

1. kép

Dominican Influences in the Sanctorale of the Zagrebian Gradual¹

From the first steps of the Hungarian gregorian research, it is nearly a common place, that the Zagrebain liturgy at the beginning of the 14th century got a dominican shape, due to the bishop, Augustinus Gazotti, who was dominican at origin.² It is written many times by Kniewald, in his studies, but apart from that sentence, Dominican-like details are not mentioned yet.

Andrea Kovács, in her CAO ECE volume of Kalocsa-Zagreb office pointed out the unique formes of the Zagrebian sanctorale - according to the office chants, in the present study we are to underline the particularities of the gradual.³

The Research Group of Liturgical History of the ELTE BTK Centre for Study of Religion has recently pointed out the only place in the temporale, which is already proved of Dominican origin. This is the preparation of Ash Wednesday, the liturgy of Absolutio populi with its order of the antiphons.⁴ The sanctoral opens the door to more possibilities. this examination is based on the most important dominican saints: the founder of the Dominican order, Saint Dominic, one of his first followers, Peter martyr of Verona, and Augustinus Gazotti, bishop of Zagreb, who made the Dominican relationship. Although in the case of other feasts, the similarities are not obvious, some other hidden details are added to complete the picture.

The examined sources are the followings:

1. III.d.182 graduale – 14th-15th c. (Zagreb, Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti)
2. MR 13 missale – 14th c. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)
3. MR 73 missale – 15th c. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)
4. MR 133 missale – 14th c. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)
5. IV.C.59 missale – 15th c. (Zagreb, Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti)

¹ This study was supported by OTKA /NKFI nr. 84216 project

² Bishop Augustinus Gazotti's liturgical activities is mentioned many times but only in a few sentences. Carolus Kniewald, „Officium et missa de Conceptione et Nativitate B. M. V. secundum consuetudinem veterem Zagradiensem” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* LXXIII (1959) 6-10; Dragutin Kniewald, *Proprium de tempore zagrebačke stolne crkve 1094-1788*. (Zagreb 1941). 96-98; Dragutin Kniewald, „Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI-XIV. stoljeća”, *Croatia Sacra* 19. (1940), 1-126.

³ *Corpus antiphonarium Officii - Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae VI/A-B Kalocsa-Zagreb* ed. Andrea Kovács (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2008)

⁴ Miklós István Földváry, «A Hartvik-agenda kiközösítési és visszafogadási rítusainak szerkezete és eredete», in *Conversio*. Under publication.

6. III.d.23 missale – 15th c. (Zagreb, Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti)
7. MR 26 missale – 15th c. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)
8. MR 168 missale – 15th c. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)
9. MR 170 missale (Georg de Topusko) – 15th c. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)
10. M.III.23. missale – 15th c. (Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek)
11. MR 62 missale – 15th c. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)
12. Printed Missale Zagrabiense – 1511 (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica M 28596)
13. MR 6 graduale – XVIII. sz. (Zagreb, Metropolitanska Knjižnica)

In comparison the following Dominican sources are used:

- D-Mbm 2-3. Graduale: Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels München Althohenau, 1480-81.

- F-CO 317, Graduale : COLMAR, Bibliothèque Municipale, 14th/1

- CZ-Pn XIII C 18, Graduale: Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze; Praha; 1260

- F-Pn l. 8884 Missale ad usum fratrum praedicatorum, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; 1301-1400,

- E-Mn RES 231, Missale: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 1400

-printed missals:

- 1494 Missale Venetiis, Biblioteca centrale Firenze, Incunabula, M.7.45

- 1500 Venedig; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc. 354 F

- 1482 Biblioteca centrale Firenze, Incunabula A.7.10

- 1484 Venedig; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc. 19 A

- 1484, Universitätsbibliothek, Gent, RES 857

- 1494, Venedig; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc. 194 d.

Saint Dominic died in 1221, and was canonized in 1234 by Gregory IX. After his death his veneration widely spread in Europe very fast.⁵ His main feast is celebrated in the dominican sources on the 5th of August by a vigil and by an octava. (The vigil is present only in the printed missals.) His translation is also venerated among the preacher fathers on the 24th of May. His presence in the Hungarian liturgical practice is not special in Zagreb, however the way of his celebration is quite unique, and presume a closer connection to the Dominican liturgy itself. The introit and the alleluia signed in the Zagrebian sources are completely

⁵ Vauchez, André, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècle du moyen age* (Rome:École Française de Rome Palais Farnèse, 1988), 52.

similar to the Dominican versions, moreover the melodies - in the cases where they're present - are similar too, with only a few exceptions.

The chants are the followings:

Intr. *In medio ecclesiae*

All. *Pie pater Dominice*

The question automatically arises: next to these two chants, which are the common chants used in this mass. The *In medio* mass is used in Zagreb in many different feasts: Apart from Saint Dominic, it is used for the two feasts of Saint John apostle, Saint Thomas d'Aquino, pope Gregory, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustin, Saint Matthew, Saint Jerome, Saint Luke, and from the commune sanctorum the label is: „one evangelist” or „one confessor, doctor and bishop”. So the series of chants is taken from the commun series, and that of the confessor's could be used for saint Dominic. In this case, the usage is not automatic. Though the celebration in Zagreb is trying to make it in a high level, with a high grade, with the most of proper chants, its series is not adapted to that of the Dominicans. While the introit, gradual, Alleluja, communion could be taken from a Dominican gradual, the offertory resists on its proper tradition by guarding the Strigonium version: *Veritas mea*. This assimilation of the feast has a great significance, which means that its presence in the liturgical books of Zagreb cathedral wasn't only a written version, but it was alive in the liturgical practice. If one looks at Table 1, another fact becomes obvious. *In medio* mass is generally used for the main fathers of the Church (evangelists, churchfathers, some of the apostles etc.), and as parallels, religious orders used it for the founder, or for great personalities of the order. In case of Saint Dominic Dominican sources use the *In medio* mass, and this practice is adapted in Zagreb, while Strigonium uses „only” the confessors mass: *Os iusti*.

Table 1

	Dominican	Zagreb	Strigonium
Introit	<i>In medio</i>	<i>In medio</i>	<i>Os iusti</i>
Gradual	<i>Os iusti</i>	<i>Os iusti</i>	<i>Os iusti</i>
Alleluja	<i>Pie pater</i>	<i>Pie pater</i>	<i>Iste sanctus</i>
Offertory	<i>Desiderium animae</i>	<i>Veritas mea</i>	<i>Veritas mea</i>
Communion	<i>Fidelis servus</i>	<i>Fidelis servus</i>	<i>Fidelis servus</i>

The sequence of Saint Dominic (*In caelesti hierarchia*) also appears in some of the Zagrebian sources (III.d.182 gradual, MR 133 missal and the printed missal). To complete the picture, we should add, that the 18th century MR 6 gradual has a lacuna at the feast of Saint Dominic (both in the sanctoral and in the sequentional), which means, that his presence

in this late source is not excluded. Hence it is conspicuous that Zagrebian sources are not that standardized in the case of sequences than in the sanctoral. It could be explained by the fact that some of the sources have a very small sequential part, but even in MR 26, MR 170, where a great amount of sequences is present, the *In caelesti hierarchia* is missing. Only in the two earliest 14th century manuscripts mention it. This could be explained by the process, that Dominican influence was strong in the 14th century, later on it became weaker, but at the construction of the printed missal it was under reconsideration, and was made as normative.

Saint Dominic appears in the Strigonian and related sources as well. His celebration however not that standard than in Zagreb. The picture is more complex by regarding that the feast's appearance is rather different in the graduals than in the missals. The majority of the missals contain only textual parts (i. e. orations and sometimes readings), which are – by nature – not in the frame of the graduals. Among the musical sources the feast's appearance is documented only in the 14th century *Missale Notatum Strigoniense*⁶ and in the Transilvanian Gradual,⁷ celebrated by common chants (*Os iusti*). The majority of the missals contain the orations, but traces of musical items are present only in the printed *missale Strigoniense*,⁸ in the 214 and 215 Posonian missals of the OSZK National Library,⁹ and in the Nr. 92 Upland gradual of the OSZK National Library.¹⁰ The printed missal, the 214 Posonian and the Nr. 92 Upland gradual contain the same common chants as the *Missale Notatum Strigoniense*, but the interesting fact is that the 14th century Nr. 215 Posonian missal gives exactly the same chants as the Dominican sources. However in this missal there is no trace of the Zagreb-kind of assimilation by offertory *Veritas mea*.

From all this picture the dual shape of Zagreb liturgy is highlighted. On the one hand with his proper chants, with the totum duplex category, the greatest veneration is dedicated to Saint Dominic, but on the other hand Zagreb insisted on their own tradition by adapting one chant, *Veritas mea* from the Hungarian tradition.

Peter martyr of Verona had a very exciting life. He was born in the city of Verona into a family perhaps sympathetic to the Cathar heresy. He went to a catholic school, and at the age of fifteen he joined to the Order of the Friars Preachers (Dominicans). From 1230 he preached against heresy and especially catharism. According to a legend, when he was assassinated, he dipped his fingers in his own blood, and wrote on the ground: *Credo in unum Deum*.¹¹ After his death in 1252, he was canonized in 1253 by pope Innocent IV. Due to his

⁶ *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio* ed. Janka Szendrei–Richard Ribarič, in *Musicalia Danubiana* 1. (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1982)

⁷ H-Bn Fol.lat.3815

⁸ *Missale Strigoniense 1484*, ed. Balázs Déri (Budapest: Argumentum, 2009), 439-440

⁹ H-Bn Clmae 214, H-Bn Clmae 215

¹⁰ H-Bn Clmae 92

¹¹ catholic online: http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=238

life and death he became a very popular saint in all Europe, but in the liturgy, nearly exclusively the Dominicans celebrated him regularly. In Hungary beyond Zagreb a very few sources contain his celebration (and only the 3 orations). Musical items or rubrics of them are only in the Transilvanian gradual,¹² in the printed Strigonian missal,¹³ and in the missal of Pécs (introit *Protexisti*).¹⁴ The use of chants at the dominican order in this case is also unified.

Table 2

	Dominicans/Peter martyr of Verona	Dominicans/one martyr at Easter time	Zagreb
intr.	<i>Protexisti</i>	<i>Protexisti</i>	<i>Protexisti</i>
grad.	<i>All. Felix ex fructu</i>	All1 <i>Iustus ut palma</i>	<i>All.1. Angelus Domini</i>
All.	All. <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	<i>All2. Angelus Domini</i>	<i>All.2. Felix ex fructu/Martyr Petre</i> (in the commune sanctorum: <i>Iustus ut palma</i>)
off.	<i>Posuisti</i>	<i>Confitebuntur</i>	<i>Confitebuntur</i>
com.	<i>Ego sum</i>	<i>Laetabitur iustus</i>	<i>Laetabitur iustus</i>

8. kép: kis táblázat

In the Dominican liturgy the introit *Protexisti* is followed by two allelujas (its date: 29th of April determines it for Easter time.) The first Alleluja is *Felix ex fructu* and the second is taken from the 4th Sunday of Easter (according to the Dominican liturgy): *Surrexit pastor bonus*. The martyr and bishop's de commune mass has other series of chants, beginning by the same *Protexisti*. That means that the Dominicans individualized the feast with proper chants. The question arises: Which is the behavior of the Zagrebian liturgical sources? Do they automatically copy the Dominican version, or they assimilate somehow the feast? The answer is even more complex than in the case of the founder of the friars. *Felix ex fructu* alleluja is present in Zagreb but in a different liturgical situation: it appears on the second alleluja-place. Before it, the All. *Angelus Domini* - taken from the 5th Sunday of Easter in Zagreb - takes the place. However the reason of its use could be searched in Dominican racines. In the Dominican sources, All. *Angelus Domini* is part of the commun *Protexisti* mass, but on the second Alleluja-place. For the use of the rest two chants there is no exact explain yet. The *Protexisti*-mass for Peter of Verona in Zagreb is not completely detailed in

¹² H-Bn Fol.lat.3815

¹³ *Missale Strigoniense 1484*, 379.

¹⁴ H-Bn RMK III/52

any of the sources, in the case of the offertory and the communion we can base on the common mass.

According to the de commune *Protexisti* mass, off. *Confitebuntur*, com. *Laetabitur iustus* were in use in Zagreb, which is similar to the common mass of *Protexisti* at the Dominicans. Nevertheless, the use of these chants are not hundred percent, as they are not written exactly - neither in rubrics - at the feast of Peter of Verona. In consequence, the way of celebrating Peter of Verona is complex in Zagreb liturgy. The proper alleluia (*Felix ex fructu*) is used in Zagreb as well, but the rest is taken from the common *Protexisti* mass. These common chants are the same in Zagreb and in the Dominican sources, therefore one cannot be sure, whether it is a similarity to the dominicans, or simply an adaptation of common chants in addition to the proper chants of Peter of Verona. But, the situation is still more complex. Similarly to 29 other feasts, Zagrebian graduals are different from the missals in the case of Peter of Verona. Taken from the Dominican tradition, *Alleluja Felix ex fructu* is present only in the missals, but the graduals (four hundred years from each other) use *All. Martyr Petre sydus vespertinum*, which seems unique with no parallels. The 5-6th mode melody with new-style motives doesn't appear in any other of the sources. The melody reminds us to the latest Alleluia compositions, and the text has many parallelism with orations. Presumably though that this chant is a special composition in Zagreb for the feast of Peter of Verona. Otherwise, in the case of the preacher saints' sequences, Zagrebian sources are consistent. The sequence of Peter of Verona (*Adest dies celebris*) appears in the same sources as that of Saint Dominic: the 14th century gradual (III.d.182), the MR 133 missal, and in the printed missal.

Augustinus Gazottus, Gazotti, Cassiothus, Cassotti, Cassotus, Beatus Augustinus de Zagravia, Augustinus de Tragurio was the bishop of Zagreb between 1303 and 1322.¹⁵ He fundamentally reformed the bishopric during these two decades, and as he was a formerly Dominican father, Dominican influences appeared in the liturgy due to his activity. His „process” of being saint turn into a very interesting story. The above mentioned Dominic and Peter had no doubt about being saint, but bishop Augustinus had a difficult path to achieve some kind of veneration. The procedure of the canonization was inaugurate two years after his death (1325), but the process itself never started. Partly it is caused by the historical background. There were always a certain fight between the church and the state also in the numbers of saints, where royal families always won the battle. In addition, the model of Thomas Becket, wasn't that popular than a hundred years before. Furthermore in the 14th century the canonization turned into two different ways. On the one hand it became more and more centralized, but on the other hand there existed a category of local saints, venerated by

¹⁵ Carolus Kniewald, „Officium et missa de Conceptione et Nativitate B. M. V. secundum consuetudinem veterem Zagrabiensem” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* LXXIII (1959) 6-10; Dragutin Kniewald, *Proprium de tempore zagrebačke stolne crkve 1094-1788*. (Zagreb 1941). 96-98; Dragutin Kniewald, „Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI-XIV. stoljeća”, *Croatia Sacra* 19. (1940), 1-126.

his/her own bishopric, city. Consequently, for an ecclesiastical person who didn't become martyr, the canonization was nearly impossible.¹⁶

The veneration of the local/proper saints was very popular among the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Therefore it wouldn't be surprising if bishop Augustinus turned up in the Dominican sources. Instead, there is no trace of him in any of the dominican missals or graduals. On the contrary, his feast is present in nearly all the Zagrebian sources. It is not surprising, as the Dominican part of his life was very short, but he was the bishop of Zagreb for two decades. Due to this fact all the 14th-15th century sources contain his feast with the *In medio ecclesiae* common mass by an exposal in the rubrics: „In festo beati Augustini episcopi quondam zagrabiensis ecclesiae confessor magni praedicatoris et doctoris quando canonizabitur.” The canonization never executed, therefore – in parallel with the historical facts – the normative printed missal ignored his feast. A new chapter turns out in the history of the veneration of bishop Augustinus in the 18th century. In 1702 Pope Clement IX permitted his local celebration in Dalmatia and in the bishopric of Nocera,¹⁷ so the question presents itself, whether it is present in the 18th century MR 6 gradual. In the present state of the manuscript it doesn't give a definite answer, as there is a lacuna around the mentioned feast. However, this fact doesn't exclude the possibility of his presence in this late source. The majority of the lacunas in the MR 6 gradual are the first pages of great feasts, such as Advent, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost etc. which means that the great illuminations were pulled out from the manuscript. This is the fact at the feast of Saint Dominic as well: one folio is missing between pope Stephen (2nd August) and Transfiguration (6th August), where Gazotti should be placed as well. This fact indirectly proves us that Saint Dominic had a great initial, and his celebration was important in the Zagrebian liturgy even in the 18th century. To complete the picture, we should examine the melodies of the three saints: Dominic, Peter of Verona and Augustinus Gazotti. *Alleluja Pie pater Dominice* is quite similar in the Dominican and in the Zagrebian sources, and as the *All. Martyr Petre syodus vespertinum* doesn't exist in Dominican sources, we cannot make any comparison. Nevertheless, it is worthy to compare in the two Zagrebian gradual: the differences caused by a mistake in the earlier gradual, where at the new page there is a wrong key-placing, and further on it insists on this new key.¹⁸

Apart from these great dominican saints the rest of the manuscripts and printed liturgical books didn't provide too many of the Dominican traces. However there are some other small details related to the Dominican liturgy in Zagreb. As background of this research I compared the sanctoral of all the Zagrebian sources. The examination showed a close connection to each other with only some differences according to the content. At the feast of Purification all the Strigonian sources use the offertory *Diffusa est gratia* while in Zagreb off. *Felix namque es* were in use from the 14th to the 18th centuries, which is identical to the

¹⁶ Vauchez, André, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome:École Française de Rome Palais Farnèse, 1988) 82-120.

¹⁷ http://polczer.hu/gondolatok_balanyi_magyarszentek.htm#5

¹⁸ Hr-Zaa III.d.182 19r

Dominican tradition. Annuntiation has a very small detail which has Dominican parallels. *Rorate caeli* mass appears twice in the liturgical year. Once in Advent time and once at the feast of Annuntiation. The introit itself has a variation: in the Strigonian sources *Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei* (psalm 18) is taken as verse both for Advent and for Annuntiation, but the Dominicans use the verse *Et iustitia oriatur simul - ego Dominus creavi eum* (Isaiah 45, 8) - also both for Advent and for Annuntiation. The earliest Zagrebian missal, MR 133 has Dominican trace in this case. At Annuntiation you can find the verse *Et iustitia*, but in Advent *Caeli enarrant* is adapted. The rest of the sources use exclusively the *Caeli enarrant Dei* for both feasts.

Transfiguration is a late feast, it spreaded in Europe is from the 15th century.¹⁹ As a late feast, its appearance is very different in the different sources. In the earlier ones chants were selected from the Christmas period, and later *Viderunt ingressus* mass was adapted. However, the text of *Viderunt ingressus* mass was quite similar in the different sources, their melodies showed up in a great variety. Its 15th century commencement is visible in the Zagrebian sources as well. It appears only in the 15th century M.III.23 missal,²⁰ in the printed missal and in the MR 6 gradual. The M.III.23 missal (the earliest from these three) contains an earlier form of the chants:

introitus: In excelso throno (Epi D1)

graduale: Benedictus qui venit (Nat M2)

Alleluja: Hodie Iesus Christus

offertorium: Deus enim firmavit (Nat D in oct)

communio: In splendoribus sanctorum (Nat M1)

This series is a formal version of Transfiguration-mass. The chants are selected from the Christmas period,²¹ except for the Alleluja which is proper for the feast. The later version appears in the printed missal and in the MR 6 gradual:

introitus: Viderunt ingressus

graduale: Cantate Domino

Alleluja: Candor est lucis

offertorium: Gloria et divitiae

communio: Viderunt omnes fines (Nat M3)

¹⁹ It was officially ordered for the memory of the victory in Nándorfehérvár (Beograd), where the western army arrested the turkish army. <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/S/sz%C3%ADnev%C3%A1ltoz%C3%A1s.html>

²⁰ Salzburg, University Library.

²¹ It was a general habit in all over Europe at the commencement of the feast.

These chants are identic to the feast, except the communion, which is taken from the 3rd mass of Christmas. More exactly, only the words are taken from Christmas, the melody is a proper version for Transfiguration. As a relatively late feast its texts are organic nearly everywhere in Europe, but the melodies could be quite different. Regarding the Hungarian sources, many different versions exist, *Viderunt ingressus* mass is present only in Graduale Futaki,²² Gradulae of Brassó²³ and in Graduale Strigoniense.²⁴ Surprisingly it is the Graduale Strigoniense which has the closest version to the melodies of the MR 6 gradual. The introit and the offertory has the same melody, the only difference is the beginning of the offertory, which is 5th higher in the Graduale Strigoniense than in the MR 6 gradual. Though both allelujas are written in the 5th mode,²⁵ the two melodies are rather different. The communion is a special case. The text is taken from the 3rd Christmas mass, but melody-versions are different. Both in Graduale Strigoniense and in MR 6 gradual there are two different melodies for the same text, even in Graduale Strigoniense the modes are different as well. *Viderunt omnes* for Christmas has the same 1st mode melody in these two manuscripts, but for Transfiguration there are two different melodies in the two sources. While MR 6 keeps the 1st mode melody with an additional alleluja, Graduale Strigoniense adapts a quite new 5th mode melody to the Transfiguration-version. At this point I examined the Dominican sources concerning the chants of the Transfiguration, whether the Alleluja or the Communion has any connection to that of the MR 6 gradual. The result was very interesting. The Alleluja has a third version in the Dominican sources, but in the same, 5th mode. The communion has the most complicated situation. Its melody at Transfiguration in the Dominican sources is identical to MR 6, except for the additional alleluja at the end. The main part is written in 2nd mode, and the dominicans put the alleluja at the end on the same mode, but the MR 6 puts a 4th mode alleluja at the end. In this case the similarity to the Dominicans cannot prove the 14th century Dominican „origins”, but still it proves that Dominican influence abides important for Zagreb liturgy during the centuries.

Table 3

To conclude, Dominican influences are demonstrated in rather different ways in Zagreb liturgy. There is no place of mechanic copying of any feasts, but different kinds of assimilations can be registered. Opposed to other Hungarian sources, Zagreb liturgy uses the Dominican saint's proper chants, but as a result we got a consciously shaped liturgical form. At the feast of Saint Dominic, the selection of the offertory is different, Peter martyr got a new Alleluia melody (and text), and bishop Augustinus Gazotti's veneration is Zagreb's peculiar. While Dominican influences were strong in the 14th century, that impact continued later on.

²² TR-Itks 2429

²³ RO-Sb Ms. 759

²⁴ *Graduale Strigoniense s. XV/XVI*. ed. Janka Szendrei in *Musicalia Danubiana* 12*; (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1993.), 72.

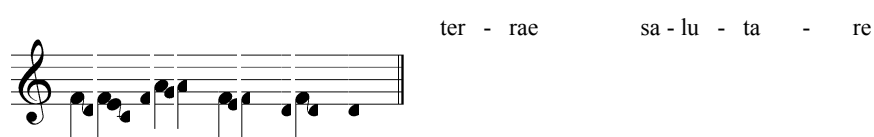
²⁵ In graduale of Brassó and in Graduale Futaki, the 5th mode is kept for the alleluja, but none of the Hungarian sources has the same melody.

The relatively late feast of Transfiguration's layout in Zagreb has also connections with the Dominican liturgy.

Table 3

Viderunt omnes

MR 6 Advent



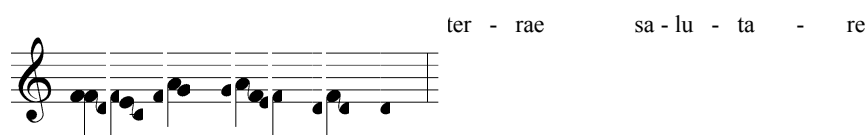
De - i no - stri.

MR 6 Transf



De - i no - stri, al - le - lu - ia.

GrStr Advent



De - i no - stri,

GrStr Transf



Vi - de - runt o - mnes fi - nes ter - rae sa - lu - ta - re De - i no - stri,

