

## ***THE UNIVERSITY AND THE PARISH. THE MEDIEVAL BOOKS FROM CISNĂDIE/HELTAU***

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**Abstract** The present paper focuses on the interconnected relationship between higher education, ecclesiastical career and local learning in the area inhabited by the Transylvanian Saxons during the “long 15th century”. This discussion revolves around the phenomenon of book accumulation that can be linked to the priests and the parish church of Cisnădie/Heltau, a small settlement with urban aspirations in southern Transylvania. The clergy of Cisnădie’s Saint Walpurgis parish church took advantage of the availability of university education in Central European institutions founded in the second half of the 14th century (Prague, Vienna and Cracow), and brought back from their academic sojourns the texts needed for the daily functioning of the parish: sermon collections, canonical treatises, manuals on pastoral ministry. By producing in turn local writings, the literate clergymen used such books as vehicles of both instruction and transfer of knowledge, as well as for an improved pastoral care.

**Keywords** Middle Ages, Transylvania, Cisnădie/Heltau, university, parish church library, intellectual history

It would seem only appropriate to start a study dedicated to the inter-related connection between parish personnel and higher education in Cisnădie<sup>1</sup> (highlighted by the use of manuscript and early printed books) with the common conceptual space of their encounter:

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\* doi: 10.26424/philobib.2019.24.2.12

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*This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNDI–UEFISCDI, project PN-III-P4-ID-PCCF-2016-0064: “Naşterea elitei intelectuale in Europa Centrală. Formarea profesorilor la Universitatea din Viena (1389-1450)/ The Rise of an Intellectual Elite in Central Europe: Making Professors at the University of Vienna, 1389-1450”.*

<sup>1</sup> Cisnădie (Ro.), Heltau (De.), Nagydisznód (Hu.), Gyznoyo/Diznow/Helthena/Helthaw/villa Reutel (Lat.), see Konrad Gündisch, „Cisnădie, dt. Heltau, ung. Nagzdisznód, lat. Helta, villa Reutel”, in Harald Roth (ed.), *Handbuch der historischen Stätten Siebenbürgen*, (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2003), 55-56; Hermann Fabini, *Die Kirchenburg in Heltau*, (Sibiu: Hora, 1996).

the market-town's medieval church dedicated to Saint Walpurgis (c. 710-25 February 777/779; canonised 1 May 870), a patron-saint whose iconographical attributes<sup>2</sup> are a crozier (a hooked staff carried by a bishop as a symbol of pastoral office), a Benedictine habit, a flask of oil and a book. The last-mentioned item is a common iconographical feature for an abbess, but in Walpurgis' case it has the additional meaning of referring to her erudition, as she was the author of two biographical works<sup>3</sup>. Saint Walpurgis, together with Saint Servatius, were part of the large group of saints from Franconia – the so called “fränkische Heilige”<sup>4</sup> – revered by German colonists<sup>5</sup> in their new Transylvanian homeland. Her depicted image in Cisnădie church, discovered during maintenance work in the 1980s<sup>6</sup> and dating from the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>, follows the iconographical canon of the period, even if the mural painting is now severely damaged. Thus, the book has accompanied symbolically the parish priests in their daily worship, beyond its role as an auxiliary element in the performance of Divine Service.

Under the auspices of *the book* as emblem of learning and erudition, this paper intends to highlight the twofold effect of university education at the periphery of Latin Christendom over the Middle Ages: as a central element and incentive of ecclesiastical careers and as a source of (practical) knowledge. The shift in perspective, from the centre-based angle towards a centripetal examination, will be illustrated through a multi-focal series of book-related episodes whose protagonists, former students of prestigious European universities, disseminated the accumulated “know-how” from the position of spiritual leaders of German communities in Transylvania. The selected location of the investigation, the market town of Cisnădie, constitutes a fortunate occurrence of documentary evidence concerning the medieval accumulation of books in the form of a parish library preserved *in situ*. Along with this (locally) unique situation of transmission, several other texts preserved in different circumstances contribute considerably to the understanding of a particularly interesting cultural context.

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<sup>2</sup> James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (London: John Murray, 1992), 202-204.

<sup>3</sup> A 12<sup>th</sup>-century German *antependium* depicted Walpurgis actually reading the book in her hand. Originally from St. Walpurgis Church in Soest, Germany, cca. 1170, the *antependium* is now in the Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, see Ulrich Löer, “Walburgiskloster und Walpurgis-Antependium in Soest”, in *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 143 (1993), 9-30.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Reinert, “Missale Cibiniense. Gestalt, Ursprung und Entwicklung des Meßritus der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirche im Mittelalter”, in *Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1972), 83-95.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Năgler, *Așezarea sașilor în Transilvania*, (București: Criterion, 1992); Konrad Gündisch, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, (München: Verlag Langen Müller, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Gerhard Schullerus, “Fresken in der Chorapsis”, in Konrad Gündisch (ed.), *Heltau. Geschichte und Kultur einer siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Gemeinschaft*, (Sibiu: Honterus Verlag, 2004), 214.

<sup>7</sup> Victor Roth, *Geschichte des deutschen Kunstgewerbes in Siebenbürgen. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, (Strassburg: Heitz, 1908), 89.

I. A typical *library* gathered around a medieval parish church<sup>8</sup> was usually developed and maintained through personal acquisitions by and for the use of the clergy, but also with the help of parishioners and other devout individuals who offered gifts and bequests to the church<sup>9</sup>. According to this perspective, a book accumulation of this sort could have followed

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<sup>8</sup> Concerning parallel developments in central and western regions of the European continent, useful definitions and methodological perspectives, see Paul Uiblein, “Dr. Georg Läntsch von Ellingen, Domherr und Professor in Wien, Stifter der Pfarrbibliothek zu Aschbach († 1519)”, in *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, NF, 40 (1974), 57-107; Ladislau Buzás, *Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1975); John R. Shinnors, “Parish Libraries in Medieval England”, in Jacqueline Brown, William P. Stoneman (ed.), *A Distinct Voice. Medieval Studies in Honour of Leonard E. Boyle, O. P.*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 207-230; Sarah Gray, Chris Baggs, “The English Parish Library: A Celebration of Diversity”, in *Libraries & Culture*, 35/3 (Summer, 2000), 414-433; Franz-Joachim Stewing, “Besitzvermerke in ausgewählten mittelalterlichen Handschriften sowie Inkunabeln im Bestand der Marienbibliothek”, in Heinrich L. Nickel (ed.), *450 Jahre Marienbibliothek zu Halle an der Saale: Kostbarkeiten und Raritäten einer alten Büchersammlung*, (Halle an der Saale: Verlag Janos Stegovic, 2000), 57-67; Philipp Kalbermatter, “Das alte Pfarrbibliothek von Niedergesteln”, in *Vallesia*, 56 (2001), 457-493; Fiona Kisby, “Books in London Parish Churches before 1603: Some Preliminary Observations”, in Caroline M. Barron (ed.), *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 305-326; Michele C. Ferrari, *Vil guote Buecher zuo Sant Oswalden. Die Pfarrbibliothek in Zug im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2003); Anette Löffler, “Die Danziger Marienkirche und ihre Stellung in der Liturgie des Deutschen Ordens”, in Felix Biermann, Manfred Schneider, Thomas Terberger (ed.), *Pfarrkirchen in den Städten des Hanseraums. Beiträge eines Kolloquiums vom 10. bis 13. Dezember in der Hansestadt Stralsund*, (Rahden/Westfalen: Leidorf, 2006), 227-237; Franck-Joachim Stewing, “Bibliothek und Pfarrbesitz einer spätmittelalterlichen Pfarrei im mitteldeutschen Raum. Das Beispiel Rudolstadt”, in Enno Bünz (ed.), *Bücher, Drucker, Bibliotheken in Mitteldeutschland. Neue Forschungen zu Kommunikations- und Mediengeschichte um 1500*, (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 207-303; Benjamin Stello, *Deutschsprachige Literatur in Bibliotheken des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2009); Falk Eisermann, “Barth, Greifswald, Wolgast: die Wiederauferstehung der vorpommerschen Kirchenbibliotheken”, in *Jahrbuch Kirchliches Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, NF, 2 (2014), 13-26; Tobias Daniels, “Bücherstiftung, Bücherverteilung: der Deutsche Orden und die Anfänge der Überlinger Pfarrbibliothek vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert”, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 165 (2017), 73-88; Enno Bünz, *Die mittelalterliche Pfarrei: Ausgewählte Studien zum 13. - 16. Jahrhundert*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), Chapter 8: “Buchbesitz von Pfarrern im ausgehenden Mittelalter (15. und frühes 16. Jahrhundert)”, 295-333; Dunstan Roberts, “The chained parish library of Chirbury, with reference to Herbert family provenances”, in *The Library*, 19/4 (2018), 469-483. The books associated with the medieval parish church have been intensively researched in the last decades from different and innovative angles. Concerning late medieval Transylvanian contexts, see the introductory considerations in Adinel C. Dincă, “Medieval Literacy in Transylvania. Selective Evidence from Parish Churches”, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXIV/1 (2015), 109-121, or the case study in Adinel C. Dincă, “Der Buchbesitz der Marienkirche in Hermannstadt um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts”, in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 41 (2018), 17-32.

<sup>9</sup> A similar example in Matthew Wranovix, *Priests and Their Books in Late Medieval Eichstätt*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017). Transylvanian instances of this sort can quote the bequest of books made by

two possible paths, delimited also chronologically: one towards (an early) mono-specialization around (a) liturgical works (missals, graduals, psalters, lectionaries, breviaries, antiphonaries etc.) and (b) *pastoralia*<sup>10</sup> (sermons, *summae*, treatises, handbooks etc.), or the (later) opposite direction, towards a pluri-disciplinary constitution, including history, philosophy, rhetoric, literature, medicine, etc. This second type of repository, consisting of manuscripts, incunabula and printed books from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, brings forth the professional “challenges” of the day-to-day running of a parish, from celebration of the Holy Mass to canonical issues in the administration of sacraments, including the additional roles of the parish priest, as administrator, teacher of faith and judge of canonical procedures.

The three distinct segments that have to come together in order to delineate a factual observation – the interconnectedness of higher learning, consequent spread of acquired knowledge (through continuous catechetical activity and through the elementary school) and ecclesiastical career in medieval Transylvanian Saxon communities, but especially in Cisnădie – connect in a circular pattern: from books used as vehicles of instruction to dissemination of the written word, through accessible “products” addressed to a large audience: the public sermon. These three building blocks of analysis need to be clearly defined and circumscribed for a meaningful interpretation to ensue.

II. A comprehensive list of pre-Reformation *parish priests* of Cisnădie church would be a required first step in evaluating the compact group of personnel performing the liturgical worship (ordinary and proper forms) according to the rite established by the Roman Church: prayer (usually compiled in a Sacramentary book), Scriptural readings (read from an Evangeliary or Lectionary) and chants (hymns, sequences usually included in Antiphon but also in Gradual books), sometimes punctuated by a sermon (oration, lecture delivered by a preacher containing a religious or moral instruction). As a *pastor bonus*, the priest was at the same time a teacher and a healer, supervising the patterns of behaviour of the laity for the end goal represented by salvation of the soul through divine deliverance<sup>11</sup>.

There are a wide range of documentary sources (charters, matriculation-books of universities, tax registers compiled by local ecclesiastical or secular authorities, or even by the Apostolic See, ownership notes on various books, protocols of religious administrative structures,

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Nicholaus *presbyter de Yegerdorff, Olomucensis diocesis*, for the Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur in 1435.II.18 (Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Collection, DL 36897), by *Ursula Meister Paulin* in 1505: Friedrich Müller, *Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen*, (Hermannstadt, 1864), 158: *Item die Bucher lass ich zur Capellen*, or by Mattheus from Rupea, 1502.II.2 (Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Collection, DL 21091).

<sup>10</sup> A term that defined a didactic form of literature for the use of parish priests, see Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400*, (London: Ashgate Publishing 1981); Robert Swanson, “Pastoralia in Practice: Clergy and Ministry in Pre-Reformation England”, in *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History*, 83 (2003), 104-127.

<sup>11</sup> Anton G. Weiler, “The Requirements of the «Pastor Bonus» in the Late Middle Ages”, in *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History*, 83/1 (2003), 57-83.

personal records, testaments, letters, etc.)<sup>12</sup> accompanied by indirect evidence (mostly epigraphic and visual/artistic<sup>13</sup>: inscriptions, personal insignia on different kind of objects, tombstones, mural or panel portraits, etc.) that allow the reconstruction of some 20 names of clergymen who have occupied the position of parish priest of Saint Walpurgis' church in Cisnădie previous to the change of denomination: Johannes (1327-1337), Goblinus (*ante* 1349), Stephanus (*post* 1349), Petrus (ca. 1350-1360), Hermanus (1364-1402), Johannes (1419-1430), Bartholomeus (*ante* 1444), *magister* Nicolaus Möllenbecher (1444-1446), *magister* Ladislaus (cca 1453-1465), Michael (ca. 1460?), Bartholomeus (1471), Matheus, *decretorum doctor* (1473-1478), *magister* Blasius (1479), Michael Michaelis notarii de Castrosches, *artium liberalium magister* (1485-1486), Martinus Capinius, *magister arcium liberalium ac decretorum doctor* (1503), Johannes Mwn/Mon, *magister artium* (1505-1510), *arcium liberalium magister* Wolfgangus Flaschner (1514-1526), Andreas Ruppensis (*ante* 1540). No less than 7 out the 18 priests are recorded by documentary sources bearing the title of "magister", while other two hold the academic degree of *decretorum doctor*, attributed to those who graduated the highest instruction in Canon Law. Wolfgangus Flaschner also held the office of *notarius publicus*<sup>14</sup>, an additional occupation, not unusual at all among the members of the clergy<sup>15</sup>. *Magister* Martinus Capinius from Sibiu/Hermannstadt (*Cibinium*), attested as parish priest in Cisnădie only for a short period<sup>16</sup>, attended not only the courses of the juridical faculty of the

<sup>12</sup> Most of these sources have been identified, transcribed and published in the eight volumes of *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, (Sibiu/București, 1892-1991, <http://siebenbuergenurkundenbuch.uni-trier.de/>) [= *Ub*]. See also "Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Pfarrer des Hermannstädter Capitels, seit dem Jahre 1327 bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit", in *Siebenbürgische Provinzialblätter*, III (1808), 21; Franz Zimmermann, "Katalog der Heltauer Pfarrer", in *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 2 (1879), 106; Gerhard Schullerus, "Im Dienst für die Kirchengemeinde Heltau", in Konrad Gündisch (ed.), *Heltau. Geschichte und Kultur einer siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Gemeinschaft*, 235-236. Other manuscript sources, unpublished: Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 665 (*Liber Specialis Missarum*) (see Karl Reinerth, "Missale Cibiniense", as footnote 4), digitized documentary collections of the Hungarian National Archives DL/DF ([hungaricana.hu](http://hungaricana.hu)) and county branches of the Romanian National Archives SJAN ([arhivamedievala.ro](http://arhivamedievala.ro)).

<sup>13</sup> Emese Sarkadi-Nagy, "The Place of the former Altar from Cisnădie in the Oeuvre of Master Vincencius", in Daniela Dâmboiu, Iulia Mesea (coord.), *Confluente. Repere europene în arta transilvăneană. Catalog de expoziție* (Sibiu: Muzeul Național Brukenthal, 2007), 33-42; Ciprian Firea, *Polipticele medievale din Transilvania: artă, liturghie, patronaj*, (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2016), 174-177. The chronological sequence of the church personnel in Cisnădie was reconstructed as part of the project *Fasti Ecclesiae Transsilvaniae I* (developed by Ciprian Firea and Adinel Dincă, additionally supported by David M. Smith).

<sup>14</sup> SJAN Sibiu, Capitlul evanghelic C.A. Sibiu, I. Acte cu instrumente contemporane de evidență, no. 53, 1509.X.30: *magistro Wolffgango Flaschner notario publico*.

<sup>15</sup> Adinel C. Dincă, "Notaries Public in Late Medieval Transylvania. Prerequisites for the Reception of a Legal Institution", in Susana Andea, Adinel C. Dincă (ed.), *Literacy Experiences concerning Medieval and Early Modern Transylvania*, Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «George Barițiu» – Supplement, LIV (2015), 33-47.

<sup>16</sup> Károly Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve 1453-tól 1630-ig*, IV, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1902), 26: 1503.IV.8 *Anno Domini orbe nostro Christiano 1503, die*

Vienna University<sup>17</sup> but also Canon Law in Bologna<sup>18</sup>, and would hold, after his Transylvanian intermission, prestigious offices in Vienna: dean of the Law Faculty (1513: *facultatis iuridice decanus*) and later *iudex* and *magister civium*<sup>19</sup>.

III. Recent results<sup>20</sup> estimate about 13,000 Hungarian students to have attended European universities up to 1526, yet a similar assessment concerning Transylvania is four decades old<sup>21</sup>, counting about 2,500 individuals. 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 Braşov, surrounded by clusters of market towns and villages, have supplied by far the largest numbers of young men – almost 5% out of the total number of inhabitants<sup>22</sup> – a fact related to the development of the literate mentality, specific to these social and economic environments<sup>23</sup>. Despite its pre-urban level of development in the shadow of the larger administrative and commercial hub, Sibiu, the settlement of Cislădie seems to have been a community much favourable to higher education.

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*Saturni ante Palmarum, in procuratorem nationis Hungarie electus est venerabilis Mag. Martinus Capinius Cibiniensis, plebanus in Heltaw.*

<sup>17</sup> Károly Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, II, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1892), 141: 1492 *Martinus Capinius de Cibinio*.

<sup>18</sup> Andreas Veress, *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai / Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiae studentium:1221-1864*, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941), 71: 1505.II.14 ... *domino Martino Capino Cibiniensis Transilvanus scolare studente in iure canonico*.

<sup>19</sup> Andrea Fara, “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), 119-133, here 128; Haraszi Szabó Péter, Kelényi Borbála, *Magyarországi Diákok Francia, Angol, Itáliai és Német Egyetemeken a Középkorban 1100-1526 Students From Hungary at the Universities of France, England, Italy and Germany in the Middle Ages 1100 -1526*, (Budapest: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, 2019), no. 305.

<sup>20</sup> László Szögi, “On University Historiography in Hungary: An Overview of the Past 25 Years”, in *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 20/1 (2017), 224; see also László Szögi, “Az egyetem nélküli ország egyetemistái Mohács előtt. A középkori Magyarország peregrinusai”, in *Idem, Az Egyetemi Könyvtár évkönyvei XIV-XV*, (Budapest: ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtár, 2011), 15-40.

<sup>21</sup> Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban*, (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1979) [= Tonk].

<sup>22</sup> Tonk, 68; 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*, (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1990), 83-106.

<sup>23</sup> Katalin Szende, “Towns and the Written Word in Medieval Hungary”, in Marco Mostert, Anna Adamska, (ed.): *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 123-148; Anna Adamska, “Intersections: Medieval East Central Europe from the Perspective of Literacy and Communication”, in Katalin Szende, Gerhard Jaritz, (ed.), *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, (London – New York: Routledge, 2016), 225-238; Adinel C. Dincă, “Urban Literacy in Medieval Transylvania”, in Susana Andea (coord.), *Between public and private. Writing praxis in Transylvania during the XIII-XVII Centuries*, (Cluj-Napoca-Gatineau Argonaut – Symplogica Publishing, 2016), 71-186.

Statistically, it occupies a high position among Transylvanian settlements that have up to 50 recorded student names in documentary sources (along with Mediaş, Sebeş, Biertan, Turda, Alba Iulia, Aiud, Agnita and Dej).

According to information retrieved from matriculation books of European universities, almost 40 students from this small settlement<sup>24</sup> are known to have attended the educational institution in Vienna by the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (just 6 students<sup>25</sup> between 1385-1400, then 27<sup>26</sup> up to 1500, and another 6<sup>27</sup> until 1526), while a further 6 were registered at Cracow<sup>28</sup>. Disparate information on university attendance in Italy points to students from Cisnădie graduating the university courses in Bologna and Padua<sup>29</sup>. Most of these young men spent up to 10 years in training at the Faculties of Arts, Theology and Law, being awarded the academic degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts or Master of Law: *artium liberalium et philosophiae baccalaureus, philosophiae magister, magister artium* and *magister iuris*. Those

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<sup>24</sup> Gernot Nussbächer, “Studierende und Akademiker im mittelalterlichen Heltau”, in Idem, *Aus Urkunden und Chroniken*, II, (Bucureşti: Kriterion, 1985), 143-144.

<sup>25</sup> *Nicolaus de Heltenau* 1385; *Michael de Heltna* 1388; *Petrus de Helta de Septemcastris* 1396; *Christianus Antonii de Heltaw* 1397; *Laurentius Bartholomei de Heltaw* 1397; *Michael de Helten* 1399; see Tonk no. 1719, 1578, 389, 1275, 1582 and Anna Tüskés, *Magyarországi Diákok A Bécsi Egyetemen / Students from Hungary at the University of Vienna 1365–1526*, (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltár, 2008), [= Tüskés] no. 181, 266, 503, 522, 535, 588.

<sup>26</sup> *Valentinus de Helta de Septemcastris* 1402; *Nicolaus de Heltaw* 1407; *Bartholomeus de Helta* 1408; *Michael Hertwig de Helta* 1410; *Bartholomeus de Helta de Septemcastris* 1414; *Bertholdus de Helta* 1415; *Petrus de Heltaw* 1415; *Gaspar de Helta* 1416; *Johannes de Heltaw* 1420; *Michael de Helta* 1425; *Nicolaus de Helta* 1429; *Georgius Burgensis de Heltaw* 1438; *Richardus de Heltaw* 1438; *Petrus Guendisch de Heltaw* 1441; *Johannes Sutoris de Helta* 1447; *Georgius Georgii de Heltaw* 1453; *Richardus Fabri de Heltaw* 1453; *Sigismundus de Heltha* 1454; *Michael Arcuficis de Heltaw* 1456; *Michael de Helta* 1460; *Christanus Purger de Heltha* 1470; *Caspar Nickrisch de Heltach* 1475; *Michael Hennik de Heltaw* 1475; *Cristanus Puserneck ex Holta* 1478; *Johannes Niger (Swarcz) de Heltha* 1488; *Johannes de Heltaw dioc. Albensis* 1494; *Mathias Herberdt de Heltaw* 1496; Tonk, no. 2388, 1738, 242, 243, 1856, 312, 1940, 569, 927, 1595, 1771, 635, 2090, 1970, 989, 648, 2091, 2154, 1638, 406, 582, 1659, 410, 1117, 1138, 1535; Tüskés, no. 701, 774, 782, 837, 1125, 1242, 1856, 2156, 2628, 2690, 2844, 3169, 3661, 3710, 3791, 4075, 4479, 4834, 4871, 4978, 5351, 5694.

<sup>27</sup> *Gaspar Textoris de Helten* 1503; *Mathias Carpentarii de Helta* 1503; *Georgius Marci de Helten* 1505; *Franciscus Fabri de Heltaw* 1508; *Nicolaus de Heltaw* 1508; *Andreas Lany de Helkha / Andreas Flescher de Helta*; Tonk, no. 590, 1545, 732, 542, 7835, 1836, 147; Tüskés, no. 6062, 6094, 6320, 6336, 6870, 6871.

<sup>28</sup> Péter Haraszi Szabó, Borbála Kelényi, László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok a prágai és krakkói egyetemeken (1348–1525)*, vol. I-II, (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltár, 2017): no. 2060 *Michael Colomanni de Heltha* 1479; no. 2963 *Johannes de Heltaw* 1494; no. 3233 *Richardus Laurentii de Elth* 1499; no. 3485 *Michael Johannis de Helta* 1503; no. 3530 *Georgius Marci de Helten* 1504; no. 4111 *Hermolaus Nicolai de Heltha* 1515.

<sup>29</sup> Georg Daniel Teutsch, “Ungarländer und Siebenbürger auf der Universität in Bologna (1381-1596)”, I *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 13 (1890), 25-29; Sárközy Péter, “Links to Europe: Hungarian Students at Italian Universities in the 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century”, in *Hungarian Studies Review*, XVII/2 (1990), 47-56.

who returned to their native province seem to have pursued mainly ecclesiastical careers, as their names surface both in Cisnădie and in various other Transylvanian settlements<sup>30</sup>.

IV. More than any other barometer, the *books* that have been connected with various individuals from Cisnădie and have survived to the present day in disparate repositories indicate that a strong intellectual elite with (mostly) legal and theological dispositions has operated in southern Transylvania during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Annotations on covers, flyleaves or directly on pages of volumes usually clarify customs of book usage (property, selling, bequest, pledge etc.). These volumes, manuscripts or early printed books, offer hints not only regarding their provenance but also of their every-day use.

Purchasing tomes during their educational sojourn abroad and bringing them home was a common habit among all medieval students, those from Cisnădie included. Thus, annotations belonging to some parish priests can be found on various manuscript or printed books of Central European origin, currently preserved in Sibiu (mostly sermons)<sup>31</sup> and Cluj-Napoca (a collection of homilies)<sup>32</sup>. Somewhat different seems to be the instance of one student who attended the University of Vienna in 1469: *Michael artium liberalium magister de Helta*,<sup>33</sup> son of Michael, town notary in Sighișoara<sup>34</sup>. He became, around 1485-1486, parish priest in Cisnădie and his ownership marks can still be found on the pages of two books preserved at the 'Brukenthal Museum Library' in Sibiu: Ms 604<sup>35</sup> and Ms 609<sup>36</sup>. The two volumes of useful handbooks for parish priests incorporate the Sentences, a systematic

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<sup>30</sup> *Michael Henninck de Helta* would become parish priest in Roșia, *Ub* VII, doc. 4665 before 1486.IX.16, while *venerabilis bacc. (?) Franciscus <Fabri> de Heltaw* would occupy the same position in Tălmăciu (SJAN Sibiu, *Protocollum Capituli Cibiniensis* I, f. 98r, before 1527.IX.2).

<sup>31</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 639, f. 1r: *Pro magistro Nicolaii plebani (!) de Helta; Censu*, no. 460: a. Thomas de Aquino, *Tractatus de corpore Christi* (1r-34r) – b. *Duo sermones* (34v-38r) – c. Thomas de Aquino, *De iudicibus astrorum* (38r) – d. 'Georgius dictus nobilis de Ungaria', *Tractatus purgatorii* (38r-71v) – e. *Sermones varii* (72r-95v).

<sup>32</sup> Annotation on an incunabulum preserved in Cluj-Napoca, Academy Library, Inc 56 [Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae super Johannem*, Roma: Georgius Lauer, 1470, ISTC ij00286000] f. 1r: *Mathei doctoris decretorum cantoris et canonici ecclesie Albensis Transsilvanensis qui habet Libri Crisosthomi*, see Adinel C. Dincă, *The Lost Libraries of Transylvania: Some Examples from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, paper presented at IFLA World Library and Information Congress Milan, Italy 23rd 27th August 2009, online: <http://www.ifla.org/past-wlic/2009/78-dinca-en.pdf> (accessed 10.IX.2019).

<sup>33</sup> Tonk no. 1655; Tüskés, no. 4446: *Michael Notarii de Castrochess* 1469.

<sup>34</sup> *Ub* VI, doc. 3747: 1469.X.20 *item Michaelis notarii civitatis nostrae Segesvariensis*.

<sup>35</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 604: Petrus Lombardus, *Quattuor libri sententiarum: Hic liber est proprius Michaelis de Helta, artis baccalaureus* (flyleaf), see Adrian Papahagi, Adinel C. Dincă, Andreea Mârza, *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România: Censu*, [București: Polirom, 2018], [= *Censu*] no. 449.

<sup>36</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 609: *iste liber proprius est Michaelis de Helta, artis baccalaureus* (flyleaf), see *Censu*, no. 454.



compilation of theology – biblical texts and relevant passages from the Church Fathers<sup>37</sup> –, and their commentaries by the scholastic thinkers of the time, or a treatise on proper liturgical performance and the manual of the curate by Guido de Monte Rochen (around 1331)<sup>38</sup>. Ms 604, comprising the Sentences of Peter Lombard (c. 1096-1160), had been copied only a few years earlier, in 1461, in Vienna, according to another annotation<sup>39</sup>. Ms 609 compiles three texts: *Questiones super librum quartum Sententiarum* (f. 1-195), *De oblatione materia* (f. 201-217) and Guido de Monte Rochen, *Manipulus curatorum* (f. 218-319) and was copied before 1460. This volume had reached Transylvania around 1470 through Martin, parish priest of Mediaș<sup>40</sup> and Sebeș, who used it in 1483 as a means to reimburse a debt to Michael from Cisnădie<sup>41</sup>.

V. A very special case of transmitting the medieval book is illustrated by the small library of Saint Walpurgis' parish church<sup>42</sup>, which holds today 12 manuscripts<sup>43</sup> and 3 incunabula<sup>44</sup>. 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<sup>45</sup>, Cluj-Napoca<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Paul J. J. M. Bakker, Christopher Schabel, "«Sentences» Commentaries of the Later Fourteenth Century", in Philipp W. Rosemann, *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 425-464; Philipp W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's "Sentences"*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 93-136.

<sup>38</sup> Anne T. Thayer (ed.), *Handbook for Curates : A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011).

<sup>39</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 604, f. 309v: *Anno Domini m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> 61<sup>o</sup> finitus est iste liber scilicet per commentarios 4<sup>or</sup> libri sententiarum que composite sunt per venerabilem virum M. N. Harder tunc temporis collegiatus ducalis Wienne.*

<sup>40</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 609, f. llv: *iste liber est Martini Andree de Novavilla, plebani in Megies.* See also *Ub VI*, doc. 3809: 1470.VII.3 *Ego Martinus in Megyes plebanus.*

<sup>41</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 609: *1483 feria sexta ante ... Michael Artium Bacc. de Heltha percepi 6 fl. in puro auro a domino Martino plebano de Szaszsebis et unum librum pro fl. 2 ... de debito communitatis* (back flyleaf).

<sup>42</sup> Balázs J. Nemes, Cora Dietl, Adinel C. Dincă, "Heltau", in Cora Dietl, Anna-Lena Liebermann (ed.), *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Literatur in Ungarn und Rumänien*, (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 182-185.

<sup>43</sup> See *Census*, no. 346-357. The manuscript volumes were until recently in a profound state of degradation, suffering severe losses; an extensive restoration operation has been started in 2012 with the support of the German Federal Government.

<sup>44</sup> [Saint Walpurgis] Evangelical church Cisnădie: Inv. 1355: Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus curatorum*, [ISTC ig00590500], perhaps Michael Wenssler, Basel, about 1485; sine Signatura: Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae*, 2<sup>o</sup>, Hermannus Liechtenstein, Venice, 12 September 1486 [ISTC ir00010000]; sine Signatura: Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla litteralis in vetus et novum testamentum, mit Expositiones prologorum von Guilelmus Brito, Additiones ad Postillam Nicolai de Lyra von Paulus Burgensis und Replica contra Burgensem von Matthias Doering*, part. 1-2 (Genesis - Psalmi; Proverbia - Apocalypsis), vol. 1, Nürnberg, ca. 1481 [ISTC in00135000]. None of these printed books has been previously mentioned in any catalogue.

<sup>45</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library: Ms 27, 604, 609, 639, 693, 715.

and Budapest<sup>47</sup>. Regrettably, other sources able to provide further insight – church inventories, catalogues providing booklists or fragments of recycled manuscripts – currently seem to be missing altogether in Cisnădie.

The typology of texts found in this church repository or relating to this context is entirely typical of the cultural context of their use, oriented towards functionality and pragmatism. Considering the standards of that time<sup>48</sup>, the library was well equipped. From this collection of books, three items were previously known to scholars: (1) Ms *Heltauer Marienlied*, now lost<sup>49</sup>, (2) Ms D. 25, a *Missale* dating from mid-14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>50</sup> (both manuscripts, possibly copied in Transylvania, represent important liturgical items reflecting the traditions brought by the German settlers from their areas of origin) and (3) a German-Latin glossary, analysed mainly from the perspective of linguistics<sup>51</sup>. Further fragments of glossaries, part of the so-called “Vokabulariengruppe Abba – Avis – Abbreviare”<sup>52</sup>, are located in Ms D. 12, f. 34r-80r<sup>53</sup> and also Ms D. 28, f. 322r-357r<sup>54</sup>, both initiated in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and concluded in

<sup>46</sup> Cluj-Napoca, Academy Library, Inc 45, inner front cover: *Paulus Hirschman Heltensis est dominus huius codicis 1517* – a miscellaneous volume containing several texts on Latin grammar, see Elena-Maria Schatz, Robertina Stoica, *Catalogol colectiv al incunabilelor din România*, (București: CIMEC, 2007), no. D 27, M 10, S 93 [ISTC id00350000], and “Lucian Blaga” Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Inc 8, f. 3r: *Ecclesie Virginis Walpurgis in Helta* (manuscript note, cca. 1500), see Elena Mosora, Doina Hanga, *Catalogol incunabilelor. Biblioteca Centrală Universitară Cluj-Napoca*, (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1979), no. 18: Guillelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum. Ed: Johannes Aloisius Tuscanus*, Vicenza: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 1478 [ISTC id00417000] – I would like to thank Paula Cotoi for drawing my attention to this book.

<sup>47</sup> Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy, Ms K 32, f. 1r: *Codicem hunc possidet Johannes de Peterfalwa rector scholae Heltensis quem sibi legavit venerabilis dominus Nicolaus Lucz sacellanus et organista de eadem qui pestifero morbo correptus vitam cum morte finivit anno 1531*. See Csapodi Csaba, *A «Magyar Codexek» elnevezésű gyűjtemény*, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1973), 8-10.

<sup>48</sup> Adinel C. Dincă, “Medieval Literacy in Transylvania. Selective Evidence from Parish Churches”, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXIV/1 (2015), 109-121.

<sup>49</sup> *Census*, p. 181, no. viii. See also, Balázs J. Nemes, “Das «Heltauer Marienlied» in Handschriften außerhalb von Siebenbürgen. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und Edition”, in Rudolf Bentzinger (ed.), *Grundlagen. Forschungen, Editionen und Materialien zurdeutschen Literatur und Sprache des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 2013), 329-347.

<sup>50</sup> *Census*, no. 351; see also, Adolf Schullerus, “Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirche”, in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, 41 (1923), 299-389; Karl Reinert, *Das Heltauer Missale (Cod. Heltensis Nr. 8/13/m saec. XIV): eine Brücke zum Lande der Herkunft der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, (Köln: Böhlau, 1963).

<sup>51</sup> Bernhard Capesius, Gerhard Ising, “Eine Heltauer Handschrift mit Wörterverzeichnissen aus dem 15. Jahrhundert”, in *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, 12/1 (1969), 9-24.

<sup>52</sup> Bernhard Schnell, “Zur Überlieferung der lateinisch-deutschen Vokabulare im spätmittelalterlichen Schlesien. Die «Vokabulariengruppe Abba - Avis - Abbreviare»”, in Carola L. Gottzmann, Petra Hörner (ed.), *Studien zu Forschungsproblemen der deutschen Literatur in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, (Frankfurt/M. u.a.: Peter Lang, 1998), 133-147.

<sup>53</sup> The comprehensive research literature regarding this manuscript is available in *Census*, no. 349.

<sup>54</sup> *Census*, no. 354.

the 1470s. Similar texts have been identified in other Transylvanian archival holdings, such as Alba Iulia<sup>55</sup>, Sibiu<sup>56</sup> and Braşov<sup>57</sup>. These specific educational aids were used for initiating young pupils in the basics of Latin grammar at the parish school, and Cisnădie's elementary educational institution, through its teachers, has been documented from 1428<sup>58</sup>. Modern grammar texts, illustrated by the colligated incunabulum Inc 45<sup>59</sup>, now in Cluj-Napoca, were in use in Cisnădie around 1517. Printed grammars must have replaced earlier manuscripts of the same genre, as suggested by recycled parchment folios (maybe from the same codex or from different but very similar ones) included in the binding of books with certain Transylvanian circulation<sup>60</sup>. Historical texts, such as *Historia Magni Alexandri / Chronicum pictum* compiled in the manuscript book now preserved in Budapest (Ms K 32) seem to have been part of the school's "curriculum" around 1493-1531. The names of two parish members are mentioned on the first page of this book, the *rector scholae* Johannes de *Peterfalwa* (Petreşti, Alba County) and the chaplain and organist Nicolaus Lutz, who have probably used this specific tome in the instruction process, a fact further proven by the contemporary writing exercises in Humanistic script scattered throughout the volume.

Alongside worship- and learning-related content, Saint Walpurgis' church library comprises three other main category of texts: (1) para-liturgical literature (theological commentaries dealing with doctrinal issues, but also philosophy and morality, even medicine), (2) canon law treatises (collections of conciliar canons and papal decrees), and, particularly, (3) sermons together with legends and didactic tales. Miscellaneous tomes, such as Ms D. 12 (also part of the educational context), bring together Latin-German glossaries, medical recipes (probably in relation to "Anointing of the sick", the sacrament of healing administered by the Latin Church: *Remedia 'de casu capillorum, de pustulis capitis'*, f. 80v-84v and Petrus Hispanus, *Thesaurus pauperum*, f. 85r-92v) and theological works (Gregorius I Papa, *Commentarius in sequentias*, f. 22r-33v, Matthaeus de Cracovia, *Dialogus rationis et conscientiae*, f. 150r-165v).

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<sup>55</sup> Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, Ms Cod. Lat. 82 and Ms II.99; *Census*, no. 197. See also Balázs J. Nemes, "Mittelalterliche deutsche Handschriften in rumänischen Bibliotheken. Eine vorläufige Bestandsübersicht", in Astrid Breith u.a. (ed.), *Manuscripta germanica. Deutschsprachige Handschriften des Mittelalters in Bibliotheken und Archiven Osteuropas*, (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2012), 61-72, here 62.

<sup>56</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library: Ms 683, *Census*, no. 487.

<sup>57</sup> Braşov, Archive and Library of the "Honterusgemeinde", Ms I.E.172; see *Census*, no. 303.

<sup>58</sup> Ub IV, doc. 2023: 1428 ...vnd ich Vrbanus schulmeÿster dy czeit notarius publicus.

<sup>59</sup> Cluj-Napoca, Academy Library, Inc 45a: *Omnia opera Mancinelli*; 45b: Ant. Mancinelli, *Spica voluminum IIII, Versilogus*; 45c: Antonii Mancinelli, *Epitoma seu Regulae constructionis*; 45d: Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor* („Donatus melior"). Cato, *Carmen de moribus (vulgo Disticha Catonis)*. Ant. Mancinelli, *De arte libellus*; 45e: *Scribendi orandi[ue] Modus per Ant. Mancinellum*; 45f: Ant. Mancinelli, *Carmen de Floribus, Carmen de Figuris, De poetica Virtute, Vitae carmen*; 45g: *Regulae Sulpitii*.

<sup>60</sup> (1) Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 633 (*Vigiliale*, 1507) and (2) "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca, Inc 8 (Guillelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*. Ed: Johannes Aloisius Tuscanus, Vicenza: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 1478).

A note on f. 165v<sup>61</sup> places this volume in Cislădie during the ministry of Matheus *doctor*, in the 1470s. Other volumes, maybe compiled locally or at least adapted to local requirements and contexts, illustrate the interest in devotional activities and correction of deviant beliefs, such as Ms D. 45, f. 1r: *De supersticionibus et malis consuetudinibus in certis diebus fieri solitis per anni circulum, que nota, predicator!*, which also incorporates a part of the legend of Saint Servatius of Tongeren (*Legenda S. Servatii*, f. 113v., fragment). The 4<sup>th</sup>-century bishop was additionally present in the Cislădie parish church, alongside Saint Walpurgis, on a gilded reliquary cross<sup>62</sup> used in the Divine Service, crafted by a Sibiu workshop around 1440.

One of the most important medieval religious sacraments, penance, is present throughout the topics covered by the Cislădie book repository: it is a central theme in *cura animarum*, preparation for death as well as a problem in moral, pastoral, and sacramental theology (Ms D. 25: Nicolaus de Dinkelsbühl, *De poenitentia*, f. 287r-334v, Ms D. 26: Johannes Gerson, *De arte salubriter moriendi*, f. 1r-v, Ms D. 45: Thomas de Cobham, *Summa de poenitentia cum registro*, f. 198r-297v). What must be highlighted here is the double presence, for the use of parish priests, of the late medieval manual on pastoral ministry and theological instruction belonging to Guido de Monte Rocherii/Rochen: *Manipulus curatorum*, both in manuscript and printed forms<sup>63</sup>, a work that treats repentance extensively, addressing in a particular section various related topics (deadly sins, confession, excommunication, absolution, indulgences, etc). Penance is also closely related to the medical-themed texts found in Cislădie parish library, as the healing power of the relationship of: contrition – confession – absolution, which was seen in the epoch as a remedy for physical as well as spiritual sufferings.

On the subject of canon law, the most representative texts are present in Ms D. 14 and Ms D. 43. Ms D. 14<sup>64</sup> (*Casus Legum Sive Suffragia Monachorum*), copied before 1417 most probably in Transylvania, is a text originating in the Parisian university ambiance. This work represents an abbreviated form of Pope Gregory IX's *Decretales* and was intended for the use of the clergy who did not have the opportunity to pursue a higher legal education but needed notions from this sphere of legal knowledge. The tome had been bought (and probably

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<sup>61</sup> [Saint Walpurgis] Evangelical church Cislădie, Ms D. 12, f. 165v: *Ego Johannes plebanus de Purberg feci contentum [per] egregium doctorem Mattheum.*

<sup>62</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum, Inv. no. T. 29/4749. See Daniela Dâmboiu, *The iconography of some pieces of liturgical orfeverrie belonging to the Cislădie treasure*, paper presented at the International Congress "Imagen y Apariencia" (Image and Appearance), Universidad de Murcia, 19-21 November 2008, <https://digitum.um.es/digitum/bitstream/10201/44607/1/CongresoImagen161.pdf> (accessed 12.IX.2019).

<sup>63</sup> Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 609 and [Saint Walpurgis] Evangelical church Cislădie: Inv. 1355.

<sup>64</sup> Adinel C. Dincă, "«Casus legum» im spätmittelalterlichen Siebenbürgen (Handschrift D. 14, Kirchengemeinde Heltau/Cislădie)", in *Transylvanian Review*, XXV, Suppl. 1 (2016), 312-317. For the general context of this particular text, see Martin Bertram, Marguerite Duynstee, *Casus Legum Sive Suffragia Monachorum*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 51/3 (1983), 317–363.

commissioned) by Martin of Cisnădie<sup>65</sup>, parish priest in Sânpetru and former student of Canon Law in Vienna: *Expliciunt suffragia legum super quinque libros decretalium, empte (!) per dominum Martinum Heltnansis (!) plebanum in Petersberg, anno Domini Millesimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> XVII<sup>mo</sup>*. Ms D. 43, the text of Gregorius IX Papa, *Decretalia (Liber IV. Tituli I-XX)*, represents an official collection of canons, promulgated in 1234 as code of law for all Latin-rite Christianity. Other manuscripts of mixed content show various notes of a legal nature, for instance Ms D. 27, which is explained in German: *Von aufnehmung der person in gericht* (f. 422v-424r), discussing also various other relevant implications for clergy (such as simony). The need for juridical knowledge was self-explanatory for the medieval parish priests who operated constantly with practical aspects derived from the interdependence of canon law and civil law: for instance, certain impediments – such as age, consanguinity, legitimacy of birth or prior bonds – could lead to invalidity or nullity of a marriage, with both secular and religious consequences.

Preaching constituted during the Middle Ages a distinctive duty to be performed by the members of the clergy, and Cisnădie parish personnel was by no means stranger to this intellectual work and its techniques, as proven by the presence of a local preacher (*predicator*) *Emericus de Helta*, mentioned in 1485<sup>66</sup>. This isolated documentary occurrence should not be perceived as an inconsistent functioning of the institution. Preachers within parishes are attested throughout Transylvania as early as the 1420s, not only in larger and richer communities, but also in smaller villages (Biertan, Lechința, Jelna, etc.; the topic will be soon tackled in a dedicated paper). Thus, a continuous, specialized activity of a preacher in Cisnădie can indeed be inferred, as additionally suggested by some of the surviving books<sup>67</sup>. Hence, this subject is equally well represented in the texts preserved in the parish library, mostly through the works of pastoral literature written by university professors such as the Parisian Johannes Gerson (1363-1429) or the Viennese Nicolaus de Dinkelsbühl (c. 1360-1433) and Henricus de Langenstein (1325-1397). No less than 5 out of the 12 manuscripts contain works belonging to Nicolaus de Dinkelsbühl<sup>68</sup>, revered professor and prolific author of sermons: *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* in Ms D. 5, D. 7, D. 11, D. 27, D. 44, and, possibly, some of the sermons from Ms D. 26, all of Austrian (or at least south German) origin and compiled around the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. A highly accurate identification of each lecture, and therefore proper author attribution, is a difficult task for the moment, not only because of Dinkelsbühl's extensive

<sup>65</sup> Tonk, no. 1405; Tüskés, no. 1265; Kurt Mühlberger (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Wiener Rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät*, I. Band 1402-1442, (Wien: Böhlau, 2011), 18: *Martinus Helman plebanus de Monte sancti Petri* 1416.

<sup>66</sup> SJAN Sibiu, Colecția de documente medievale, U II, no. 417; 1485.1.18: *Emerico de Helta ibidem praedicator, Ub. VII, doc. 4585*.

<sup>67</sup> Especially Ms D. 45, already cited here, seems to indicate the typical use by a preacher.

<sup>68</sup> Adinel C. Dincă, "Reading Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl in Medieval Transylvania: Surviving Texts and Historical Contexts", in Monica Brînzei (ed.), *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early XVth century*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 453-471.

homiletics work, but primarily because of the severe degradation of the manuscripts, all of them suffering massive gaps in text.

VI. The parish church from Cisnădie, dedicated to Saint Walpurgis, is set apart in the Transylvanian cultural horizon due to two fortunate circumstances: most of its liturgical items used in a liturgical context during the Middle Ages (*vasa sacra*: chalice, paten, ciborium, monstrance, reliquary cross, etc.)<sup>69</sup> together with its pre-Reformation library have survived to this day and constitute part of the regional cultural heritage, displayed, investigated and reconditioned as such<sup>70</sup>. Remarkable and unique in this case is the fact that the liturgical and other theological books have been stored in the same place where they were used before the Protestant Reformation, a fact proven by their thematic unity and also by the 15<sup>th</sup>-century property annotations and references to the local church<sup>71</sup> and parish priests, whose ministry is documented by other historical sources. Moreover, even though the content of these Catholic service and theology books may have fallen into desuetude starting with the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>72</sup>, they have been preserved<sup>73</sup> and studied as identity items, deeply connected to the spiritual and linguistic roots of the Transylvanian Saxon community. In no other circumstance has such a homogenous collection of manuscript and early printed works, centred on the daily challenges of Christian worship – from performance of rites, preaching,

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<sup>69</sup> Gerhard Schullerus, “Die Kirchenschatz”, in Konrad Gündisch (ed.), *Heltau. Geschichte und Kultur einer siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Gemeinschaft*, 224-232.

<sup>70</sup> The Evangelical church in Cisnădie has been constantly involved in different preservation and conservation projects, increasing both public and scholarly awareness for this rich medieval patrimony. Here should be mentioned the projects supported by the German federal government, “Restaurierung, Präsentation und wissenschaftliche Bewertung von 7 Handschriften der Pfarrgemeinde Heltau” (2012) and “Spätmittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Drucke aus dem Archiv der Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde in Heltau (Rumänien): Restaurierung und Erschließung” (2019-2020).

<sup>71</sup> [Saint Walpurgis] Evangelical church Cisnădie, Ms D. 14: *Iste liber est ecclesie Walpurgis in Heltau*. Additional annotations related to Cisnădie parish personnel appear on various manuscript or early printed books, yet this fact does not necessarily imply that these volumes were part of the parish library, see for instance Academy Library Cluj-Napoca, Inc. 45d: *Mathias Ladislai capellanus Heltensis ... 1517*, Schatz, Stoica, *Catalogul colectiv al incunabilelor din România*, no. D 27. A further discussion concerning the personal/collective and parochial/municipal aspects of book-ownership in medieval Transylvania in Adinel C. Dincă, *The Transylvanian Saxons and their Landscape of Literacy*, (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2019), forthcoming.

<sup>72</sup> Concerning the fate of such *libri inutiles* in Transylvania see Adinel C. Dincă, “The Medieval Book in Early Modern Transylvania. Preliminary Assessments”, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, 62/1 (2017), 23-34.

<sup>73</sup> The parish library in Cisnădie was not the only one to harbour Latin-rite works after the adoption of the Reformation, see the late 16<sup>th</sup>-century and 17<sup>th</sup> century church inventories of Jelna, Ghimbav, Dumitra, and Sibiu SJAN Sibiu, Colecția “Brukenthal”, Ms B. 268; SJAN Brașov, Primăria orașului Brașov. Colecția Socoteli și impozite ale satelor din Țara Bârsei, Pachet XXX/1; SJAN Sibiu, Capitolul evanghelic C.A. Bistrița, no. 720; Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Ms 760.

theological debate, devotional behaviour to the dogmatic dispensation of sacraments – survived in present-day Romania. This consistent character of Cislădie's parish church library could not have been the fortuitous result of a hazardous modern initiative<sup>74</sup>.

Another relevant aspect regarding the consonance of the medieval parish repository from Cislădie consists of the place of origin of the volumes: excepting the few manuscripts that could have been copied (or at least annotated) in Transylvania, the remaining works, whether the ones still in Cislădie or those preserved in other archival holdings, seem to be related to Central Europe, more precisely to Vienna and Nürnberg. The sermons gathered in Ms D. 27, comprising the works of two Viennese professors, Nicolaus de Dinkelsbühl and Henricus de Hassia (Langenstein), had been previously owned by *Conradus Mullner de Nurenberge*<sup>75</sup>, who attended the Austrian University in 1429 and would continue a didactical and ecclesiastical career, becoming vicar of the Saint Sebaldus Church in Nürnberg<sup>76</sup>. The large number of parish priests in Cislădie with a documented higher education, especially graduates of the faculties in Vienna, in addition to the physical traits (covers and binding, paper watermarks) and university-related contents of the books under discussion, supports the hypothesis that these volumes constituted personal acquisitions during academic sojourns.

Pastoral responsibilities implied that parish priests had to be properly equipped to carry out tasks for the spiritual welfare of parishioners, their practical and devotional improvement and salvation. The whole pastoral and intellectual context of Cislădie presented now in a brief manner indicates another important aspect. The clerical body that served the community of believers in Cislădie is the product of the modern vision promoted by the so-called «Wiener Schule für Pastoraltheologie»<sup>77</sup>, a concept whereby an educated clergy was able to take better care of the spiritual needs of a parish community, using as main communication tool in this regard the sermon. In this change of perspective, the effect of university education in the territory can be properly investigated, moving again the point of reflection from the centre towards the periphery, from the emitter to the receiver.

Availability of education, especially after the establishment of universities in central European contexts (1348 in Prague, 1364 in Cracow, 1365 in Vienna) led to the creation of an

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<sup>74</sup> Such a suggestion was put forward by Maria Emilia Țiplic, Ioan Marian Țiplic, Cosmin Ioan Ignat, "Memorie și patrimoniu. Inventarul bisericii evanghelice din Cislădie (jud. Sibiu)", in Dan Dumitru Iacob (ed.), *Avere, prestigiu și cultură material în surse patrimoniale. Inventare de averi din secolele XVI-XIX*, (Iași: Ed. Univ. Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2015), 624.

<sup>75</sup> [Saint Walpurgis] Evangelical Church Cislădie, Ms D. 27, f. 196r.

<sup>76</sup> Conradus Wagner alias Müllner († 1461), see Harro Hilg, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Quarto der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg: die Signaturengruppen Cod. I.2.40 und Cod. II.1.40*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 155.

<sup>77</sup> Ernst Haberkern, *Die «Wiener Schule» der Pastoraltheologie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Entstehung, Konstituenten, literarische Wirkung*, I-II (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2003); Gisela Drossbach, "Die sogenannte «Devotio moderna» in Wien und ihre geistigen Träger zwischen Tradition und Innovation", in Marek Derwich, Martial Staub (ed.), *Die «Neue Frömmigkeit» in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 267-284.

intellectual ecclesiastical elite among the Transylvanian Saxons and, at the same time, meant that the texts needed for continuous functioning of the parish could reach easier and faster the peripheral settlements of the *Latinitas*. This mobility of individuals and books fits the interpretative framework of a local intellectual circuit, consisting of three interconnected and uninterrupted overlapping stages: I. accretion of knowledge (elementary and higher-educational stages), II. conversion of information and content creation (parish priests involved in book-trade, -collection and -production) and III. transmission (expertise that spans over a significant number of different subject areas, social mission). Although not occurring in an abundance of instances, the parish priests of the German Transylvanian communities are recorded or suggested as authors, copyists, commenters or librarians, archivists or teachers of theological, liturgical, legal, historical etc. works. Much more than any other social and professional group in late medieval Transylvania, the pragmatic and flexible Saxon parochial clergy reflects through their geographical and social mobility the unparalleled historical significance of the parish landscape as a contact zone between universality and particular elements of a certain cultural environment.