



## The Lost Libraries of Transylvania: Some Examples from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries

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### Abstract

*Although books in Latin were used in Transylvania during the Late Middle Ages (c.13 - 15), the collections of the province (all in dire need of good catalogues) have been enriched above all through several notable acquisitions since the eighteenth century. As everywhere else in Europe, the Enlightenment was an age of bibliophiles like the Governor Brukenthal (1721 - 1803) in Sibiu, Bishop Batthyány (1741-1798) in Alba Iulia, and Count Teleki (1739-1822) in Tîrgu Mureș. However, these libraries also held manuscripts and early printings produced or purchased in Transylvania since the medieval times, remains of a rich, yet troubled history regarding the local book culture reflected in three different examples.*

*The first example concerns the parish library of Sibiu. Not only is there a direct contemporary source for the history of this collection (a very thorough list of the various objects possessed by the church, including hundreds of titles), but most of the books are still at hand, although now part of a larger collection. The second example is a less fortunate one. According to several reliable catalogues from 1575 onwards, issued by librarians of the Lutheran College from Brașov, the collection of medieval manuscripts (all enlisted and kept in the library separately) was even richer than the one in Sibiu. The great fire from 1689, that consumed almost the entire settlement, led to the destruction of the library.*

*Very few books were saved, but some of them can still be identified. The third example refers to a dispersed collection as well. The prestigious library of the Jesuit College from Cluj, scattered in 1603 during a Protestant riot, also inherited many medieval books. There are no written evidences about the former status of the library, except for the ownership notes within the books.*

*Thus, this paper's aim is to present with the help of these cultural contexts the author's variety of methodological experiences and difficulties in scientifically reconstructing the holdings of some important Transylvanian libraries of the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries.*

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A study of ample proportions and monographic approach of the cultural phenomenon analyzing the relationship book-lecture-library in medieval Transylvania is far from being completed, despite the emergence of focused studies or general dissemination works written as a large survey over the Romanian provinces. Such papers, written by important names in Romanian history, give to the Transylvanian medieval book and library history either a peripheral attention – disproportionate to the extensive look over the other Romanian provinces – or a shallow one, with interest only regarding the cultural phenomena subsequent to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Transylvania – as a significant region in nowadays Romania – experienced as a part of the medieval Hungarian kingdom (from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century) an interesting cultural ambiance, marked by the interaction of the Latin and Slavic-Byzantine worlds. Such a cultural picture can be studied first and mostly through the surviving books of that time. More to it, the Transylvanian realm is home, since the Middle Ages, to more than one ethnic community (Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Hebrews, Armenians and so on) – these communities have interacted culturally, linguistically, ethnically and religiously, as revealed by the inherited books<sup>1</sup>.

The present paper, as suggested above, is centered mainly on medieval manuscript and printed books, as they exist on Transylvanian territory up to 1500, either locally manufactured or purchased from Austria, Italy, Germany. A special notice must be mentioned – this paper does not investigate those *codices* and *incunabulae* collections to be found today in Romania that are the product of modern acquisitions (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries) from abroad by provincial aristocrats and scholars. For instance, the foremost collection of ancient books in Romania (*Battyaneum Library* from Alba Iulia has more than 300 *codices* and 500 *incunabulae*) is the outcome of Bishop Ignác of Batthyányi († 1798). Other numerous examples can be quoted, as important Romanian collections of medieval books owed their existence to passionate bibliophiles: baron Samuel von Brukenthal († 1803) in *Sibiu*, count Sámuel Teleki († 1822) in *Tîrgu Mureş*, Timotei Cipariu († 1887) in Cluj.

Yet, the mentioned libraries and other institutions own manuscripts and early printings that have arrived in Transylvania in the Middle Ages as a testimony of a rich and troubled history of local librarian culture. A persuasive example is given by the events that have led to successive devastations of the Diocesan library in Alba Iulia at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup>. Thus, documents remind us of an attack led by John (Gyan), son of Alardus against the Transylvanian Diocesan cathedral (1277) when more valuable items, books included, were destroyed in the fire<sup>2</sup>. The hostile episode repeats itself some decades later, when armed groups of German colonists storm Alba Iulia's cathedral once more (1307), the books here sheltered being burnt again<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Adrian Papahagi, Adinel Dincă. *Latin Palaeography and Codicology in Romania*, "Chôra", 5, 2007, 159-186.

<sup>2</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* I, edited by Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Hermanstadt, 1892, nr. 185 (1278.06.19): *Gaan filius Alardi et sue ... complices, Saxones partium Transsiluanarum ecclesiam beati Mychaelis cathedralem ... combusserint, archidiaconos, canonicos, sacerdotes, clericos et et magnam multitudinem Christianorum in eadem et in aliis ecclesiis concremaverint aliosque innumerabiles ubicumque locorum deprehensos interfecerint, reliquias, cruces, calices, indumenta sacerdotalia et omnia ornamenta ecclesiarum cum libris ac aliis rebus sacris necnon thesauro ecclesiae memorate rapuerint.*

<sup>3</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* I, edited by Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Hermanstadt, 1892, nr. 314, p. 254: *ipsa universitas (from Sibiu) anno domini Mo. CCo. LXXVIIo in dominica Reminiscere super eandem*

Such devastations caused by internal conflicts or external invasions did not discourage the development of a local librarian culture in Transylvania. As the far eastern province of the Hungarian kingdom, Transylvania connected to the Latin cultural environment with a delay, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but soon after entered the European book circuit through its monastic orders (Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians), especially book exchanges with religious institutions in France<sup>4</sup>.

A mature stage in the development of book, lecture and library interest can be seen in Transylvania in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when parish libraries and town libraries, even small private libraries, join the book collections belonging to the traditional religious orders or to the mendicant orders<sup>5</sup>.

The following analysis focuses on that specific and advanced stage of development and presents three different book collections from Sibiu, Braşov and Cluj. A special attention is given to the methodological solutions undertaken in (partially) reconstructing the holdings of those libraries. The entire intervention is based on written sources and information (catalogues, book lists) either contemporary or subsequent to those libraries, the latter being relevant for the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The books by themselves offer first and foremost valuable information, the previous ownership indicators (notes, inscriptions, heraldry etc.) playing a very important role.

The present paper intends to present, in a summarized manner, the results of an ongoing research that aims to reconstruct – even in part – the holdings of three Transylvanian libraries from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It regards book collections from Sibiu, Braşov and Cluj, three urban settlements inhabited mostly by Germans in the Middle Ages, settlements that have been colonized by the kings of the Hungarian kingdom in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

The research was conducted in a regressive manner. The departure points were the libraries existing in the three 16<sup>th</sup> century towns – in a context dominated historically and culturally by the Protestant reformation – based on trustworthy documentary sources (book lists, library catalogues) but also based on the information provided by some of the conserved books belonging to these libraries. This way were discovered relevant evidence regarding the existence of important local libraries, active in the Middle Ages and abolished out of religious reasons in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The first example concerns the town library of Sibiu<sup>6</sup>. Not only is there a direct contemporary source for the history of this collection (a very thorough list of the various objects possessed by the church, including hundreds of book titles), but most of the books are still at hand, although now part of a larger collection, the Library of the Brukenthal Museum<sup>7</sup>. The precise date when this collection was

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*ecclesiam cathedralem manu armata irruentes, ipsam hostiliter invaserunt comburentes in eadem ecclesia bene ad duo milia hominum utriusque sexus, ... comburendo et auferendo omnia ornamenta, libros et instrumenta dictae ecclesiae et alia que dicta ecclesia inibi habebat.*

<sup>4</sup> Radu Constantinescu, Eugen Lazea, *O bibliotecă monastică din Transilvania pe la 1200 (A Monastic Library in Transylvania around 1200)*, "Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie", XXII, 4, 1969, 1145-1153; Sigismund Jakó – Radu Manolescu, *Scrierea latină în evul mediu (Latin Writing in the Middle Ages)*, Bucureşti, 1971 (translated into Hungarian as Jakó, Zsigmond, Manolescu, Radu. *A latin írás története*, Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1987), 94; Zsigmond Jakó, *Oradea în istoria bibliotecilor noastre medievale*, in Jakó Zsigmond, *Philobiblon transilvan*, Bucureşti, 1977, 13-71.

<sup>5</sup> Sigismund Jakó – Radu Manolescu, *Scrierea latină în evul mediu* (see above note 4), 94-99.

<sup>6</sup> Carol Göllner, *Din istoricul unor biblioteci feudale ale saşilor din Sibiu*, "Studii și cercetări de bibliologie" 5 (1963), 221-29.

<sup>7</sup> G. A. Schuller, *Die älteren Handschriftenbände des Baron-Brukenthalischen-Museums*, "Mitteilungen aus dem Baron-Brukenthalischen-Museum" 3 (1933), 13-32; 4 (1934), 16-36; 5 (1935), 43-49; 6 (1936), 22-31 (provides an incomplete

created can only be estimated; it is known that in 1592 all books were donated to the Lutheran gymnasium and stored in a nearby chapel dedicated to Saint Jacob. This storage space gave the name of the collection, a name that is often used by modern historical literature: *Kapellenbibliothek*. This library belonging to the Lutheran gymnasium was at its turn incorporated in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century into the ancient book collection of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal and became a part of the present Brukenthal Library, housed by the museum with the same name. The old town library from the 16<sup>th</sup> century can be easily traced as the books are marked in hot iron with the city arms of Sibiu: two swords crossed under a crown (see image 1). More important is the fact that this town library takes over, sometime before 1550 – in the context of the Protestant reformation – the collections gathered previously in Sibiu by other religious institutions.

Important holdings seem to have as provenance point the parish library of Saint Mary's church. This medieval collection is one of the best documented (but not researched in a satisfactory manner up to this date!) from all other collections of Medieval Transylvania. In the library of another Transylvanian town, Alba Iulia, there can still be found a manuscript, entitled in 1754 *Matricula Plebaniae Cibiniensi*<sup>8</sup>. This manuscript, having the form of a notebook of medium sizes and re-bound in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is intended to be an inventory of all goods belonging to the parish church of Sibiu in the Middle Ages, so it reunites in some tens of pages of medieval notes – most of them from the 15<sup>th</sup> century – various donations, estates, liturgical items and, last but not least, books owned by the church. The notes concerning books are extremely difficult to use as they are randomly scattered in the *Matricula*, lacking any chronology, so “re-arranged” by the person that bound the notebook in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Fortunately, the most abundant list of books (see images 2, 3) (ff. 17r-20r), which records more than 150 Mss., is dated for the year 1442 (f. 13v). Regarding the themes covered by the books in the parish collection, most of them are liturgical manuscripts, followed by biblical texts, with or without comments and by sermons (*sermones*). The law texts are also well represented (*Decretum Gratiani, Liber sextus, Clementinae*) as is the theological literature (Thomas of Aquinas, Augustinus, Gregorius Magnus), and even classical literature, one being able to find a copy of Aristotle or Vergilius (f. 18r).

Some of the manuscripts mentioned in the *Matricula* have been preserved until today. Such an example is Ms. 593 that can be found at Brukenthal library *Gregorius (Magnus) I Papa, Moralia in Job*, a very well preserved 12<sup>th</sup> century manuscript (see images 4, 5). Other examples are manuscripts 608, 639, 651 etc., also identified in the *Matricula*. There are also *codices* known to have been in the possession of Saint Mary Church in Sibiu that are not cited the mentioned list, as is the case of Ms. 683, a mid-15<sup>th</sup> century copy of Augustinus Aurelius, owned by the parish church in Sibiu in 1494 (see image 6).

It is not precisely known the moment when the library belonging to the parish church of Sibiu ceased to exist; anyhow, in 1527 it was still receiving donations<sup>9</sup>.

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catalogue of 35 medieval manuscripts of the library in Sibiu); cursory, yet useful, Veturia Jugăreanu, *Biblioteca muzeului Brukenthal din Sibiu*, București, 1957, 3-16; Eadem, *Catalogul colecției de incunabule*, Sibiu, 1969.

<sup>8</sup> Edited partially (with certain mistakes) by R. Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Batthyányanae*, Szeged, 1958, nr. 294, pp. 158 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> Veturia Jugăreanu, *Catalogul colecției de incunabule*, Sibiu 1969, Nr. 172.

A second large collection of medieval books that was taken over in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century by the town library is the one belonging to the Dominican convent in Sibiu (*conventus S. Crucis*). For what this collection is concerned, there is no direct documentary source but it's important holdings are suggested by the presence of over 30 *incunabulae* and another important number of manuscripts in the "town library" (see image 7).

The second example is offered by the town of Braşov and it's very similar to the previous one: the library belonging to the Lutheran gymnasium took over, sometime around the half of the 16th century, the books of some religious institutions that were abolished. As in Sibiu's case, the main inherited collections came mostly from the parish church, respectively from the Dominican convent of Saints Peter and Paul. In the earliest gymnasium library catalogue in Braşov<sup>10</sup>, edited in 1575<sup>11</sup> (and also in the later catalogues from the 17<sup>th</sup> century) a special category of titles draws the reader's attention, classified as "*libri inter crates inclusi*". This category is made up by manuscripts and parchment prints (*Sextus decretalium in pergameno, prima pars Bibliorum in pergamena scripta, missale scriptum in pergameno, 3 missalia impressa in pergameno* and many more<sup>12</sup>), a fact that supports the supposition that these books belonged to an older holding, prior to the Protestant reformation. Even the theme format of this books' category (instruments of liturgy, theology and Latin preaching, canon law, and so on) bring up the idea of an inheritance of this holding that previously belonged to another library. The almost 70 manuscript books<sup>13</sup> (*scripti*) (at that time under *libri scripti* were designated generally the *codices*<sup>14</sup>) from the catalogue of the gymnasium library can be traced to a catholic environment. A relevant clue on the origin of a part of the books is the presence of Dominican authors (Thomas of Aquinas, Jacobus de Voragine etc.), and also the explicit affiliation of some liturgical books to the Dominicans (*gradualia magna predicatorum, antiphonaria magna predicatorum*).

The Dominican convent in Braşov, established in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, was highly valued by the local community due also to the education level received by the *fratres predicatorum*, most of them having university studies<sup>15</sup> in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Within this context, the establishment of a library for this convent seems natural, a supposition that is also proved by other documentary sources.

In 1461 the Dominican prior in Braşov received an important donation of liturgical books from a friar in Vienna; the donation had as condition the sharing of the books with the town's secular clergy<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Konrad Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, München, 2005<sup>2</sup>, 81 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> Julius Gross, *Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek*, "Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde", 21, 1887, 591-708, especially 592 sq., 620-625.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, 622-625.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, 622.

<sup>14</sup> Albert Derolez, *Les catalogues des bibliothèques*, Turnhout, 1979, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Maja Philippi, *Die Bürger von Kronstadt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Wien, 1986, 230-233.

<sup>16</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, VI, ed. by Gustav Gündisch, Herta Gündisch, Gernot Nussbächer and Konrad Gündisch, Bukarest, 1981, Nr. 3256, 1461.06.15: *ego frater Thomas Siculus ordinis predicatorum vicarius in Transsilvania ac prior immeritus conventus sancti Petri ... in Corona situati regni Ungarie recognosco ... me recepisse ... a venerabili ... preposito in Wyenna ... quosdam libros ... videlicet sermones ..., item volumen, quod continet decem precepta ... item primam partem Byblye, item secundam partem Byblye, item novum testamentum cum uno quadagesimali, item manuale confessorum ... item aliquos sextenos variorum doctorum nondum ligatos ... item Omelye beati Gregorii cum aliis bonis tractatibus, item super officium misse ... item laude Marie, item quatuor libros dialogorum beati*

This is not the only documentary mention of the books owned by the Dominicans in Braşov<sup>17</sup>. Supposedly, another book collection from the 14<sup>th</sup> -15<sup>th</sup> centuries joined the holding of the Lutheran gymnasium library around 1550 – this collection was initially the property of the parish church Saint Mary (the Black Church )<sup>18</sup>.

The most important argument in favor of this supposition is given by the striking resemblance between the lists of books that were owned by Sibiu's parish church in 1442 and the catalogue of Braşov's gymnasium library in 1575<sup>19</sup>. Unfortunately, regarding the conservation of the books, the resemblance to Sibiu's library is not preserved – the medieval collections that were taken over after the Protestant reformation by the Lutheran gymnasium were almost completely destroyed by a fire in 1689<sup>20</sup>. Few books that can be linked to medieval Braşov have been preserved by sheer chance: fragments of a sermons' volume by Jacobus de Voragine that was actually copied in Braşov in 1427<sup>21</sup>, allegedly three *incunabulae* in Braşov<sup>22</sup> and two *codices* donated by the town's magistrate at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the great bibliophile, the Transylvanian Bishop Batthyani (Mss. I.83, II.28, Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library; see image 8).

The last case brought up into discussion, evoking the medieval history of books and libraries in Transylvania, regards a special collection in the town of Cluj, the book holding belonging to the Jesuit college (that later became Academy and the foundation of today's University) established in 1579 by Stephen Báthory, the catholic prince of Transylvania and king of Poland. With the benefit of this illustrious support, the college also received important donations, even former estates of the Benedictine abbey near the town. After 1580 a special attention was given to the establishment of a library<sup>23</sup> that shortly after attained impressive dimensions. Although this prestigious library was scattered in 1603 during a Protestant riot, yet 496 works from its original holdings are still at hand<sup>24</sup>, in Romania (most of them in the Academy Library on Cluj) and in Hungary. An important number of this library's books are taken into consideration by the present research as they were printed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (all of them are printed books).

Unlike Sibiu or Braşov, the collection in Cluj has no written source, contemporary or immediately posterior, to describe its holdings. The provenience of the preserved books can be thus determined only

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*Gregorii*. The donation was put under a certain condition: ... *libros* ... *sub conditone, ut fratres sepe dicti monasterii ... seu eorum prior ... sacerdotibus secularibus accomodent* ....

<sup>17</sup> *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, VI (see the previous note), Nr. 3346, 1464.02.01.

<sup>18</sup> Julius Gross, *Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek* (see note 11), 592 sqq.; Paul Binder, *Incunabulele păstrate în bibliotecile documentare din sud-estul Transilvaniei (Exclusiv biblioteca Brukenthal din Sibiu)*, „Studii și cercetări de bibliologie”, 171.

<sup>19</sup> Julius Gross, *Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek* (see note 11), 594.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Binder, *Incunabulele păstrate în bibliotecile documentare din sud-estul Transilvaniei*, (see note 17), 171.

<sup>21</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Seraphin, *Eine Kronstädter Handschrift des Jacobus de Voragine*, „Programm des evangelischen Gymnasiums A. B. zu Kronstadt”, 1901, 3-14.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Binder, *Incunabulele păstrate în bibliotecile documentare din sud-estul Transilvaniei*, (see note 17), 171.

<sup>23</sup> Klara Jakó, *Din istoricul primei biblioteci universitare din Cluj*, „Comunicări ale cercurilor științifice studentești. Istorie”, II, Cluj-Napoca, 1986, 55-62; Vasile Rus, *Operarii in vinea Domini. Misionarii iezuiți în Transilvania, Banat și Partium (1579-1715), vol. 1: Tablouri istorice și spiritual*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, presents a recent reconstruction of the spiritual life and the intellectual activity of the Jesuit order in Transylvania.

<sup>24</sup> Klara Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója 1579-1604 (The History of the First University Library in Cluj and the Reconstruction of its Holdings. 1579-1604)*, Szeged, 1991.

based on the ownership markings prior to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The books belonging to the Jesuit college before 1604 can be traced by the manuscript annotation *Collegij Soc(ietatis) Jesu Claud(iopolitani) 1604*<sup>25</sup> (see image 9). There is nevertheless some documentary information – according to it between 1580 and 1585 the prince Stephen Báthory († 1586) decided that hundreds of books from various Transylvanian church libraries (in Alba Iulia, Cluj and Oradea) to be given to the Jesuit college. Other books arrived into the Jesuit collection from the order's Polish libraries, and also some printings that were previously privately owned<sup>26</sup> by members of the Transylvanian clergy (see images 10, 11). With the occasion of compiling the *Incunabulae catalogue* of the Academy Library in Cluj – a task almost completed – I could observe just how much information one can gather from the early printings of the collection. Past the details that regard the provenience (see image 12), most of the books (having fortunately maintained their original aspect) have retained certain elements that support a special research concerning the binding, the physical aspect of the books or the reading culture. For instance, ownership notes on two *incunabulae* reveal to us that one of them was bought in the last years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century without binding (see image 13), and the manner in which a small clerk finished reading a historical work (see image 14).

Even after such a short presentation one can draw certain conclusions, having in mind that researching medieval history of libraries in Transylvania is a work in progress; thus, such judgments can only be partial. The Transylvanian case can only approve the assertions of renowned specialists in the field of medieval book research: to study the book landscape one must rely on two source categories, the books themselves and the book lists (catalogues, inventories, wills, and so on)<sup>27</sup>. Without offering a wide research field, the Romanian situation remains an interesting one. At this moment no one can estimate exactly how many medieval manuscripts (prior to 1500) can be found in the country, and to a lesser extent which books have arrived here in the Middle Ages. The estimates from 40 years ago<sup>28</sup> must be revised upwards, based on the recent contribution to the domain<sup>29</sup>. Compared to this, the situation of *incunabulae* research is better<sup>30</sup>, even if a series of aspects concerning their history and provenience must be amended. Regarding the auxiliary information that can be found in lists, catalogues, etc., the only known medieval inventory in Transylvania is the one mentioned above in Sibiu. But useful data regarding the state of facts before 1500 can be found in 16<sup>th</sup> century written sources, more frequently<sup>31</sup> as one could notice in the case of Braşov's catalogue.

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<sup>25</sup> A Kolozsvári Akadémiai Könyvtár régi magyar könyvtárgyűjteményeinek katalógusa. *Catalogul colecțiilor Biblioteca Maghiară Veche a Bibliotecii Academiei Cluj-Napoca (The Catalogue of the "Old Hungarian Library" Collections from the Academy Library in Cluj-Napoca)*, Kovács Mária, Kuszálik Eszter, Sántha Emese, Sipos Gábor, Szőke Imola, Kolozsvár, 2004, 29-34, also useful for the history of the Jesuite library, with further bibliography.

<sup>26</sup> Klara Jakó, *Din istoricul primei biblioteci universitare din Cluj* (see note ), 58 sqq.; Klara Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója 1579-1604* (see note ) 13-58.

<sup>27</sup> Carla Bozzolo – Ezio Ornato, *Les inventaires médiévaux et leur exploitation quantitative*, in *Libri, lettori e biblioteche dell'Italia medievale (secoli IX-XV). Fonti, testi, utilizzazione del libro*, ed. by Giuseppe Lombardi – Donatella Nebbiai Dalla Guarda, Roma, 2000, 165.

<sup>28</sup> Sigismund Jakó – Radu Manolescu, *Scrierea latină în evul mediu* (see above note 4), 99.

<sup>29</sup> Adrian Papahagi, Adinel Dincă. *Latin Palaeography and Codicology in Romania*, "Chôra", 5, 2007, 163 sq.

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/Carte/incunabule/>

<sup>31</sup> Attila Verók, *Zur Lesekultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen im 16.-18. Jahrhundert anhand der Bücherverzeichnisse*, in *Lesestoffe der Siebenbürger Sachsen 1575-1750*, ed. by István Monok, Péter Ötvös, Attila Verók, Budapest, 2004, X-XV.

The rigorous research of medieval books' and libraries' history in Transylvania allows us, eventually, to identify the spiritual and cultural interest of the time. Local culture in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as seen through the books preserved or listed in library inventories, is a religious culture, not "corrupted" by the spirit of Humanism. One's attention is drawn on the network of libraries belonging to the Dominicans, a phenomenon that is poorly researched in Transylvania despite outstanding results already published regarding Western Europe<sup>32</sup>. Nevertheless, whatever the approach, the study of books in medieval Transylvania can suggest captivating details to the international scholarship.

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<sup>32</sup> *The Friars Libraries*, ed. by K. W. Humphreys, London, 1990.

## Illustrations.

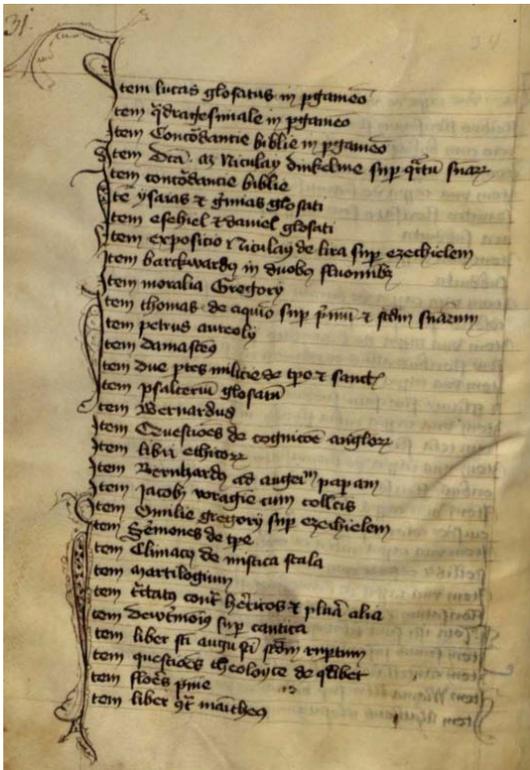
1.



City Arms of Sibiu

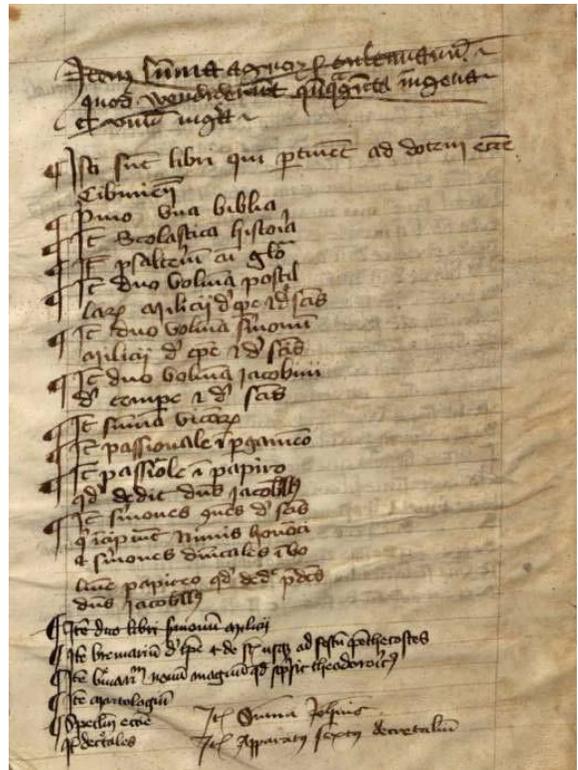
Mss. a.607, b. 609, c. 640. Brukenthal Library.

2.



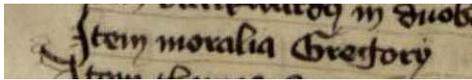
Matricula, f. 17v (1442): Item Lucas glossatus in pergameo ... Cibinensis ...

3.



Matricula, f. 39r: Isti sunt libri qui pertinet ad dotem ecclesie

4.



Matricula (f. 17v, detail): *Item moralia Gregori*

5.



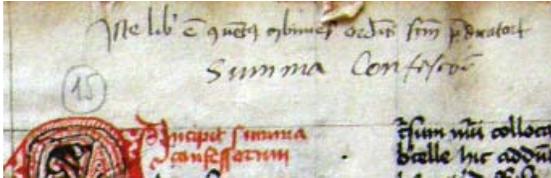
Ownership note on Ms. 593, Brukenthal Library, inside the back cover: *Liber ecclesie Cibinensis*

6.

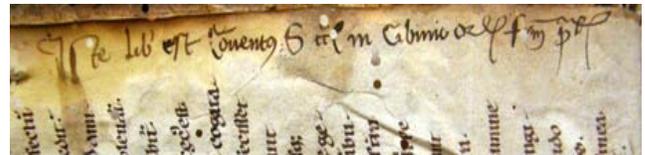


Ownership note on Ms. 683, inside the back cover: *Liber parochia (sic!) ecclesie beate Virginis Marie Cibinensis 1494*

7.

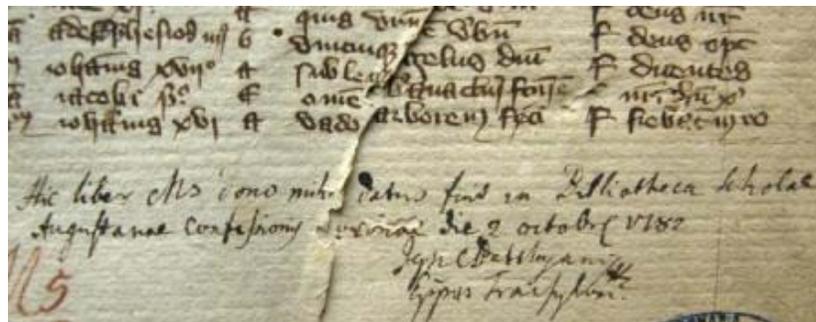


Ownership note, Ms. 607, f. 1r:  
*Iste liber est conventus Cybiniensis ordinis fratrum predicatorum*



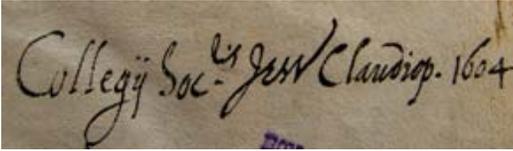
Ownership note, Ms. 605, inside of the front cover:  
*Iste liber est conventus Sancte Crucis in Cibino ordinis fratrum predicatorum*

8.

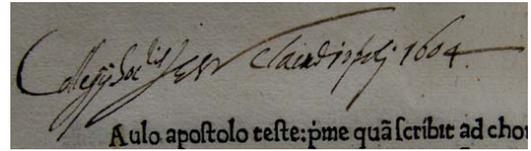


Ms. I 83, Batthyaneum Library, Alba-Iulia, f. 1: *Hic liber Ms. dono mihi datus fuit in Bibliotheca Scholae / Augustanae confessionis [?] die 2. Octobris 1782 / Ignatius de Batthyany / Episcopus Transsilvanensis.*

9.

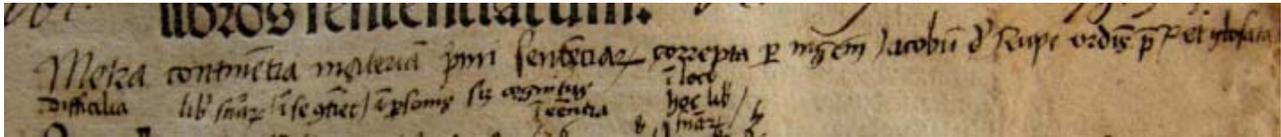


Inc. 28, Academy Library in Cluj



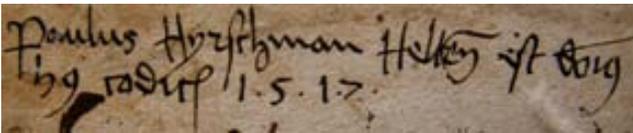
Inc. 56, Academy Library in Cluj

10.

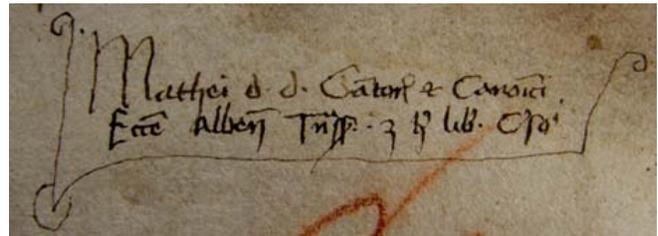


Inc. 28 Academy Library in Cluj, f. 1r (cca. 1500): *Metra continetia materia pmi sententiarum correpta (sic!) p(er) m(a)g(istr)um Jacobu(m) de Rupe ord(in)is p(predicatorum) et glosata (sic!) difficilia ... etc.*

11.



Inc. 45, inside the front cover.: *Paulus Hirschman Helten(sis) est dominus huius codicis 1517*



Inc. 56, f. 1r (before 1500): *Mathei d(ocoris) d(ecretorum) cantoris et canonici ecc(lesi)e Alben(sis) T(ra)nss(ilvanie), qui habet lib(ri) C(ri)so(sthomi)*

