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*Unknown Books
from Medieval Universities
Some Transylvanian Examples**

The history of the medieval university is usually written today with the help of the matriculation book, known as *Matricula* in Latin, *Matrikel* in German and *matricule* in French¹: the official register or roll that recorded the names of students attending a certain institution of higher learning and confirmed their status as official members of the faculties. This type of record allows a historical reconstruction from the perspective of prosopography, making use of a snapshot to recreate collective biographies of a given and well-defined group of individuals, in this case students attending a specific medieval university.² However, this method, in search of representativeness of the source material, documents only the quantitative aspect and neglects individual biographies. In order to analyse the real impact of higher education

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¹ PAQUET, Jacques: *Les matricules universitaires*, vol. I [Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 65]. Turnhout, 1992; BULTOT-VERLEYSSEN, Anne-Marie: *Les matricules universitaires*. [Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental. Mise à jour 65] Turnhout, 2003; TEEUWEN, Mariken: *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*. [Civcima. Etudes sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Age 10] Turnhout, 2003.

² SCHWINGES, Rainer Christoph: *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1986, is generally regarded as a pioneer in the field of university prosopography. Ongoing online projects: Project Prosopography of Prague University of Law 1372–1419 of the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University, Prague, http://www1.cuni.cz/~borovic/matrika/index_en.htm; Repertorium Academicum Germanicum. The Graduate Scholars of the Holy Roman Empire, 1250–1550, under development by two groups, one at the University of Berne, Switzerland, and the other at the Justus-Liebig-Universität in Giessen, Germany, <http://www.rag-online.org/en.html>.

on a regional level, another type of investigation should be undertaken, which would include their activity after their return to the ‘homeland’. It is thus more difficult, yet necessary, to call upon other types of sources for biographical and prosopographical reconstructions. Complementary disciplines, such as genealogy, sociography, etc., can shed light on a person’s family background, social milieu and career.

A study regarding the Transylvanian students’ status would be consequential in this context as it brings into discussion the communication between centre and periphery in the medieval world and evaluates from a different perspective the role played by universities in the formation of local elites, and eventually in the modernization process of society. Students from mediaeval Transylvania have been the subject of several studies during the last century, most of them tributary to prosopographical methods based exclusively on matriculation books. The latest results³ estimate about 13 000 Hungarian students to have attended European universities up to 1526. Unfortunately, the number of students of Transylvanian origin has not yet been updated accordingly. Even so, results published almost 4 decades ago,⁴ assessed about 2500 individuals. The survey also revealed the place of origin of these students: mainly Saxon⁵ communities such as Sibiu/Hermannstadt⁶ (285), Braşov/Kronstadt⁷ (267), Cluj/Clausenburg (122), and Sighişoara/Schäßsburg⁸ (95). Other Saxon towns and even smaller settlements are represented by numbers vary-

³ SZÖGI, László: On University Historiography in Hungary: An Overview of the Past 25 Years, in: CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades, 20/1, 2017, pp. 224; see also SZÖGI, László: Az egyetem nélküli ország egyetemistái Mohács előtt. A középkori Magyarország peregrinusai [Students of a Country without University before Mohács. Peregrinators of the Medieval Hungary], in: ID., Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei XIV–XV [Yearbook of the University Library XIV–XV.], Budapest, 2011. pp. 15–40.

⁴ TONK, Sándor: Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban [Transylvanians’ University Attendance in the Middle Ages], Bukarest, 1979, pp. 68–71. The figures are constantly under revision.

⁵ TEUTSCH, Friederich: Die Sachsen und die deutschen Universitäten, in: ID. (ed.), Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen, vol. I, Hermannstadt/Sibiu, 1928, pp. 245–262; PHILIPPI, Maja: Die Bürger von Kronstadt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Sozialstruktur eine siebenbürgischen Stadt im Mittelalter, Bucarest, 1986, pp. 224–270, FARA, Andrea: I Sassoni di Transilvania nelle Università d’Europa tra XIV e XVI secolo, in: Annuario dell’Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia, VIII, 2006, pp. 119–133.

⁶ TEUTSCH, Georg Daniel: Über die ältesten Schulanfänge und damit gleichzeitige Bildungszustände in Hermannstadt, in: Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 10, 1872, pp. 193–232; NUSSBÄCHER, Gernot: Hermannstädter Studenten im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, in: ID., Aus Urkunden und Chroniken, vol. II, Bucarest, 1985, pp. 123–125.

⁷ PHILIPPI, Die Bürger von Kronstadt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert (as note 5), pp. 236–246.

⁸ NUSSBÄCHER, Gernot: Schäßburger Studenten im 15. Jahrhundert, in: ID., Aus Urkunden und Chroniken (as note 6), pp. 126–128.

ing from 1–10 (about 100 settlements), 11–49 (25 settlements), to 50 students (1 town, Mediaș/Mediasch). The overwhelming presence of Saxons amid the total number of Transylvanians to have achieved academic training abroad leads, first of all, to a general consideration: the urban communities of Sibiu and Brașov, surrounded by clusters of market towns and villages, have sent by far the largest numbers of young men, almost 5% out of the total number of inhabitants;⁹ a fact related to the development of the literate mentality specific to these social and economic environments.¹⁰ A different example, still under review,¹¹ is offered by the northern Transylvanian commercial hub, Bistrița/Bistritz, another Saxon settlement that evolved under specific circumstances.

The rise of young universities in Central Europe (1348 in Prague, 1364 in Cracow, 1365 in Vienna, and the foundations in the Kingdom of Hungary:¹² Pécs, 1367, Óbuda, 1395, Bratislava/Pozsony, 1465), and above all the Papal Schism, which lasted from 1378 to 1417, diverted many Polish, Czech and Hungarian students (including Transylvanians) from the great French or Italian universities. It is obvious that geographical proximity appears as the main criterion for the distribution of these students and one may speak of a regionalization¹³ of university recruitment. The first of these students enrolled in Vienna in 1368, in Prague in 1369, and in Cracow in 1405. These East Central European universities allowed them to obtain a university degree within fairly close range, and with affordable expense. In the Middle Ages, a

⁹ TONK, Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban (as note 4), pp. 68.

¹⁰ SZENDE, Katalin: Towns and the Written Word in Medieval Hungary, in MOSTERT, Marco ADAMSKA, Anna (eds.): *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*. [Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy; 27] Turnhout, 2014, pp. 123–148.; ADAMSKA, Anna: *Intersections: Medieval East Central Europe from the Perspective of Literacy and Communication*, in: SZENDE, Katalin, JARITZ, Gerhard (eds.): *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, London – New York, 2016, pp. 225–238.

¹¹ The initial figures of 25 students from Bistrița, TONK, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* (as note 4), pp. 69, are currently revised by the publication of the Cracow University matriculation books. It can be empirically observed the large number of enrolled students from this town.

¹² LUKÁCS, Olga: *Bevezetés az erdélyi református iskolatörténetbe* [Introduction to Transylvanian Reformed School History], Kolozsvár, 2008, especially Chapter 3, dedicated to Medieval universities and Hungarian attempts. ASTRIK, L. Gabriel: *The Medieval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony*, in: *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 18, 1970, issue 3, pp. 306–306.; DOMONKOS, Leslie S.: *A History of Three Early Hungarian Universities: Obuda, Pozsony, and Buda*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1966.; FEDELES, Tamás, et al.: *A pécsi felsőoktatás évszázadai*, Pécs, 2011.

¹³ VERGER, Jacques: *Les étudiants slaves et hongrois dans les universités occidentales (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, in: *L'Église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-est et du Nord (XIVe–XVe siècles)*. Actes du colloque de Rome (27–29 janvier 1986) Rome, 1990, pp. 95.

significant number of students in Vienna and Cracow were Hungarians (in the larger sense),¹⁴ while over 90% of Transylvania's itinerant students attended the universities of Vienna,¹⁵ Prague¹⁶ or Cracow.¹⁷ It should also be noted that most Transylvanian Saxon towns gave home to powerful groups of merchants involved in supra-regional trade. Thus, as travelling agents, their relations with other merchants from Central and South-Eastern Europe involved literate aspects such as the need for record keeping, or official and personal correspondence. It is not a mere coincidence that the universities mentioned above were all stations on the commercial roads used by these merchants coming from the periphery of the Hungarian Kingdom. Transylvanian Saxon merchant families would become the new urban elite,¹⁸ with access not only to material wealth but also to higher education and even noble status.¹⁹

What do we know about the lives and careers of these students after their return home? Apparently, their paths were determined by their familial social status, as might be expected, which directed them either to ecclesiastical careers, usually as parish priests,²⁰ or less often to careers that could be at least

¹⁴ KUBINYI, Andras: Städtische Bürger und Universitätsstudien in Ungarn am Ende des Mittelalters, in: MASCHKE, Erich – SYDOW, Jürgen (eds.): *Stadt und Universität im Mittelalter und in der früheren Neuzeit*, Sigmaringen, 1977, pp. 161–169.

¹⁵ TEUTSCH, Georg Daniel: Siebenbürger Studirende auf der Hochschule in Wien im 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Siebenbürgens. I. und II., in: *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge 16, 1881, pp. 321–354.; SCHRAUF, Károly, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen* [Students from Hungary at the University of Vienna], Budapest, 1892.; PHILIPPI, Maja: *Kronstädter und Burzenlander Studenten an der Wiener Universität (1382–1525)*, in: PHILIPPI, Paul (ed.): *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, Colonia–Vienna, 1984, pp. 179–224.; TÜSKÉS, Anna: *Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen 1365–1526*. [Students from Hungary at the University of Vienna 1365–1526], Budapest, 2008.

¹⁶ TEIGE, Joseph: *Studenten aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Prager Universität im XIV–XV Jahrhundert*, in: *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, VI, 1883, pp. 19–20, 29–30.; HARASZTI, Szabó Péter – KELÉNYI Borbála, SZÖGI, László: *Magyarországi diákok a prágai és krakkói egyetemeken 1348–1525* [Students from Hungary at the Universities of Prague and Krakow 1348–1525.], vol. I, Budapest, 2016.

¹⁷ SCHWARZ, Karl: *Verzeichniss der von 1492–1539 in Krakau studirenden Siebenbürger*, in: *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, V/1, 1861, pp. 115–118.; PHILIPPI, Maja: *Siebenbürgisch-sächsische Studierende an der Universität von Krakau in vorreformatorischer Zeit*, in: *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, XXII/2, 1979, pp. 138–139.; KNOLL, Paul: “A Pearl of Powerful Learning”: The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century, Leiden, 2016, pp. 158–162.

¹⁸ FLORA, Agnes: *The Matter of Honour: The Leading Urban Elite in Sixteenth Century Cluj and Sibiu*, PhD Thesis, CEU, Budapest, 2014.

¹⁹ GÜNDISCH, Konrad: *Das Patriziat siebenbürgischer Städte im Mittelalter*, [Studia Transylvanica, 18] Köln – Weimar – Wien, 1993.

²⁰ DINCĂ, Adinel C.: *Medieval Literacy in Transylvania. Selective Evidence from the Parish Church*, in: *Transylvanian Review*, XXIV/1, Spring, 2015, pp. 109–121.

partially secular, as officers in the service of their hometowns:²¹ counsellors, judges, notaries public,²² etc. A survey of their particular careers upon return to their hometowns requires, however, the investigation of other sources than just the university *Matriculae*. Former Transylvanian students shared a common elite consciousness, based on their higher education, which they underlined as many times as the occasion arose. Such is the case of Thomas, aged 68, from Jelna [Senddorf (German), Zsolna (Hungarian)], who defines himself according to his professional status (parish priest), family (son of Martin, rope-maker from Bistrița), and scholarly education (student at Cracow²³ and Vienna Universities):

*Rationes vitrici Zolnensis*²⁴ {anno 1500}:
 Anno nostre salutis, millesimo /
 quingentesimo, dominica vero in /
 qua predicatur Sanctum Ewangelium /
 Ego sum pastor bonus, ego Thomas, /
 pastor ovium Christi in Zolna, atque /
 plebanus, natus ex Bistria, filius /
 Martini funificis, studens Craco /
 wiensis, scholarisque Wienensis universi- /
 tatum ab anno mee incarnationis /
 sexagesimo octavo, promocionis /
 eiusdem plebanie in prescripta Zolna /
 habet presens ac sequens calamo meo /
 proprio depinxi registrum, videlicet anno 16.

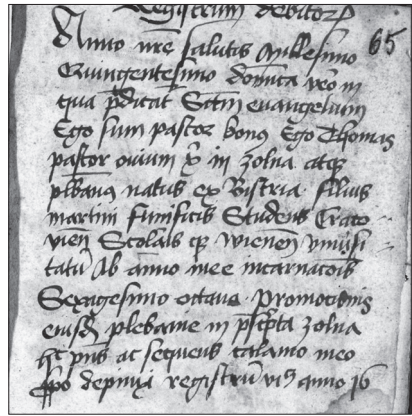


Fig. 1 Sibiu, Romanian National Archives, B268, f 34r

²¹ DINCĂ, Adinel C.: Urban Literacy in Medieval Transylvania, in: ANDEA, Susana (coord.): Between public and private. Writing praxis in Transylvania during the XIII–XVII Centuries”, Cluj-Napoca – Gatineau, (forthcoming).

²² TONK, Sándor: A középkori közjegyzőség Erdélyben [Medieval Notary in Transylvania], in: „Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok” [“Studies in Cultural History”], Bukarest, 1980, pp. 36–62.; TONK, Sándor: Die Notariatsurkunden und die Notarszeichen in Siebenbürgen. in: RÜCK, Peter (ed.): Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden. Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik, Sigmaringen, 1996 (Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3), pp. 709–715; DINCĂ, Adinel C.: Notaries Public in Transylvania in Late Medieval Transylvania. Prerequisites for the Reception of a Legal Institution, in ANDEA, Susana – DINCĂ, Adinel C., (eds.): Literacy Experiences concerning Medieval and Early Modern Transylvania, Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «G. Baritiu» – Supplement, LIV, 2015, pp. 33–47.

²³ Thomas Martini de Bystrzyca enrolled at Cracow University in 1460, see HARASZTI, Szabó Péter – KELÉNYI Borbála – SZÖGI, László: Magyarországi diákok a prágai és krakkói egyetemeken (1348–1525), vol. II, Budapest, 2017, 4566.

²⁴ Romanian National Archives, Sibiu, B268.

The traces of Transylvanian students who have attended European universities can be recovered from other types of historical records, such as books related, one way or another, to the university environment.²⁵ Some volumes retain the memory of academic years of training in the form of autograph annotations: for instance, ms Clm 14280 from Bavarian State Library, Munich: *Anno domini MoCCCCoXXVIIIo, ipso die sancti Erhardi episcopi, recepi licentiam in iure canonico cum domino Andrea canonico ecclesie Agriensis et domino Antonio de Septemcastris, plebano venerandi in Mülpach, et hoc a venerabili viro et domino Iohanne de Gmünd, arcium liberalium magistro et theologie baccalareo, formato protunc vicecancellario venerabilis professoris domini Gwilhelmi Tuerz prepositi ecclesie sancti Stephani et cancellarii vniversitatis Wiennensis ...* (inner side of the back cover).

The diary of Thomas Wal from Sibiu,²⁶ written on a printed almanac,²⁷ documents his life through entries of various personal events, from the time spent as a student in Vienna, to political events of significant to the town of Sibiu. He began his studies in 1511 as a student of the Faculty of Arts in Vienna, becoming *magister* in 1515. According to the university's matriculation register,²⁸ he also attended the Faculty of Law from 1516. Upon his return to his hometown, he was employed as *procurator* of the Hungarian *natio* and in 1523 became parish priest in Şelimbăr/Schellenberg.²⁹ Wal's notes start in 1513, in Vienna, recording in a laconic manner events such as *finis examinis, insignia magistralia suscepi, exivi bursam* or, in 1516, *inscriptus sum in matriculam facultatis juridice*. In 1520, Wal returned to Vienna, marking in his diary on 31 May: *Electus in examinatorium baccalaureandorum qui numero 22 fuerunt*.

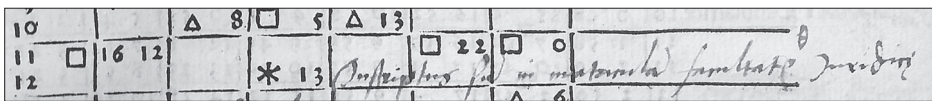


Fig. 2 Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, V II 618,
12 January 1516: *inscriptus sum in matriculam facultatis juridice*

²⁵ Similar investigations were undertaken by HARASZTI Szabó Péter: Books and their Creators from the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary at the University of Prague, in: *Studia Historica Nitriensia*, 27/1, 2017, pp. 17–31.

²⁶ MÜLLER, Friedrich: Gleichzeitige Aufzeichnungen von Thomas Wal, Johannes Mildt und einem Heltauer aus den Jahren 1513–1532, in: *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 15, 1879, pp. 45–62.

²⁷ Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, V. ii. 618, Venice, 1513.

²⁸ *Thomas Baal ex Cibinio*, see TÜSKÉS, *Magyarországi diákok a Bécsi Egyetemen*, (as note 15), 6468.

²⁹ TEUTSCH, *Über die ältesten Schulanfänge* (as note 6), pp. 221–222.

Manuscripts and early printed books preserved in Transylvania represent sources of information regarding the formative years of local intellectuals, such as parish priests and town notaries. These books offer a rather unusual way of examining the impact of university studies on a peripheral level. Tracking the university-type texts, manuscript or printed, which were in the possession of the local intellectual elite, indicates its level of preparation and every-day use of knowledge acquired at university centres. However, the lack of detailed research on Transylvania's funds of old books can only provide a partial and fragmentary survey of the topic. Thus, the present paper's exploratory task will focus its attention on two medieval provincial book collections: the parish library from Cisnădie/Heltau, and respectively the 'Brukenthal Library' from Sibiu.

The parish library at St. Walpurga's Church of Cisnădie (today the Evangelical Church) today holds 12 manuscripts and 3 *incunabula*. Around 1500, this library probably had at least 20 books, if one takes into account other manuscripts and printed books that can now be found in Sibiu, Cluj and Budapest.³⁰ This small specific collection was the result of book-accumulation influenced, at least partially, by the intellectual formation of the local parish priests,³¹ former students. Nikolaus de Dinkelsbühl (c.1360–1433), a famous professor at the University of Vienna, is the author of most of the works to be found in the library mentioned above: either homiletics, like *Passionale*, *Sermones variae* (*De novo sacerdote, de sanctis* etc.), *Sermones quadragesimales*, *De penitentia*, *De oratione dominica*, *De donis septem spiritus sancti*, *De octo beatitudinibus*, *Confessionale compendiosum*, or theological commentaries, as *Questiones communes*.³² Another text originating in university environment is the law compendium copied in Transylvania and bought by Martin of Cisnădie, a parish priest in Petrești: ms D14³³ *Expliciunt suffragia legum super quinque libros decretalium, empte (!) per dominum Martinum Heltnansis (!) plebanum in Petersberg, anno Domini Millesimo CCCCō XVIIImo*. Despite its pre-urban level of development in the shadow of Sibiu, Cisnădie seems to have been a community favourable to

³⁰ NEMES, Balázs J., DIETL, Cora, DINCĂ, Adinel. C.: Heltau, in: DIETL, Cora, LIEBERMANN Anna-Lena (eds.): *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Literatur in Ungarn und Rumänien*, Berlin–Boston, 2015, pp. 182–185.

³¹ A chapter on the education of Transylvanian parish priests abroad, in TONK, Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban (as note 4) pp. 136–144.

³² DINCĂ, Adinel C.: Reading Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl in Medieval Transylvania: Surviving Texts and Historical Contexts, in: BRÎNZEI, Monica (ed.): *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century*, Turnhout, 2015, pp. 453–471.

³³ DINCĂ, Adinel C.: *Casus legum im spätmittelalterlichen Siebenbürgen*, in: *Transylvanian Review*, Supplement 1, 2016, pp. 312–316. For the general context of this particular text, see BERTRAM, Martin – DUYNSTEE, Marguerite: *Casus Legum Sive Suffragia Monachorum* in: *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 51/3, 1983, pp. 317–363.

higher education. By the early years of the 16th century, 37 students from this small settlement are known to have attended the University of Vienna, while 4 were registered at Cracow.³⁴ We know for instance of one student who attended the University of Vienna in 1469³⁵: *Michael artium liberalium magister de Helta*, son of Michael, town notary in Sighișoara.³⁶ He became, around 1483–1486, a parish priest in Cisnădie and his ownership marks can still be seen on two books preserved at the ‘Brukenthal Library’ in Sibiu: mss 604³⁷ and 609.³⁸

An overview of the much larger ‘Brukenthal’ collection (estimated to ca. 70 medieval manuscripts, 400 *incunabula*, and 900 printed volumes ante 1550) must take into consideration its composite and gradual formation and evolution, comprising local book collections from former ecclesiastical institutions and modern additions. One of the most important collection is the so-called Chapel Library, *Kapellenbibliothek*, formed at some point in the second half of the 16th century, incorporating the collections previously gathered in Sibiu by other religious institutions. One such library belonged to the Saint Mary’s parish church, one of the best-documented situations in all of medieval Transylvania due to the booklists included in the *Matricula Plebaniae Cibiniensis*³⁹ (the richest list is dated 1442, comprising approximately 150 manuscripts). Some of the manuscripts mentioned in the *Matricula* have been preserved to this day. A second large collection of medieval books that was taken over in the mid-16th century by the *Kapellenbibliothek* is the one belonging to the Dominican convent in Sibiu (*conventus S. Crucis*). There is no direct documentary source regarding this library, but its important holdings are suggested by the large number of *incunabula*, and by the manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century.

This preliminary discussion will take into account for the present only four categories of texts preserved in the ‘Brukenthal Library’. They can be unmistakably linked to the environment of higher learning. At least six manuscripts, a figure that can be supplemented by other, more deteriorated manuscripts, share common physical details, like the plain, undecorated binding with reddish-pink leather and dimensions: approx. 300–350 to 200–230 mm.⁴⁰ A first group of manuscripts, written on parchment, obviously copied at the Univer-

³⁴ NUSSBÄCHER, Gernot: Studierende und Akademiker im mittelalterlichen Heltau, in: ID., *Aus Urkunden und Chroniken* (as note 6), pp. 143–144.

³⁵ TONK, Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban (as note 4), 1655.

³⁶ ZIMMERMANN, Franz: Katalog der Heltauer Pfarrer, in: *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 2, 1879, pp. 106.

³⁷ *Hic liber est proprius Michaelis de Helta, artis baccalaureus* (flyleaf).

³⁸ *iste liber proprius est Michaelis de Helta, artis baccalaureus* (flyleaf).

³⁹ Alba Iulia, ‘Batthyaneum Library’, ms R. II. 135; SZENTIVÁNYI, Robert: *Catalogus concinnus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Batthyanyanae*, Szeged, 4th ed. 1954, pp. 158–169.

⁴⁰ For instance: mss 613, 644, 666, 667, 676, 681.

sity of Paris in the late 13th century or in the early part of the 14th century, bear indications of *pecia*: mss 603,⁴¹ 608⁴² and 613⁴³. The system of copying manuscripts by *pecia*⁴⁴ is one of characteristic elements of the Italian and French universities in the 13th and 14th centuries. The lack of explicit information on the provenance of these manuscripts makes it impossible to know how they have reached Sibiu. It cannot be ruled out that they were part of a Transylvanian student's small personal collection, acquired while studying in Vienna, where several other volumes were added.



Fig. 3 *Pecia* annotation, Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Ms 603, fol. 49v

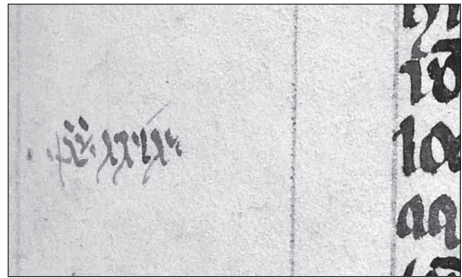


Fig. 4 *Pecia* annotation, Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Ms 613, fol. 87r

- ⁴¹ Johannes de Friburgo, *Summa confessorum*: 285 ff.; 345 x 225 mm; orig.: France, Paris; *pecia* annotations; XIV1.
- ⁴² a. Thomas de Aquino, *Summa theologiae*, pars I. (1–167) – b. Thomas de Aquino, *Summa contra gentiles* (168–317) (incomplete), 317 ff.; 345 x 245 mm; *pecia* annotations; orig.: France/Paris; pos.: OPred. S. Crucis, Sibiu – S. Mary Church, Sibiu; prov.: Kapellenbibliothek; a.: XIIIex – b.: XIV1; DINĂ, Adinel C.: A Little Known Aquinas Manuscript in Romania (Sibiu, Brukenthal Library, Ms 608), in: *Chôra. Revue d'Études Anciennes et Médiévales*, 7–8, 2009–2010, pp. 359–371.
- ⁴³ Thomas de Aquino, *Super librum I. sententiarum* (incomplete, distinctiones III–XLVIII), 209 ff.; 350x205 mm; *pecia* annotations; orig.: France; s. XIV1.
- ⁴⁴ POLLARD, Graham: *The Pecia System in the Medieval Universities*, in: PARKES, Malcolm B. – WATSON, Andrew G. (eds.): *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries. Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, London, 1978, pp. 145–161; BOYLE, Leonard E.: *Peciae, Apopeciae*, and a Toronto MS of the *Sententia Libri Ethicorum* of Aquinas, in: GANZ, Peter: *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture. Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium*, 26 September–1 October 1982, Turnhout, 1986, pp. 71–82.; BATAILLON, Louis J., GUYOR, Bertrand G., ROUSE, Richard H.: *La production du Livre universitaire au Moyen Age. Exemplar et pecia* (Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983), Paris, 1988; MURANO, Giovanna: *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, [Textes et Études du Moyen Âge-TEMA, 29] Turnhout, 2005.

A second group of manuscripts, already announced by the third *pecia* manuscript mentioned above, comprises a central textbook for theological study: “The Four Books of Sentences” (*Quattuor libri sententiarum*), written by Peter Lombard (c.1096–1160). Theology students, as well as masters, were required to write extensive commentaries on this text as part of their curriculum.⁴⁵ In addition to ms 613, other four mss may be added to this group: 604, 609, 676 and 677. As already stated, mss 604 and 609 belonged to Michael of Cisnădie in the second part of the 15th century, who purchased the books in Vienna during his study visit.⁴⁶ Ms 676 deserves a special comment, due to the mention of ‘*Paulus de Giengen*’⁴⁷ (fol. 1r) who might be the scribe of several pages in the manuscript, while *in studio Wienensi ... in facultate theologica* (fol. 1r), around 1426–1427.

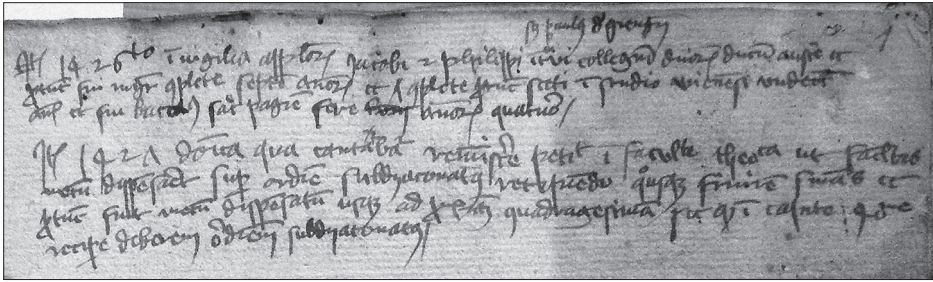


Fig. 5 *Paulus de Giengen*, Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Ms 676, fol. 1r

More elevated theological works form the third category of manuscripts to be briefly discussed here. Ms 644 preserves an unusual text for this part

⁴⁵ BAKKER, Paul J.J.M., SCHABEL, Christopher: “Sentences” Commentaries of the Later Fourteenth Century, in: ROSEMAN, Philipp W.: *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, Leiden 2002, pp. 425–464; ROSEMAN, Philipp W.: *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard’s “Sentences”*, Toronto, 2007, pp. 93–136.

⁴⁶ *Anno Domini Mo CCCCo 61o finitus est iste liber scilicet per commentarios 4or libri sententiarum que (!) composte sunt per venerabilem virum M. N. Harder tunc temporis collegiatis ducalis Wiennensis ...*, ms 604, f. 309v.

⁴⁷ *Paulus de Giengen* is registered as student in Vienna: in 1415 *baccalaureus*, see ENNE, Martin Georg: *Teiledition der Matrikel der Rheinischen Nation der Universität Wien. 1415–1442*, Magisterarbeit, University of Vienna. Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, 2010, pp. 77, *magister* in 1419 *Ibid.*, pp. 87, is elected *procurator* in 1421 *Ibid.*, pp. 93. In 1426, he is *Decanus* of the Faculty of Philosophy at the same University, see LOCHNER, Joannes Joseph: *Speculum academicum Viennense seu magistratus Universitatis Viennensis a primo ejusdem auspicio ad nostra tempora ... exhibitus*, Viena, 1773, pp. 142. Also *sententiarus* at Vienna, 1426–1428, see COURTENAY, William: *From Dinkelsbühl Questiones Communes to Vienna Group Commentary. The Vienna School, 1415–1425*, in: BRÎNZEI, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna (as note 32), pp. 301.

of Europe: *De causa Dei contra Pelagium et de virtute causarum*, authored by the English scholar Thomas Bradwardine (c.1290–1349), in a copy from the second half of the 14th century. It is still to be determined whether the manuscript was copied in Prague or in Vienna.⁴⁸ On the other hand, ms 681 reflects a completely different context: a compilation of widely spread university texts written by two of the first theology professors in Vienna,⁴⁹ Henricus de Oyta (c.1330–1397) and Henricus de Hassia/of Langenstein (c.1325–1397). On several folios of the manuscript a certain *Cristannus Medicus* is recorded as the copyist of the texts. Whether he is one and the same with *Cristianus Antonii de Heltaw*, enrolled at Vienna in 14 April 1397, or *Cristianus de Septemcastris*, as it has been suggested,⁵⁰ will be analysed in a forthcoming paper.

Legal texts were a solid core of university study during the Middle Ages and are generously represented in the ‘Brukenthal Library’ either in manuscript or in printed form. Manuscripts of this type were copied locally in the first half of the 15th century, as proven a by small handbook⁵¹ copied in Aiud, not far from Sibiu, between 1431–1432 by *Iacobus Haas, baccalaureus artium*. By the end of the 15th century, the volume, containing various canonistic texts (*Casus de summa decretalium Henrici de Merseburg, Johannes Andree De Sponsalibus* etc.), in addition to a practical treatise of procedural canon law, Nicolaus Puchník, *Procesus iudiciarius secundum stilum Pragensem*, was already in use at the University of Ingolstadt. A few years later, in Sibiu, the collection of *Decretales* of pope Gregorius IX was copied, a work done by *Valentinus Mathie de Cibinio* (‘Brukenthal Library’, ms 678, colophon on fol. 286r).

The number of canon and civil law books increased exponentially after the introduction of the printing press. By 1500, a large variety of legal texts and additional instruments of legal studies were at hand in Sibiu in multiple editions. A small collection of legal texts, property of *Martinus Pillades Cibiniensis* (documented activity 1501–1540), *decretorum doctor* and parish priest in Amnaş 1501–1514, Şura Mare 1514–1521, Sibiu 1521–1531 and Richiş 1531–1540,

⁴⁸ Regarding the tradition of this text in medieval Austria, see LUKÁCS, Edit Anna: Die Handschriften von Thomas Bradwardines Traktat *De causa Dei* in Österreich, in: *Codices Manuscripti et Impressi*, 99/100, 2015, pp. 3–10.

⁴⁹ SCHABEL, Christopher: Henry Totting of Oyta, Henry of Langenstein, and the Vienna Group on Reconciling Human Free Will with Divine Foreknowledge and Predestination, in: BRÎNZEI, Monica, SCHABEL, Christopher (eds.): *Philosophical Psychology in late Medieval Commentaries on Peter Lombard’s Sentences. Actes of the XIVth Annual Symposium of the S.I.P.E.M.* Nijmegen 28–30 Octobre 2009, Turnhout, (forthcoming).

⁵⁰ TÜSKÉS, Magyarországi diákok a bécsi egyetemen, (as note 15), 522.

⁵¹ Universitat Bibliothek München, 8-º Cod Ms 152, see DANIEL, Natalia, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus der Oktavreihe*, Wiesbaden, 1989, pp. 128–131.

may serve as a relevant example. Among his books such titles can be found as *Clementis papae V: Constitutiones cum apparatu Ioannis Andree*, 1502, Venetis,⁵² Geminiano Dominicus de Sancto: *Prima (et secunda) lectura super sexto libro decretalium*, 1502, Venetiis,⁵³ Imola Iohannes de Imola: *Super clementinis*, 1502, Venetiis.⁵⁴

Going back to the manuscript tradition of law compilations preserved now in the 'Brukenthal Library', two more *codices* should be brought into discussion: ms 649 and ms 684. Both are organized around works of the Dominican canonist *Bartholomeus Pisanus sive de Sancto Concordio* (c.1260–1347): in ms 649, *Summa de casibus conscientiae* (fol. 1–169) and in ms 684 *Summa pisana* (fol. 1–219v). The Dominican's work is joined in the first manuscript by miscellaneous additions from ecclesiastical law, such as *Casus summarii decretalium* (fol. 173–230) and Henricus Mersenburgensis, *Summa iuris canonici seu Labia Sacerdotum* (fol. 230v–261). The latter illustrates better the Italian legal heritage of the Middle Ages, recording a text of Martinus de Sulimano, *Super usu feudorum* (fol. 221–232). Closing this last short treaty, in form of a colophon, there is a note of great historical significance for the legal studies in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom: *Hanc summmam recitavi ego Galvanus decretorum doctor Paduensis, decretales actu legens, Millesimo CCC^o lxxiiii^o ...* (fol. 232v), thus a university lecture held in Padua in 1364 by Galvano di Bologna⁵⁵ (c. 1335 – c. 1394), a renowned canonist and professor of canon law at Padua, Bologna and Pécs universities.

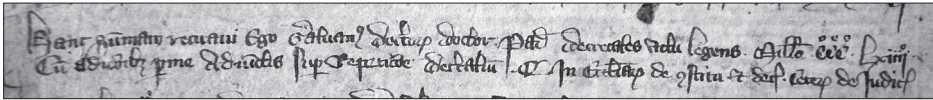


Fig. 6 *Galvanus decretorum doctor Paduensis ... Millesimo CCColxxiiii*
Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Ms 613, fol. 232v

⁵² Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, V. v. 89.

⁵³ Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, V. v. 82.

⁵⁴ Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, V. v. 53.

⁵⁵ Biography in SCHULTE, Johann Friedrich: *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, New Jersey (NJ) 2000, pp. 286–289. Galvanus and Pécs University: CSIZMADIA, Andor: Galvano di Bologna pécsi működése és a középkori magyar jogi oktatás egyes kérdései [Galvano di Bologna 's Operation in Pécs and some of the Questions of Medieval Hungarian Legal Education], in: *Jubileumi Tanulmányok [Jubilee Studies]*, vol. I, Pécs, 1967, pp. 111–127; CSIZMADIA, Andor: Galvano di Bologna, professore di giurisprudenza dell'Università di Pécs, in: HORANYI, Mátyás – KLANICZAY, Tibor (eds.): *Italia ed Ungheria. Dieci Secoli di Rapporti Letterari*, Budapest, 1967, pp. 29–43.

The interior part of the back cover of the volume contains, written in the same hand as the lecture text of Galvano, a typical annotation for an educational context: *Nota ad intelligendas breviaturas decretalium*, a list of ‘palaeographical’ abbreviations,⁵⁶ meant to help the student read legal terminology. With a high degree of probability, one can speak of a Transylvanian student (maybe even from Sibiu, or from its vicinity) who attended master Galvano’s lecture in Padua before 1365. This assumption is sustained by the fact that ms 684 was present in the library of Saint Mary’s parish church of Sibiu in the 15th century. It was mentioned in the *Matricula* discussed above and it also bears an ownership note from the 1490s (*Parrochialis ecclesie Cibiniensis*). This detail implies that students from the medieval Hungarian Kingdom were familiar with Galvano’s teaching before his arrival in Pécs. Transylvanian students continued to follow the Italian master even later, after his return to Bologna, as indicated by the Johannes, Archeacon of Dăbâca’s request on 5 August 1385 to be examined for a doctoral degree by Galvano: *Egregii decretorum doctores domini Laurentius de Pinu et Galvanus Bitini constituti in presentia egregii utriusque iuris doctoris domini Ieremie de Angelellis prioris bononiensis colegii dominorum doctorum canonistarum Studii Bononiensis presentaverunt eidem domino priori nobilem et venerabilem virum dominum Johannem de Ungaria archidiaconum de Dobocho, examinandum etc, petentes ipsum admitti ad examen privatum, sibi que diem martis proxime venturum assignari.*⁵⁷ The examination must have been successful, as Johannes, Archdean of Dăbâca, had a flourishing ecclesiastical career as *decretorum doctor*.⁵⁸

The situation described above confirms that books – once the very core of the higher education – are valuable sources for the history of the medieval university, especially for regions such as Transylvania, which does not have too many additional resources for the reconstruction of the life and career of former students. The manuscripts and printed books, which have been briefly described here, reflect above all, how people and knowledge moved through the medieval world, between a central point and the peripheral regions. They are also proof of how the local elite emerged and how a centre on the boundary of Latin Christianity was established.

⁵⁶ DINCĂ, Adinel C.: Un exercițiu de „paleografie latină” în Transilvania secolului al XIV-lea, in: BOLOVAN, Ioan, GHITTA, Ovidiu, (coord.): Istoria ca datorie. Omagiu academicianului Ioan Arel Pop la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani, Cluj-Napoca 2015, pp. 419–427.

⁵⁷ *Chartularium studii Bononiensis: documenti per la storia dell’Università di Bologna dalle origini fino al secolo XV*, 4, Bologna, 1919, CCCXIII (1239), pp. 200–201.

⁵⁸ MÁLYUSZ, Elemér: Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I. (1387–1399) [Sigismundian Charter Storage I. (1387–1399)] (Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II. Forráskiadványok 1.) [Publications of the National Archives of Hungary, II. Source Publications 1.], Budapest, 1951, nr. 1769.

Abstract

Unknown Books from Medieval Universities Some Transylvanian Examples

The most important source for the establishment and development of ecclesiastical libraries in the Late Medieval Period was the private donation of books. This was also the case for St. Mary's Church in Sibiu (Romania, also known as Hermannstadt). Among the books still preserved now in the collections of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu, one may find a few manuscripts from the 13th to 15th century and printed books that display clear proofs of their origin from various European universities such as Paris and Vienna. The aim of my paper is to discuss such signs of provenance (names of professors, *pecia* marks, ownership signs, etc.) and to analyse the historical context in which such manuscripts found their final home in medieval Transylvania. Research conducted on these books brings a new perspective on the life and career of former students, adding new details concerning the practical and continuous use of knowledge obtained at universities.

Keywords: Transylvania, university, book, student, library

Középkori egyetemek ismeretlen kéziratai. Erdélyi példák

A nyugat-európai középkor egyházi könyvtáralapításainak talán legjellemzőbb forrásai a magánadományok voltak. A Sibiuban (Románia, német nevén: Hermannstadt) található Szent Mária templom esetében is ez a helyzet. A Sibiui Brukenthal Múzeumban ma is őrzött könyvek között található néhány 13. és 15. század közötti kézirat, melyek bizonyítottan különböző európai egyetemekről (Párizs, Krakkó és Bécs) származnak. Tanulmányom célja, hogy bemutassam e kéziratok származásának különböző jellemző jegyeit (professzorok neve, *pecia* jelek, könyvkötések stb.) és elemezzem a történeti kontextust, melyben ezek a kéziratok végső otthonukra leltek a középkori Erdélyben.