of the same masters from the same workshop – were volumes of a different pair, and they only seem like parts of the same production to posterity, from the distance of several tumultuous centuries? There are many unanswered questions... And finally, when were these two volumes prepared? At this point we have to rest content with the proposal of relevant scholarly literature according to which these manuscripts are to be dated to the 13th

⁵³ The terms *breviarium notatum* and *missale notatum* most likely mean summary collections and not practical ceremonial books. If for any reason – perhaps out of necessity – they were used in liturgical practice, the celebrant or the cantors similarly found themselves facing a vast body of »unused« material. Cf. Andrew HUGHES: *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology*, Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 1982, 122-123 (nr. 633); David HILEY: *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford: Calendon Press, 1993, 319-320; Miklós István FÖLDVÁRY: *Rubrica Strigoniensis: A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei* [The normative texts of the liturgy of medieval Esztergom], PhD dissertation, Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2008, 199-200.

⁵⁴ For a description of the breviary, see <<https://www.ustc.ac.uk/editions/999124>> (5 February 2021).

century. None of the recovered fragments gainsay the breviary's dating to the second half of the 13th century.

Future tasks of the research

Based on the existence of the fragments of Budapest, we may reasonably presume that there were other such books that were eventually dislocated from the Library of Zagreb Cathedral. To verify this suspicion, it was sufficient to conduct a random examination of the Library of the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti).⁵⁵ In the 17–18th century, the circulation of books taken from the old library of the Cathedral chapter was probably rather common among the canons and other ecclesiastical authorities of the city. Some of these books on loan were not returned, and yet they remained within the broader confines of Zagreb. From the beginning of the 19th century, the conditions for checking books out of the library became stricter and more regulated. It was the express wish of Bishop Maximilijan Vrhovac (1787–1827) that the library should be open to all interested readers. This was first seriously proposed in 1808, but the library was not actually opened until 1846. From then on, the collection had an appointed librarian, proper regulations and a reading room. The books could only be viewed within the library, and they could only be loaned in very restricted circumstances. During the earthquake of 1880, the library building (along with the cathedral) was badly damaged. The long-term solution for housing the books was only found in 1913 when the collection was attached to the University Library, and the books were transferred to the premises of the Croatian State Archives (Hrvatski državni arhiv), where they are still kept today.⁵⁶

For historical reasons, therefore, it is quite reasonable for us to expect the recovery of additional BNS-fragments in the collection of other libraries in Zagreb, where they could have been ended up either as a result of loaning during the 17–18th centuries, or during the collection's 19–20th-century relocation. A portion of the missing fragments could also have been destroyed but as to what extent that happened, we are still in the dark. The recovery even of the smallest fragment would, of course, be of importance, since it would contribute to a more complete restoration of the Sanctorale. Due to our knowledge of the book's quire structure, we are in position to produce a digital reconstruction with as close to the correct sequence of folios as possible. This could then be crowned by the publication of a

⁵⁵ I managed to identify a printed book in »archiepiscopal binding« in the collection of HAZU Library, Zagreb, which – for this very reason – must have originally belonged to the cathedral chapter's library. Cf. Knjižnica Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb, R 40559. Here I feel obliged to thank Tamara Runjak for her able assistance.

⁵⁶ For details on the history of the collection, see: Vladimir MAGIĆ – Milan PELC – Mirna ABAFFY: *Cimelia Metropolitana*, 7-15.

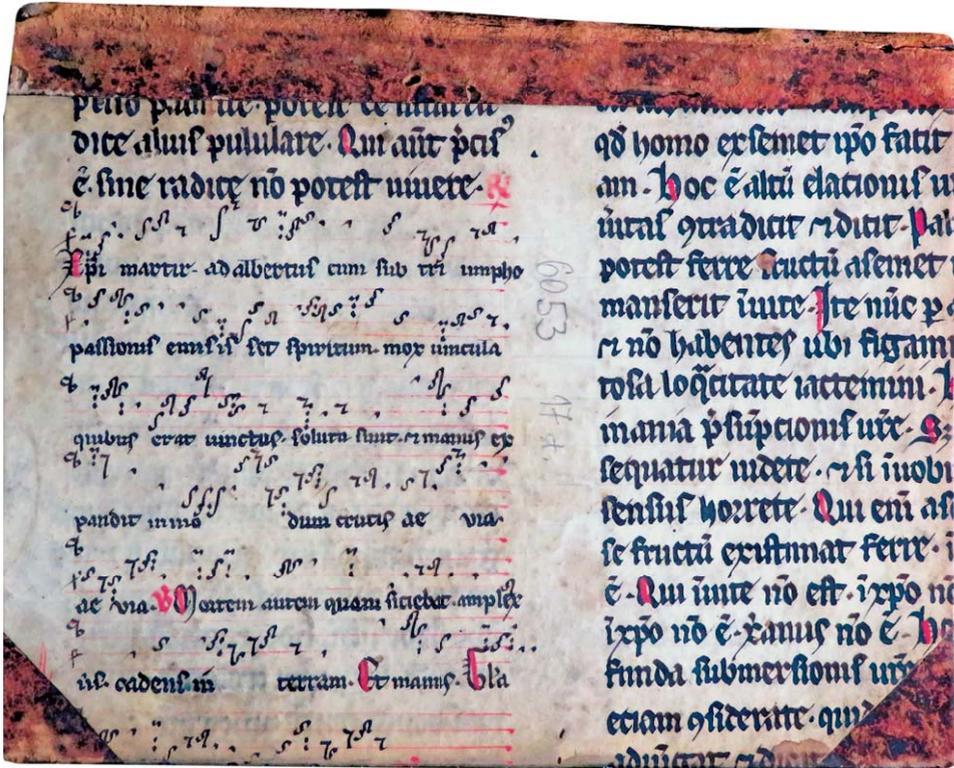


Figure 4. Fragment from the office of the translation of St Adalbert, martyr and bishop of Prague. End of the second nocturn with the responsory Christi martyr Adalbertus (Zagreb, Metropolitanska knjižnica, M 6053_a)

worthy facsimile edition. This work is legitimized by the considerable cultural importance of the finding.

APPENDIX

Summary table for the surviving fragments of the Sanctorale of BNS

Nos.	Date (MMDD)	Feast	Shelf mark	Notator
1	1231	Silvester pp. et cf.	M 25005_b	-
2	0114	Felix m.	M 25005_a	-
3-4	0115	Maurus abbas	MR 1186_b, M 1434_a	-
5	0116	Marcellus pp. et m.	M 11346_b	-
6	0118	Prisca v.	M 8632_a	-
7	0119	Marius, Martha, Audifax, Habacuc mm.	M 8632_b	1
8-13	0120	Fabianus et Sebastianus mm.	M 11346_a, MR 1186_a, M 1434_b, M 10939_a, M 10939_b, M 8014_b	1
14-18	0121	Agnes v.	M 8014_a, U. Fr. l. m. 265, fol. 1r-v, M 9499_b, M 10676_b	1
19-24	0122	Vincentius m.	M 9477_a, M 9458_b, M 10960_a, M 10960_b, M 9458_a, M 9477_b	1
25-28	0125	Conv. Pauli ap.	M 10676_a, U. Fr. l. m. 265, fol. 2v-r, M 9499_a	-
29-33	0202	Purif. BMV	M 8034_a, M 12140_b, MR 1065_b, M 12918_a, M 12918_b	1
34	0203	Blasius cf.	MR 1065_a	-
35-38	0205	Agatha v. et m.	M 12140_a, M 8034_b, M 9521_b, M 8595_a	1
39	0214	Valentinus m.	MR 1029_b	-
40	0222	Cathedra Petri ap.	M 24446_a	-
41-42	0224	Matthias ap.	M 24446_b, MR 1029_a	-
43-46	0312	Gregorius cf.	M 9521_a, M 8595_b, M 12922_b, M 6770_a	1
47-48	0321	Benedictus abbas	M 10958_b, M 6053_b	-
49-55	0325	Ann. BMV	M 6396_a, MR 1037_a, M 11337_a, M 6742_b, M 12933_a, M 6742_a, M 12933_b	1
56-57	0404	Ambrosius cf.	MR 1037_b, M 11337_b	-
58-61	0423	Adalbertus m.	M 6396_b, M 10958_a, M 12922_a, M 6770_b	1
62	0425	Marcus ev.	M 12893_a	-
63-64	0428	Vitalis m.	M 6759_b, M 7450_b	1
65-67	0501	Philippus et Iacobus app.	MR 1066_a, M 10782_b, M 6567_b	1
68	0503	Alexander et Eventius mm.	M 10782_a	1
69	0503	Inv. Crucis	M 6567_a	1
70-71	0510	Gordianus et Epimachus mm.	MR 1066_b, M 6759_a	-
72	0512	Nereus, Achilleus et Pancratius mm.	M 7450_a	-
73	0514	Bonifatius m.	M 12893_b	-

74–76	0603	Pergentinus et Laurentius mm.	M 3957_b, M 8028_b, M 10691_b	-
77–79	0611	Barnabas ap.	M 11391_b, M 11858_b, M 17044_b	-
80–81	0615	Vitus et Modestus mm.	M 11851_a, MR 1139_a	-
82	0619	Gervasius et Protasius mm.	MR 1139_b	-
83	0622	Paulinus ep. et cf.	M 11851_b	-
84	0623	Vig. Nat. Bapt.	M 17044_a	-
85–93	0624	Nat. Ioan. Bapt.	M 11391_a, M 11858_a, M 3957_a, M 8028_a, M 10691_a, M 9468_b, MR 1190_a, M 12962_b, M 6070_b	1
94	0626	Ioannes et Paulus mm.	M 13194_b	1
95–98	0627	Ladislaus r.	M 12161_b, M 6914_a, M 11930_b, M 6068_a	-
99	0628	Vig. Petr. et Paul. app.	M 11930_a	-
100–107	0629	Petrus et Paulus app.	M 6068_b, M 12161_a, M 6914_b, M 13194_a, M 12962_a, M 6070_a, M 9468_a, MR 1190_b	1
108–112	0630	Comm. Pauli ap.	M 6610_a, M 10766_a, MR 1146_a, M 6526_a, M 7652_a	1
113–114	0701	Oct. Nat. Bapt.	M 11376_b, M 10698_b	1
115–117	0702	Processus et Martinianus cum sociis	MR 1049_a, M 10698_a, MR 1049_b	-
118	0704	Transl. s. Martini ep. et cf.	M 11376_a	-
119–120	0705	Petrus et Paulus app. in Oct.	M 7652_b, M 6526_b	-
121	0706	Oct. Petri et Pauli app.	MR 1146_b	-
122–123	0708	Kilianus et socii	M 6610_b, M 10766_b	-
124	0713	Margarita v. et m.	M 10899_a	1
125–131	0717	Andreas et Benedictus mm.	M 7672_a, MR 1060_b, M 10523_b, MR 1136_a, M 10697_a, M 360_a, M 8021_b	1
132–136	0717	Alexius cf.	M 360_b, M 8021_a, M 10523_a, M 10697_b, MR 1136_b	-
137	0721	Praxedis v.	M 7672_b	1
138–140	0722	Maria Magdalena cf.	MR 1060_a, M 10899_b, M 7911_a	1
141	0728	Pantaleon et socii mm.	M 7911_b	-
142	0815	Ass. BMV in Oct.	M 7876_b	-
143–147	0820	Stephanus r.	M 6453.4_a, M 10629_a, M 10629_b, M 6453.4_b, M 7876_a	1
148–151	0824	Bartholomaeus ap.	MR 1108_b, M 24846.1_b, MR 1085_b, M 11776_b	-
152–157	0827	Oct. Stephani r.	MR 1184_b, MR 1106_b, MR 1184_a, MR 1106_a, MR 1085_a, M 11776_a	-
158–160	0828	Augustinus cf.	M 24846.1_a, MR 1108_a, MR 1021_a	1
161–163	0908	Nat. BMV	M 7534_a, MR 1115_b, M 9288_a	1
164	0909	Gorgonius m.	M 7942_b	1

165	0913	Maurilius ep. et cf.	M 9439_a	-
166–168	0914	Exalt. Crucis	M 9288_b, MR 1115_a, M 7534_b	1
169	0917	Lambertus m.	M 11768_a	1
170	0921	Matthaeus ap.	M 6453.3_b	-
171	0922	Mauritius et socii mm.	M 6453.3_a	-
172	0928	Wenceslaus m.	M 11768_b	-
173	0929	Michael arch.	M 12061_a	1
174	0930	Hieronymus cf.	M 12061_b	-
175	1004	Franciscus cf.	MR 1174_b	-
176	1007	Marcus, Marcellus et socii mm.	M 6453.2_a	-
177–178	1009	Dionysius et socii mm.	M 11532_b, MR 1032_a	-
179–182	1013	Colomanus m.	M 6453.5_b, M 6453.5_a, MR 1032_b, M 6453.2_b	-
183	1014	Carbonius cf.	M 11532_a	-
184	1016	Gallus cf.	MR 1174_a	-
185	1018	Lucas ev.	MR 1188_a	-
186	1028	Simon et Iudas app.	MR 1188_b	-
187	1101	Vig. Oss	M 8020_b	1
188–193	1101	OSs	M 10686_b, M 7340_a, M 2446_b, M 10556_b, M 2446_a, M 10556_a	1
194–196	1101	OSs in Oct.	M 10686_a, M 7340_b, M 8020_a	1
197	1106	Transl. Adalberti m.	M 6053_a	1
198–199	1111	Martinus ep. et cf.	M 24846.2_a, M 9323_b	1
200–201	1117	Anianus ep. et cf.	M 9323_a, M 24846.2_b	-
202–204	1122	Caecilia m. et v.	U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 1v, M 24816_b, U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 1r	1(?), 2
205–208	1123	Clemens pp. et m.	M 641_a, MR 1163_a, M 24811_b, MR 1117_b	2
209	1124	Chrysogonus m.	MR 1130_b	-
210–221	1126	Catherina m. et v.	MR 1074_a, MR 1074_b, MR 1117_a, MR 1130_a, M 24811_a, M 641_b, MR 1163_b, U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 2v, M 24816_a, U. Fr. l. m. 266, fol. 2r, M 11738_a, MR 1082_b	-
222	1130	Vig. Andreae ap.	MR 1091_a	2
223–224	1130	Andreas ap.	M 9289_b, M 9289_a	2
225–227	1206	Nicolaus ep. et cf.	MR 1091_b, MR 1082_a, M 11738_b	2
228	1207	Oct. Andreae ap.	M 7905_b	2
229	1213	Lucia v.	M 11267_a	2
230–233	1221	Thomas ap.	MR 1165_a, MR 1165_b, M 11267_b, M 7905_a	-
234	1301	Comm. ap.	M 6453.1_b	2
235	1302	Comm. ev.	M 14433_a	-
236–238	1303	Comm. m.	M 24845_a, M 24845_b, M 14433_b	2

239–242	1304	Comm. mm.	M 6453.1_a, M 24665_b, MR 1111_a, MR 1118_a	2
243–249	1305	Comm. cf.	MR 1104_b, MR 1111_b, MR 1104_a, M 24665_a, MR 1118_b, MR 1072_b, M 11316_a	2
250–254	1308	Comm. v.	MR 1162_a, M 11277_a, M 11764_a, M 11764_b, M 11277_b	2
255–257	1313	Ded	MR 1162_b, M 11316_b, MR 1072_a	2
		APPENDIX I		
258–259	1026	Demetrius m.	M 9439_b, M 7942_a	-
260	1208	Sanct. (Conc.) BMV	MR 1021_b	-
		APPENDIX II		
261–266	-	Corp	MR 1127_b, MR 1081_b, M 10610_a, M 10610_b, MR 1081_a, MR 1127_a	3, 2

Sažetak

BLAGO OTKRIVENO U METROPOLITANSKOJ KNJIŽNICI U ZAGREBU – REKONSTRUKCIJA SANKTORALA NOTIRANOG BREVIJARA KATEDRALE U OSTROGONU IZ 13. STOLJEĆA

U radu se izvještava o nedavnom otkriću notiranog brevijara iz Ostrogona (Strigonium, Esztergom) u Metropolitanskoj knjižnici Zagrebačke nadbiskupije. Kodeks je pronađen u 258 fragmenata koji su bili zalijepljeni u korice 129 knjiga tiskanih između 15. i 17. stoljeća. Te su knjige uvezane krajem 17. stoljeća po nalogu zagrebačkog biskupa Aleksandra Mikulića (1688-1694). Fragmentiranu kodeksu nedostaje sanktoral, tj. drugi dio notiranog brevijara Strigoniense (BNS), koji se danas čuva u knjižnici strahovskog premonstratenskog samostana u Pragu (Strahovská knihovna) pod signaturom DE I 7. Samo je u ovim dvama svescima sačuvan oficij ostrogonske katedrale s glazbenom notacijom. Oba su notirala dvojica pisara koji su koristili tzv. »ostrogonsku notaciju«, a koja se razvila u tom gradu krajem 12. stoljeća. Sanktoral se sastoji od službe za svetce koji se slave od siječnja do prosinca, zajedničkog slavlja svetaca (*commune sanctorum*) i zajedničkog slavlja blagdana Posvete crkve; ipak, nedostaje mu oficij za pokojne i kalendar. (Prvi svezak, s druge strane, sadrži blagdane prema liturgijskim razdobljima od Adventa do nedjelja nakon Duhova.) Rekonstrukcija kodeksa iz fragmenata onoga što je bio sanktoral bila je složen zadatak. U radu koristim novu iterativnu metodu koja se temelji na pažljivoj analizi sadržaja fragmenata i usporedbi s ostrogonskim brevijarom tiskanim 1484. Koristeći preliminarni liturgijski slijed pergamentnih dijelova koji je iz toga proizašao i uzimajući u obzir proces uvezivanja uspio sam identificirati izvorne sveščice rukopisa i odrediti identitet neodređenih fragmenata. Krajnji rezultat bio je precizniji od rezultata preliminarne rekonstrukcije temeljene na sadržaju. Također pokazujem da četiri fragmenta koji se čuvaju u Sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Budimpešti iznenađujuće pripadaju BNS sanktoralu.