

## Article

# Comparative Analysis of the *Ritual of Esztergom* (1625) and the *Roman Ritual* (1614)

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**Abstract:** This study analyses the *Ritual of Esztergom*, a ritual book published in 1625 containing rites for the celebration of sacraments and sacramentals administered by priests. The edition of this ritual book belongs to the period after the Council of Trent when the process of adaptation to the Roman liturgy began. The common elements and differences between the *Ritual of Esztergom* (1625) and the *Roman Ritual* (1614) are determined by comparative analysis. Our research has revealed a significant similarity with the *Roman Ritual*. Particularities preserved in the liturgical practice from the original Rite of Esztergom were identified in celebrating baptism, marriage and some blessings.

**Keywords:** Rituale Strigoniense; Péter Pázmány; Rite of Esztergom; Council of Trent

## 1. Introduction

The study of the history of Christian worship requires proper knowledge and analysis of the various liturgical books that help to create a picture of the ritual forms and contents of the celebration as well as of the religious life of the time. The lex orandi found in these precious sources is essential for theological reflection. One of the liturgical books that occupies a privileged place is the *Rituale*. This liturgical book bears witness to the different forms of popular religiosity and liturgical worship of different periods.

The *Ritual of Esztergom* (lat. *Rituale Strigoniense*), published in 1625, is one of these precious sources. It is a special ritual book of the Archdiocese of Esztergom (lat. Strigonium), the first and most important diocese of Hungary. It was founded in the year 1000 by Stephen I, King of Hungary (canonised as Saint Stephen of Hungary in 1083) and is the seat of the Primate of Hungary.

### 1.1. The *Rituale* as a Liturgical Book

The *Rituale* contains all the texts necessary for the celebration of the rites outside the mass and the office, i.e., all the other sacraments, rites and blessings that are not the responsibility of the bishop. The terminology is quite varied; the most common names, apart from “rituale”, are “agenda”, “obsequiale”, “manuale”, “sacerdotale” or “pastorale”. Before their standardisation, which began in the sixteenth century, they were prepared locally at the level of individual dioceses. They are, therefore, a valuable source of information about liturgical and pastoral practice in a given place at a given time (Folsom 2003, p. 327).

From the ninth century onwards, the parish became increasingly important as an ecclesiastical entity distinct from the local cathedral or monastery, leading to changes in the style of pastoral ministry. There was a new interest in the presbyteral liturgy as distinct from the episcopal or monastic liturgy in all its many sacramental forms: hence the need for a book containing all the liturgical texts necessary for the exercise of the priestly ministry. For these reasons, the so-called libelli began to appear, which combined the texts of the prayers and the rubrics describing the rite. These first libelli were prepared mainly for the rites of penance, the anointing of the sick and funerals. There were occasions when the liturgy was celebrated not in the church, where the priest had all the necessary books, but



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in the home of the sick, so there was a need for a booklet that could be easily carried during these pastoral visits (Folsom 2003, p. 328; Palazzo 1998, pp. 189–90).

The libelli have been very well studied by Gy, who essentially distinguishes between the two types of books: the collectar-ritual and the sacramentary-ritual (Gy 1960). The combination of collectar and ritual manuals originated in the monastic environment in the tenth century and lasted at least until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The collectar contained all the introductory prayers (lat. collecta) needed by the celebrant for the Liturgy of the Hours, while the ritual manual associated with it usually contained the texts needed for the Liturgy of the Sick and the Dead, as well as rites specific to monasteries. The sacramentary-ritual combined in a balanced way the texts of certain sacramental celebrations (penance, baptism, funerals) and the formularies of the masses corresponding to these celebrations with the addition of some votive masses, depending on the devotion of the user, whether monk or secular priest. This type of composite book progressively disappeared from the twelfth century on, when the missal and ritual books evolved separately (Palazzo 1998, pp. 191–92).

From the twelfth century onwards, ritual manuals independent of any liturgical book became more widespread. The monastic influence was still strong, both because the monks were involved in pastoral work in the surrounding areas and because they had the scriptorium, where the book was copied for the priest of the local diocese. A well-known example of this type of book is the *Ritual of St. Florian* (Franz 1904). During the thirteenth century, *Rituale* gradually began to be used outside the monastic context and increasingly in the parish. One reason for this was the insistence of various diocesan synods that the parish priest should have a manual. In addition, in the thirteenth century, as mentioned above, the rites that were not reserved for bishops were removed from the pontifical. In the fourteenth century, the diocesan bishop became primarily responsible for publishing a *Rituale* for his diocese. An example of this is the *Ritual of Bishop Henry of Wrocław* (1301–1319) (Franz 1912). In the fifteenth century, *Rituale* continued to be published with very different contents, so no two were exactly alike. The sixteenth century, on the other hand, was a period of standardisation. Ritual books printed before the Tridentine reform were very similar to earlier manuscripts, but after the publication of the *Roman Ritual* in 1614, uniformity was sought (Folsom 2003, pp. 327–29; Palazzo 1998, pp. 188–94; for repertories of medieval ritual books see for example Vogel 1975; Molin and Aussedat-Minvielle 1984; Probst 1993; for history of the *Roman Ritual* see Sodi et al. 2003).

Before the Council of Trent, liturgical books were not published centrally in Rome, but by local archbishops—metropolitans for their ecclesiastical provinces. This was also the practice in the Archdiocese of Esztergom. To the most important and oldest written sources of the liturgical tradition in Hungary belong the *Codex Prayanus* (also known as the *Sacramentarium Boldvense*) and the *Codex Szelephényi* (also known as the *Codex Nitriensis Latinus*), both from the twelfth century (Radó 1959). There are other sources from the period after the printing press was invented that have been the subject of scientific research in recent years. Researchers have also focused on the liturgical books published in the Archdiocese of Esztergom and several diplomatic or critical editions of liturgical books have been compiled (Dobszay 2004; Déri 2009; Földváry 2009). Several studies have also analysed the *Ritual of Esztergom*, but only from the point of view of printing history, linguistics or in the context of research on medieval liturgical music (Hradný 1968; Papp 2013). A more comprehensive liturgical and historical analysis of the *Ritual of Esztergom* has not yet been carried out.

This study responds to a general lack of knowledge about the development of the *Rituale* in the Hungarian context in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Its aim is to deepen the study of the *Ritual of Esztergom* from the perspective of liturgical history. Considering the historical context, the aim is to determine the degree of adaptation to the Roman liturgy after the Council of Trent. Therefore, we will compare the *Roman Ritual* and the *Ritual of Esztergom* in order to find the peculiarities of the Esztergom Rite that are not found in the Roman Rite. We will also look for these peculiarities in the earlier ritual

manuals of the sixteenth century in order to confirm their specificity for the Province of Esztergom. The comparison will be mainly structural, in order to identify those rites and their elements worthy of further study in a wider context.

### 1.2. The Historical Context of the Ritual of Esztergom

The sixteenth century was a time of significant change for the church in Hungary. Although the Ottoman threat was growing, the political authorities did not take it seriously. The Ottoman Sultan Suleiman crushed the hastily assembled Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526, opening the door to Hungary to subjugate all Christian Europe. Most of the Hungarian army commanders, two archbishops and five bishops died in the battle, while the king died in his escape. The consequences of the Battle of Mohács were, therefore, catastrophic. The political map of Hungary was changed and the country lost its political and ecclesiastical leaders (Nepšinský 1998, pp. 15–16).

In 1543, the Ottomans reached Esztergom and most of the Hungarian kingdom remained under the rule of the Ottoman Sultan. This situation was the reason for the Archbishop of Esztergom to change his residence to Trnava and Bratislava (Hišem 2007).

After the Battle of Mohács, there was a period of decline of church life in Hungary. Some dioceses remained vacant for a long time, which led to a weakening of ecclesiastical discipline. During this period of political and religious turbulence, many monasteries fell into decline and there were no institutions for the education and formation of priests. Archbishop Nicola Olah (1553–1568) was the first to try to tackle this problem and, at the same time, tried to respond to the Protestant movement that was already gaining ground in Hungary at that time. Through diocesan synods, even before the conclusion of the Council of Trent, he sought to renew the Catholic faith and maintain discipline in the Church. After he died in 1568, the See of Esztergom remained vacant for almost half a century. No one called a provincial synod and so the decisions of the Council of Trent could not be put into practice (Bucko 1940, pp. 102–7).

After 47 years, the Catholic renewal began with Archbishop Ferenc Forgách (1607–1615). In 1611, the provincial synod was held, which was of great importance for the Catholic reform in the country (Nepšinský 1998, pp. 75–77). Following in Ferenc Forgách's footsteps, his successor, Archbishop Péter Pázmány (1616–1637), also convened several diocesan and provincial synods (Shore and Tusor 2020). Two of these are crucial for our research. The synod of 1629 obliged all parishes to use the *Ritual of Esztergom*, published in 1625 (Péterffy 1742, pp. 250–86). Subsequently, the provincial synod of 1633 decided to adopt the *Roman Missal* (1570) and the *Roman Breviary* (1568) and to abandon the liturgical books of the Province of Esztergom (Jalovecký 1935, p. 229).

The *Ritual of Esztergom*, however, was not affected by this regulation. This is because the *Roman Ritual* of Paul V, issued in 1614, was never fully obligatory and room was left for local ritual books issued by local archbishops (Nocent 2005, p. 180). For this reason, the *Ritual of Esztergom* of 1625 is an important source for the liturgical research of the so-called Rite of Esztergom. After the Council of Trent, the liturgical peculiarities of the Esztergom Province survived only in this ritual book. Our research aims to deepen the study of the Esztergom Rite and compare the sources in order to determine the Esztergom peculiarities in the celebration of the sacraments and the sacramentals. Subsequently, it will be possible to trace their historical development and whether they have been preserved in contemporary liturgical practice.

## 2. The Ritual of Esztergom (*Rituale Strigoniense*)

Having presented the historical context, this section proceeds to a formal and structural description of the book as it was published. The *Ritual of Esztergom* consists of 327 numbered pages. Before these, at the beginning of the book, we find the title page, the decree and the index on seven unnumbered pages.

The title page gives some essential information about this ritual book, with the following text:

“Rituale Strigoniense, seu formula agendorum in administratione Sacramentorum, ac ceteris Ecclesie publicis functionibus. Iussu et auctoritate illustrissimi ac reverendissimi domini Petri Pázmány, archiepiscopi Strigoniensis etc. Nunc recenter editum. Posonii. In Aula Archiepiscopali. Anno Domini, M. DC. XXV.”

[The Ritual of Esztergom, i.e., the rites for the celebration of the sacraments and other public devotions of the Church. By order and authority of the most illustrious and reverend Peter Pázmány, Archbishop of Esztergom, etc. Latest edition. Bratislava. In the Archbishop’s Palace. In the year of our Lord 1625.]

It is a liturgical book containing the rites for the administration of the sacraments and other liturgical functions. The book was published under the authority of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Péter Pázmány, in 1625 in Bratislava (present-day Slovakia), then the seat of the Archbishop of Esztergom.

The second page after the title page contains a quotation from the First Letter to the Corinthians:

“1. ad Corinth. 14. v.40. Omnia autem honeste et secundum ordinem fiant.” [Let everything be done decently and in order.]

This quotation was already present in the decree promulgating the *Agendarius* (ritual book of Esztergom Province published previously in 1583), where Bishop Nicola Thelegdi considered it fundamental in the order of the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals: “Cum in Ecclesia Dei, monente Apostolo, omnia honeste et secundum ordinem fieri debeant” [For in the Church of God, according to the Apostle’s exhortation, all things are to be done decently and in order.] (*Agendarius* 1583, p. V). Therefore, it is clear that the *Ritual of Esztergom* (1625) compiler was also familiar with the *Agendarius* (1583). The *Agendarius* served as a source and inspiration for the compilation of a new *Rituale*.

The book continues with the promulgation decree (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, pp. III–V). The decree begins with a reference to Archbishop Péter Pázmány as the authority for its publication. The new ritual book is intended for bishops, abbots, archdeacons, canons, parish priests and other priests as subjects of the authority of the Metropolitan Church of Esztergom. The book is intended not only for the Archdiocese of Esztergom but also for the other dioceses belonging to the Ecclesiastical Province of Esztergom (at that time, almost all of Hungary). The decree goes on to affirm that the church is zealously committed to seeing that all things pertaining to the administration of the sacraments are carried out in an orderly and decent manner. Even in less critical matters, the apostolic tradition must be respected. Therefore, it is strictly forbidden to change anything in the sacred rites according to one’s own will.

The decree then mentions the ritual books published under the authority of Archbishop Nicola Olah in 1560 (*Ordo et Ritus*) and Bishop Nicola Thelegdi in 1583 (*Agendarius*). As these books were no longer available, Archbishop Péter Pázmány published the *Ritual of Esztergom*. This new ritual book is entirely in accordance with the *Roman Ritual* (1614). However, there are two exceptions: the rite of baptism of children and the rite of celebration of marriage, which contain particular customs already in use in Hungary. These particularities could not be changed without damage. Although Cardinal Pázmány only mentions these two differences in his decree, the book contains more differences from the *Roman Ritual*.

The priests were then invited to use this new ritual book. Archbishop Pázmány exhorts his priests, but also prescribes, under holy obedience, that they use only this new *Rituale* in the administration of the sacraments. Everyone was to try to conform to the Metropolitan Church of Esztergom: Mater et Magistra. This phrase had also been used by Bishop Nicola Olah: “Dignum enim est, ut aliae huius Dioecesis et provinciae Ecclesiae, earumque rectores, Strigoniensem Metropolitanam, veluti matrem et magistram sequantur” [It is fitting that other dioceses and ecclesiastical provinces, as well as their leaders, follow the Metropolitan See of Esztergom as mother and teacher.] (*Agendarius* 1583, p. VIII). Archbishop Péter Pázmány also affirmed that the Metropolitan See of Esztergom must be the mother and

teacher of the other dioceses. At the end of the decree, the place and date of publication are given: Bratislava (present-day Slovakia), in the Archbishop's Curia, 26 July 1625.

The decree is followed by a more developed and structured table of contents. We find 11 titles, which are then divided into chapters:

1. On what is to be observed in the administration of the sacraments.
2. On the exact administration of Baptism
3. The Rite of Baptism
4. The Sacrament of Penance
5. The Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist
6. Sacrament of Extreme Unction
7. Funerals
8. The Sacrament of Matrimony
9. The Blessings
10. The Processions
11. The Exorcism

Addendum A. The formulas to be entered in the parish registers

Addendum B. Decrees of the Provincial Synod held in Trnava in 1611

The book has a very clear and well-developed structure. The index distinguishes between titles, chapters and subchapters. We can also see that the content is quite complex. The sacraments, blessings and processions are listed in separate book sections. At the end of the book, two canonical titles are added: the formulas to be written in the registers by the parish priest and the decrees of the provincial synod of 1611. The section on blessings and processions has been enriched. The *Rituale* is thus a very useful book for the parish priest since it contains the rites and prayers for almost every possible situation in the care of souls.

### 3. The Particularities of the Esztergom Rite

The *Ritual of Esztergom* (1625) was mainly an adaptation of the *Roman Ritual* (1614). A structural comparison of the two books can be found in Appendix A. A high degree of similarity results from the historical context in which the ritual book was written. The reason for this large-scale adoption of the content of the *Roman Ritual*, which, it should be recalled, was not required by the papal decree, was doubtlessly the desire to maintain (and promote) the unity of the Catholic rite in Hungary and to eliminate abuses and heresies in the celebration of the sacraments.

#### 3.1. The Sacraments

This part of the *Ritual of Esztergom* has been taken almost word for word from the *Roman Ritual*. The adaptation to the Roman rite after the Council of Trent strongly influenced the celebration of the sacraments.

We have already mentioned that Cardinal Péter Pázmány mentions some particularities in the celebration of two sacraments. Some customs could not be changed or adapted to the Roman Rite without causing harm (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, p. IV). It is necessary to analyse which traditions have remained from the old Esztergom Rite.

Let us first examine the rite of baptism. In the *Ritual of Esztergom*, we find the rite of baptism of children (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, pp. 14–25) and of adults (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, pp. 25–46). If we compare these two rites with those of the *Roman Ritual*, we find that the rite of baptism of adults in the *Ritual of Esztergom* is identical to that contained in the *Roman Ritual* (*Rituale Romanum* 1614, pp. 28–44). The only exception is that the *Ritual of Esztergom* does not include the possibility of baptism by immersion mentioned in the *Roman Ritual* (*Rituale Romanum* 1614, p. 42). From the fourteenth century, baptism by pouring began to replace baptism by immersion, although both methods were still possible. The reasons for this change were practical rather than dogmatic (Nocent 1986, p. 67). The *Ritual of Esztergom* seems to attest to a practice in the province of Esztergom that probably did not



originate at its publication (in the seventeenth century) but, given the general development, was already practised in the preceding period.

The influence and peculiarities of the Esztergom Rite can be seen in the rite of baptism of children. The *Ritual of Esztergom* begins with the dogmatic-disciplinary text taken from the *Roman Ritual*, and here we find the first difference. In the *Roman Ritual*, the celebration begins with the question: “Quid petis ab Ecclesia Dei?” [What are you asking from the Church of God?] (*Rituale Romanum* 1614, p. 21). The *Ritual of Esztergom*, however, begins with the question of the child’s name. This is followed by three questions concerning the renunciation of Satan and three others concerning the profession of faith. Four languages are used for all these questions: Latin, Hungarian, German and Slovak, reflecting the current situation regarding the languages used in Hungary at that time (Hišem 2014). The use of these three vernacular languages is a development that began in the *Agendarius*, which provides the Hungarian language for use in various rites and also in these initial questions of the rite of baptism (*Agendarius* 1583, p. 11).

Another peculiarity is the transfer of the rite of introduction to the church. In the *Roman Ritual*, this takes place after the imposition of the hand and before the “Effeta” rite. In the *Ritual of Esztergom*, however, the reading from the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 19:13–15) continues after placing the hand on the child’s head (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, p. 19). Interestingly, the *Roman Ritual* does not include the reading of Sacred Scripture during the rite of baptism. This is followed by the rite of the “Effeta” and the initiation into the church. There is a slight difference in the *Ritual of Esztergom* concerning the Effeta rite. The priest prepares the mud (cf. Jn 9:6) with dust and saliva, used in the rite, whereas in the *Roman Ritual*, only saliva is used.

According to the *Ritual of Esztergom*, the following part of the baptismal rite contains only two minor particularities. Before the three questions about the renunciation of Satan (after the rite of “Effeta” and the introduction into the church), the *Ritual of Esztergom* reports one more question: “Estne Infans baptizatus?” [Is the child baptised?] (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, p. 20). The first rubrics indicate the obligation of the priest to check that the child has not already been baptised (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, p. 8). In the *Ritual of Esztergom*, this examination is incorporated into the actual rite of baptism and does not remain at the level of the rubric.

The second peculiarity is that, unlike the *Roman Ritual*, the *Ritual of Esztergom* does not describe the possibility of baptism by immersion. As noted above for the rite of baptism of adults, baptism by pouring began to prevail generally from the fourteenth century (Nocent 1986, p. 67). Although the *Roman Ritual* mentions both options, the *Ritual of Esztergom* mentions the option that seems to have been used in practice.

In summary, in the rite of baptism, we find the following particularities:

- The first question about the name, three questions about the renunciation of Satan, three more about the profession of faith and the use of the vernacular languages.
- The reading of the Gospel passage after the imposition of the hand.
- Different places for the rite of introduction into the church (after the “Effeta” rite).
- The use of mud in the “Effeta” rite.
- The question about possible previous baptism of the child.

Let us now proceed to an analysis of the marriage rite. The *Roman Ritual*, based on the decisions of the Council of Trent, calls for the preservation of the particular traditions of the various ecclesiastical provinces: “Caeterum, si quae Provinciae aliis, ultra praedictas, laudabilibus consuetudinibus et caeremoniis in celebrando matrimonii Sacramento utuntur, eas Sancta Tridentina Synodus optat retineri” [Moreover, if other Provinces, besides those mentioned above, use laudable customs and ceremonies in celebrating the sacrament of marriage, the Holy Synod of Trent desires that they be preserved.] (*Rituale Romanum* 1614, p. 148).

The marriage rite was, therefore, more adapted to the customs of the Province of Esztergom. It is unsurprising to find so many peculiarities in the structure and euchology. It is significant to compare the number of pages on which we find the rite. In the *Roman*

*Ritual*, the marriage ceremony is described on two pages (*Rituale Romanum* 1614, pp. 147–48), while in the *Ritual of Esztergom*, we find the marriage rite on nine pages (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, pp. 150–58). This fact alone indicates that in the *Ritual of Esztergom*, we find different and enriched structures and euchological texts compared to the *Roman Ritual*.

Let us at least briefly describe the way of celebrating marriage according to the customs of the Province of Esztergom:

- The questions on consent, including the question about impediments (the questions are given in Latin, Hungarian, German and Slovak).
- The blessing of the rings (the rings placed on the altar are blessed with two prayers).
- The conferral of rings.
- The nuptial blessing (prayer *Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob...*, recitation of Psalm 127 and four subsequent prayers).
- Acceptance of consent.
- The oath (a particular custom of the Province of Esztergom—the bride and groom swear with their right hands on the relics; the text is written in Latin, Hungarian, German and Slovak): “Sic me Deus adiuvet, Beata Virgo Maria, et omnes sancti Dei, quod hanc honestam personam amo, amando accipio in meam legitimam Uxorem, iuxta divinam ordinationem, et sanctae Matris Ecclesiae ritum, et quod illam non deseram, mea et illius vita durante, in ulla necessitate, ita me Deus adiuvet.” [May God help me, Blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints of God, that I love this honourable person, lovingly I take her as my lawful wife, according to the divine ordinance and the rite of the Holy Mother Church and that I will never leave her during my life and hers, in any necessity, so help me God.]

The marriage rite described in the *Ritual of Esztergom* is identical to that of the *Agendarius* (1583). In the *Ordo et Ritus* (1560, ff. 3r–4v), we do not find the questions about consent or the oath, but we find the same euchology regarding the blessing of the rings and the nuptial blessing. The prayers reported in the marriage rite in the *Ritual of Esztergom* have their source in the *Ordo et Ritus*, thus highlighting an obvious influence.

The *Ritual of Esztergom* contains guidelines for the case that both the bride and the groom are widowed and thus enter into a second marriage (under the title “De secundis nuptiis”). In this case, the rite includes a modified prayer of blessing for the newlyweds. The *Roman Ritual* gives no guidance in this case.

Under the title “Ritus Introducendi Novam Nuptam in Templum post Nuptias” [The Rite of Introducing the New Bride into the church after the Wedding], we find in the *Ritual of Esztergom* the rite of introducing the bride into the church after the wedding ceremony. This particular rite includes the recitation of Psalm 66, a prayer, then the bride takes the edge part of the priest’s stole in her hand and so they enter the church, having received the final blessing and been sprinkled with holy water. There are no rubrics that would explain the meaning of the rite. However, the prayer asks for the fertility of the newlywed:

“Deus, qui mortuam Sarae vulvam per Abrahae, servi tui semen fecundare dignatus es, ut etiam contra spem soboles ei nasceretur, famulam hanc tuam propitius respice, eique partum et fecunditatem benígnus tribue, et prolem, quam donaveris, benedícito. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.”

[O God, who was pleased to make the dead womb of Sarah fruitful with the seed of Abraham your servant, so that children might be born to him against hope, look kindly on this your servant and grant her graciously that she may have children and be fruitful and bless the descendants you give her. Through Christ our Lord.] (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, p. 161)

The *Ordo et Ritus* (1560, ff. 5r–5v) and the *Agendarius* (1583, pp. 160–61) contain this rite with the same structure and euchology. The *Ordo et Ritus* also provides for the celebration of the mass after the rite and indicates the mass formula, which must be of the Holy Trinity or nuptial.

This ceremony is also found in the ritual books of the other ecclesiastical provinces of Hungary. From the neighbouring countries, it is found in the *Ritual of Olomouc* (present-day Czech Republic) of 1694 (*Agenda 1694*, pp. 263–65). However, we do not find it in ritual manuals of Frankish, Germanic or Italian origin. This suggests that it is a peculiarity of Esztergom and the surrounding regions.

We have seen that the *Ritual of Esztergom* retains some very interesting peculiarities in the celebration of the sacraments, especially in the celebration of marriage, despite its profound adaptation to the *Roman Ritual*.

### 3.2. The Sacramentals

The part of the *Ritual of Esztergom* concerning the sacramentals has been considerably enriched and some titles have been completely taken over from the *Roman Ritual*. However, we have also found some specific titles that have remained in the *Ritual of Esztergom* due to the influence of earlier books used in the Province of Esztergom.

These are the following blessings: the blessing of wine on the feast of St. John, the blessing of the three precious gifts on the feast of the Epiphany, the blessing of fruit on the feast of St. Blaise, the blessing of new grapes on the feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord, the blessing of the herbs on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the blessing of the wheat on the feast of St. Mark. These blessings are not unique to Esztergom or Hungary (see *Franz 1909*). However, they can be considered an Esztergom particularity compared to the *Roman Ritual* (1614), which does not contain them. Let us briefly describe each of these blessings and see if they are also present in the Esztergom liturgical books of the sixteenth century.

The blessing of the wine on the feast of St. John consists of reading the Gospel passage (Jn 2:1–11), reciting Psalm 22, then three prayers, followed by the final blessing. The acclamation of the priest after the reading of the Gospel is interesting: “Per istos sermones sancti Evangelii, benedicat Dominus noster Iesus Christus hanc creaturam Vini” [Through these words of the Holy Gospel, may our Lord Jesus Christ bless this creation of wine] (*Rituale Strigoniense 1625*, p. 181). This biblical quotation acknowledges that the blessing comes through the Word of God. We find this rite of the blessing of wine associated with the feast of St. John the Apostle, with the same structure and euchology also in the *Agendarius* and the *Ordo et Ritus* (*Rituale Strigoniense 1625*, pp. 180–84; *Agendarius 1583*, pp. 167–71; *Ordo et Ritus 1560*, ff. 45v–47v). The blessing of wine is also found in the *Roman Ritual* and ancient ritual books. The *Ritual of Esztergom*, however, associates this blessing with the feast of St. John at Christmas time.

The blessing of the three precious gifts on the feast of Epiphany is a rite that blesses the three gifts—gold, frankincense and myrrh—that the three wise men brought to the child Jesus, according to the Gospel passage read on the Feast of Epiphany. The rite includes three prayers, the text of which was taken from the *Agendarius*. The *Ordo et Ritus* does not contain this blessing (*Rituale Strigoniense 1625*, pp. 184–85; *Agendarius 1583*, pp. 172–73).

The blessing of fruit on the feast of St. Blaise, bishop and martyr, contains two prayers. We also find the same rite in the *Agendarius* but not in the *Ordo et Ritus*, although it seems clear that it is an influence of the Esztergom Rite on the *Ritual of Esztergom* (*Rituale Strigoniense 1625*, pp. 186–87; *Agendarius 1583*, pp. 174–75).

The blessing of the new grapes on the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord in the *Ritual of Esztergom* contains only one prayer. We also find the same prayer in the *Agendarius* and the *Ordo et Ritus*. This blessing is part of the ancient tradition of the Province of Esztergom (*Rituale Strigoniense 1625*, pp. 186–87; *Agendarius 1583*, p. 190; *Ordo et Ritus 1560*, f. 51v).

The blessing of the herbs on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary consists of two prayers. The *Ritual of Esztergom* adopted this blessing from *Agendarius*. The *Ordo et Ritus* reports one of the two prayers used in the *Ritual of Esztergom* (*Rituale Strigoniense 1625*, p. 187; *Agendarius 1583*, pp. 191–92; *Ordo et Ritus 1560*, f. 76r).



The blessing of wheat on the feast of St. Mark is also part of the heritage of the Esztergom Rite. It is connected with the procession that begins after the Mass and with the Major Litanies. The blessing takes place through the reading of four Gospel passages and prayers (one prayer after each passage). In the *Ritual of Esztergom*, the rite was taken from the *Agendarius*. In the *Ordo et Ritus*, we find the euchology—the litanies, four Gospel passages and four prayers—identical to the *Ritual of Esztergom*. However, it does not contain the rubrics describing the course of the rite. This blessing was used for a long time before the edition of the *Ritual of Esztergom* (*Rituale Strigoniense* 1625, pp. 214–27; *Agendarius* 1583, pp. 176–89; *Ordo et Ritus* 1560, ff. 39v–43r).

In the section on processions, the *Ritual of Esztergom* also includes the rite of a special Eucharistic procession held on the night from Holy Saturday to Easter Sunday. This procession is related to the particular practice of the veneration of the Holy Sepulchre during the Easter Triduum in the Province of Esztergom, which has been thoroughly analysed (Dubina 2012).

We have briefly analysed the influence of the *Ordo et Ritus* and the *Agendarius* on the *Ritual of Esztergom* regarding sacramentals, especially the blessings. Despite the adaptation to the *Roman Ritual*, the *Ritual of Esztergom* contains some special blessings used in the Province of Esztergom. These particular blessings make us understand that the life of the people at the time of the composition of the *Ritual of Esztergom* was linked to the land that nourished them. We find the blessing of wine, fruit, grapes, wheat and herbs. These blessings are associated with certain feasts of the liturgical year. The sanctification of time through the feasts of the liturgical year was thus linked to the people's daily life. The structure, euchology and connection with the feasts of the liturgical year found in the *Ritual of Esztergom* were adopted from the ritual books used in the past in the Province of Esztergom. The *Roman Ritual* also contains blessings for the fruits of the earth. The peculiarity of the *Ritual of Esztergom* lies in its different structures and euchology.

#### 4. Conclusions

The *Rituale* is a liturgical book containing all that is necessary (rubrics and euchology) to perform liturgical actions, especially those not reserved for the bishop. It is a book for the use of the priest (Palazzo 1998, p. 188). This criterion was applied in the composition of the *Ritual of Esztergom*. It contains rites for the administration of sacraments, with the exception of confirmation and holy orders and sacramentals—especially blessings—that are not reserved for the bishop. According to its structure and content, the examined ritual book is intended for the use of priests.

The reason for the preparation of this book was dictated by the need to provide parish priests with a resource containing all the necessary rites for use in parishes. With this *Rituale*, the parish priest could easily carry out his pastoral ministry since it contained all the necessary texts and rubrics. Concerning the administration of the sacraments, the *Ritual of Esztergom* also contains disciplinary and dogmatic texts.

This research has revealed a significant correspondence between the *Ritual of Esztergom* (1625) and the *Roman Ritual* (1614). This fact shows that the tendency to maintain unity with Rome was very strong, which is why we find in the *Ritual of Esztergom* mainly the integral adoption of the texts of the *Roman Ritual*. Only the rite of marriage, which had previously been used in the Province of Esztergom, has remained original and in the rite of baptism, we can also find some particularities.

In the section on the blessings and processions, we can also see a significant influence of the *Roman Ritual*. Many blessings are taken from this book, but we also find some taken from the ritual books used in the Province of Esztergom before the edition of the *Ritual of Esztergom*.

In fact, the *Ritual of Esztergom* is mainly identical to the *Roman Ritual*, but we find some rites or peculiarities that cannot be found in the *Roman Ritual*:

- special features of the celebration of baptism;
- the rite of marriage;

- the nuptial blessing in the case of a second marriage;
- the introduction of the newlyweds into the church after the wedding;
- the blessing of wine at the Feast of St. John;
- the blessing of the three precious gifts at the Feast of the Epiphany;
- the blessing of fruit on the Feast of St. Blaise;
- the blessing of the new grapes on the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord;
- the blessing of the herbs on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary;
- the blessing of wheat on the Feast of St. Mark;
- the Eucharistic procession on the night from Holy Saturday to Easter Sunday.

The peculiarities and rites listed above can also be found in the ritual books that preceded the *Ritual of Esztergom*. Thus, the *Ritual of Esztergom* was based on the *Roman Ritual*, but it also included some special rites of the ancient Esztergom Rite. In our research, we have found an interesting feature of this Esztergom Rite. In the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals, passages from the Gospel are always read, even where there is no such reading in the *Roman Ritual*. It indicates a very interesting sensitivity to the Word of God and its place in the celebration of the sacraments.

It is known that other metropolitan Sees issued their own ritual manuals after the Council of Trent. In the case of the *Ritual of Esztergom*, therefore, this is not a special practice. Our aim, however, was to determine the degree of adaptation to the Roman Rite in Hungary. The finding that the *Ritual of Esztergom* is mainly identical to the *Roman Ritual* is not surprising and does not seem significant at first sight. After the Synod of Hungary in 1633, the Roman liturgical books—missal, pontifical and breviary—were adopted in the Province of Esztergom. It was only in the edition of the *Ritual of Esztergom* that any remnants of the earlier liturgy of Esztergom could be preserved. This analysis of the *Ritual of Esztergom* is therefore important for the study of the Esztergom liturgy.

On the one hand, we confirmed a very strong adaptation to the Roman liturgy in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, we have found Esztergom peculiarities—though not to a great extent—that resisted even this strong pressure to adapt to Rome. Having sketched the outlines of similarities and divergences from the *Roman Ritual*, a more profound study of the text and theology of the *Ritual of Esztergom* is now possible and necessary.

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## Appendix A

<i>Rituale Strigoniense</i> (1625)	<i>Rituale Romanum</i> (1614)
DE SERVANDIS IN SACRAMENTORUM ADMINISTRATIONE	DE IIS, QUAE IN SACRAMENTORUM ADMINISTRATIONE GENERALITER SERVANDA SUNT
De Sacramento Baptismi rite administrando	
Ordo baptismi parvulorum	
De baptismo adultorum	

<i>Rituale Strigoniense (1625)</i>	<i>Rituale Romanum (1614)</i>
Ordo supplendi omissa super baptizatum	
Ritus servandus, cum episcopus baptizat	
Benedictio fontis baptismi extra Sabbatum Paschae et Pentecostes, cum Aqua consecrata non habetur	
De sacramento poenitentiae	
Absolutionis forma	
De Absolutione ab Excommunicatione in Foro exteriori	
Ritus absolvendi Excommunicatum iam mortuum	
De modo absolvendi a Suspensione vel ab Interdicto	
De Sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento	
Ordo Administrandi Sacram Communionem	
De Communione Paschali	
De Comunione Infirmorum	
De Sacramento Extremae Unctionis	
Ordo Administrandi Sacramentum Extremae Unctionis	
De Visitatione et Cura Infirmorum	
Modus iuvandi morientes	
Ordo commendationis animae	
In Expiratione	
De Exequiis	
Quibus non licet dare Ecclesiasticam Sepulturam	
Exequiarum Ordo	
Ordo Sepeliendi Parvulos	
De Sacramento Matrimonii	
Ritus Celebrandi Matrimonii Sacramentum	
Benedictio Annulorum	
<i>De Secundis Nuptiis</i>	
<i>Ritus Introducendi Novam Nuptam in Templum post Nuptias</i>	
De Benedictione Mulieris post Partum	
DE BENEDICTIONIBUS REGULAE GENERALES	
Ordo ad faciendam aquam benedictam	
Benedictio Candelarum, extra diem Purificationis beatae Mariae Virginis	
Benedictio Domorum in Sabbato sancto Paschae	
Alia benedictio Domorum alio tempore facienda cum aspersione Aquae benedictae	
Benedictio Loci	
Alia benedictio Domus novae	
Benedictio Thalami	
Benedictio Navis	
Benedictio communis super Fruges et Vineas	

<i>Rituale Strigoniense (1625)</i>	<i>Rituale Romanum (1614)</i>
Benedictio Peregrinorum ad loca sancta prodeuntium	
Benedictio Peregrinorum post reditum	
Benedictio Esculentorum, praesertim in Pascha	
Benedictio Agni Paschalis	
Benedictio Ovorum	
Benedictio Panis	
Benedictio Novorum fructuum	
Benedictio ad quodcumque comestibile	
Benedictio Olei simplicis	
<i>Benedictio Vini, in Festo S. Ioannis Evangelistae</i>	
<i>Benedictio Trium Munerum Pretiosorum in festo Epiphaniae Domini</i>	
<i>Benedictio Pomorum, in festo S. Blasii Episcopi et Martyris</i>	
<i>Benedictio Novae Uvae, in festo Transfigurationis Domini</i>	
<i>Benedictio Herbarum, in festo Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis</i>	
Benedictiones ab Episcopis, vel aliis facultatem habentibus, faciendae	
Benedictio Sacerdotalium Indumentorum in genere	
Benedictio Mapparum, sive lintheaminum Altaris	
Benedictio Corporalium	
Benedictio Tabernaculi, seu Vasculi pro sacrosancta Eucharistia conservanda	
Benedictio Novae Crucis	
Benedictio Imaginum Iesu Christi Domini nostri, B. V. Mariae, et aliorum Sanctorum	
Ritus benedicendi et imponendi primum lapidem pro Ecclesia aedificanda, servandus a Sacerdote facultatem habente ab Episcopo	
Ritus benedicendi novam Ecclesiam, seu Oratorium publicum, ut ibi sanctissimum Missae Sacrificium celebrari possit	
Ritus reconciliandi Ecclesiam violatam, si nondum erat ab Episcopo consecrata	
Ritus benedicendi Novum Coemeterium per Sacerdotem ab Episcopo delegatum	
Ordo reconciliandi Coemeterium violatum, sive Ecclesiae contiguum sit, sive separatum, ubi Ecclesia non est polluta	
DE PROCESSIONIBUS	
(Ut in missali) *	De processione in die festo Purificationis B.V.M.
(Ut in missali) *	De processione in die Palmarum
<i>Ordo in Nocte Resurrectionis Christi</i>	
<i>Ordo in Litaniis Maioribus festo S. Marci, quo et Segetes benedicuntur</i>	Ordo servandus in litaniarum maiorum processione, et in litiis Rogationum
De Processionibus in diebus Rogationum	
De Processione in festo Sanctissimi Corporis Christi	
De Processione ad petendam Pluviam	

<i>Rituale Strigoniense (1625)</i>	<i>Rituale Romanum (1614)</i>
Processio ad postulandam Serenitatem	
Preces ad repelendam Tempestatem	
Preces dicendae tempore Penuriae et Famis	
Processio tempore Mortalitatis et Pestis	
Preces dicendae in Litaniis tempore Belli	
Processio in quacumque Tribulatione	
Preces dicendae in Processione pro Gratiarum actione	
De Processione in Translatione sacrarum Reliquiarum insignium	
DE EXORCIZANDIS OBSESSIS A DAEMONIO	
FORMULAE SCRIBENDAE IN LIBRIS HABENDIS APUD PAROCHOS, UT INFRA NOTATUR	
DECRETA SYNODI PROVINCIALIS, TYRNAVIAE HABITAE, ANNO 1611	

\* The *Ritual of Esztergom* for these processions does not contain the actual texts of the rites, but only a note referring to the texts in the Missal.

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