

GREGORIAN CHANT IN THE PRACTICE OF THE SAXON UNITARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA PART 2¹

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SUMMARY. This study examines the antiphon repertoire of the MSU 1042 manuscript, a 1622 German-language gradual compiled for the Saxon Unitarian community in Cluj. The source comprises 285 pages of meticulously notated music, including seventeen antiphons, which represent the core of this analysis. The antiphons are compared with Hungarian Reformed, Lutheran, and Unitarian sources, as well as with medieval Latin models. The analysis demonstrates that, although some items appear in Hungarian Unitarian collections, the majority of the Saxon antiphons are closely related to Reformed and Lutheran sources, particularly the *Öreg* gradual. The texts are predominantly biblical, often corresponding to Luther's translations, but doctrinal adaptations were made to align with Unitarian theology. The study shows that the Saxon Unitarian antiphons, while smaller in number than the Hungarian Unitarian repertoire, cover all liturgical cycles of the ecclesiastical year. They reflect a high degree of creative independence, pairing newly adapted texts with melodies derived from, but not identical to, medieval Gregorian chant patterns. MSU 1042 thus provides valuable insights into the musical practice, liturgical adaptation, and theological orientation of the 17th-century Saxon Unitarian community in Cluj.

Keywords: Gregorian chant; Saxon Unitarians; MSU 1042; Antiphons; manuscript gradual

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In the early 2000s, as part of my master's and doctoral research³, I conducted a comparative study of the antiphon repertoire preserved in several Hungarian gradual sources. These included the collections of Gál Huszár (1560–61 and 1574)⁴, the Batthyány, Ráday, and Óvári graduals⁵, the Eperjesi gradual⁶, as well as the Sáczyay⁷ and Öreg⁸ graduals. To this corpus I also added a selection of southern German and Czech manuscripts. The principal aim of that study was to determine how the antiphons—one of the largest genre groups, comprising approximately 680 items—related to the medieval tradition. Specifically, I examined whether the repertoire merely copied pre-existing items or whether it represented original, creative adaptation within the Protestant liturgical context.

The results demonstrated that, although the development of the gradual genre was inevitably influenced by foreign models, the antiphon repertoire of the studied Hungarian graduals can be traced back primarily to medieval Hungarian precedents. Most items are based on domestic patterns, predominantly those associated with the Esztergom liturgical region. Moreover, the research highlighted a significant aspect of compositional practice: despite the widespread production of precise textual and melodic translations, the authors of gradual antiphons demonstrated a creative approach. Drawing on their knowledge of the medieval Gregorian musical language, melodic formulas, and liturgical applications, they were able to produce a repertoire suitable for Protestant worship.

³ Papp, Anette. *A graduál-antifónák középkori kapcsolatai* („The medieval relations of the *graduale antiphons*”). Egyházzene-doktori disszertációk, V. Ed MTA Támogatott Kutatóhelyek Irodája – Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music Church Music Research Group, Budapest, 2008.

⁴ Borsa, Gedeon ed. *Huszár Gál: A keresztyéni gyülekezetben való isteni dicsérek. Kálmáncsehi Márton: Reggeli éneklések, Debrecen 1560–1561. (Huszár, Gál: Divine praises for the Christian congregation. Kálmáncsehi, Márton: Morning services 1560-1561)*. Facsimile edition. Study by Borsa, Gedeon. Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua 12, Budapest, 1983. Hubert, Gabriella ed. *Huszár Gál: A keresztyéni gyülekezetben való isteni dicsérek és imádságok, Komjáti 1574 (Huszár Gál: Divine praises and prayers for the Christian congregation, Komjáti 1574)*. Facsimile edition. Study by Hubert, Gabriella. Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua 13, Budapest, 1986.

⁵ Publication of the three volumes: Ferenczi, Ilona ed. *Graduale Ráday XVII*. Musicalia Danubiana 16. Budapest, 1997.

⁶ Ferenczi, Ilona ed. *Graduale Ecclesiae Hungaricae Eperiensis 1635*. Musicalia Danubiana 9*–**. MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, Budapest, 1988.

⁷ Debrecen, Library of the Trans-Tisza Reformed Church District, Manuscript Collection R 505.

⁸ *Öreg Graduál, mely mind az első fordításban vagy ujjonnan való szerkesztetésben, s-mind pedig az egy exemplárból másban való irattatásban esett fogyatkozásokat szorgalmasan meg tisztogattatott, és sok hozzá kívántatott szükséges részekkel meg öregbített.* Gyulafehérvár 1636. RMK I. 658.

The examination of the Protestant antiphon repertoire also revealed a shared, early-Protestant heritage, which remained recognizable even when denominational characteristics were maintained. This shared heritage can be most closely associated with the antiphons of sources from the central Hungarian liturgical area. While research on Reformed and Lutheran sources began as early as the 19th century⁹, systematic musicological investigations commenced only later in the century. These gradual books continue to attract scholarly attention. In contrast, the graduals of the Hungarian Unitarian Church, one of the last branches of the Reformation in Hungary, have received relatively little musicological attention—apart from studies of the Passion narrative. Today, nearly thirty manuscript graduals are known to have been in use by Hungarian Unitarians. These sources indicate that, like their Reformed and Lutheran counterparts, Hungarian Unitarians endeavored to preserve and integrate elements of the medieval, Hungarian-language Gregorian repertoire into their liturgy.

A few years ago, I began incorporating the antiphons of Hungarian Unitarian sources into my ongoing research¹⁰. In the first analysis, I established that most Unitarian sources partly or entirely contain the twenty-five antiphons that can be regarded as the “Hungarian Unitarian repertoire¹¹.” In terms of quantity, this repertoire is considerably more modest compared to other Protestant sources¹². It is also noteworthy that slightly more than half of these items appear in other Protestant sources as well¹³, twelve items are, according to my research, documented only in Unitarian sources, and six items can be classified within the “overall Protestant” corpus.

In an earlier study, I compiled a statistical summary examining how antiphons in Reformed and Lutheran sources relate to the medieval repertoire: what percentage is based on a specific Latin model, what percentage already demonstrates significant independence in handling medieval material, and finally, what percentage is based on no concrete model but only on melodic topos. The study concluded that Protestant (Reformed and Lutheran) sources largely rely on a repertoire of antiphons derived from medieval models, only gently adjusted to meet new linguistic and musical requirements. By contrast,

⁹ See more: Ferenczi, Ilona. A graduálkutatás története. (*The History of Gradual Research*). In *Magyar Egyházzene* VII, 1999/2000, pp. 275–282.

¹⁰ For an analysis of the Hungarian Unitarian antiphon repertoire, see: Papp, Anette. Die Antiphone in den unitarischen Quellen. In *De musica disserenda* 2008, IV/1, pp. 79–92. (Herausgegeben vom Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowenischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste, Ljubljana.)

¹¹ This repertoire is so consistent that printed hymnals continued to reproduce the texts of the antiphons unchanged until the end of the 18th century.

¹² In other Hungarian Protestant sources, the number of antiphons ranges from 62 to 274.

¹³ Thirteen antiphons.

the compilers of the antiphon repertoire in Unitarian sources—differently from other Protestant denominations—exhibit a high degree of independence: 56% of the items are antiphons that cannot be traced to the medieval tradition. Here, new melodies in the Gregorian style are paired with texts that do not exist in the medieval repertoire. Although closer medieval musical models can occasionally be identified for individual items, in most cases these are freely composed works, based not on specific Latin antiphons but on stylistic models.

It is within this ongoing project that I now aim to incorporate the antiphons of the MSU 1042 manuscript.

The source MSU 1042 is a German-language manuscript compiled from 1622 for the use of the Saxon community in Cluj, assembled by their cantor, Lorenz Budaker. The manuscript comprises 285 numbered pages¹⁴, and its musical notation is executed with exceptional precision: clefs and end-of-line custodians are carefully applied, demonstrating Budaker's thorough musical training¹⁵. Unlike many Hungarian Protestant graduals, the MSU 1042 notation shows no signs of degradation or corruption over time. Among the relatively few items notated, seventeen antiphons form the core focus of the present study.

1. Von langen Zeiten her haben wir gehört aus dem Munde der Propheten

The Latin model for this antiphon is *A diebus antiquis*, an emblematic opening piece in medieval Hungarian codices¹⁶. From the *Codex Albensis*¹⁷ onward, Hungarian sources share a characteristic sequence of five Advent Sunday vespers antiphons, of which the first is *A diebus antiquis*¹⁸. Besides

¹⁴ The pagination is in ink up to page 195, then continues with pencil additions made later by hand.

¹⁵ On the decline of musical literacy in the 16th and 17th centuries, see: Csomasz Tóth, Kálmán. Szilvás-Ujfalvi Imre helye a zenetörténetben (Imre Szilvás-Ujfalvi's place in music history). In: *A Ráday Gyűjtemény évkönyve* II, 1981, pp. 57–73., and Ferenczi, Ilona. Zenei helyesírás és „variálás” a XVI–XVII. századi graduálokban (*Musical spelling and “variation” in 16th-17th century graduals*). In *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok* 1988, pp. 61–71.

¹⁶ Unlike other European medieval sources, Hungarian antiphons therefore begin with a capital “A.” This also means that if an antiphonal begins with this phrase, there is a good chance that it will be declared to have Hungarian provenance! For more information, see Dobszay, László. “A Breviarium Strigoniense jellegzetes pontjai” (The characteristic points of the Breviarium Strigoniense), In *Ars Hungarica*, XVII/1, 1989, pp. 37–40.

¹⁷ A-Gu Ms. 211, a codex probably originating from Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in the 12th century.

¹⁸ See more: Dobszay, László. *Corpus Antiphonarum. Európai örökség és hazai alakítás (Corpus Antiphonarum. European heritage and Its Hungarian Formulation)*. Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2003. p. 53.

the documented medieval Hungarian liturgical regions, it is reasonable to assume, as Czagány has suggested¹⁹, that it also held a stable place in the sparsely documented southeastern Hungarian (Transylvanian) Office²⁰. The antiphon's popularity and significance are evident in its inclusion in almost all Hungarian Reformed and Lutheran graduals, usually maintaining its position as the first item in the Advent series. Outside Hungary, it is also found in several late medieval Polish sources²¹. Whether this antiphon existed in the Transylvanian Saxon tradition cannot be determined with certainty due to the limited sources; in the manuscripts and printed sources we have examined, the piece rarely occurs, with only one source preserving a fragmentary version²².

2. Last uns wachen

This Advent Sunday antiphon corresponds to *Ecce Dominus veniet* and is traditionally sung to a fifth-tone melody across Europe. In Hungarian graduals, the piece appears with a vernacular translation for Advent. The Saxon Unitarian source provides a new German text composed from biblical elements²³ while adapting the melody to close on a G final, corresponding to the seventh tone. No other source demonstrates this specific tonal modification, though similar melodic transformations are known from medieval repertoire.

¹⁹ Czagány, Zsuzsa. Töredék, kódex, rítus, hagyomány. A Zalka Antifonále győri és modori töredékeinek tanúsága (*Fragment, codex, ritual, tradition. Evidence from the Győr and Modor fragments of the Zalka Antiphonary*). In: *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2011*. MTA BTK Zenetudományi Intézete, Budapest, 2012, pp. 123–142.

²⁰ For information on the antiphonary of the Transylvanian-Oradea rite, its liturgical arrangement, and musical analysis, see Dobszay, László. *Corpus Antiphonarum...* pp. 59–61, 68–72, 342, 362–363.

²¹ I am grateful to Jacob Kubienic, who, at my request, informed me that, apart from the Krakow cathedral, the A diebus antiphon can be documented in the books of Gniezno and Plock. From his kind communication, I know that in Danzig they adopted the liturgy of the Teutonic Order, in which A diebus does not appear.

²² Source marked: I.F.78, f 37. Published by: Szőcs, Tamás. *Kirchenlied zwischen Pest und Stadtbrand. Das Kronstädter Kantional I.F.78 aus dem 17. Jahrhundert*. Böhlau Verlag Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2009. p. 109. Szőcs was presumably unable to identify the piece due to the fragmentary nature of the antiphon.

²³ 1Thess 5:6 and 1Thess 3:13. The source text is almost identical to Luther's translation of the Bible: „So lasset vns nu nicht schlaffen / wie die andern / sondern lasset vns wachen vnd nüchtern sein. And: Das ewre hertzen gesterckt vnd vnstrefflich seien / in der heiligkeit fur Gott vnd vnsern Vater / auff die zukunfft vnser HErrn Jhesu Christi sampt allen seinen Heiligen”.

Picture 1

Last uns wach-ten und nüch-tern sei und wartn auf die zu- kunft

Í - me az Úr el - jő és min-den ő szen - te - i

Ec-ce Do - mi - nus ve-ni - et et o - mnes san-cti e - jus

un-se-res Herrn Je-su Christ der mit all sein hei - li-gen und En-geln

ő-vé - le és lé - szen a na - pon nagy

cum e - o et e - rit in di - e il - la lux

zu- künf- tig ist al - le-lu- ia.

vi-lá - gos-ság, al - le - lu - ja.

ma - gna al - le - lu - ja.

MSU 1042 f. 7–8, *Graduale Ecclesiae Hungaricae Epperiensis*
f. 29–29v, STR-2²⁴ f. 2v.

²⁴ Antiphonale, XV., Pozsony/Bratislava, Slovenský národný archív / Fond Kapitulskej knižnice 2.

3. Der Herr hat seinen Volk die Erlösung bracht

This antiphon, modeled on *Redemptionem misit*, is a stable element in medieval sources and appears in several Hungarian graduals in translation²⁵. In both the Hungarian and German renditions, the melismatic structure of the medieval item is partially dismantled, and the music is reshaped to accommodate the new text.

4. Ein Kind ist uns geboren

Picture 2



MSU 1042, f. 12.

The *Puer natus est* antiphon serves as the introit for the Christmas Mass throughout Europe²⁶. Its melody appears in a fairly uniform form across various medieval sources, yet this melody is not related to the Saxon Unitarian adaptation. The text of *Puer natus*²⁷ was also popular in the medieval chanson repertoire, but the associated melodies do not correspond to the German version, just as the *Puer natus* responsory is only very loosely connected to the newly arranged antiphon. However, given the richness of the troped

²⁵ The text is taken from Psalm 111:9. In Luther: „ER sendet eine Erlösung seinem Volck / Er verheisset / das sein Bund ewiglich bleiben sol“.

²⁶ In medieval tradition, December 24, Christmas Eve, had its own Mass, the introit of which was *Hodie scietis*. The introits of the three Christmas Masses are as follows: Midnight Mass – *Dominus dixit*, Dawn Mass – *Lux fulgebit*, and High Mass – *Puer natus est*.

²⁷ Isaiah 9:5. In Luther's translation: „Denn Vns ist ein Kind geboren / ein son ist vns gegeben / welchs Herrschafft ist auff seiner Schulder / Vnd er heisst / Wunderbar / Rat / Krafft / Helt / ewig Vater / Friedfürst“.

introit versions of *Puer natus*²⁸, it is possible that the closer melodic model for the German item should be sought within that repertoire.

5. Christus ist von Gott gemacht

Likely a contrafactum, this antiphon derives its text from 1 Corinthians 1:30²⁹, while its melody is based on a particular first-tone, two-line antiphon type with a postposed final³⁰. This type also includes the Magnificat antiphon for the Second Vespers after Epiphany, which may indicate its melodic model. Similar contrafacta occur in the Hungarian gradual repertoire (e.g., *Deficiente vino*)³¹.

6. Erbarm dich oh Gott

The antiphon *Miserere mihi*, based on Psalm 4:2, appears in most Hungarian Reformed graduals as a general or Lenten item³². The German version in MSU 1042 aligns closely with the text and melody of the original medieval antiphon³³, reflecting precise adaptation comparable to the Hungarian examples.

²⁸ Stäblein, Bruno. „Introitus”. In *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (MGG) Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik (ed. Friedrich Blume) 1–15, Kassel-Basel 1949–1973. pp. 1375–1382. McKinnon, James. „Introitus”. In *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (MGG) Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik, begründet von Friedrich Blume. Zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe, hrsg. von Ludwig Finscher. Kassel-Basel etc. 1994-. 1116–1126. Weiß, Günther (ed.): *Introitus-Tropen I. Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Tropen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi Band III. Bärenreiter Kassel etc. 1970.

²⁹ In Luther's translation: „Von welchem auch jr her kompt in Christo Jhesu / Welcher vns gemacht ist von Gott zur Weisheit / vnd zur Gerechtigkeit / vnd zur Heiligung / vnd zur Erlösung”. Relatively few medieval antiphons were composed based on texts from Paul's letters.

³⁰ For the musical typology of first-tone antiphons, see: Dobszay, László. *Az antifóna (The Antiphon)*. Ed. by the Department for Church Music of the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music and the Hungarian Church Music Society, Budapest, 1995. p. 6., and Dobszay, László. *Corpus Antiphonarum...* pp. 165–168.

³¹ Beginning with *Szűz Máriának dicséretével (Praise of the Virgin Mary)* in almost all sources; assigned to the middle of the year, sometimes as a Magnificat antiphon. Beginning with *Minden Isten szerint való házasságnak (Every marriage according to God)* in Huszár Gál's 1574 gradual (CCXXIIIb), for the feast of the Epiphany, as a Magnificat antiphon.

³² *Könyörülj rajtunk Úr Isten (Have mercy on us, Lord God)*, less often *Irgalmaz nekem Úr Isten (Have mercy on me, Lord God)*.

³³ In Luther's translation: „ERhöre mich / wenn ich ruffe / Gott meiner gerechtigkeit / Der du mich tröstest in angst Sey mir gnedig / vnd erhöre mein gebet”.

7. Mitten wir im Leben sei

The *Media vita in morte sumus* antiphon was a widely known item throughout the Middle Ages. In the liturgy, it was used as a Lenten antiphon, but it also served various paraliturgical functions, such as prayers for the dead, processions, and times of need. In German-speaking regions, vernacular translations existed before 1500: the earliest prose version dates from 1422, and several metrical forms from pre-Reformation times are also known³⁴. Building on this antiphon³⁵, Luther composed his own textual version in 1524, expanding the first stanza with two additional verses to create his chorale. In several Hungarian graduals, the item *A mi életünknek közepette* is associated with the singing of the litany; this single-verse version may derive from German sources, and it is possible that it originates from a German folk version of *Media vita*³⁶.

By contrast, the Cluj source returns to the original antiphon, providing a translation set to its melody. The German text compiler was certainly familiar with Luther's version, as he retained it wherever possible. It should be noted, however, that Luther altered the meaning of the medieval text in one particular respect: whereas the Latin version has the supplicant asking for deliverance from the peril of death, Luther's variant expresses penitence for sin and petitions for salvation from the depths of death. Additionally, the chorale concludes with the Kyrie eleison insertion, which is also from Luther. The Cluj source omits both Luther's textual modifications and the versal addition at the end.

³⁴ See: Wackernagel, Karl Eduard Philipp. *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 5 Bände, Leipzig, 1864–1877. II, Nr. 991.

³⁵ Jenny refutes the widely held view that the model for the Mitten wir theme was a sequence composed by Notker of St. Gallen (for details, see: Jenny, Marcus. *Luther, Zwingli, Calvin in ihren Liedern*. Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 1983. p. 78). As Jenny notes, the medieval model was not a sequence, but rather an antiphon, the origins of which can probably be found in the Gallican rite.

³⁶ According to Csomasz Tóth: „Egyik-másik antifonadallam átalakult protestáns népénekké, mégpedig úgy, hogy a népéneki dallamváltozat meglehetősen függetlennek látszik ugyanannak az antifonadallamnak külföldi hasonló természetű származékánál.” (*“Some antiphonal melodies were transformed into Protestant folk songs, in such a way that the folk song melody variant appears to be quite independent from the foreign derivative of the same antiphonal melody.”*). See: Csomasz Tóth, Kálmán. *Előmunkálatok a magyar graduálok hazai kapcsolatainak felderítéséhez* (Preliminary work on exploring the domestic connections of Hungarian graduales). In *Hagyomány és haladás*. Csomasz Tóth Kálmán válogatott írásai születése 100. évfordulójára (Tradition and progress. Selected writings by Kálmán Csomasz Tóth on the 100th anniversary of his birth). Ed. by Bódis, Tamás. Budapest 2003. p. 313.

8. Des Herren Engel

This antiphon, an adaptation of *Angelus autem Domini*, is unique in that it appears in both Hungarian Reformed/Lutheran and Unitarian repertoires and is included in MSU 1042. While most Hungarian translations preserve the Latin text, the German version supplements it with narrative details from the preceding biblical verse³⁷, describing the angel rolling away the stone and consoling the women.

9. Die Wiber gingen zu dem Grab

This antiphon is a precise translation of *Et dicebant ad invicem*, also attested in several Hungarian graduals. The German text adheres closely to the biblical quotation³⁸ but supplements it with explanatory elements: it specifies that the women went to the tomb and retains only one of the two concluding alleluias, replacing the second with the angel's question, "Whom do you seek?"

10. Ihr Menner aus Galilaea

Performed during the laudes of the Ascension, this widely recognized antiphon corresponds to *Viri Galilaei*. Its translation in MSU 1042 closely mirrors the melody and structure found in Hungarian Reformed and Lutheran sources³⁹, though the German text conveys a summary rather than a literal rendering of the Latin scripture⁴⁰.

11. O du König der Ehren

This Magnificat antiphon for the Second Vespers of Ascension was not transmitted into Hungarian graduals. In the MSU 1042 source, however, it appears with a highly precise German translation of the Latin text⁴¹.

³⁷ Matthew 28:2. In Luther's translation: „Vnd sihe / es geschach ein gros Erdbeben. Denn der Engel des HERRN kam vom Himel her ab / trat hin zu / vnd waltzet den Stein von der Thür / vnd satzte sich drauff”.

³⁸ Mark 16:3. In Luther's translation: „Vnd sie sprachen vnternander / Wer waltzet vns den stein von des Grabs thür?”.

³⁹ *Galileabeli férfiak (Men from Galilee)*.

⁴⁰ Acts 1:11. In Luther's translation: „Jr menner von Galilea / was stehet jr / vnd sehet gen Himel? Dieser Jhesus / welcher von euch ist auffgenommen gen Himel / wird komen / wie jr in gesehen habt / gen Himel faren”.

⁴¹ *O Rex gloriae Domine virtutum qui triumphator hodie super omnes caelos ascendisti ne derelinquas nos orphanos sed mitte promissum Patris in nos Spiritum veritatis alleluia.*

12. Gib den Heiligen Geist

The first antiphon of the Pentecost first vespers is the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, an antiphon known throughout Europe. Its vernacular, strophic translation was certainly in use in German-speaking regions as early as the 15th century⁴². In addition to the versified version, a prose translation of the antiphon also circulated⁴³. Based on this textual form—and supplemented with two new stanzas—Luther composed his Pentecost chorale *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*⁴⁴. Alongside Luther's strophic congregational hymn, some German Protestant sources also present a vernacular version of the antiphon set to the Gregorian melody. Among these sources, the most significant is the collection published in Wittenberg in 1573⁴⁵, which was known to the Transylvanian Saxon Lutherans, several copies of which are still preserved in Transylvanian libraries⁴⁶.

In the German-language Unitarian manuscript from Cluj, two versions of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* antiphon are included: Luther's chorale, and the Gregorian antiphon with a German text that has not previously been documented in other sources. Just as the Keuchenthal collection does not provide an exact translation of the antiphon in German, the Cluj manuscript also does not present a precise translation⁴⁷.

⁴² Kum heiliger geyst, herre gott, erfüll uns mit deinen gnaden güt... See: Wackernagel, Karl Eduard Philipp. *Das deutsche Kirchenlied...* II, Nr. 987.

⁴³ Wackernagel cites two pre-Reformation variants, but similar texts appeared in the 1527 Erfurt and 1528 Zwickau Enchiridion, as well as in the 1530 Blum songbook.

⁴⁴ Hungarian hymnals do not use the original melody, but pair the translation of Luther's *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* with a Hungarian melody. See: Csomasz Tóth, Kálmán. Die Melodien des Lutherliedes in Ungarn. In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 10, 1968, pp. 11–36. However, the original version of Luther's chorale is included in all Transylvanian Lutheran Saxon sources without exception, and it is also included in the Unitarian source from Cluj.

⁴⁵ Keuchenthal, Johannes: Kirchen-Gesenge Latinisch vnd Deudsch sampt allen Euangelien Episteln vnd Collecten auff die Sontage vnd Feste nach Ordnung der zeit durchs gantze Ihar Zum Ampt so man das Hochwirdige Sacrament des Abendmals vnser HERRN IHESV CHRISTI handelt ... fur die Euangelischen Kirchen in Deutscher sprach gestellet vnd verordnet sind zusamen gebracht. Vnd jtzund erstlich. Wittenberg, 1573.

⁴⁶ Hermannstadt, Bibliothek des Brukenenthal-Museum: V III 770; Nationalarchiv Hermannstadt, Sammlung Brukenenthal: SA B J.J. II 1086.

⁴⁷ Today's German translation of the antiphon: Komm, Heiliger Geist, /erfüll die Herzen deiner Gläubigen, /entflamme in ihnen das Feuer deiner Liebe. /Der du in all den verschiedenen Sprachen /Völker in einen geeinten Glauben versammelt hast! /Halleluja! Halleluja.

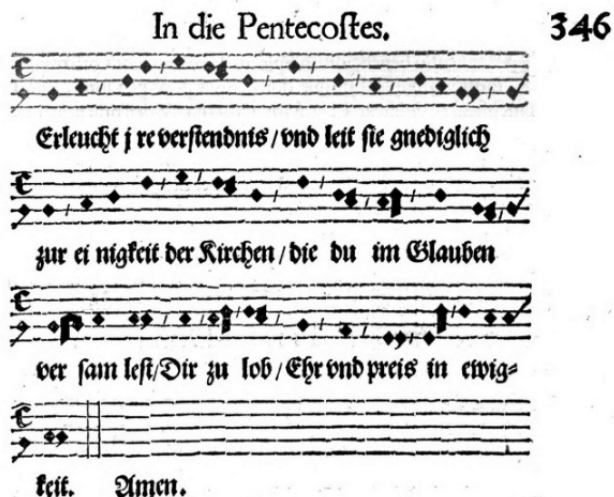
Picture 3



Luther's chorale from MSU 1042, f. 40–41.

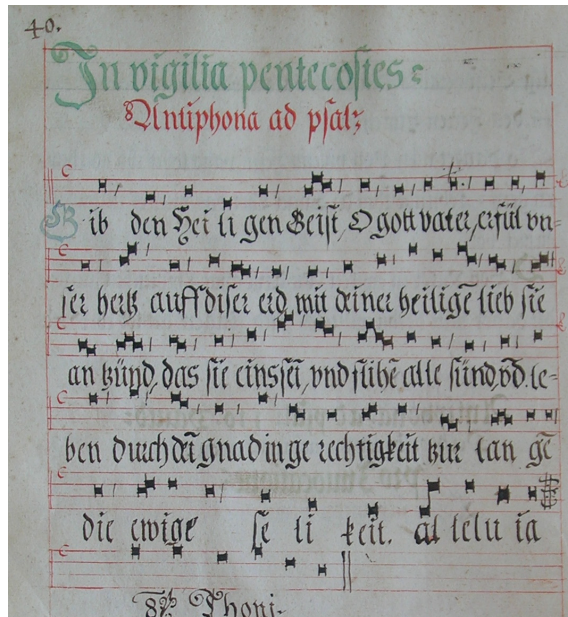
Picture 4





The German version of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* antiphon from Keuchethal's songbook (p. 345–346)

Picture 5



MSU 1042, f. 40.

13. Sie werden alle voll

The second Pentecost antiphon in MSU 1042 is modeled on Repletisunt, performed as the third laudes antiphon. The Latin text is preserved in Hungarian Reformed and Lutheran sources⁴⁸. The German adaptation similarly deviates from a literal biblical rendering, though it follows the general structure of the original⁴⁹.

14. Der Herr ist König

This antiphon belongs to the cycle of 6th-tone Ordinary Time antiphons, related to psalmic texts, often accompanied by a responsory breve and invitatory⁵⁰. In MSU 1042, a text drawn from Psalm 146⁵¹ is set to this melodic type. Comparable text-melody pairings are not attested in the Hungarian sources, although Hungarian graduals contain similar procedures.

Picture 6



MSU 1042, f. 45., Öreg gradual, p. 209⁵², Öreg gradual p. 451, Str-2 f. 64v.

⁴⁸ *Betelének mindnyájan* (They were all filled with the Holy Spirit): Eperjesi Gradual f 251; *Bételjesedének az apostolok* (The apostles were filled): Öreg Gradual p 478. The two items – although both are translations of medieval antiphons – are not identical. The item in the Cluj manuscript shows closer affinity with the melodic solution of the Öreg Gradual.

⁴⁹ Acts 2:4. In Luther's translation: „vnd wurden alle vol des heiligen Geists / Vnd fiengen an zu predigen mit andern Zungen / nach dem der Geist jnen gab aus zusprechen”.

⁵⁰ For the musical typology of sixth-tone antiphons, see: Dobszay, László. *Corpus Antiphonarum...* pp. 173–175.

⁵¹ Psalm 146:10. In Luther's translation: „Der HERR ist König ewiglich / Dein Gott Zion für vnd für / Haleluia”.

⁵² See also this item in this form: *Huszár Gál* 1574, p. CCCXXXb–CCCXXXI; *Ráday gradual* f. 220.

15. Dich am Anfang

While many Hungarian Reformed and Lutheran antiphons derive from fragmentary translations or excerpts of medieval pieces⁵³, MSU 1042 contains only one such example. The antiphon for Trinity Sunday, *Te Deum Patrem in genium Magnificat*, is preserved not only in medieval sources but also in the Öreg gradual⁵⁴ and Keuchenthal collections. In the Saxon Unitarian manuscript, only the first phrase of the medieval antiphon is given, with a consciously altered text differing from the Keuchenthal version⁵⁵, likely due to its theological content.

16. Preis seid ir

Another characteristic antiphon for Trinity Sunday, *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, is also known in Protestant collections. Similar to the previous item, it appears both in Hungarian graduals and in the Keuchenthal songbook⁵⁶.

In Reformed and Lutheran graduals, besides its exact translation⁵⁷, its contrafactum is almost universally present across sources⁵⁸. With a translation differing from the Keuchenthal collection, the antiphon may also have been used by the Transylvanian Saxon Lutherans, as evidenced by a manuscript⁵⁹ in which the following item, labeled *Symbolum Athanasii Episcopi*, is found:

⁵³ For further details, see: Papp, Anette. *A graduál-antifónák középkori kapcsolatai. (The medieval relations of the graduale antiphons)*. DLA thesis. Published in: Doctoral dissertations on church music, V. MTA Supported Research Centers Office – Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music Church Music Research Group, Budapest, 2008, pp. 141–166.

⁵⁴ *Tégedet teremtő Atyát (You, Creator Father)*, p. 482.

⁵⁵ pp. 588v–589. *Dich ewigen Gott ungeborenen Vater / dich eingebornen Son (!) / dich Tröster heiligen Geist / heilige ungeteilte Dreifaltigkeit / bekennen wir mit mund und ganzem herzen / Loben dich / gebenedeien dich / Dir sey ehr / wirdigkeit in ewigkeit.*

⁵⁶ *Ehre sey dir du höchste Dreifaltigkeit* pp. 586–586r.

⁵⁷ *Dicséret légyen tenéked (Praise be to you)*: Huszár Gál p. 1560 p. A₆; Huszár Gál 1574 p. XVb; Batthyányi Gradual f. 196, Eperjesi Gradual f. 295, Öreg Gradual p. 166. *Dicséret néked Szentháromság (Praise be to you, Holy Trinity)*: Öreg Gradual p. 480; *Dicsőség tenéked Szentháromság (Glory be to you, Holy Trinity)*: Öreg Gradual p. 481.

⁵⁸ *Téged egynek álatban (You are essentially one in substance)* and *Az Úr Isten oltalmazta (The Lord God protected him)*.

⁵⁹ Nationalarchiv Hermannstadt, Sammlung Brukenenthal: CANTIONALE Das ist GESANGBUCH... Andreas Wrmenius den Homorod Anno 1649. Signatur: jj 1092.

Picture 7



Cantionale 1649, p. 96.

The Cluj manuscript preserves a version very close to this one, yet it carefully rewrites the formulations of the Trinitarian doctrine:

Picture 8



MSU 1042, f. 50.

The main findings of these analyses can be summarized as follows:

- Despite being a Unitarian collection, it has almost no material in common with items documented in Hungarian Unitarian sources, with one exception. This is notable because the manuscript documenting the practice of the Unitarian Saxons in Cluj was produced around the same time as the

collection summarizing the Hungarian Unitarian repertoire, possibly only a few years apart. The so-called 'Csonka' antiphonal was recently confirmed to have been written between 1607–1632, clearly for the Hungarian Unitarian congregation in Cluj⁶⁰. Thus, the Saxon volume has practically no material in common with this source.

- Most of the antiphons in the Saxon Unitarian collection of Cluj can also be found in Hungarian Reformed sources, primarily from the so-called "Öreg" gradual⁶¹.

- Like the antiphons in Hungarian Unitarian sources, those in the Saxon collection are largely based on Biblical texts, often identical to Luther's translation. However, if the original exemplary antiphon contains dogmatic content, especially concerning the Trinity, which is foreign to Unitarian doctrine, the text is modified. Although in some cases we can be certain that the author of the Saxon Unitarian translation was familiar with the ready-made antiphons used by German Lutherans, he did not adopt them in full. The individual responsible for these textual adaptations remains unknown. In the preface to the *cancionale* published in 1620, Bishop Radecke writes: "It is therefore right that we should not abandon such a good custom (i.e., singing). Since, however, by the grace of God, the doctrine in our Church has been reformed, nothing can be found which is contrary to the word of God. For this reason, I have found it necessary to correct the hymns. I have been diligent to put them in order⁶²." From Radecke's words, it may be suggested that he himself was responsible for 'correcting' the Gregorian chants.

- It is also important to note that, like the Hungarian Reformed/Evangelical sources, the antiphons in the Saxon Unitarian collection are mostly based on clearly identifiable medieval patterns. The original musical structure is often altered due to changes in the text length, with new movements flexibly adapted to the existing musical patterns. The composer of the Saxon Unitarian antiphons was likely well acquainted with the musical language and typesetting of medieval Gregorian music.

⁶⁰ Csonka antiponale, S143. For an overview, see: Hevesi, Andrea. „*Velünk együtt énekeljenek és imádkozzanak az Úrnak*”. A 17. századi unitárius gyülekezeti ének („*They shall sing and pray with us to the Lord*”). *The Unitarian Church Song in the 17th Century*. Budapest, 2018, pp. 50–54.

⁶¹ The „Öreg” gradual was printed in 1636 in Gyulafehérvár on the order of the Transylvanian Reformed prince, and this volume is one of the most significant and representative Hungarian Reformed graduals.

⁶² Valentin Radecius: *Geistliche Gesänge*. Clausenburg, 1620. Preface, unpaginated. Quoted by Szegedi 2011, 294.

- Although the Saxon Unitarian antiphonal repertoire is narrower than the Hungarian Unitarian repertoire (each Hungarian Unitarian source contains 25 antiphons), it provides material for all the festive cycles of the church year.

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