

THE BOOK CULTURE OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER IN TRANSYLVANIA

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Abstract To treat the significant historical and cultural role of the Dominican Order which celebrated 800 years of its existence last year, one must reach back to its beginnings. The Dominicans trained preachers already from the 13th century in their special university system called *studium generale*, independent from the organization of secular universities, providing them with a thorough theological background and proficiency in argumentation. However, books and libraries were also needed for education, and the Dominican friars had always paid great attention to the development of these. The subject of the present study also lies within this field of research, offering a review of the libraries of the medieval Transylvanian vicariate of the Dominican Order, with a short excursus on the development possibilities of the book collections and the storage and recording of books.

Keywords Dominican friars, libraries, medieval Transylvania

“Whoever therefore claims to be zealous of truth, of happiness,
of wisdom or knowledge, aye, even of the faith,
must needs become a lover of books.”

Richard de Bury¹

To the centenary of the birth of Zsigmond Jakó

The significant historical and cultural role of the Dominican Order, which celebrated 800 years of its existence last year, is treated in several works of research both in Hungary and abroad. Excelling mainly in the love and practice of science, Dominican

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¹ Richard de Bury, *Philobiblon*, trans. Thomas Ernest Chester (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), 18.

friars became some of the most outstanding representatives of learning all throughout the Middle Ages. The *studium* meant the vitality of the Order, the means to acquire *sapientia*, therefore the structure of learning was always designed very carefully. This was also strongly linked to the aims of the Order, for the followers of heretic teachings could only be countered with professionalism, therefore the thorough training of the friars was a priority. And since preaching is the most direct form of the education and conversion of the masses, the aim was to educate preacher-friars skilled in persuasion and refutation, best expressed by the Latin name of the Order (*Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum*). Taking this into account, it may not be farfetched to accept another definition of the Dominican Order, namely that it had been organised from the start for the study of theology.² The decisions taken at the general chapters of the Order already in the first half of the 13th century envisaged the learning of this discipline at the highest possible level. In this respect, each convent had to appoint a person to organise the theological studies within the friary, to engage in debates and guide the readings of the friars. The results are well known. The system of multi-level education was rapidly developed and greatly facilitated by the Order's unitary organization and centralization. Each province had to send three members to the University of Paris to study theology, and these measures soon gave the Order first-class preachers with excellent theological training, skilled in the art of persuasion and refutation, and a university system called the *studium generale*, independent from the secular university system.³ In this respect, the Dominicans created a more stable system of higher education than any other created in Western Europe.⁴ Education of course also needs books and libraries. Friars of Dominican convents had always taken great care of the development of their book collections, rich in scholastic theology and the literature of mystical movements. In what follows, the article will review the situation of the libraries within the Transylvanian vicariate of the Dominican Order, treating also the development possibilities of the book collection and matters of storage and recording of the books. In this endeavour I was assisted by Zsigmond Jakó's still valid

² R[ichard] W[illiam] Southern, *A nyugati társadalom és az egyház a középkorban* (Western society and the Church in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 366.

³ The term "secular university" should not be taken literally, for it is well known that, although not all of the members were ordained, and the number of lay professors was constantly increasing in these medieval educational institutions, universities were primarily ecclesiastical bodies. The students and their masters were all members of the clergy, subordinated to the church or directly to Rome. By "secular", I meant to differentiate it from the *studium generale*, the higher education institution of the Dominican Order.

⁴ According to Southern's opinion, no other system has been created which was ruled by one single authority, and which connected the international body of students who studied with a clearly defined purpose. Southern, *A nyugati társadalom*, 366.

views on the history of books and libraries, and his advice addressing the reader, the researcher and the librarian alike.⁵

Convent libraries

One of the earliest Dominican convents founded in Transylvania is the Holy Cross friary in Sibiu (Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt, today's Romania). The friary, which had already suffered from the 1241 Mongol invasion, remained one of the decisive ecclesiastical and cultural institutions of the town until the 1540s.⁶ The library of the convent, one of the oldest monastic libraries not only of the Order, but also of Transylvania, greatly supported the high intellectual standards of the two- or three-level education system of the monastery (*studium conventuale*, *studium particulare*)⁷

⁵ Zsigmond Jakó, *Írás, könyv, értelmiség. Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* (Writings, books, intellectuals. Studies on the history of Transylvania) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 138–304., mainly 138–168.

⁶ More on the history of the friary in Béla Iványi, "Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Siebenbürgen und der Moldau," *Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrsschrift* 63 (1940): 25–40.; Mária Lupescuné Makó, "A Domonkos Rend középkori erdélyi kolostorainak adattára" (Records of the medieval Transylvanian friaries of the Dominican Order), *Történelmi Szemle* 46 (2004): 377–380.; Mihaela Sanda Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane din Transilvania* (Dominican friaries in Transylvania) (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2002), 209–224.

⁷ *Studium conventuale* existed for certain in the monastery. Divergent opinions exist on the mid-level Dominican educational institution, the *studium particulare* or *maior schola*, in Sibiu. Harsányi's argument was the number of friars with high educational degrees in the convents, which, in his opinion, indicated that *studium particulare* existed on the territory of the Hungarian Dominican province most probably in Cluj (Koložsvár/Klausenburg), Sighişoara (Segesvár/Schässburg) and Sibiu. András Harsányi, *A Domonkos rend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* (The Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation) (1938; repr., Budapest: Paulus Hungarus and Kairosz, 1999), 241. Elemér Mályusz linked the lower level *studium particulare* with the *studium generale*, therefore he considered that a *studium particulare* on the territory of Transylvania existed in Sibiu. Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* (Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 283. According to Beatrix Romhányi, two factors betray the existence of *studium particulare*: the convents where the friars who attended the *studium generale* came from, and the number of students who came from a particular convent. Accordingly, *studium generale* probably existed in Braşov (Brassó/Kronstadt), Cluj and Bistriţa (Beszterce/Bistritz). Beatrix Romhányi, "A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban" (The role of the mendicant orders in medieval Hungarian education) in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai. Die Ersten Jahrhunderte des Schulwesens in Ungarn (996–1526)*, eds. Katalin G. Szende and Péter Szabó (Győr: Sylvester János Kiadó, 1996), 35. Since the main purpose of the *studium generale* is to provide the younger friars with the knowledge needed as a prerequisite for higher education, I think a *maior schola* must have existed in Sibiu as well. The rich library also supports this opinion. Mária Lupescu Makó, "Domonkos iskoláztatás a középkori Erdélyben" (Dominican schooling in medieval Transylvania), *Református Szemle* 96/6 (2003): 844–853., esp. note 15.

and *studium generale*⁸). Many of the manuscript codices and *incunabulae* of the friary have been preserved, and are now housed by the library of the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu.⁹ During the Reformation, the library of the Dominicans of Sibiu was taken over by the town. The collection, united with the library of the gymnasium in 1592, was stored in the Saint James Chapel, and the enlarged collection soon began to be called Kapellenbibliothek because of its storage place. In 1879, the library of the Brukenthal Museum took over the custody of the joint collection of the Dominicans, the town of Sibiu and the Lutheran gymnasium.¹⁰

It is an endeavour almost impossible to collect all the books of the Dominican Order's libraries throughout Hungary before the Reformation. Even if the Dominican provenance of some of the books can be established, the convent they came from is extremely rarely noted. The library of the Dominican convent of Sibiu belongs to this extremely rare category. The book collection of this convent, abolished in the time of the Reformation, is relatively easy to identify due to the possessor notes on (usually) the first page of the books, mostly with the text: "Iste

⁸ Although the leaders of the Order decided in 1525 to establish the *studium generale* in Sibiu, we have no clear evidence on its functioning. According to the constitutions of the Order, for such an important decision to take effect, three consecutive general chapters had to accept it. We know it was approved in 1530, the second step of the three, when it was ordered to continue the efficient preparations for establishing and maintaining the *studium generale*. This proved that the organization work had not finished yet. The third step of the approval, the confirmation, was no longer mentioned in the reports of the general chapter. The organization works were probably stopped, as also confirmed by the vicissitudes of the friars in the Dominican convent of Sibiu at the end of the 1520s. Iványi, "Geschichte des Dominikanerordens," 35–37. Cf. note 47. Another viewpoint belongs to Wysokiński, who connects the existence of the *studium generale* in Sibiu to the autonomy attempts of the Transylvanian vicariate. Ireneusz Wysokiński OP, "A középkori magyar domonkos rendtartomány felbomlása," (The dissolution of the medieval Hungarian province of the Dominican Order) in *A Domonkos Rend Magyarországon* (The Dominican Order in Hungary), eds. Attila Illés Pál and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány (Piliscsaba–Bp.–Vasvár: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem and METEM, 2007), 79–80.

⁹ G[ustav] A[dolph] Schuller, "Die älteren Handschriftenbände des Baron Brukenthalischen Museums," *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron Brukenthalischen Museum* 3 (1933): 13–31., 4 (1934): 16–36., 5 (1935): 43–49., 6 (1936): 22–31.; Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* (*Bibliotheca Hungarica. Codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526*), *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Közleményei* 31 (106), new series, 2 vols (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1988–1993 (henceforth: *BibHung*); Veturia Jugăreanu, *Catalogul colecției de incunabule* (Catalogue of the *incunabulae* collection) (Sibiu: Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, 1969).

¹⁰ Zsigmond Jakó and Radu Manolescu, *A latin írás története* (The history of the Latin writing) (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1987), 112.

liber est conventus Cibiniensis ad sanctam crucem ordinis fratrum predicatorum”,¹¹ “Iste liber est conventus Cibiniensis fratrum predicatorum”,¹² “Iste liber pertinet ad Conventum Cibiniensem ad Sanctam crucem”¹³, or “Liber fratrum predicatorum conventus Cibiniensis ad sanctam crucem”.¹⁴ This way the Dominicans of Sibiu also kept the regulations of the Order, as the General Chapter of 1254 in Buda issued a series of decrees concerning the entire organization of the Order, including the monastic libraries and studies. Humbert of Romans, personally present and elected as Master General at the general chapter, wrote a commentary to the “Statutes of Buda”, where he detailed the duties of a librarian. “[The librarian] must write on the spine of each volume what book it is, whose writing or writings it contains. [...] It is also his [the librarian’s] duty to have all the books of the convent registered on a parchment [charta] and to mark all the increase and decrease in the collections, as is the case. He must pass this record on to his successor when leaving his office, and take it over from his predecessor when taking up his office, so that he can account for the books at any time if his superior wants him to. Thus it may not happen that books get lost because of forgetfulness.”¹⁵ Although the leaders of the Order did require the inventory of books, not all the librarian-friars of every convent observed these regulations. In the absence of these records, it is difficult to clarify which volume belonged to which dispersed library collection of the Order. Fortunately there were exceptions as well, such as the library of the Dominican friary of Sibiu. The best basis for research are the places where, due to a mix of fortunate circumstances and good chance, the books of the Dominican friary dissolved in the first half of the 16th century remained in place and were incorporated into the school

¹¹ Vincentius Ferrerius, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis, pars hiemalis, de sanctis et estivalis* (Nuremberg, 1492), in Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, Brukenthal Library (henceforth: Brukenthal Library) Inc. 275. (P. 3), f. l.

¹² Thomas de Aquino, *Summa Theologica II. Liber secundus, secundae partis* [Basel, Non post 1474], Brukenthal Library, Inc. 103., note at the end of the index.

¹³ Nicolaus de Ausmo, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae* (Nuremberg, 1478), Brukenthal Library, Inc. 100., note on the inner title page.

¹⁴ Johannes Cassianus, *De institutis coenobiorum* (Basel, 1485), Brukenthal Library, Inc. 186. (T. 1-2 in 1 vol.), f. a^r.

¹⁵ Humbertus de Romanis, *Liber de instructione officialium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum necnon constitutiones sororum eiusdem ordinis et tractatus de initio et fundatione regulae fratrum et sororum de poenitentia B. Dominici. Cap. XIII. De officio librarii*. http://monasticmatrix.osu.edu/sites/monasticmatrix.osu.edu/files/cartularium/primary_texts/3577Text.pdf (accessed 22 March 2016.) Hungarian translation of the librarians’ instruction: Máté Kovács, ed., *A könyv és a könyvtár a magyar társadalom életében az államalapítástól 1849-ig* (Books and libraries in Hungarian society from the foundation of the state to 1849) vol. 1 (Budapest: Gondolat, 1963), 79–81. Details in Zs. Jakó, *Írás, könyv, értelmiség*, 147.

library which turned Protestant. Such are the cases of the books from Sibiu and Braşov (Brassó/Kronstadt) as well.¹⁶

The oldest manuscript collection of the Dominicans of Braşov was inherited by the Saxon Lutheran gymnasium founded by Johannes Honterus during the Reformation. Although this library was destroyed in the great fire in 1689, the inventory from 1575 was preserved and it reveals that the medieval library of the Dominicans contained more than 100 manuscript volumes.¹⁷ In addition to the works of highly respected (Thomas Aquinas) and popular (not only with the Dominicans, like Jacobus a Voragine) authors, there were also liturgical books specific to the Dominicans (*gradualia magna predicatorum*, *antiphonaria magna predicatorum*). There is also other direct and indirect evidence on the existence of the Dominican library of Braşov. In 1461 in Vienna, Tamás Székely, prior of the Saint Peter and Paul Dominican friary, takes over the books of the late Jakob Roderbach, confessor of the Saint Laurentius monastery.¹⁸ Tamás Székely is known to have been the *deffinitor* of the Hungarian province at the chapter held two years before, in his position as *lector* of the Braşov friary. In 1461 he was not only a prior, but also the vicar of the Dominicans of Transylvania.¹⁹ This book legacy contained especially works connected to the spiritual activity of the Dominicans, serving a practical purpose. Such were the various kinds of sermonaries, handbooks for confession, and the *Quadragesimale* sermon collection.²⁰ In addition to them, other products of medieval literacy also

¹⁶ Carl Göllner, "Din istoricul unor biblioteci feudale ale saşilor din Sibiu" (From the history of some feudal libraries of the Saxons of Sibiu), *Studii şi cercetări de bibliologie* 5 (1963): 221–229. A summary on lost late medieval Transylvanian libraries (among which the Dominican libraries of Sibiu and Braşov), in Adinel Dincă, "The Lost Libraries of Transylvania: Some Examples from the 15th and 16th Centuries" <http://www.ifla.org/files/hq/papers/ifla75/78-dinca-en.pdf> (accessed 07.04.2016).

¹⁷ Julius Gross, "Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek," *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 21 (1887): 591–708, mainly 622–625.; Konrad Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen* (München: Langen Müller, 2005), 2–81. passim. More details on the catalogue in Ádám Dankanits, "Az 1575-ös brassói katalógus," (The 1575 catalogue from Braşov) *Könyvtári Szemle* 14 (1970): 177–179.

¹⁸ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 6, eds. Gustav Gündisch et al. (Bucharest: Verlag der Akademie der Sozialistischen Republik Rumänien, 1981), 103–104 (henceforth *Ub*).

¹⁹ Harsányi, *A Domonkos rend*, 141.; *Ub*, vol. 6, 103.

²⁰ On the role of sermon collections in the Hungarian province of the Dominicans, see András Vizkelety, "A Domonkos rend tudományközvetítő szerepe Magyarországon a 13–14. században" (The scientific role of the Dominican Order in Hungary in the 13th–14th century), in *Régi és új peregrináció. Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon* (Academic peregrination old and new. Hungarians abroad and foreigners in Hungary) ed. Imre Békési et al., vol. I/2 (Budapest–Szeged: Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság and Scriptorium, 1993), 473–479.

appear, first of all the Bible as the most significant book of theology.²¹ The donator also stipulated that, in addition to the friars, the books should also be used by the secular clergy. The further fate of Roderbach's book legacy handed down to Tamás Székely can only be assumed. In 1464 the friary was granted Papal indulgence upon completing some construction works. These works might have been related to making a suitable storage place, a library room for the book donation received three years before, since the partly preserved charter, in addition to the equipment of the Dominican church, also refers to the condition of the books which are not properly stored.²² As we know, the 13th century regulations of the Order required a "good and safe room" for the library, "in a place protected from wind and rain [...] but still airy enough, as the preservation of books requires." In addition, depending on the number and value of books, these were also stored in book chests or cases in the sacristy of the convent church or in the special niches of the cloister which were highly suitable for meditation and common reading.²³ According to Humbert of Romans's careful commentary, book cases are the most suitable for storing books, which "should be made of wood, so that books should be best protected from rotting and moisture. It should have many shelves [...]." Another concern was to organise the books according to subjects:

the different books belonging to different disciplines should be ordered on these [shelves] so that the ones belonging to the same discipline [*facultas*] should not be dispersed but placed next to each other, marked with the appropriate reference cards. The shelves must also be marked so that we may easily find what we are looking for. The key to the bookcase or the library must be kept by the librarian, who will open or close it at the right time. [...] He must keep the bookcase open in due time or at least be close

²¹ *"Ego frater Thomas Siculus ordinis praedicatorum vicarius in Transsilvania ac prior immeritus conventus sancti Petri iamdicti ordinis et fratrum in Corona situati regni Vngariae recognosco ... me recepisse ... quosdam libros ... videlicet sermones magistri Nicolai Dynkelspyl de tempore et de sanctis, item volumen, quod continet decem praecepta septem vitia octo beatitudines, tres partes poenitentiae, pater noster aliquos sermones super epistolas magistri Nicolai Dynkelspyl, item primam partem Byblye, item secundam partem Byblye, item novum testamentum cum uno quadregesimali, item manuale confessorum cum lepra morali, item aliquos sexenos variorum doctorum nondum ligatos, qui ligari debent de pecuniis quas praefatus dominus Jacobus sanctimonialibus ad sanctum Laurentium legavit, item Omelye beati Gregorii cum aliis bonis tractatibus, item super officium missae cum quinque sensibus, item laudes Mariae, item quatuor libros dialogorum beati Gregorii": Ub, vol. 6, 103–104.*

²² *Ibid.*, 164.

²³ Although not from a Dominican, yet still Transylvanian source, we know of a niche used for such purposes in the northern wall of the cloister of the Cistercian monastery of Cârța (Kerc/Kerz).

to it, so that, if anybody might want to take a glimpse in some of the other books or borrow some book for a short time, then they could do so.

It was not by chance thus, that the prior who defined the tasks of the librarian suggested that

the study (cella pro studio) of [the librarian] should be either the library itself, if the room is suitable for it, or somewhere close to it, so that he may be found easily if people are looking for him in a matter connected to his office.²⁴

The location of the *librarius* in Braşov is not known, but the statutes of the Order also support that fact that a library room was established in the 1460s. The General Chapter of Montpellier in 1456 made it compulsory for monasteries to have libraries, which had only sporadically existed before, and ordered the building or designation of library rooms.²⁵

While only suppositions exist about the library room of the Dominican friary of Braşov, there is much more evidence on the one in Cluj (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg). Although the monastic library of the Dominicans of Cluj fell victim to the Reformation, the written sources clearly speak about a room built especially for the storage of books in the second half of the previous century, describing it as nice and spacious.²⁶ The location of the former *librarium* within the convent comes up once in a while in the works of experts in the history of the Dominican friary of Cluj, mainly art historians and architects. As expected, there are various points of view in this regard. The literature claims that the library and the *scriptorium* were usually located on the upper floor of the eastern wing of the friary, above the chapterhouse or the sacristy.²⁷ Other opinions claim that the library could have been situated on the upper floor of the northern wing or in the wing opposite the church, and we also know of Dominican libraries located in separate buildings.²⁸ These ideas of spatial

²⁴ Kovács, ed., *A könyv és a könyvtár*, vol. 1, 79–81.

²⁵ Benedictus Maria Reichert, ed., *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 9 vols (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1898–1904), vol. 3, 263 (henceforth *ACGOP*).

²⁶ "... *edificarunt domum librarie pulcram et amplam pro librorum conservacione*": János Eszterházy, "A kolozsvári Boldog-Asszonyról címzett domonkosok, jelenleg ferencziek egyházának történeti és építészeti leírása" (The historical and architectural description of the monastery of the Dominicans of the Virgin Mary, now of the Franciscans), *Magyar Sion* 4 (1866): 584–585.

²⁷ Edit Madas and István Monok, *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1800-ig* (Book culture in Hungary from the beginnings to 1800) (Budapest: Balassi, 2003), 23.

²⁸ Edgar Lehmann, *Die Bibliotheksräume der deutschen Klöster im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 8–14.

organization can be found also for the Dominican convent of Cluj. Salontai considers that the library room created on the upper floor of the eastern wing, above the chapterhouse, was part of the reconstruction works in the second half of the 15th century,²⁹ Géza Lux places the library room on the second floor of the western end of the northern wing,³⁰ but the latest archaeological research has revealed that even the separate building north of the convent can be imagined to have had this purpose.³¹ The inventory from 1509 indicates that the library room was needed indeed, because the Virgin Mary Dominican friary had already possessed a significant number of books by then. In addition to liturgical books and missals not listed by title, there were manuscript missals, breviaries (books of hymns), large musical score books (antiphonaries), graduals, ritual books (*agendae*), and cantors' books of songs. The anonymous friar justifies the circumstances of the creation of the library: since all the respectability of the Dominican Order depends on the pure life of the friars and on the sciences, great attention must be paid to the Biblical lessons. They intended to list the books as well in the Inventory, with the exception of liturgical books. Unfortunately, the catalogue was never completed. This differentiation is explained by the fact that the liturgical books were stored in the sacristy, in order to always have them at hand for the service. We have no other precise data on the further fate of the Dominicans' library in Cluj.³² However, its afterlife was entwined with the events of the early- and mid-16th century which reshaped Transylvania's spiritual and political image. For instance, when the news of the death of György Martinuzzi reached the town in December 1551, in the following days two preachers who were followers of the new religious teachings incited the crowds to such an extent that they sacked the friaries of the Dominicans and the Franciscans and drove out the friars from the town, then plundered the library of the Dominicans. Although the Estates meeting in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) in December 1551 distanced themselves from the violation of the decrees of 1550 regarding the mutual tolerance for denominations, and ordered that the town must receive within its walls the Dominicans and Franciscans, and reach an agreement with them about the damages

²⁹ Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane*, 164., 181. Cf. Idem, "O restaurare în spiritul doctrinei unității de stil. Claustrul mănăstirii dominicane din Cluj" (A restoration in the spirit of the doctrine of stylistic unity. The cloister of the Dominican friary of Cluj), in *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben. Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*, eds. Imola Kiss and Péter Levente Szócs (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1999), 121–134., 126–127.

³⁰ Géza Lux, "A kolozsvári ferencrendi, egykor dominikánus kolostor," (The Franciscan, formerly Dominican friary of Cluj), *Szépművészet* 3 (1942): 117.

³¹ Based on recent researches of Adrian Andrei Rusu and Radu Lupescu (oral communication).

³² Despite the destruction of the sources, we can still imagine the book culture of the Dominicans of Cluj by analogy. A good example for this, also methodologically, is Zsigmond Jakó's, "Várad helye középkori könyvtártörténetünkben" (The place of Oradea in Hungarian medieval library history), in Idem, *Írás, könyv, értelmiség*, 146–149.

caused,³³ unfortunately our sources do not reveal yet how much of the plundered library was recovered. We assume that the restoration could have been successful to a certain extent, for it is hardly an accident that the Diet of 1557 wanted to organise one of the three Protestant colleges precisely in the friary of the Dominicans of Cluj. The Dominicans' *studium particulare* and the fame of their library must have had a role to play in it. The further fate of some of the books is suggested by the fact that many leafs of medieval liturgical manuscripts and religious books sometimes turn up elsewhere, due to their different kind of usage. For instance, the 17th-century account books of Cluj were often bound in the leafs of former Catholic writings or books.³⁴ Lajos Kelemen's notes contain concrete examples of this practice: "The binding is a 15th-century religious book with musical notation", or "the binding is the leafs of two smaller ritual books with decorative initials", or "codex-binding, a girl with a headpiece holding flowers". A note in the account book *Mázsás Tamás és Schmeltzer Lőrinc számadása a harmincadról* (Tamás Mázsás and Lőrinc Schmeltzer's account on the thirtieth) reads: "the truncated parchment binding is a musical score book with fine initials."³⁵ It can be assumed that the other pages of the codex may have come from the ransacked library of the Dominicans of Cluj, the later Jesuit college.³⁶ The apparently rich Catholic book collection that remained in Cluj after the Reformation is known to have been donated in 1580 by Prince István Báthory to the Jesuits who moved to the new school building.³⁷ It must have included the library of the Dominicans, because due to the research of Klára Jakó we know of two volumes which had previously belonged to the Dominican convent.³⁸ When the Jesuits had to leave Transylvania in 1589, they most likely took their library as well; with it, the books of the Dominicans – except for the abovementioned two – also left Transylvania, and their further fate is unknown.³⁹

Library rooms existed not only in the larger town friaries, but also in smaller, provincial convents as well. The archaeological research conducted in Vințu de Jos (Alvinc/Unterwinz) in the period of 1990 to 1998 revealed the one-storied building of

³³ Lupescuné Makó, "A Domonkos Rend," 368.

³⁴ Zs. Jakó, *A latin írás*, 111.

³⁵ The notes of Lajos Kelemen are quoted by Péter Sas, *A kolozsvári ferences templom* (The Franciscan church from Cluj) (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Ferences Rendtartomány, 1999), 76.

³⁶ Zs. Jakó, *A latin írás*, 111.

³⁷ Klára Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekonstrukciója 1579–1604* (The history of the first university library of Cluj and the reconstruction of its collections 1579–1604), Erdélyi Könyvesházak I. (Szeged: Scriptum, 1991), 14.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, entries 1. and 315.

³⁹ Gyöngyi Bíró, "A kolozsvári unitárius egyházközség könyvtára a XVI–XVII. században," (The library of the Unitarian parish in Cluj in the 16th-17th century) in *Kolozsvár 1000 éve* (1000 years of Cluj), ed. Tibor Kálmán Dáné et al. (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület and Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület, 2001), 142–143.; cf. K. Jakó, *Az első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár*, 17–19.

a friary attached to the southern side of the hall church. The researchers assume that one of the rooms may have been a library room, an assumption based on a remarkable number of metal clasps and plates found in that place.⁴⁰

Collection development

Several different factors played a role in the creation and development of Dominican libraries in Transylvania, there were several ways that books could get into the possession of friaries. Although they did not differ from other orders in their methods of book acquisition, one difference existed nonetheless: the Dominicans, as already mentioned, regulated the duties of a librarian and prescribed that his job was also to acquire new books:

he must seek, during his office, to enlarge the library of the community, either – if possible – by the means of alms collected to this purpose, or through the novices who have books when they join the order, or making sure that some of the books of the deceased brothers should go to the library, and he must seek this by any other means. He must strive to acquire the books which are missing from various disciplines. If there are second and third copies which the friars do not really need, the best one should be kept and the rest sold, and the income should be spent for the acquisition of other, missing books. The same should happen with the old ones or those which are worth little.⁴¹

As a first step, the newly founded friaries were supplied with the most important liturgical books, and then later they copied what they needed from borrowed sample copies, as copying was the most ancient means of book development. Codices copied by Dominican friars are extant even today. These show that – except for their liturgical books – they paid less attention to the aspect of the manuscript, in favour of the content. They copied in the first place works that satisfied their own needs, such as sermons or guidebooks for confession. Because of the objectives of the Order, they led an active life, where they had little time left, besides learning and pastoral work, to copy books, like contemplative monks did. The Dominicans' scribal activity could not rival that of the old, contemplative orders. We dare assume that such work was carried out in the Virgin Mary Dominican convent in Sighișoara (Segesvár/Schässburg), for we know of a missal from 1506 with an initial that was not painted, which can perhaps hint to the existence of a

⁴⁰ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Gotic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos (Documente de cultură materială din Transilvania secolelor XIII-XVIII)*. *Gotik und Renaissance in Unter-Winz (Dokumente der Sachkultur in Siebenbürgen im 13.-17. Jh.)* (Cluj-Napoca–Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998), 4, 16.

⁴¹ Kovács, ed., *A könyv és a könyvtár*, vol. 1, 79–81.

scriptorium.⁴² Fabri's notes also reveal that they received some blank parchment as donation at the beginning of the 16th century. The widow of the donator, Stephan Pistor, also conditioned that the Dominicans of Sighișoara should use the parchment to copy a gradual and an antiphonal.⁴³ We also have indirect evidence of a *scriptorium* in the convent of Brașov. The account books of 1553 record a bookbinding workshop in the Dominican friary, probably next to the *scriptorium*. At this time the town registers were bound by Brother Laurentius.⁴⁴

Another possibility for book acquisition was purchase. After the spreading of bookprinting, the Dominicans of Transylvania also took up the habit to purchase books from book traders, developing their libraries. It betrays a fairly significant amount of book acquisition that in 1488 Master Ádám Kolozsvári paid 22 and a half ducats to printer Octavianus Scotus as the price of the books he bought from him.⁴⁵ Similar evidence exists for the library of the convent of Sibiu. In 1532, Prior Vitalis paid 75 denars for Nicolaus Perotti's work published in 1513.⁴⁶ Prior Vitalis was the same person who was arrested some years before, together with two of his peers, in the town of Sibiu because the Dominican friars had been expelled from the town and refused to leave.⁴⁷ In order to cover the costs of book purchase – but exclusively for this reason – the prior(ess) was allowed to sell less necessary works or the extra copies of certain works.⁴⁸ This happened probably in Cluj in 1450, when the prior of the Virgin Mary friary, Brother John, appeared as a mediator in the case of books sold to vice-voivode Márk Herepei by the local Dominican nuns. In the name of the Saint Aegidius nunnery, Prioress Gertrud and Sister Elisabeth sold three books not used for the mass, a gradual, an antiphonal and a secular missal, to vice-voivode of Transylvania Márk Herepei, for 24 golden florins.⁴⁹ This was quite a significant sum of

⁴² Arnold Ipolyi, "Adalékok a magyar domonkosok történetéhez I." (Data on the history of the Hungarian Dominicans I.), *Magyar Sion* 5 (1867): 494–495.

⁴³ K[arl] Fabritius, "Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schässburg," *Archives des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Neue Folge* 5 (1861): 15–16.

⁴⁴ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt*, 7 vols (Kronstadt–Brassó: 1886–1918), vol. 2, 293.

⁴⁵ Béla Iványi, "Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Siebenbürgen und der Moldau. Hauptsächlich unter Benützung des Zentralarchivs des Dominikanerordens in Rom," *Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrsschrift* 62 (1939): 384., 388.

⁴⁶ Possessor note: "*Liber presens pertinet ad conventum Cibiniensem ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum emptus per fratrem Vitalem tunc priorem. 1532 pro LXXV. d.*" Quoted in: Karl Fabritius, "Misszellen," *Blätter für Geist, Gemüth und Vaterlandskunde* 47 (1858): 179.

⁴⁷ Fabritius, "Zwei Funde," 28.

⁴⁸ The general chapter of Paris in 1236 prohibited the book trade of Dominican friars: "Fratres nostri non faciant negociationes librorum" *ACGOP*, vol. 1, 9.

⁴⁹ Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289–1556)* (Protocols of the convent of Cluj-Mănăstur) *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II: Forráskiadványok* 17., 2 vols, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), vol. 1, no. 828.

money, taking into account that in the very same age a poorer student could cover his two-year studies for baccalaureate in Vienna without any extra expenses for 19 golden florins.⁵⁰ A similar case is that of Antal, parish priest of Sânmiclăuș (Szászszentmiklós/Klosssdorf), who, by last will and testament, left his treasured books, which he did not list in detail, to the Virgin Mary Dominican friary of Sighișoara. He also made the wise decision to leave a nice sum of money for buying books, for the friars knew best what they needed.⁵¹

A special chapter was the acquisition of books through almsgiving. Learning abroad was expensive, the convent probably covered travel expenses and a part of the taxes, but the student-friar had to cover his own daily expenses and the equipment needed for learning. Therefore the final clause of the assignations abroad often contained the permission of receiving alms. Márton Frigh, Dominican friar from Cluj, became a theology student in Cologne in 1478, and in Padua in 1479. On both occasions he was granted permission to ask for and receive alms for buying books.⁵²

In addition to copying, another means to acquire books was donation or inheritance. The donators were in the first place the friars themselves. It was customary that a new member of the order, upon entering the friary, gave his previously acquired books or at least one volume as a gift to the library. In this case the new friar had to be granted permission to continue using the books he kept. In 1479, there is a mention of Bertalan, friar of the Holy Cross Dominican convent of Bistrița (Beszterce/Bistritz), who was permitted by the Master of the Order to use his Bible, breviary and his printed Antoninus, which he had bought in Rome.⁵³ The deceased members also had to leave their books to the library unless they got an exemption from this general obligation. This was the case of Johannes de Ungaria, a friar in the Cluj convent, who studied in Cologne in 1462–1463 and later became the provincial prior of the Hungarian Dominican province. In this capacity, in 1477 he was granted permission to leave his books acquired before, and to be acquired during his office as a provincial prior to his original convent of Cluj or any other convent of his choice.⁵⁴ It must be noted that all the friars who had books in their possession were members of the clergy, as lay brothers were not allowed to possess books. Of course, exceptions existed in this case as well, as was for instance the case

⁵⁰ Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* (The academic peregrination of Transylvanians in the Middle Ages) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979), 114–116.

⁵¹ Fabritius, “Zwei Funde,” 6–7.

⁵² Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 165–166., cf. *Ibid.*, no. 1447.

⁵³ The permission also indicates that Brother Bartholomeus had other books as well. The permission was necessary because the statutes of the order only allowed a friar to possess books with the permission of their superior. See Harsányi, *A Domonkos rend*, 290.

⁵⁴ The data is valid only if Harsányi’s assumption is correct and “Johannes de Ungaria” and “magister Johannes Episcopi” is the same person. See Harsányi, *A Domonkos rend*, 244.

of Balázs Erdélyi, a lay brother from Sighișoara, who was exempted from this rule in 1497 and allowed to keep books.⁵⁵

The book collections of Transylvanian Dominican friaries enlarged during the Late Middle Ages primarily thanks to the book donations of lay priests and members of the congregation. Although most clerics who left their belongings to monasteries usually donated church equipment or smaller immovable estate assets, the late medieval testaments often also contained book donations. A special outstanding example is that of Nicasius, parish priest of Vulcan (Volkány/Wolkendorf), who earlier acted as a preacher in Cluj, Bistrița and Sighișoara, and was therefore a great opponent of the Dominicans, in the words of the early 16th-century Fabri, “in principio maximus emulus et persecutor ordinis”. However, at the end of his life he changed his mind, gave up his parish, and moved to the Virgin Mary friary of Sighișoara, leaving all his fortune to it. He left the tithes to which he was entitled to the Dominican friars, a chasuble ornate with a “nicely and nobly worked” cross for the sacristy, and ten books not listed by title. Then he asked for the forgiveness of the Dominicans with great penitence and humility, and had himself be buried in the habit of the order in front of the Saint Dominic altar in 1505.⁵⁶ The mass services and the hope to remain in the memory of the living were the motivation of Johann Mureș and his wife Katharina to leave a chalice and a valuable manuscript parchment missal to the convent of Sighișoara around 1465. The friars remembered their names and noted them for posterity in the book of the dead.⁵⁷

Whatever way they acquired them, the new owners often wrote their names in the books. From the point of view of book history, it was even more fortunate if one noted not only the possession but also from whom and when he inherited the book, or to whom and when he left it. Humbert of Romans’s previously mentioned rules also stress that if “[a librarian] would see it fit to make note of the donator of the book, he should add [upon inventory]: ‘donated by N. for the salvation of their soul’ [...]”. The Dominican friars of Sibiu observed this regulation as well. The extended possessor’s notes reveal that they enlarged their collections via purchase,⁵⁸ pious donation⁵⁹ and last will.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ibid., 293–294.

⁵⁶ Fabritius, “Zwei Funde”, 14.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁸ “*Iste liber est emptus per fratrem Georgium de Medies ad suum vsum incertum I fl. cum sermonibus Anthonij de Bitonto anno 1502:*” *Corona Beatae Mariae Virginis* [Strasbourg: Non post 1488], Brukenthal Library, Inc. 5., f. a¹.; “*Frater Nicolaus de Beuthom comparavit:*” *Speculum exemplorum* (Strasbourg, 1490), Brukenthal Library, Inc. 147., note on the title page; two notes in the work of Paulus Venetus, *Expositio in Analytica Posteriora Aristotelis* (Venice, 1491): “*Pertinet ad Lucam Baccalarium alias fratrem de ordine predicatorum*”, Brukenthal Library, Inc. 51b., f. a^{2r}. The second clarifies the first: “*Iste liber pertinet ad Magistrum Lucam post mortem autem pertinebit ad conventum*”, Brukenthal Library, Inc. 51b., on the title page.

Máté Kőhalmi (Matheus de Rupe), parish priest of Dealu Frumos, who wrote his last will on his valuables and fortune in 1502, stands out among the donors.⁶¹ The donor is mentioned in 1488 at the University of Vienna as the newly elected procurator of the Hungarian nation. This office implies a magister's degree in the humanities, which suggests that Máté Kőhalmi studied at one of the higher classes, probably canon law. His schooling and education helped him become a priest of a profitable and privileged parish.⁶² All this was clear from his testament. In addition to his money in cash, a part of which was kept by the Dominicans of Sibiu, his bequest included household goods, immovable assets, some valuable luxury products (gilded chalices and cups, glass, silver spoons, tapestry), and objects of his profession (chasubles, birettas, chalices, crosses, etc.). However, he spent the majority of his income, as opposed to other clergymen, not for worldly goods (like land, vineyards, meadows or houses – he only made a fishpond on the land of his parish), but for books. The former university student collected a library that counted as large and valuable in his age, listing 14 of his books by title in his will. Among these, there is the Bible, a large book in itself, then works of theology as the basis of a Scholastic education in the age (the works of Thomas Aquinas), and books of canon law (the entire corpus of canon law with commentaries, the *Institutiones*, that is, a significant part of the *Codex Iustinianus*, or the *Vocabularium iuris*, a collection of the incipits of canons and chapters of canon law, rendered in alphabetical order.). His library also

⁵⁹ The widow of magister Miklós donated in 1488 the work of Leonardus de Utino, *Sermones aurei de sanctis* (Venice, 1475) to the Dominicans of Sibiu for the salvation of the soul of her deceased husband and two sons, János and Mihály: "*Iste liber datus est ab uxore quondam magistri Nicolai ex parte anime eiusdem et duorum filiorum eius Johannes et Michaelis conuentui Cibiniensi ordinis predicatorum 1.4.8.8. ita quod per registrum animarum satisfiat pro ipsis*", Brukenthal Library, Inc. 10., f. I. <http://www.brukenthal-digital.ro/incunabula/LeonardusDeUtino-SermonesAureiDeSanctis-Inc10.htm> (accessed 11.03.2016)

⁶⁰ "*Iste liber testamentario provenit Conuentui Cibiniensi fratrum ordinis predicatorum ad sanctam crucem a venerabili viro domino Sigismundo quondam plebano Appoldie Inferioris.*" This is how the Dominicans of Sibiu got in the possession of Aurelius Augustinus's *Epistolae* printed in Strasbourg before 1471 (Brukenthal Library, Inc. 220., f. I^a.) or through Márton Brassói to Conradus de Brudelsheim's *Sermones de sanctis*: "*Iste liber est conventus Cibiniensis ordinis fratrum predicatorum ad sanctam crucem legatus testamentaliter per venerabilem virum dominum. Martinum de Corona magistrum artium et protunc praedicatorem Cibiniensem Anno domini 1490*", Brukenthal Library, Inc. 162., f. I^a.

⁶¹ National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatic Archives collection, DL 21 091., published: Karl Fabritius, "Das Testament des Schönberger Plebans Mattheus von Reps aus dem Jahre 1502" *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 12 (1874): 372–378.

⁶² Lesses (Pulchromons/Dealu Frumos/Schönberg, Cincu (Nagysink) seat, Sibiu county) was a village that belonged to the Cincu-Sibiu chapter, as one of the four Saxon chapters subordinated to the Archbishop of Esztergom. Its parish priest had thus a very favourable situation.

contained relatively new sermon books (such as the *Sermones de tempore* and *Sermones de sanctis* of the famous Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach⁶³ of the University of Vienna, or the collection of sermons on the Virgin Mary of the reformer of the Franciscan Order, Bernardino of Siena⁶⁴), as well as the old and well-established handbooks of a good parish priest (eg. the ritual book *Rationale divinorum officiorum* and Rainerius Pisanus *Pantheologia*). These works were not his whole collection. He did not list all of his books of theology and canon law, only mentioned in general that their titles are all contained in a register.⁶⁵ However, the list has not been preserved, and the exact number of his books is unknown. Although this list cannot be completed, the previous list can, due to his piety and care: apart from three works, Máté Kóhalmi left his library as his most valuable asset to the Holy Cross Dominican friary in Sibiu. His library, collected with great sacrifice and passion throughout his lifetime, was not dispersed, but got into the possession of one single institution, and with the help of possessor notes five more books of this library can be identified, which were not listed by title in his last will. The almost identical possessor notes written on the last page of the *incunabulae* housed today in the library of the Brukenthal Museum also reveal that Máté Kóhalmi must have died soon after he had written his will, because in 1503 the Dominicans of Sibiu already prayed for his salvation: "*Hunc librum cum omnibus ceteris libris dominus Matheus plebanus de Pulcromonte contulit fratribus ordinis predicatorum sancte crucis ad Cibinium pro memoria perpetua. Cuius anima requiescat in pace sancte. 1503. O mater dei memento mei.*"⁶⁶ This note is written in a treatise of the famous Spanish Dominican Torquemada. The treatise, which defended the use and healing effect of holy water in church ceremonies, was probably a great success among the Dominicans of Sibiu. The Italian Franciscan Angelus de Calvasio's *Summa angelica* is

⁶³ Rector of the University of Vienna in the first half of the 15th century, who also visited Hungary. Johannes Seidl, "Thomas Ebendorfer, Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Johannes Hinderbach. Geistliche im Umkreis Friedrichs III," *Beiträge zur Wiener Diözesangeschichte* 34 (1993): 39–43.

⁶⁴ This book, entitled *Mariale eximii viri Bernardini de Busti*, and printed in 1506, was acquired by the Franciscan friary in Sighișoara in 1511 from Moldavia, as proof of the viability of the Latin book market beyond the Carpathians. Zs. Jakó, *A latin írás*, 109.

⁶⁵ "*Item omnes libros meos videlicet totum corpus iuris positum cum scriptis super libros decretalium, practicam novam, Vocabularium iuris, Institutiones, Margaritam deoce et alios libros iuris canonici, item bibliam, sumam Reyneris, que alias Pantheloya intitatur 2 2 continentem Sancti Thome Rationale Divinorum, Mariale Bernardini ordinis Minorum et alios duos libros videlicet Thomam de veritate et Contra gentiles et plures alios libros Tam in Theologia quam in Jure Canonico, prout in registro continentur, pro monasterio sancte Crucis taliter...*" – DL 21 091; Fabritius, "Das Testament," 375–376.

⁶⁶ Johannes de Turrecremata, *De efficacia aquae benedictae* [Augsburg: cca. 1476 (?)], Brukenthal Library, Inc. 61.; *BiblHung*, vol. 2, no. 2242.; Jugăreanu, *Catalogul de incunabule*, no. 353.

a casuistic work of the type that treats the moral issues of theology. It was a handbook used as a guide for the priest on the one hand in how to establish the type of a sin, and on the other hand in establishing how far his authority extends.⁶⁷ Jacobus de Jüteborg's *De apparitionibus animarum*, a popular treatise published in seven editions, analysed the state of the human soul after death.⁶⁸ The *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae* is in fact the Hungarian completion of the famous medieval legend collection, the *Legenda aurea*.⁶⁹ Another book, the *Decretales*, commented by the early 15th-century canonist Nicolaus de Tudeschis, known as *Abbas modernus* or *Panormitanus*, betrays Máté Kőhalmi's legal training and interest in canon law.⁷⁰

By leaving his purchased or copied books to the Dominican convent of Sibiu, maintaining the right of his nephews István and András to borrow books, Máté Kőhalmi successfully combined two important ideas of his age. On the one hand, it expressed his wish that his books collected with great sacrifices should not remain hidden treasures, inaccessible for those who wanted to learn; on the other hand, the hope that his donation would gain him the grateful readers' prayers in the afterlife. The parish priest could indeed hope to receive prayers for the salvation of his soul in return for his donated books, as he indeed did from the Dominican librarian who wrote "*Requiescat in pace*". In addition, he also wanted the members of his family to partake in the spiritual fruits of his library. Therefore he allowed them to borrow the books he had left to the friary for the purpose of learning, and also that, if any of them ever became a priest, to use his purple chasuble, his chalice, his silver jugs, with the condition that they returned them again to the Dominicans. He wanted to make sure that they had their church equipment if any of them was ever ordained a priest. Due to his disposition for learning, Máté Kőhalmi, who clearly used his entire property, directly or indirectly, for clerical purposes, came in close contact with the Dominicans, adepts and developers of scholastic theology. Another evidence for this is that he left 18 forints for the learned theology doctor Jakab (not clear whether he

⁶⁷ Angelus de Clavasio, *Summa angelica de casibus conscientiae* (Nuremberg, 1488), Brukenthal Library, Inc. 87.; *BiblHung*, vol. 2, no. 2178.; Mathias de pulchro(!)monte - wrongly read Mathias instead of Matheus, cp. Jugăreanu, *Catalogul de incunabule*, no. 17.

⁶⁸ Jacobus de Jüterbog, *De apparitionibus animarum post exitum earum a corporibus* (Burgdorf, 1475), Brukenthal Library, Inc. 62.; *BiblHung*, vol. 2, no. 2243.; Jugăreanu, *Catalogul de incunabule*, no. 183.

⁶⁹ *Legendae sanctorum regni Hungariae in Lombardica Historia non contentae* [Strasbourg, cca. 1484–1487], Brukenthal Library, Inc. 63.; *BiblHung*, vol. 2, no. 2244.; Jugăreanu, *Catalogul de incunabule*, no. 205.

⁷⁰ Nicolaus de Tudeschis, *Lectura super quinque libros Decretalium* (Nuremberg, 1485–1486), Brukenthal Library, Inc. 211. (P. 1–6.); *BiblHung*, vol. 2, no. 2156.; Jugăreanu, *Catalogul de incunabule*, no. 351. (in both catalogues incorrectly referred to as 'Mathias plebanus pulchromontis' instead of 'Matheus').

was identical with Jakab, the Dominican prior of Cluj, mentioned later in his will), and also left some money for the studies of three other young men.⁷¹

The evidence presented above makes it possible to imagine the book culture and the ways of handling and enriching the libraries of medieval Transylvanian Dominican friaries. The analysis of single volumes and their place in book tradition would require more detailed treatment in separate studies. Although this paper did not set out to treat problems of literary history or the history of ideas, it can nevertheless be a good starting point for the analysis of Dominican book culture. Still, based on the sources, it can be claimed that this culture of ecclesiastical literature satisfied the needs of its users, the friars, on all levels. The majority of its products were written with a practical purpose, whether speaking about original works or copies. Even the works bought from abroad were meant to meet the needs of the readers. This claim needs no further evidence in case of liturgical books. The most literary of works, such as legends, were also created due to a practical interest. The authors' aims were not the ambition to entertain or be recognised as a writer, but to establish the cult of saints and set them as models. The distribution of the books by subject also mirrors the selection of books available on the book market which had suffered serious changes due to the spreading of book printing. Taking into account the rules of the order as well, the friars tried to organise their libraries so that they would serve the spiritual education of the students attending the *studium* of the friary and their preparation for a monastic or clerical profession with the help of the foremost European scholars of their "discipline".

Translated from the Hungarian by Emese Czintos

⁷¹ DL 21 091.; Fabritius, "Das Testament," 376–377.