

WORKS OF PROTESTANT REFORMERS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF CLUJ-NAPOCA

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Abstract: The old book collection of the University Library of Cluj-Napoca contains items of mixed origins: The library of the Transylvanian Museum Association, the book collection of the university, the library of the Reformed College of Orăștie (Szászváros) etc. The goal of this paper is to present a segment of this diverse collection: We have selected fifteen protestant theologians, so-called “protestant reformers,” who were active during the 16th century: Martin Luther, Philipp Melancthon, Georg Major, Johann Brenz, David Chyträus, John Calvin, Théodore de Béze, Pietro Martire Vermigli, Heinrich Bullinger, Rudolf Gwalther, Ludwig Lavater, Johannes Oekolampad, Wolfgang Musculus, Benedictus Aretius and Girolamo Zanchi. I have examined a total of 97 prints from this theologians. Nearly half of these volumes were in the Carpathian Basin before 1600. Among the owners of that time, there is a similar number of Transylvanian Saxons and Hungarians from the Partium and Transylvania, the former in slightly larger proportions. Throughout the 17th century, these were the most important groups of owners as well, but now the group of the Transylvanian Reformed Hungarians is the largest.

Keywords: History of the Reformation, reading history, book history, Transylvania, Wittenberg.

The old book collection of the University Library of Cluj-Napoca (like other collections of historical value) contains items of mixed origins. The library of the Transylvanian Museum Association represents its oldest section, being founded in 1859. It was based on the collection of Imre Mikó, followed by further donations made over time. In 1872, the Museum Association, while keeping ownership of the library, made it available to the newly founded university. Until the Association ceased to exist in 1950, it was treated as a separate unit – the collections, as well as the records regarding the newest additions were stored separately. In

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1950 it was taken into state administration.¹ The *second unit* is the book collection of the university, founded in 1872: it was under the administration of the Franz Joseph University until 1919, the King Ferdinand I University from 1919 to 1940, the Franz Joseph University again from 1940 to 1945, and, after 1945, the state universities (Bolyai, Babeş, Babeş-Bolyai). Its collection also includes the library holdings of the King Ferdinand I University since it was operating in Sibiu between 1940 and 1945. The historical collection was enriched in the 1950s and 60s with antiquarian acquisitions. The *third unit*, which is relevant to our topic, can be linked to the library's conservation activities: In 1952, the deputy director of the institution, Kálmán Tóth (1910–1962), travelled the Transylvanian counties, took in the collections that had already been nationalised and attempted to make the arrangements necessary for their proper placement. Thus, the University Library came to include the libraries of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Satu Mare (Szatmár) – then “reorganised” as an ordinariate –, the Franciscan monastery of Dej (Dés), and the Reformed College of Sighetu Marmătiei (Máramarosziget). (Out of the three collections, only one volume from each was included in our analysis, so they were – for lack of a better solution – included in the university core material.) The most important part of Kálmán Tóth's acquisitions is the more substantial part from the Reformed College of Orăştie (Szászváros)² collection. The Reformed College, which had been in operation since the 17th century, closed in 1923. Its library included 48 volumes in 1668.³ The most significant early modern addition to the collection was the estate of Mihály Halicsi (Mihail Halici, fiul).⁴ After the school was closed, small parts of the library were taken over by the Reformed College in Kolozsvár (Cluj), the newly established Reformed Girls High School in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and the Faculty of Reformed Theology in Cluj, while the other parts were taken care of by the parish and the orphanage, which were established as successor institutions. According to Kálmán Tóth, after the new college building was sold (1925), part of the collection was transferred to the Romanian-language high school's library, which moved there, and shortly before 1952 the school handed it over to the local Department of Culture. On Tóth's initiative, this part of the collection was transferred to the University Library around 1953. Full processing has not yet taken place. During our research, we also found volumes there that have not yet been registered.

The goal of this paper is to present a segment of this diverse collection: We have selected fifteen protestant theologians, so-called “protestant reformers”, who were active

¹ Sipos Gábor, “Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület könyvtárának története,” *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület gyűjteményei*, ed. Sipos Gábor (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2009), 11–68.

² Ifj. Györfi Dénes, “Tóth Kálmán beszámolója erdélyi könyvtárakról (1952),” *Művelődés* 65, no. 1 (January 2012): 16–17, 20.

³ Ósz Sándor Előd, *A Szászvárosi Református Kollégium diáksága 1669–1848*, (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2006), 165–166.

⁴ The archives of the Reformed College of Szászváros in the archives of the Reformed Diocese of Transylvania. Documents III. The legal actions of the college.

during the 16th century. We took hold of their theological works published before 1601, and, using the marginal and the owner's notes, we tried to discover when they come to historical Hungary or were owned by a Hungarian, whom they were passed to and who read and used them over the centuries.

This quantitative study provides the insight about the European theologians who influenced the Hungarian Reformation and the emergence of the denomination. Moreover, it assists the examination of the Western scholars' theological perspectives, which shaped the life and doctrine of the Reformed Church in Transylvania between the 16th and 17th centuries.

The most challenging aspect of the research was perhaps the choice of authors to be analysed. We mostly used the catalogue of the library's 16th-century printed books and the school book catalogues of the publication of historical sources entitled *Erdélyi könyvesházak* [Transylvanian bookhouses] (Adattár 16.). After comparing the two sources, we examined the works of the following authors:

Theologians from Wittenberg: Martin Luther (1483–1546), Philipp Melancthon (1499–1560), Georg Major (1502–1574). *Other Lutheran theologians:* Johann Brenz (1499–1570), David Chyträus (1530–1600). *Theologians from Geneva:* John Calvin (1509–1564), Théodore de Bèze (1519–1602). *Theologians from Zürich:* Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499–1562), Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1586), Ludwig Lavater (1527–1586). *Swiss theologians:* Johannes Oekolampad (1482–1531), Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), Benedictus Aretius (1522–1574). *Theologian from Pfalz:* Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590).

Some of the above-mentioned theologians were also humanists in other fields. David Chyträus is the author of several historical works, and Melancthon's *Logica* and *Dialectica* were used as textbooks in Transylvanian Reformed schools during the 16th and 17th centuries. These works have not been examined, as they would have altered the final percentages. We have studied only theological works, and the collections which (also) contain writings on such subjects.

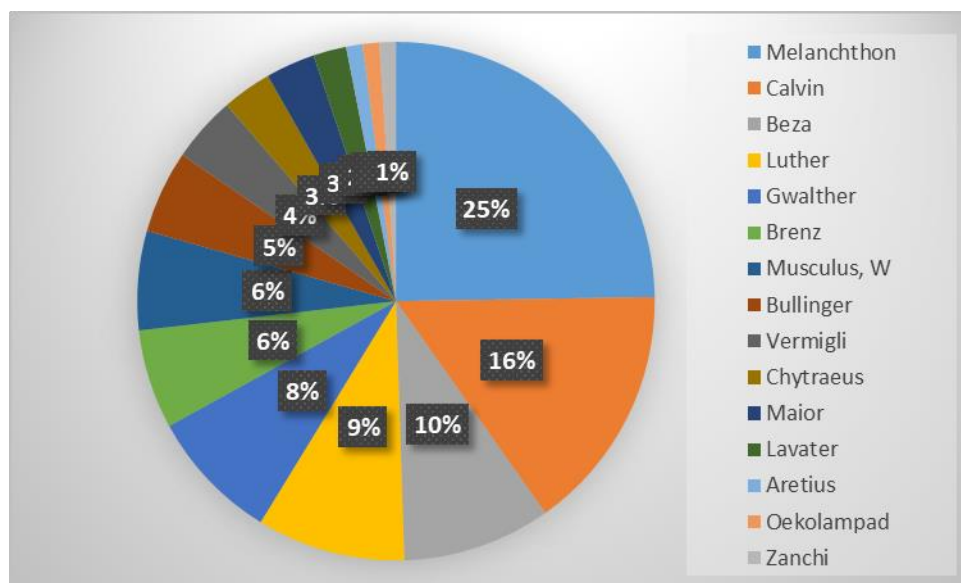
Thus, Melancthon's collection of declamations and the early writings of Chyträus on church history were also taken into account.

Volumes, collections, authors – quantitative analysis

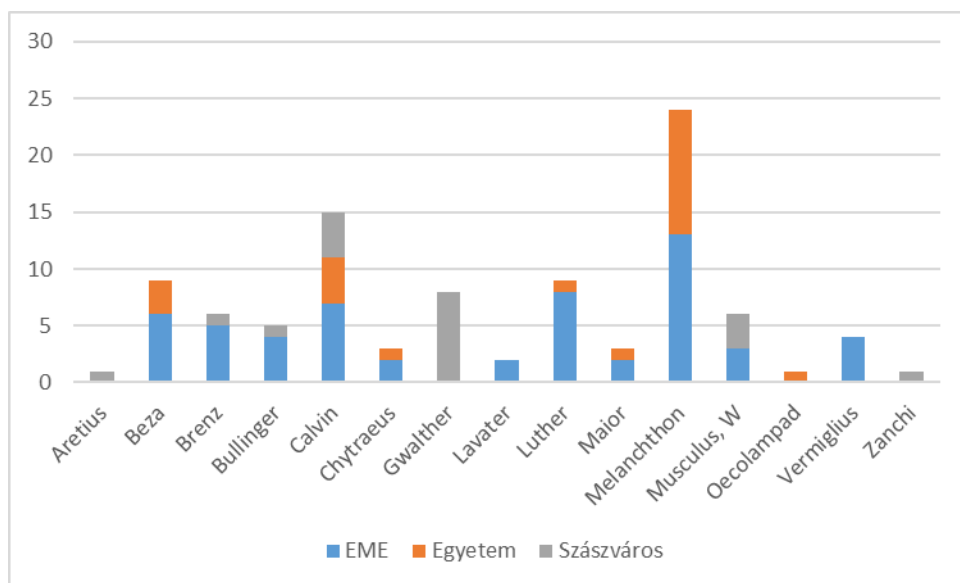
I have examined a total of 97 prints which compile 64 volumes. Of these, 56 came from the library of the Transylvanian Museum Association, 22 from the University's collection since 1872 to the present day (the latest datable acquisition is from 1964), and 19 from the collection of the Reformed College of Orăștie (Szászváros), five volumes are part of the so-called "old collection" listed in 1669.

Some disproportions become obvious as the materials are grouped by author. A large part of the 16th-century theological works in the collection are the writings of leading European

figures from the Reformation, namely those who are still present in the theological “canon” today: Melanchthon’s 25 works are followed by Calvin’s 15 writings, then Beze’s and Luther’s, 9 writings from each. The rest are organised as follows: Gwalther (eight), Brenz (six), Musculus (six), Bullinger (five), Vermigli (four), Chyträus (three), Maior (three), Lavater (two), Aretius (one), Oekolampad (one), Zanchi (one). See the diagram below.

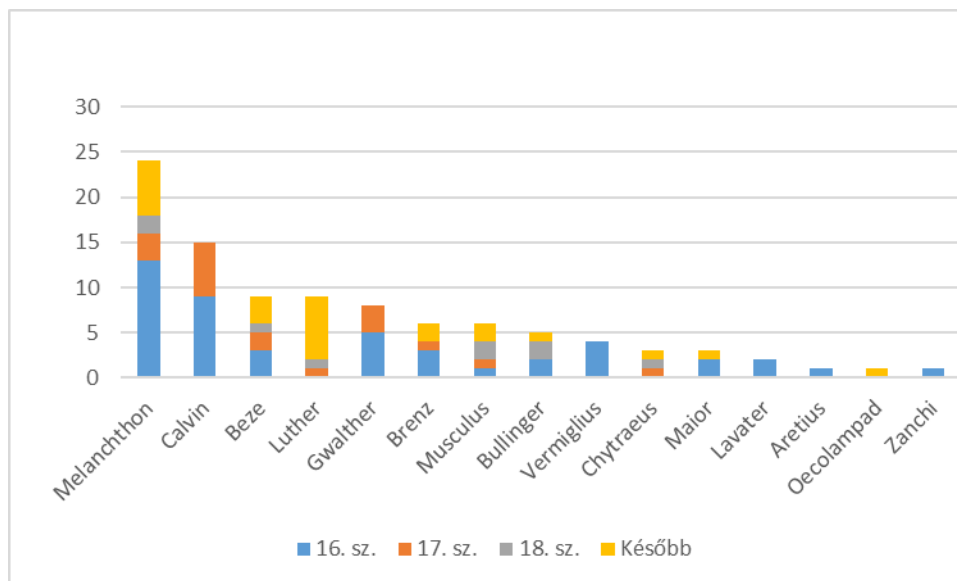


An analysis by stock part (see figure below) reveals further information. It is striking that the works of Gwalther, Aretius and Zanchi are from Orăștie only. They are the theologians who were no longer part of the Protestant/Reformed theological canon in the 19th-20th centuries, but were still quite popular during- the 17th century. Many of Melanchthon’s (11 out of 24), Calvin’s (4 out of 15) and Beza’s (3 out of 9) examined works come from the University Library. They still make part of the theological canon. It is surprising that out of 11 Melanchthon editions acquired by the university, nine were purchased by the University Library from antiquarian bookshops after 1950 (the examination of these acquisitions’ circumstances is important for institutional history: One of the most prestigious collections in the People’s Republic of Romania, which was dependent on the Soviet Union, paid between 250 and 2000 lei for theological publications).



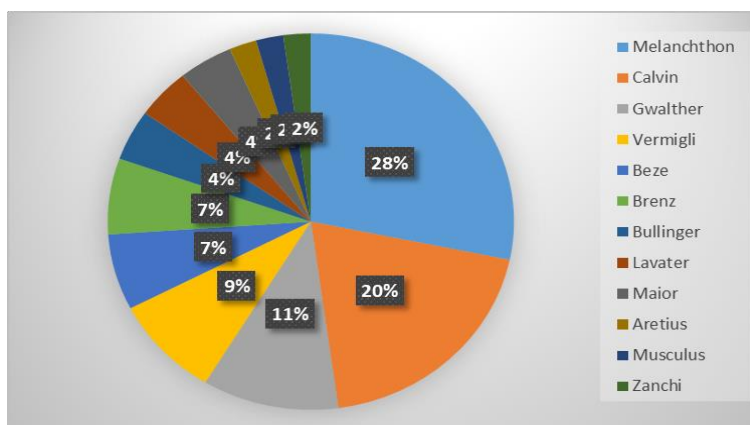
We tried to establish when they belonged to a Hungarian or to historical Hungary by identifying the owners of the volumes. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the librarians of the Transylvanian Museum Association (including eminent figures such as Farkas Gyalui) dismantled many colligates to make them easier to organise, as was required at the time. This fact made our research more difficult. Some were reassembled, others were put in paper boxes. Thus, the binding plates, the flyleaves and closing leaves, which contained highly valuable inscriptions, were destroyed. Unfortunately, there is no record of the publications which used to make up a single volume. The owners usually wrote their names on the front page of the colligates' first piece. Twelve of these (unbound or reassembled) prints have been found, 11 from the collection of the Transylvanian Museum Association and one from the University collection. Only two of them (owing to the perfectly matched raised bands) have been confirmed to belong together.

Based on the available possessor records, almost half of the 47 researched volumes arrived in the Carpathian Basin before 1601 (in fact, during the second half of the 16th century), 18 in the 17th century and nine in the 18th century. We managed to identify the first Hungarian owners of 24 prints dated after 1800. See the graph below for a breakdown by author and date of return.



The analysis above clearly shows that these works had been brought to Hungary in different periods and to different extents. Consequently, we should examine how the percentages of authors already existent in the Carpathian Basin before 1600 evolved.

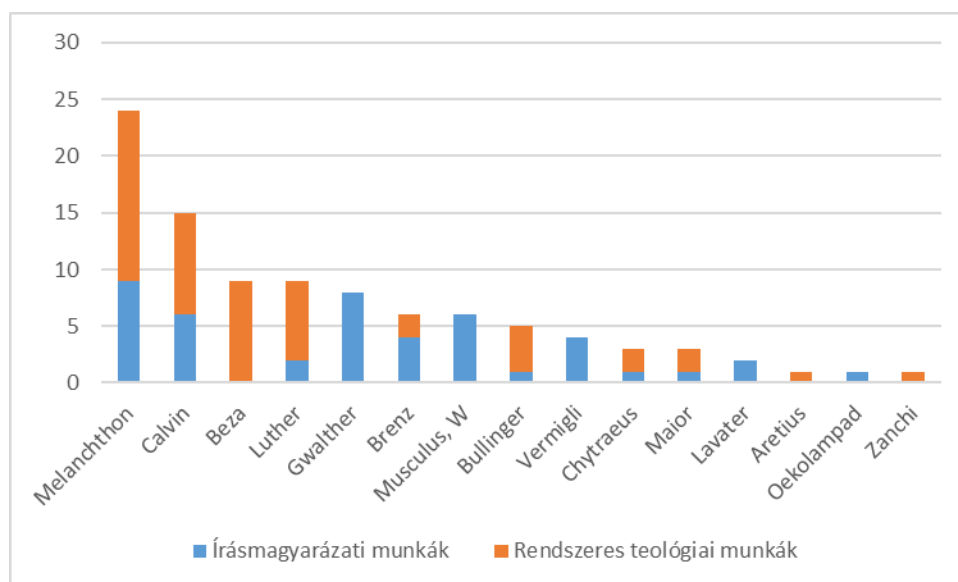
The order slightly varies: Melancthon stays on top with 13 prints, followed by Calvin with nine and Gwalther with five. The rest are as follows: Vermigli (four), Beza (three), Brenz (three), Bullinger (two), Lavater (two), Maior (two), Aretius (one), Zanchi (one) and Musculus (one). It is striking that compared to the present stocks, it cannot be proven that any of Luther's nine works have been in Hungary during the 16th century.



There are two main genres of Protestant theological literature from the 16th century: exegetical writings (biblical commentaries, collections of sermons following the order of biblical books or even the pericope) and systematic theological works (large-scale summary works, the *Loci communes*, collections of treatises and letters on smaller topics, etc.).

Grouping these volumes based on the criteria above, today's collection contains 52 systematic theological works and 45 works of biblical commentary.

If we examine each author, unlike in school libraries, the systematic theological works of all the theologians except Gwalther, Brenz, Musculus, Vermigli, Lavater and Oekolampad amount to a greater percentage in this university collection, with rather heterogeneous origins, but very rich. See the diagram below.



Owners, ownership

In our analysis above, we mentioned that almost half of the examined stocks (48.45%, 47 prints) had already been in the Carpathian Basin in the 16th century. This is the highest percentage found among the collections examined so far; the percentages vary from 41-42% in the Reformed Colleges of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy) and the Unitarian College of Cristuru Secuiesc (Székelykeresztúr), 32% in the Bethlen College of Aiud (Nagyenyed), and only 25% in the collection of the Reformed College of Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely).

Most of the 16th century owners were either Transylvanian or Hungarian, studying in Wittenberg.

The earliest acquisitions are three Melanchthon volumes, all of them connected to Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz). According to the supralibros, Nikolaus Honnius, born in Lechința (Lekence, Lechnitz), rector of the Lutheran school in Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz) from 1550 and later pastor and dean of Vermeș (Vermes, Wermesch)⁵ (from 1554 until his death in 1574), may have received in 1548 the colligates of two works from the Praeceptor Germaniae in Wittenberg.⁶ The identity of the donor is uncertain. It might have been Ferenc Dávid, who studied in Wittenberg (1548) and was a fellow student of Honnius in Brașov (Brassó, Kronstadt). He later succeeded him as rector in Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz).⁷

In 1555, Andreas Marci, born in Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz) – the school's rector in his hometown and physician on his return from Padua⁸ – had the bound collection of Melanchthon's declamations.⁹ In 1557, Joachim Teutsch, later pastor of Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz),¹⁰ probably got the 1552 edition of the *Loci praecipui theologici* in Wittenberg.¹¹

The volumes of Honnius and Teutsch were passed to the latter's son, Adam Teutsch, at the end of the century.

The majority of the 16th-century Saxon acquisitions found in the collection under scrutiny have been bound in Wittenberg. We were able to identify one book purchase in Tübingen and one in Frankfurt am Oder. Most of the works, however, belong to theologians from the Swiss Reformation.

Peter Kruch, later a preacher in Mediaș (Medgyes, Medwisch),¹² bought the colligates of Vermigli's two commentaries on the Old Testament¹³ while he studied in Wittenberg in

⁵ Ernst Wagner, *Die Pfarrer und Lehrer der Evangelischen Kirche A. B. in Siebenbürgen* (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Bhlau Verlag: 1998), 403.

⁶ Philipp Melanchthon, *Commentarius de anima* (Vitebergae: Johannes Lufft, 1548) – VD16 ZV 20976 + Idem, *Philosophaise moralis epitomen* (Argentorati: Crato Mylius, 1546) – VD16 M 3964. Call number: Rare 197+196.

⁷ Balázs Mihály, "Dávid Ferenc életútja," *Keresztény Magvető* 114, no. 2 (2008): 174, 178.

⁸ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 1050.

⁹ Philipp Melanchthon, *Selectarum declamationum* (Argentorati: Blasius Fabritius, 1555) – VD16 M 3562. Call number: Rare 474.

¹⁰ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 810.

¹¹ Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci praecipui theologici* (Lipsiae: Valentinus Papae, 1552) – VD16 M 3653. Call number: Rare 202.

¹² Peter Kruch was enrolled in school in Brașov (Brassó, Kronstadt) in 1568, peregrinated in Wittenberg (1572), and was a preacher in Mediaș (Medgyes, Medwisch) (from 1572) (Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 492).

¹³ Pietro Martire Vermigli, *Melachim id est...* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froshoverus, 1571 – VD16 B 3053 + Idem: *In duos libros Samuelis* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froshoverus, 1567) – VD16 B 3051. Call number: Patrimoniu 376765.

1572. In 1578, Valentin Rösler¹⁴ from Reghin (Szászrégen, Sächsisch-Regen) had Lavater's commentaries on the *Books of Ezekiel and Joshua* bound together with Martin Borrhaus's commentary on Isaiah and Johann Wolf's commentary on Nehemiah.¹⁵ The following year, Peter Balmann¹⁶ from Șaroș pe Târnave (Szászsáros, Scharosch an der Kokel) purchased from Tübingen a colligate of Musculus's *Loci communes*, Calvin's commentary on Joshua and Bullinger's commentary on the Book of Revelations.¹⁷

In 1580, Lazar Fabritius¹⁸ from Așel (Ecel, Hetzeldorf) bought Johann Brenz's report on the holy communion-debate between the theologians of Pfalz and Württemberg (1566). The author defended the Württemberg ("Lutheran") position.¹⁹ The book was likely acquired from Wittenberg.

Georg Pomarius, who studied in Wittenberg (1580) and became chaplain in Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz) and pastor Vermeș (Vermes, Wermesch),²⁰ purchased Georg Maior's work on the Holy Communion²¹ and the colligates of the three treatises of Calvin and Beza²² at an unknown date.

¹⁴ Later, he was rector in Nagyekemező (Târnava, Gross-Probstdorf) (from 1580), and then pastor in Turnișor (Kistorony, Neppendorf) (between 1582 and until his death in 1596) (Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 662–663).

¹⁵ Martin Borrhaus: *In Iesaiæ prophetae oracula* (Basileae: Johannes Oporinus, 1561 – VD16 B 6738 + Ludwig Lavater, *Propheta Ezechiel homiliis seu commentariis expositus*, ([Genevae]: Johannes Crispinus, 1571 – GLN-1802 + Idem, *In librum Iosue homiliae*, (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1576 – VD16 B 3037 + Johannes Wolf, *Nehemias...* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1570) – VD16 B 3068. Call number: Patrimoniu 289901–4.

¹⁶ Later, he was pastor in Topârcea (Toporcsa, Tschappertsch) (from 1593), Ludoș (Nagylyudas, Grosslogdes) (from 1599) and Apoldu de Jos (Kisapold, Kleinpold) (between 1601 and 1620) (Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 96).

¹⁷ Wolfgang Musculus, *Loci communes sacrae theologiae...* (Basileae: Eusebius Episcopus, 1573) – VD16 M 7295 + Jean Calvin, *In Historiam Iosuae commentarius, editio secunda* (Genevae: Petrus Santandreas, 1575 – GLN-853 + Heinrich Bullinger, *In Apocalypsim ...* (Basileae: Samuel Regius, 1570) – VD16 B 9637. Call number: Patrimoniu 01567–01568.

¹⁸ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 963.

¹⁹ Johann Brenz, *Protocollum hoc est, acta colloquii inter Palatinos et Wirtebergicos theologos, de ubiuitate ...* (Heidelbergae: Michael Schirat, 1566) – VD16 B 7855. Patrimoniu 01036.

²⁰ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 621.

²¹ Georg Maior, *Refutatio horrendae prophanationis Coenae Domini*, (Witebergae: Vitus Creutzer, 1555) – VD16 M 2157. Call number: Patrimoniu 47634.

²² Jean Calvin, *Ultima admonitio ad Joachimum Westphalum*, ([Genevae]: Johannes Crispinus, 1557) – GLN-390 + Jean Calvin, *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione*, (Genevae: Johannes Crispinus, 1552) – GLN-230 + Théodore de Bèze, *Responsio ad Francisci Baldvini Ecebolii apostatae convicia, editio posterior* (Genevae: [Johannes Crispinus], 1565) – GLN-708. Call number: Rare 203+211+220.

Michael Bütner (Binder), later pastor of Szászújfalú (Nou, Neudorf/Hermannstadt) (? - until his death in 1593), was also studying in Wittenberg in 1580.²³ He probably got his edition of Calvin's *Institutio* during his university studies as well.²⁴

In 1591, Jacob Mellenberger of Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt) (deceased in 1594)²⁵ acquired his edition of Calvin's *Institutio* during his studies in Frankfurt am Oder.²⁶ In 1595, Andreas Zumpolius from Sebeş (Szászsebes, Mühlbach), also a student in Frankfurt am Oder, had Benedictus Aretius's *Loci communes* bound together with a collection of writings by Girolamo Zanchi.²⁷ After Zumpolius's death in 1596,²⁸ the volume was given to Leonard Hermann, another Transylvanian student at the University of Frankfurt am Oder.

A few *domidoctus* Transylvanian Saxon possessors have also been identified. From the library of Lazar Reisdorf, pastor of Şeica Mică (Kisselyk, Kleinschelken) (1554 onwards), Brateiu (Baráthely, Pretai) (1559 onwards) and Aţel (Ecel, Hetzeldorf) (from 1565 until his death in 1604), dean of Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schässburg),²⁹ we have the commentary on the books of the twelve minor prophets by Gwalther.³⁰ The volume later passed to Zacharias Weyrauch (1551–1621), a Saxon bishop (between 1614 and 1621).³¹

The second bishop after Weyrauch (1627-1646), Georg Theilesius (1580-1646)³², must have come by the colligate of Vermigli's commentaries on the Books of Judges and Kings around the turn of the century.³³

The earliest book acquisitions of the Hungarian-speaking Wittenberg peregrines date back to the sixties of the 16th century. In 1560, during his studies in Wittenberg,³⁴ Miklós

²³ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 130.

²⁴ Jean Calvin, *Institutio religionis christianae* (Lausanne: Franciscus le Preux, 1577) – GLN-876. Call number: Patrimoniu 174647.

²⁵ Enrolled at the University of Frankfurt (Oder) in 1589, he died in 1594 as a teacher in Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt). (Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 1055).

²⁶ Jean Calvin, *Institutio religionis christianae* (Genevae: Eustathius Vignon et Johannes le Preux, 1585) – GLN-997. Call number: Patrimoniu 40253.

²⁷ Benedictus Aretius, *SS. Theologiae problemata, seu loci communes, et miscellaneae quaestiones* (Genevae: Johannes le Preux, 1589) – GLN-3354 + Girolamo Zanchi, *Miscellaneorum libri tres* (Neapoli Palatinorum: Matthaeus Harnisch, 1582) – VD16 Z 78. Call number: Patrimoniu 01571.

²⁸ Szabó Miklós and Tonk Sándor, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1992), 98.

²⁹ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 638.

³⁰ Rudolf Gwalther, *In prophetas duodecim, quos vocant minores ... homiliae* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1572) – VD16 W 1112. Call number: Patrimoniu 01561.

³¹ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 880.

³² Pietro Martire Vermigli, *Melachim id est...* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1571 – VD16 B 3041 + Idem: *In duos libros Samuelis* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1571) – VD16 B 3055. Call number: Patrimoniu 0690–0691.

³³ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 3365.

Miskolci bought Melancthon's *Corpus doctrinae christianae*.³⁵ The volume was purchased on 2 June 1575 by Ferenc Zlathj for one and a half florins, then passed on to a certain Gáspár Udvarhelyi from the Sárospatak College.³⁶ In 1564, Benedek Batizi, pastor of Seini (Szinérváralja) and Jánk,³⁷ got the colligates of Calvin's two commentaries on the New Testament.³⁸

Máté Szegedi, a former student of Sárospatak, came to own a collection of Beza's treatises in Wittenberg,³⁹ 1575.⁴⁰ In 1578, József Batizi, later pastor of Heves (1579–1580) and Cserépfalu (1582)⁴¹, acquired the colligate of Rudolf Gwalther's sermon volumes explaining the Pauline epistles⁴² during his studies in the "capital" of Reformation. Bálint Szárnyas Vári, later dean of Bereg, had Calvin's commentary on the books of the twelve minor prophets⁴³ bound in Tübingen⁴⁴ in 1583.

³⁴ Apart from his studies, we have no information about him (Szabó András, *Coetus Ungaricus. A wittenbergi magyar diáktársaság 1555–1613* (Bp.: Balassi, 2017), 193).

³⁵ Philipp Melancthon, *Corpus doctrinae christianae* (Lipsiae: Ernestus Vögelin, 1560) – VD16 M 2883. Call number: CV 2188.

³⁶ For more on the volume, see: Ósz Sándor Előd, „Két könyvbejegyzés a Sárospataki Református Kollégium 16. századi történetéből” „...Tanácsaid hűség és igazság”. *Tisztelgő írások Dienes Dénes professzor úr 65. születésnapjára*. Ed. Csorba Dávid and Szatmári Emília (Budapest–Sárospatak: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Egyház és Társadalom Kutatóintézetének Reformáció Öröksége Műhelye, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Hittudományi Kar Egyháztörténeti Kutatóintézet, Tiszáninneni Református Egyházkerület, 2021), 113–126.

³⁷ Szabó, *Coetus*, 123.

³⁸ Jean Calvin, *Harmonia ex tribus Euangelistis composita adiuncto seorsum Iohanne* (Genevae: Robertus Stephanus, 1560) – GLN-451 + Idem, *In omnes Pauli Epistolas atque in Epistolam ad Hebraeos...* ([Genevae]: Robertus Stephanus, 1556) – GLN-362. Call number: Patrimoniu 01556.

³⁹ His fate after his peregrination is unknown (Szabó, *Coetus*, 231).

⁴⁰ Théodore de Bèze, *Volumen tractationum theologicarum* (Genevae: Johannes Crispinus, 1570) – GLN-1771 + Idem, *Volumen alterum tractationum theologicarum* (Genevae: Eustathius Vignon, 1573) – GLN-2455. Call number: Patrimoniu 376399–376400.

⁴¹ Szabó, *Coetus*, 96.

⁴² Rudolf Gwalther, *In D. Pauli Apostoli epistolam ad Romanos homiliae* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1572) – VD16 W 1086 + Idem, *In priorem D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios epistolam homiliae* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1578) – VD16 W 1103 + Idem: *In posteriorem D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios epistolam homiliae* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1578) – VD16 W 1107 + Idem, *In D. Pauli Apostoli epistolam ad Galatas homiliae LXI* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1576) – VD16 W 1082. Call number: Patrimoniu 01562–01565.

⁴³ Jean Calvin, *Praelectiones in duodecim prophetas (quos vocant) minores* (Genevae: Johannes Crispinus: 1567) – GLN-784. Call number: Patrimoniu 01955.

⁴⁴ Szabó András, *Johann Jacob Grynaeus magyar kapcsolatai* (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1989), 186.

On 20 June 1585, during his second stay in Wittenberg,⁴⁵ Péter Csókás Laskói, rector of Târgu Mures (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt) (1580) and pastor of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg) (1586-1587), purchased Beza's *Icones*, which was bound together with Jean Crespin's *Actiones et monimenta martyrum*, one of the founding works of Reformed martyrology.⁴⁶ Not far from Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg), in Şard (Sárd), there was Mátyás Gyulai Búza, who had Melanchthon's work on the doctrines of faith bound⁴⁹ during the first year of his studies in Wittenberg (1585-1587).⁴⁷

The acquisition list also includes the colligate of Melanchthon's and Bugenhagen's commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans,⁴⁸ purchased in 1567 by Ádám Bolgár, pastor of the Bulgarian Protestant parish of Cergău (Cserged), (*Emptus liber d. 70. p[er] me Adamu[m] Bolgar Pastore[m] Eccl[es]iæ Chr[ist]i In nagnj[!] Chergwd Anno Dni 1567.*) Cergău Mare and Cergău Mic (Nagyrcserged and Kiscserged, Magyarcserved and Bolgárcserged after 1911) have both undergone interesting developments compared to the rest of the Transylvanian religious background. From the Middle Ages, both villages had a significant Bulgarian-speaking community, which converted to Protestantism during the Reformation. From the 17th century onwards, they were gradually Romanianized, and in 1945 the Bulgarian Church of Cergău Mic (Bolgárcserged) converted to Orthodoxy. Up to that point, they had held Lutheran services in three languages (German, Bulgarian and Romanian).⁴⁹ At the beginning of the 17th century, the two villages formed a parish. In Cergău Mare (Magyarcserved/Nagyrcserged), there was a significant Hungarian population in addition to the Bulgarians. Thus, in 1620, the community wished to become Reformed and asked for a Hungarian priest, receiving Mátyás Vízaknai.⁵⁰ The names of the former priests (including Ádám Bolgár, *Adamus Bulgarus*, *Poppa Adam Bulgaricus*) are mentioned in the report required for this case.⁵¹ In 1579, Matthias Bolgár was ordained to the church. He must have been the successor of Ádám.⁵²

⁴⁵ Szabó, *Coetus*, 269–271.

⁴⁶ Jean Crespin, *Actiones et monimenta martyrum* ([Genevae]: Johannes Crispinus, 1560) – GLN-1665 + Théodore de Bèze, *Icones...* (Genevae: Johannes Laonius, 1580) – GLN-2773. Call number: Patrimoniu 286702–286703.

⁴⁷ Szabó, *Coetus*, 150–151.

⁴⁸ Philipp Melanchthon, *Commentarii in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* (Vitebergae: Josephus Clug, 1532) – VD16 M 2741 + Johannes Bugenhagen, *In D. Pauli ad Romanos Epistolam* (Haganoae: Johannes Secerius, 1531) –VD16 B 9242. Call number: Rare 494–495.

⁴⁹ On the history of the communities, see: Bándi András, “Az erdélyi bolgár evangélikus egyházközségek,” *Certamen VII. Előadások a Magyar Tudomány Napján az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület I. Szakosztályában*, ed. Egyed Emese, Pakó László and Sófalvi Emese (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2020), 409–417.

⁵⁰ *Erdélyi református zsinatok iratai I. 1599–1715*, ed. Buzogány Dezső, Dáné Veronka, Kolombán Vilmos József, Ósz Sándor Előd and Sipos Gábor (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2016), 58.

⁵¹ Bándi, *Bolgár*, 410–411.

⁵² The archives from the Consistory of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Transylvania are in the custody of the Sibiu County Department of National Archives. *Matricula ordinatorum 1573–1753*. p. 98. I wish to express my gratitude to Ms. Jutta Tontsch for the data.

Ádám Bolgár had written the following list of names on the flyleaf of the aforementioned volume: *Sara defuncta / Sebesiné Christina, Borsainé Ersók, Borsai Péter, Sebesi Miklós, Hajdú Györgi*. Based on the first name, it might be a record of some parishioners deceased during his service; if so, we are dealing with a fragment of a mid-16th century register. Nevertheless, the names confirm the presence of a Hungarian population. On the volume's first plate, there are a fragment of medieval liturgical hymn (*Peccavimus Dni cu[m] patribus Nostris / Injuste egimus iniquitate[m] fecimus.*) and some financial notes in Hungarian (*4 pénz ára kenyér / 3 pénz ára hús / 6 pénz ára bor.*). On the flyleaf there was a Cyrillic text in Bulgarian and Romanian and on the back plate the Cyrillic alphabet, both surely written by Ádám Bolgár. The volume mentioned is perhaps the earliest evidence of Protestant church life in this peculiar Bulgarian-Hungarian-Saxon community.

The list of 17th-century volumes in the collection begins with two secular pieces of data. On folio 29 of the 1540 edition of Melanchthon's *De officio principum*,⁵³ there is inscribed the following text: *Anno dom[in]i 1606 die 16 octobris Iter coepit do[mi]nus Jacobus L[itte]ratus Aythoni ex Ser[enissi]mi do[mi]ni Principis iussu ad Nandor Alba[m]*. The scribe Jakab Ajtoni (dead before 1622) was tricesimation (thirtieth customs) officer of Lipova (Lippa) (1601-1603, 1605, 1607-1608) and Oarda (Váradja) (1604-1605, 1612), judge of Alba Iulia' court (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg) (1605), prefect of the Oarda (Váradja) port (1607-1612, 1620), salt chamber steward of Turda (Torda, Thorenburg) (1608, 1613-1614, 1620) and Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna, Salzburg) (1610-1614, 1619-1620).⁵⁴ The entry (written by himself or one of his immediate collaborators) is remarkable, hinting that the Praeceptor's Mirrors for princes (*specula principum*) was used in the court of Stephen Bocskai from Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg) or in its wider surroundings.

The 1585 edition of Calvin's *Institutio*⁵⁵ came into the possession of László Cseffei (1592–1662) in 1627, probably before he went abroad. From 1613, Cseffei was in Gabriel Bethlen's service, and from 1627 he travelled with Péter Bethlen to Leiden, Brussels, England, France and Italy. From 1629 until his death, he was lord lieutenant (*supremus comes*) of the Belső-Szolnok (Inner-Szolnok) County; from 1633 until 1659 he was the master in sentencing.⁵⁶ Two prominent figures from Gabriel Bethlen's era and entourage also appear among our book owners. Benedek P. Bihari, rector of the reformed school in Kolozsvár (Cluj), once student with

⁵³ Philipp Melanchthon, *De officio principum* (Vitebergae: Josephus Clug, 1540) – VD16 M 3971. Call number: CV 7603.

⁵⁴ *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1600–1613*, ed. Gálfi Emőke, (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2016), 142; Idem, "Bethlen Gábor hitelezője, Ajtonyi Jakab deák," *A magyar arisztokrácia társadalmi sokszínűsége, változó értékek és életviszonyok*. Ed. Papp Klára and Püski Levente (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Történeti Intézete, 2013), 115–126.

⁵⁵ See note 27.

⁵⁶ Monok István, "Cseffei László," *Századok* 122, no. 4 (1988): 622–648.

the princely alumni in Heidelberg and Wittenberg (1622-?),⁵⁷ acquired Calvin's *Institutio* in 1624.⁵⁸ Lőrinc Vaska Brassai (Coronaeus), pastor of Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) (?-1627) and later court chaplain in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg)⁵⁹ (1628-1629-?) came to own Vermigli's commentary-colligate.⁶⁰ In 1648, Benedek Bihari's *Institutio* was in the possession of János, the eldest son of Albert Szenci Molnár.

The other Transylvanian Reformed possessors appear in the middle or second half of the century. The Beza colligate,⁶¹ which is connected to Péter Csókás Laskói's name, was bought for one florin and 25 denarii in 1648 by István Clymathineus [?] Margitai, pastor of several congregations of the Szék (Sic) deanery and the deanerian notary (1628, 1640-1650).⁶² It was later passed from him to András Zilahi (who died in 1719), professor of Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg) and Târgu-Mureş (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt),⁶³ who, as a student of the Reformed College of Cluj, donated it to Mihály Szemerjai, pastor of Izvoru Crişului (Körösfő) in 1696. The Gwalther-colligate, which once belonged to József Batizi, was also used in the college from Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg).⁶⁴ Márton Ölyvesi acquired it in 1687. After that, it became the property of Márton Bánffyhungyadi Abacs, later pastor of Turda-Veche (Ótorda, Thorenburg) and dean of Aiud (Nagyenyed, Strassburg am Mieresch).⁶⁵

⁵⁷ As an alumnus of Gabriel Bethlen, he studied in Heidelberg (1620) and Wittenberg (1621), see Herepei János, *Adattár XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*. (Bp.–Szeged, 1965), 143–145.

⁵⁸ Jean Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis* (Lausanne: Franciscus le Preux, 1576) – GLN-862. Call number: Patrimoniu 101870.

⁵⁹ Herepei, *Adattár*, 99–100.

⁶⁰ See note 14.

⁶¹ See note 47.

⁶² In 1623, he was a pastor in one of the congregations of the deanery of Szék, then in Uriu (Felőr) (1628), Unguraş (Bálványosváralja) (1636) and Buza (Búza) (1640). He was a deanerian notary (1628, 1640-1650) In 1653, he was still serving in the Szék deanery. Ősz Sándor Előd, *A Széki Református Egyházmegye történeti névtára*, (Kolozsvár, 2015, manuscript, 109.)

⁶³ Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 207.

⁶⁴ See note 43.

⁶⁵ Márton Ölyvesi studied from 1680 in Reformed College Cluj (Kolozsvár), became a court tutor and later a pastor (Kolozsvári József, *Litteris et pietati sacrum. Adalékok a Kolozsvári Református Kollégium történetéhez III.* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2016), nr. 404.). Márton Bánffyhungyadi Abacs (senior) studied around 1685 in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and at the University of Franeker (1694-1696). He was a pastor in Colţeşti (Torockószentgyörgy) (1702), Sâncrai (Enyedszentkirály) (until 1710) and Turda-Veche (Ótorda, Thorenburg) (between 1710 and 1737). He was dean from 1728 until his death (Ősz Sándor Előd, *A nagyenyedi egyházmegye történeti névtára a kezdetektől 1800-ig* (Kolozsvár, 2016), manuscript, 42).

Lázár Vízaknai Utzás, pastor of Bucerdea Grânoasă (Búzásbocsárd),⁶⁶ purchased the colligate of works by Musculus, Calvin and Bullinger in 1679.⁶⁷ István Zilahi,⁶⁸ the second translator of Calvin's Catechism, came by Gwalter's commentary on Isaiah in 1691, Târgu-Mures (Marosvásárhely, Neummarkt).⁶⁹

Throughout the collection, we found many prints that, during the 17th century, were found in pastor's libraries from Partium or Upper Hungary, and were then moved to Transylvania together with their travelling owners. The collection of Beza's treatises⁷⁰ has had quite an adventurous journey. In 1655, it became the possession of Gáspár Miskolci Csulyak, the translator of the first Hungarian zoology book, when he was returning from his studies abroad. He fled to Transylvania in 1690 and probably brought the volume along.⁷¹ After his death, the book passed down to his son, Ferenc, who in 1699, as an apprentice printer of Miklós Tótfalusi Kis in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg),⁷² passed it on to a student of the Reformed College, Mihály Udvarhelyi. After his voyage to Franeker, Udvarhelyi became professor in Sighetu Marmăției (Máramarossziget) (1707-1728) and in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) (from 1728 until his death in 1737).⁷³

⁶⁶ Lázár Vízaknai U. studied in Aiud (Nagyenyed) from 1669. He was rector in Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna, Salzburg) (1670), pastor in Bucerdea Grânoasă (Búzásbocsárd) (1679-1680) and Sâncrai (Enyedszentkirály) (1689) (*Ősz, A nagyenyedi*, 71).

⁶⁷ See note 18.

⁶⁸ István Zilahi (1650-1704) studied from 1668 in Reformed College Aiud (Nagyenyed) and in Utrecht (1678) and Leiden (1679-1681), served as a pastor in Vințu de Jos (Alvinc, Unterwinz) (1680-1691), in Târgu-Mures (Marosvásárhely) (1691-1697) and in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg) (1700-1704). (*Ősz Sándor Előd, "Adatok a Genfi Káté 1695-ben kiadott magyar fordításához," Kálvin János, A Genfi Egyház Kátéja* (Nagyvárad: 2014), 127–131).

⁶⁹ Rudolf Gwalther, *Isaias. In Isaiam prophetam Homiliae*, (Tiguri: Johannes Wolphius, 1594) – VD16 W 1116. No call number.

⁷⁰ See note 41.

⁷¹ Gáspár Miskolci Csulyak (1627-1696) studied from 1648 in Sárospatak, and peregrinated in Utrecht (1651-1653) and Franeker (1653). He was a pastor in Ónód (?-1658-1668?), Bodrogkeresztúr (1668-1678), Șimleu Silvaniei (Szilágysomlyó) (1678-1685), and then in Baia Mare (Nagybánya, Frauenbach) (around 1689). He fled to Transylvania. He was a pastor in Gornești (Gernyeszeg) (from 1692), Ighiu (Magyarigen) (1692-1695) and Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely) (1695-1696) (Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 619).

⁷² Son of Ferenc Miskolci Csulyak (around 1675-1740), Gáspár, studied printing in Debrecen, Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) (1697-1702) and Levoča (Lőcse) (around 1702); in 1711 he was a worker at and later the director of the printing house in Debrecen. From 1720 he was town senator (*Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon II*, ed. Kenyeres Ágnes (Bp.: Akadémiai, 1982), 221).

⁷³ Balogh Béla, *A máramarosszigeti református líceum története* (Debrecen: Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerületi és Kollégiumi Levéltár, 2013), 162.

In 1689, Musculus's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew⁷⁴ was given to Sámuel Huszti Lovász, a priest from Huszt (Хуцт),⁷⁵ and afterwards to József Deáki Filep, a Reformed bishop in Transylvania.

There is a significant number of Transylvanian Saxons among the 17th century book owners, although their proportion is much smaller than in the 16th century. The colligates wich contain the polemics written by Beza and Antoine de la Roche Chandieu against Johann Brenz and Claude de Saintes, along with the polemics of Saintes and Gabriel Fabricius attacking Beza⁷⁶ make up a noteworthy volume. The first known owner was Thomas Böhm from Sebeş (Szászsebes, Mühlbach), who became the pastor of Apoldu de Jos (Kisapold, Kleinpold) (1620-1634) after serving as rector in his hometown.⁷⁷ The volume was passed from him to Thomas Regner (1634-?), a chaplain from Bradu (Fenyőfalva, Gierelsau), and then to Georg Schulz, also a pastor from Bradu (Fenyőfalva, Gierelsau) (from 1714 until his death in 1719).⁷⁸

Georg Schlemmchen (Scaevola)⁷⁹ received Gwalter's commentary on the Book of the twelve minor prophets while he was serving as a preacher in Sebeş (Szászsebes, Mühlbach).⁸⁰ Bartholomäus Bausner (1629-1682), a Transylvanian Saxon bishop (1679-1682), got the publication of Calvin's collection of letters⁸¹ in 1664 when he was pastor in Richiş (Riomfalva, Reichesdorf).⁸² Johann Krempes from Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) probably acquired Melancthon's *Corpus doctiae christianae*⁸³ during his studies in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg), which begun in 1676.⁸⁴

⁷⁴ Wolphgang Musculus, *In evangelistam Matthaeum* (Basileae: Eusebius Episcopus, 1568) – VD16 M 7286. Call number: CV 1728.

⁷⁵ Sámuel Huszti Lovász (1660-1725) studied in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), was rector in Huszt (Хуцт), peregrinated in Franeker (1683) and Leiden (1683-1685), was a pastor in the court of Mihály Teleki and in Huszt (Хуцт) (1688-1725), and was dean of Maramureş (Máramaros) between 1705 and 1721 (Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 2425).

⁷⁶ Théodore de Bèze, *Ad D. Jo. Brentii argumenta...* (Genevae: Johannes Crispinus, 1565) – GLN-1704 + Idem, *Apologia ad libellum Claudii de Xaintes*, (Genevae: Johannes Crispinus, 1567) – GLN-1730 + [Antoine de Chandieu], *Refutatio libelli quam Claudius de Sinctes...* (Genevae: Johannes Crispinus, 1567) – GLN-1731 + Claude de Saintes, *Responsio ad apologiam Theodori Bezae* (Parisiis: Claude Frémy, 1567) – USTC 140503 + Gabriel Fabricius, *Resposio ad Bezam...* (Parisiis: Claude Frémy, 1567 – USTC 140504. Call number: Patrimoniu 299834–38.

⁷⁷ Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 1396.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 2872, 3179.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3069.

⁸⁰ See note 31.

⁸¹ Jean Calvin, *Epistolarum et responsorum editio secunda* (Lausanne: Franciscus le Preux, 1576) – GLN-861. Call number: Patrimoniu 36145.

⁸² Wagner, *Pfarrer*, 1270.

⁸³ Ibid., 2427.

⁸⁴ See note 36.

Interestingly, there were hardly any Unitarian possessors in the examined material. The library of Valentinus Radecius (who died in 1632), a Unitarian pastor and bishop (1616-1632)⁸⁵ who fled from Poland to Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), once included a collection of sermons by Johann Brenz explaining the Gospel of Luke.⁸⁶ During the 17th century, the volume belonged to a pastor in Rimetea (Torockó), who wrote the following complaint on folio 417: *Szinte igy kellene Torozkorol az vasarnapi árosokat, ember megh czalokat ki verni, kik az I[ste]nnek Innepét fel fordittiak ala s fel koriczálnak, mint az czegezi kufarokis, kiknek soha nincz Innepek etc.* [The Sunday merchants and cheats alike should be beaten out of Torockó, as they dishonour God's holy day, walking up and down, just like traders from Csegez, who know no rest, etc.]

By the 18th century, the range of owners became much smaller and less diverse. Except for several Saxon Lutheran pastors, noblemen and members of the gentry, they are all Reformed pastors or teachers.

Among the identifiable owners, there is only one who is not Transylvanian. Pál Gyöngyösi (1668-1743) became a student in Debrecen in 1690 and learned at several universities in Germany and England. He enrolled in Franeker (1697), was ordained in Oxford, became pastor in Derecske (1702-?) and got expelled from the Tiszántúli Church District. He was rector (1711-1712), then pastor again (1712-1725) in Košice (Kassa, Kaschau). He was sentenced to death for conspiracy against the Emperor, and then exiled. He fled to Frankfurt am Oder and became professor at the university until his death (1727-1743).⁸⁷ During his service in Košice (Kassa, Kaschau), in 1719, he got a copy of Brenz's commentaries, along with Melchior Kling's work on marriage law, which previously belonged to Lutheran pastors in Upper Hungary (Felső Magyarország).⁸⁸

Georg Maior's essay on the Holy Communion⁸⁹ bears the inscription of Daniel Cornides (1732-1787), professor of history in Pest (1784-1787). The volume had been previously owned by Transylvanian Saxon pastors, and Cornides probably acquired it during his years of service at the Reformed College in Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) (1761-1778).⁹⁰

Several 18th century owners must be also highlighted. A significant part of György Kiséri's library, rector of Târgu-Mures (Marosvásárhely) and later of Făgăraş (Fogaras,

⁸⁵ *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon II*, ed. Péter László (Bp., Akadémiai, 2000), 1676.

⁸⁶ Johann Brenz, *In evangelii secundum Lucam ... homiliae*, (Francofurti: Petrus Braubachius, 1543) – VD16 B 7732. Call number: CV 2315.

⁸⁷ Zoványi Jenő, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon* (Bp.: Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1977), 229.

⁸⁸ Johann Brenz, *In Acta Apostolica homiliae* (Francofurti: Petrus Braubachius, 1561) – VD16 B 7692 + Idem, *In epistolam quam Apostolus Paulus ad Romanos scripsit...* (Francofurti: Petrus Braubachius, 1564) – VD16 B 7723 + Melchior Kling, *Matrimonialium causarum tractatus* (Francofurti: Christianus Egenophus, 1559) – VD16 K 1334. Call number: Patrimoniu 76196.

⁸⁹ See note 22.

⁹⁰ *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon I*. 290.

Fugreschmarkt),⁹¹ was transferred to the Reformed College of Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg). During our research, we discovered two prints from this collection: the former colligate of Bullinger's two treatises (and perhaps several other works).⁹² We also found two items from the library of Mihály Szatmári Pap (1737-1812), a professor and renowned book collector from Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg).⁹³ The family kept the Vermigli colligate⁹⁴ for three generations. It was acquired by his grandfather János, passed down to his father Zsigmond in 1719, and inherited by Mihály in 1760. He was the one to buy Beza's French-translated volume of sermons.⁹⁵

The relatively new and multi-sourced collection of Reformed works in the University Library of Cluj-Napoca faithfully reflects the path of the early modern theological works: nearly half of the stock was brought home (mostly from Wittenberg) in the 16th century, and, among the owners of that time, there is a similar number of Transylvanian Saxons and Hungarians from the Partium and Transylvania, the former in slightly larger proportions. Throughout the 17th century, these were the most important groups of owners as well, but now the group of the Transylvanian Reformed Hungarians is the largest, while Saxons' is smaller; from the 18th century onwards, almost exclusively Reformed owners appear in the volumes. This is a hint that the three major libraries which form the basis of today's collection gathered the works of 16th century Protestant theologians primarily from Reformed pastoral libraries. However, the low number of works of Unitarian origin is striking, especially in Cluj-Napoca, where this denomination was dominant for a long time over the early modern period.

⁹¹ Tonk Sándor, *A Marosvásárhelyi Református Kollégium diáksága 1653–1848* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1994), 32, 40–46.

⁹² Heinrich Bullinger, *Apologetica expositio...* (Tiguri: Andreas et Jacobus Gesnerus, 1556) – VD16 ZV 18629. Call number: Patrimoniu 72229 + Idem, *Repetitio et dilucidior explicatio...* (Tiguri: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1564) – VD16 B 9673. Call number: Patrimoniu 114675. The prints of the former volume were separated without any marks. During the present study, two pieces were found to have once belonged together when the spines were fitted together.

⁹³ Zoványi, *Lexikon*, 576–577.

⁹⁴ See note 14.

⁹⁵ Théodore de Bèze, *Sermons sur l'Histoire de la resurrection...* (Geneve: Jean le Preux, 1593) – GLN-3592. Call number: CV 7396.