

## PSALM SINGING IN TRANSYLVANIA

ÉVA PÉTER\*

**SUMMARY.** This hereby study intends to present the psalm singing practice of Transylvanian Reformed congregations from the Reformation to this day. According to the graduals, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries psalms were interpreted in the psalmodic manner, based entirely on the text of the Bible. In parallel with this practice, following Luther and Calvin's example, the Hungarian reformers wrote psalm paraphrases in verse – based on historic and other types of popular songs – in order to revive congregational singing. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, after Szenczi Molnár Albert translated the Huguenot Genevese Psalter to Hungarian, these became the backbone of congregational singing. However, the Genevese Psalter could not enroot itself in the congregational practice. They lose their rhythmical traits and develop alterations within their melodic turns. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the number of psalms present in hymnbook has decreased drastically. While the newest hymnbook published in 1996 contains once more all of the 150 psalms, congregations are familiar with less than a third of these songs.

**Keywords:** hymns, psalms, reference songs written on hymn melodies, reference songs written of psalm melodies.

The history of psalm singing within the Hungarian Reformed community in Transylvania is written primarily in the hymnbooks used throughout the centuries. These written documents bear evidence to the repertoire sung in church by these communities. Folk song collections – which document the musical material passed on by word of mouth – shed light upon the way in which these songs were performed. However, this written documentation refers only to a few decades or centuries at best. The goal of this hereby study is to analyze the evolution of psalm singing for the past five centuries – from the Reformation until today – within the Reformed congregations of Transylvania.

The song collections of the Hungarian Reformed church within the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century are made up of graduals. These are comprised not of songs performed by the congregation itself, but rather those interpreted by the minister who leads the liturgy, the cantor and the church choir. The Old Gradual<sup>1</sup> volume, which is the most important collection of graduals of the

---

\* Babes-Bolyai University, Faculty of Reformed Theology, Reformed Theology and Musical Pedagogy Department, RO-400535, Cluj-Napoca, Hores str. 7. E-mail: evapeter@hotmail.com

<sup>1</sup> Meaning: big in its own right, an old book published in a big format. See: Ballagi, Mór, *A magyar nyelv teljes szótára (The Complete Hungarian Dictionary)* Pest 1873. *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára (The Hungarian Thesaurus)*, Edited by: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézet (The Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Scientific Academy), Budapest, 1961.

Hungarian Reformed church, was first published in Transylvania at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in 1636. It is structured in three parts: the first segment is made up of songs in accordance with the church year, beginning with the songs of the Advent; the second part consists of 150 psalms in a prosaic translation by Károli Gáspár, corresponding to the psalm tones; while the third part is constituted by canticums, short praises with Biblical texts.

The chanting of psalms was made according to the psalmodic<sup>2</sup> technique, which was based exclusively of the text of the Bible. In the remaining copies of the original 200 ones printed of the Old Gradual, we can notice the habits of different congregations by way of their notes made on the volume as well as the wear and tear of certain pages, also the manner in which they sung particular psalms or their preferences of that matter, as well as the antiphons played before and after the psalm itself.

In the first few decades of the Reformation, the Hungarian reformers were well aware of the importance congregational singing had, as a result, they wrote strophic songs for the church members, following the example of Luther and Calvin.<sup>3</sup> Thus the psalm paraphrases<sup>4</sup> were born, which followed sometimes to the letter the content of a particular biblical psalm. We hold the psalm paraphrases of the following authors to be notable: Sztárai Mihály (1520-1575?), Kecskeméti Vég Mihály (died in 1561), Skaricza Máté (1544-1591).<sup>5</sup> These adaptations emulate the versification of the Hungarian language, and use the melodies of then popular historic as well as funeral songs.

By the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the verse adaptation of psalms began to be popular in the western humanist and protestant circles also. Alongside the German body of works, the French one also proved to be quite significant. At Calvin's advice, Clement Marot as well as Theodore Béza – who later continued his work – finished translating the entire psalmody by 1562. The melodies that went along with them originated in part from Gregorian chants, but also from German and French songs. Two thirds of the melodies were the

<sup>2</sup> Psalm singing is a Jewish inheritance. It is used in longer texts. During the Middle Ages unique chanting elements, melodic turns and scales merged resulting in the psalm tones (eight types). See: Benkő, András, *A református énekvezér kézikönyve (The Handbook of the Reformed Music Leader)*, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Kiadása (Published by the Transylvanian Reformed Diocese), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), 1994, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Luther composed his early songs in 1523 in honor of the martyrs of the Reformation. Later he drew inspiration from the psalms, writing among other things the *Ein feste Burg* song based on psalm 46, and the *Aus tiefer Not* song paraphrasing psalm 130. Calvin was a man of strict principles. He thought it was important to write the lyrics of congregational songs based on the word of the Lord. He deemed the texts of the psalms to be most worthy of this.

<sup>4</sup> By their old names: divine praises based on psalms

<sup>5</sup> Sztárai Mihály: *Mindenkoron áldom az én Uramat (I forever bless the Lord)* (based of psalm 34), *Mely igen jó (That is truly good)* (psalm 92); Kecskeméti Vég Mihály: *Mikoron Dávid (When David)* (psalm 55); Skaricza Máté: *Reménységemben hívlak Uram Isten (I summon Thee, my Lord, in my moment of hope)* (psalm 63), *Drága dolog az Úr Istent dicsérni (To praise the Lord is a precious thing)* (psalm 147); Szegedi Gergely: *Örvend mi szívünk (Our heart rejoices)* (psalm 122).

accomplishment and adaptation of Louis Bourgeois (1510-1569?). The Genevan Huguenot Psalter born out of his toil eventually became known all over Europe. This was translated into Hungarian by Szenczi Molnár Albert (1574-1634), who relied on the French as well as German texts while translating, always having also the melodies in mind. The work was first published in 1607, republished alongside the Bible in 1608 and 1612, then later republished unaccompanied. Since 1635, it has been included in the annex of the Debrecen-type Reformed Hymnbook, while later it received its rightful place at the beginning of the hymnbook. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Genevan Psalter gained ground, in detriment of the gradual musical material.<sup>6</sup> The Puritans viewed the Genevan Psalter as the genuine Reformed songs.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century this became the backbone of the Hungarian singing practice also, endangering even the old protestant musical material.

According to the evidence given by the reformed hymnbooks printed at Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), in Transylvania of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the psalmody came into the forefront. The so-called Impressum – which was a hymnbook printed in 1744 – began with the chapter of the psalms, with its own title page. All of the 150 psalms were present alongside their original French melodies. In contrast, in the hymnbook printed in 1778, which consists out of two main parts, the 150 psalms were put in the second part of the volume. Reading the principles<sup>8</sup> that influenced the editing of the hymnbook, we notice with some surprise that although they were not pleased with the texts of the psalms and found them in need of many corrections, they still inserted them unaltered in this volume. At the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in 1769, a Funeral Hymnbook was published at Nagyenyed (Aiud). It contains a total of nine psalms, however, this number is not relevant, for the volume was made up primarily of funeral songs. Another 18<sup>th</sup> century document is the one known as Nagy Mihályék's Hymnbook, from 1753, which is made up of four parts

<sup>6</sup> The spreading of the Genevese Psalter was authorized by the 1643 synod from Görgény, the 1646 synod from Szatmár and Szatmárnémeti. The level of musical culture of the time was not adequate, the songs being poorly sung. One document that attests this fact is the preface of Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós' Psalm book published in Amsterdam in 1686, with letters and scores written by himself, which stated: "*It is not worthy these things to be put at the beginning of our psalms: those based on French songs and others alike. We have long passed that level...*" See: Erdélyi Féniks. Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós öröksége. (Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós' Heritage) Bevezető tanulmánnyal és magyarázó jegyzetekkel közléteszi Jakó Zsigmond (Preface study and explicatory notes by Jakó Zsigmond), Bucharest, 1974, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> See: Bódiss, Tamás, *A zsoltár a református gyülekezeti éneklésben és egyházzeneben (The Psalm in the Reformed Congregational Singing and Church Music)*, in: Magyar Egyházzene (Hungarian Church Music), Published by Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság (Hungarian Church Music Society), Budapest, 2001/2002, p. 272.

<sup>8</sup> See: Csomasz Tóth, Kálmán, *Református gyülekezeti éneklés (Reformed Congregational Singing)*, Published by Református Egyetemes Konvent (The Universal Reformed Covenant), Budapest, 1950, p. 162.

written for the four different voices (discant, alto, tenor, bass). According to the note at the end of the bass score, the harmonies were made to fit the tenor voice of the hymnbook printed in Debrecen in 1740. The harmonies were structured according to the harmonization<sup>9</sup> of the day by Nagy Mihály intended for the College of Székelyudvarhely<sup>10</sup>, following the natural movement of the voices in close position. Hence, we can safely say that psalm singing was important. The students learned and practiced on four voices, later spreading psalm singing throughout Transylvania.<sup>11</sup>

By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the so-called Renewed Hymnbook printed in 1837, Transylvania had already turned its back to the Genevese Psalter. The editors selected only 31 psalms to be included in the volume, keeping the original numbering. They argued that their decision<sup>12</sup> was based on the fact that the texts of the psalms referred to the life of the Jewish nation, and majority of its elements are not understood by the Christian man, and that these psalms were not being sung abroad either by that time. In the meantime, they saw fit to replace the psalms by “uplifting new songs” that “awake pious feelings”. These new songs were more song lyrics written on the popular melody of certain psalms of the Genevese Psalter. Gönczy Lajos<sup>13</sup> frowns upon the fact that by the practice of putting new words to old psalm

<sup>9</sup> Minister and church musician Fekete Csaba draws attention upon the fact that according to the collective conscience the first Hungarian example – if referring to psalm singing for multiple voices – is the harmonic psalms of Maróthi. Few people know, that Maróthi was merely the intermediary, who edited the harmonic psalms of Goudimel – contemporary of Calvin – pairing them with the lyrics of Szenczi Molnár Albert. See: *A négyszólamú zsoltározás kezdetei (The beginnings of psalm singing for four voices)*, in: *Zsoltár Psalm*, Református Egyházzeneészek Munkaközösségének Lapja (Magazine of the Reformed Church Musicians), Budapest, 1997/2, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> This is one of the earliest and most reliable collections of harmonic psalms in Transylvania. The message of the psalter: Hungarian singing for multiple voices is in the interest of common good. In contrast with the pieces popularized by Maróthi, for the singing student, these psalms placed the culture of their own region in the forefront. The manuscripts are in themselves highly valuable, while testifying to the group improvisation that took place in that time: also showing the harmonics of group improvisation, while offering an authentic picture of choirs of that time interpreting music in the own native-language.

<sup>11</sup> Psalm singing for four-voices can also be found today in Szászcsávás. It is highly possible that the college student taught the people in the village how to sing these psalms. The study of Szabó Csaba details this topic. *A szászcsávási hagyományos harmónia (The Traditional Harmony in Szászcsávás)*, in: *Zenatudományi Írások (Musicological Writings)*, Ed. Kriterion, Bucharest, 1977, p. 109-123

<sup>12</sup> According to the preface present in the hymnbook, these editing principles were the following: “...*The psalms of Saint David, which were written in the most part based on the stories and holidays of the Jewish people, which for a Christian man would bear little significance, were left out entirely; however, this hereby volume features a few of them that have the most beautiful melodies, although some may lack entire verses...*” see: *Értesítés (Notice)*: pages III-V.

<sup>13</sup> Gönczy Lajos (was the professor of the Reformed Theological Institute between 1925–1948); his opinion is conveyed by Benkő András, *A református énekvezér kézikönyve (The Handbook of the Reformed Music Leader)*, Published by Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület (The Transylvanian Reformed Diocese), Kolozsvár, 1994, p. 53-55.

melodies, the French songs became ever more popular by way of this particular hymnbook. The rhythm of the psalms were altered, along with their meter: generally they use the 4/4 time signature, but in the case of psalms 23 and 90 – the most well-known ones – they used  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Thus, the rhythm of the psalms received an entirely different form. As a result, the melody was augmented by certain foreign notes, such as leaning notes, trills, transition notes. They noted the main note by an alteration within the end of the row cadences. Despite all of this, the hymnbook was used for more than seven decades, the songs engraving themselves into the memory of the congregation.

In the first few years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Seprődi János (1874-1923), who was the teacher of the Reformed College of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), deemed the renewal of the hymnbook to be more than necessary. The work for a universal reformed hymnbook, which would have provided a uniform musical material for all the congregations, was well on its way by then, but the result would have to wait. It was in this context that Seprődi's hymnbook was published in 1907 as a response to the request made by the Transylvanian Diocese. The volume followed the structure of the hymnbook published in 1837, also introducing new songs in the X<sup>th</sup> chapter, while placing 33 psalms in the XI<sup>th</sup> chapter. It altered the duration of notes, changing the time signature of the psalms to 4/4. Seprődi also modified the melodies, but did not restore the original melodies or rhythms<sup>14</sup> of the Genevese Psalter. These hymnbooks were sold out by the end of World War I, consequently the Diocese decided to publish the so-called Small Hymnbook in 1918, which only contained lyrics. The editors have hoped that the melodies were already well known by the congregations. From a structural standpoint, the volume returned to the model of the one published in 1744, beginning with the psalm songs. It includes a number of 107 songs, out of which 17 are psalms.

After World War I. it became clear that there is no chance for a universal hymnbook to be published, therefore every region came to publish their own hymnbook. The hymnbook that placed the 40 psalms deemed suitable in its second to last – IX<sup>th</sup> chapter – was published in 1923 at Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). Few of these psalms were adapted by the editors, modifying Szenczi's text in certain places, leaving out more than half of the verses. The melodic forms, time signatures and rhythm however stayed the same as in the hymnbook edited by Seprődi. The Hungarian reformed church musicians

<sup>14</sup> Pálffy Károly comments upon the evolution of the psalms from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: *"Since 1777 the psalms were treated most unfairly in the four attempts to renew them, while in 1777 we still have 150 psalms in their original Genevese form, without inflexions or distortions of melody, in 1837 only 32 were adopted with highly ornamented melodies, with time signatures that do not allow proper singing. In 1908 Seprődi János made the melodies to be singable again, but he did not restore their Genevese style."* See: *Gyülekezeti éneklésünk történeti alakulása és jelen helyzete (The Historic Development and Current Condition of Our Congregational Singing)*, in: *Református Szemle, Kolozsvár, 1980/issue 5-6, 280.*

edited in 1996 the long overdue *Universal Hungarian Reformed Hymnbook*.<sup>15</sup> Although many people criticize their choices, by way of making the original melodies and rhythms of the 150 Genevese Huguenot Psalter known to the public, they helped reaffirm an almost forgotten musical treasure for Transylvania. It is now up to the diligence of the congregations, and the skills of the cantors to prove if they will be capable to learn the original, correct forms of the psalms.

We will illustrate in the following table the number of hymns and psalms that can be found in different Transylvanian hymnbooks. The decrease of the number of psalms present within the hymnbooks throughout the centuries is shocking, but the number of new lyrics written for certain well-known Genevese Psalms is also remarkable. These are called *ad notam* songs, reference songs, for their lyrics make a reference to a particular melody. The Genevese Psalter has become the melodic model for church poets; hence, it is no surprise that gradually new verses were created. The most interesting psalm in this respect is the hymnbook published in 1837, where we can find 31 psalms, but 158 lyrics referring to the same melodies, which represent five times the number of psalm melodies. The editors created a rich material from the standpoint of the text, but thought that the congregation was able to learn only a limited number of melodies.

**Tab. 1**

Song-group	1744	1769	1778	1837	1907	1918	1923	1996
Hymns	131	43	45	34	55	35	91	247
Psalms	150	9	150	31	33	17	40	150
Reference songs written on hymn melodies	155	37	24	50	67	24	62	53
Reference songs written of psalm melodies	18	-	92	158	85	31	95	54

Although the introduction of the Genevese Psalter to the church practice was officially encouraged, within Hungarian circles only a small amount of these became truly popular, in the sense that a great proportion of churchgoers learned them. One of the reasons for which the psalms did not endure was undoubtedly the highly intricate structure of the verses and hence the actual structure of the melodies; the mostly unusual versification in comparison to the traditional Hungarian one, the melodies ranging from six to eight rows, along with some awkward melodic twists.

<sup>15</sup> The editing board had based the hymnbook on the 150 Genevese Psalter. As in the hymnbook published in 1744, the psalter was also placed at the beginning of the volume.

PSALM SINGING IN TRANSYLVANIA

In the reviewed musical material, I have found one single instance in which an attempt is made to simplify the melody of Genevese Psalm 89. In the first example we compare the melody *a.* – psalm 89 – with melody *b.*, which corresponds to the melody of psalm 91 from the hymnbook published in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) in 1778. The latter has Christmas lyrics in the hymnbook, while under number 120 the same melody occurs with Easter lyrics to the *ad notam* melody of song 91. The structure of the psalm is AABCDE, from which the first three rows and the last one survived – AABE. In the long verse, the melody has a plagal Ionian tonal structure, or a major one, while the cadences can be found on steps 11V3V1. The form does not imply a strong strophic concept; it reminds us rather of a sequence passage frequently used in the late period of the Middle Ages. The verse has a fixed frame created by the end AA row (which comprises both tetrachords of the plagal mode) and the last E row (which uses notes of the superior tetrachord). The B row opens the middle part, followed by CD, which is the development of the musical material of part B, this segment utilizing the entire range of the psalm.

The CD part was left out of the simplified version, thus the verse got more compact and symmetrical. We note the fact that these kinds of verses appear in other psalm melodies also, therefore they are not considered to be novelty. Gaining these traits, the melody is much more acceptable and can be more easily understood by the masses. However, these changes were not enough to make the psalm have a longer life, since neither the melody, nor its lyrics appear anywhere else in later publications made in Kolozsvár.

Ex. 1

Psalm 89.  
 a) Az Úr-nak ir-gal-mát ö - rök-ké é - nek-lem

Kv 1778/91.  
 b) 91. Légy ö - rök ké ál - dott Iz - ra - el Is - te - ne  
 120. Ez nap új é - ne - ket mondjunk Jé - zu - sunk - nak

(a) [Musical notation]

(a) [Musical notation]

(b) [Musical notation]

In time, in the church practice of Transylvania, the psalms have lost their rhythmical traits. Although the sheet music might indicate a variety of rhythms, in actual interpretation these are sung with even, long notes. Dobszay László church music researcher does not find fault in this trait, however: “*in certain cases a song that is sung with even, long notes can also be beautiful if it connects to other traditional values. As in, I believe that we must maintain the practice of rhythmical singing within the Genevese Psalter. However, in places (mainly villages) where the other type of interpretation rests on a long tradition of characteristic voice emission, intensity of singing and even ornamental style I do not think it needs to be eliminated.*”<sup>16</sup> There were traditional performers in the region of Kalotaszeg, also around Kolozsvár, especially in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, who interpreted the long, even notes of psalm in a richly ornamented fashion. They could breathe life into an already set form. The second example illustrates the heavy ornamentation of psalm 90 in the unique style of a female singer from Körösfő. According to the written notation, she made her performance singular by using different appoggiaturas and diverse ornaments.

## Ex. 2

Quasi giusto ♩ = 48 Körösfő

Te-ben-ned bíz - tunk e - le - i - től fog - va, U - ram, Té - ged  
tar - tot - tunk haj - lé - künk - nak, Mi - kor még sem - mi he - gyek nem vol - ta - nak.  
Hogy még sem ég, sem föld nem volt for - mál - va. Te vol - tál és Te vagy,  
e - rős Is - ten És Te meg - ma - radsz min - den í - dők - ben.

IMB III B-1; f.r. fa; Körösfő, Péntek Jánosné Szabó Ilona 67; cul. Kiss Lajos, 1963.

Because of newer musical styles, the feel for modal melodic lines also weakened, thus these modal melodies were instinctively shaped, introducing certain leading notes. Still, this did not lead to any significant changes in the melody, the psalms virtually remaining the same. Other church songs presented

<sup>16</sup> Dobszay, László, *A genfi zsoltárok használati értéke (The Use Value of the Genevese Psalter)*, in: Magyar Egyházzene (Hungarian Church Music), Published by Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság (Hungarian Church Music Society), Budapest, 2004/2005, p. 159-170.



with more significant changes due to this assimilation.<sup>17</sup> We can thus conclude, that this particular song group – the psalms, as a whole – with certain exceptions, of course – is somewhat foreign to the Hungarian people to this day. Not even a quarter of the 150 psalms are known by the congregations, although church musicians frequently emphasize on their beauty and expressivity.<sup>18</sup> Still, the congregation sings the psalms in a monotonous manner, lacking a fluent, natural interpretation.

To sum up, we can state the fact that the psalms represent a crucially important song material for the Reformed church. Dobszay László deems them to have a literary, musical and religious value. Besides emphasizing on its importance within the liturgy, its value is also relevant from the standpoint of the community-sentiment, as well as national and literary value, for its use along many centuries has connected generations and is in itself a vehicle for high-level linguistic culture.<sup>19</sup> These melodies suffered alterations in the Transylvanian practice, but we can also state that the nation transformed this foreign material into songs that better suited their traits. The mission of church musicians in the future will be to develop a proper balance within psalm singing, to let all genres – liturgical psalms with Biblical text, psalm paraphrases and the Gevenese Psalter alike – shine during the Hungarian reformed liturgy.

(Translated by Köpeczy Julianna)

<sup>17</sup> Regarding the assimilation of melodies, Csomasz Tóth Kálmán states the following: “*It is illuminating to observe that melodies that have been assimilated through institutional routes do not present any predicament: they appear in the same form in the Hungarian practice as well. In contrast, when talking about songs coming from the Polish or Czech side, it is seldom that the Hungarian version does not present certain uniquely independent elements... sometimes the entire form is adapted... This is proof of the power of assimilation on one hand and of the malleability of the foreign melody on the other.*” Régi Magyar Dallamok Tára I (Collection of Old Hungarian Melodies I), *A XVI. század magyar dallamai (The Hungarian Melodies of the 16<sup>th</sup> century)*, Akadémiai Kiadó (Academic Publishing House), Budapest, 1958, p. 97.

<sup>18</sup> The opinion of Csomasz Tóth Kálmán on the psalms: “*There is no doubt regarding the beauty and expressivity of the Huguenot melodies; still, their positioning within the Hungarian musical life proves the fact that they were not capable to melt into the world of Hungarian melodies. This was due to the unusual forms of both verses and melodies, also to the fact that in a particular way those psalms closest to the world of our popular songs were the psalms that according to early 19<sup>th</sup> century documents were not known or in use.*” Régi Magyar Dallamok Tára I (Collection of Old Hungarian Melodies I.), *A XVI. század magyar dallamai (The Hungarian Melodies of the 16<sup>th</sup> century)*, Akadémiai Kiadó (The Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy), Budapest, 1958, p. 101.

<sup>19</sup> See: Dobszay, László, *A genfi zsoltárok használati értéke (The Use Value of the Genevese Psalter)*, in: Magyar Egyházzene (Hungarian Church Music), Published by Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság (Hungarian Church Music Society), Budapest, 2004/2005, p. 159.

## REFERENCES

- \*\*\*, *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára (The Hungarian Thesaurus)*, Edited by: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézet (The Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Scientific Academy), Budapest, 1961.
- \*\*\*, *Erdélyi Féniks. Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós öröksége. (Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós' Heritage)* (Preface study and explicatory notes by Jakó Zsigmond), Bucharest, 1974.
- Ballagi, Mór, *A magyar nyelv teljes szótára (The Complete Hungarian Dictionary)* Pest, 1873.
- Benkő András, *A református énekvezér kézikönyve (The Handbook of the Reformed Music Leader)*, Published by Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület (The Transylvanian Reformed Diocese), Kolozsvár, 1994.
- Bódiss Tamás, *A zsoltár a református gyülekezeti éneklésben és egyházzében (The Psalm in the Reformed Congregational Singing and Church Music)*, in: Magyar Egyházzene (Hungarian Church Music), Published by Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság (Hungarian Church Music Society), Budapest, 2001/2002.
- Csomasz Tóth Kálmán, *Református gyülekezeti éneklés (Reformed Congregational Singing)*, Published by Református Egyetemes Konvent (The Universal Reformed Covenant), Budapest, 1950.
- Csomasz Tóth Kálmán, *Régi Magyar Dallamok Tára I (Collection of Old Hungarian Melodies I.), A XVI. század magyar dallamai (The Hungarian Melodies of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century)*, Akadémiai Kiadó (The Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy), Budapest, 1958.
- Dobszay László, *A genfi zsoltárok használati értéke (The Use Value of the Genevese Psalter)*, in: *Magyar Egyházzene (Hungarian Church Music)*, Published by Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság (Hungarian Church Music Society), Budapest, 2004/2005.
- Fekete Csaba, *A négy szólamú zsoltározás kezdetei (The beginnings of psalm singing for four voices)*, in: *Zsoltár (Psalm)*, Református Egyházzeneészek Munkaközösségének Lapja (Magazine of the Reformed Church Musicians), Budapest, 1997/2.
- Pálffy Károly, *Gyülekezeti éneklésünk történeti alakulása és jelen helyzete (The Historic Development and Current Condition of Our Congregational Singing)*, in: Református Szemle, Kolozsvár, 1980/issue 5-6.
- Szabó Csaba, *A szászcsávási hagyományos harmónia (The Traditional Harmony in Szászcsávás)*, in: *Zenetudományi Írások (Musicological Writings)*, Kriterion, Bucharest, 1977.