

# A Transylvanian Puzzle

Reconstructing Medieval Culture from Manuscript Fragments

Catalogue of an exhibition held  
at the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca

by  
Adrian Papahagi



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Cluj-Napoca  
Presă Universitară Clujeană  
2022





ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ



# FRAGMED

## UN PUZZLE TRANSILVAN

RECONSTITUIND CULTURA MEDIEVALĂ DIN FRAGMENTE DE CODICE



MINISTERUL CULTURII



### Project title:

FRAGMED – A Transylvanian puzzle: reconstructing medieval culture from manuscript fragments

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An excellent team of experts led by Alexandru Știrban at the National Unity Museum in Alba Iulia has carried out the restoration of the fragments and of their host books. Creased, cracked, torn and sometimes illegible wrappers became impressive leaves or bifolia thanks to Maria Zgârciu and Maria Cernea, the torn and worn host volumes were rebound handsomely in leather by Marius Anghel, and the fragments were digitised professionally by Monica Druță.

Silvia Tanasă made conservation boxes and folders for the restored books and manuscript fragments.

In order to secure the international visibility of our fragments, I contacted Christoph Flüeler and William Duba, who were running the Fragmentarium project at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. Thus, we became contributors to the most important project of studying and digitising medieval manuscript fragments worldwide, and the items described in this catalogue have also been published on [Fragmentarium.ms](http://Fragmentarium.ms).

The search for scattered fragments from the same manuscript (*membra disiecta*) has led me to Alba Iulia, Budapest and Győr. I enjoyed the friendly support of Adrian Cioroianu, director of the National Library of Romania, and of Cristian Mladin, head of the Batthyaneum Library. Tamás Kiss, head of the Diocesan Library, Győr, granted me access to the impressive Oradea Antiphonal. On several occasions, István Monok and Gábor Tóth made me feel welcome at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. I collaborated marvellously with Zsuzsa Czagány and Gabriella Gilányi from the Institute of Musicology in Budapest: we published articles together, supported each other with data and manuscript images, and became friends in the process. Xenia Jonica, archivist of the Franciscan Province of Transylvania has also been of assistance during my research.

A dynamic team led by Lavinia Filip produced the exhibition film (Lehel Dobondi) and this catalogue (Angéla Kalló).

My research assistants at the CODEX Centre, Carmen Oanea and Andrei Crișan, animated palaeography workshops for students and pupils during the exhibition. Lucreția Miu produced the parchment that was displayed during the exhibition.

Above all, the **FRAGMED** project was made possible by generous funding made available by the peoples of Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein, and administered by the Romanian Ministry of Culture within the Ro-Cultura programme. Our warmest thanks go to the involved institutions and management teams.

A. P.



# THE FRAGMED PROJECT: WHY AND HOW?

Most manuscripts produced or used in medieval Transylvania have been lost<sup>1</sup>. Less than two hundred medieval manuscripts survive, for the most part in Sibiu, but also scattered all over Romania, and in various European libraries. Roughly two thirds of the circa five hundred Western medieval manuscripts kept in Romanian libraries were acquired at the end of the eighteenth century by the Catholic bishop of Transylvania, Ignatius Batthyány<sup>2</sup>. Almost all medieval codices at the Academy Library of Cluj were purchased by the Romanian scholar Timotei Cipariu in the nineteenth century<sup>3</sup>. Manuscripts from the medieval diocese of Oradea survive only abroad<sup>4</sup>.

Given the scarcity of medieval manuscripts in our part of the world, every surviving fragment is precious evidence of a lost landscape of literacy and liturgy<sup>5</sup>. In Hungary and Slovakia, scholars have been cataloguing manuscript fragments for a long time. The catalogues of manuscript fragments published by a Hungarian team led over the past four decades by László Mezey, András Vizkelety and Edit Madas<sup>6</sup>, and the catalogues of musical manuscript fragments in Slovakia published single-handedly by Eva Veselovská<sup>7</sup> have been a source of inspiration. This work has also benefitted from the model of three exhibitions organised in Tübingen, Stuttgart and Fulda<sup>8</sup>, and from the insights of a conference on manuscript fragments held in Ravenna<sup>9</sup>.

In Romania we are treading on virgin territory: **FRAGMED** is the first systematic and comprehensive approach to medieval manuscript fragments in this country. In deciding to detach a series of parchment wrappers from their host books, we took a calculated risk. Most scholars insist that fragments should not be detached systematically, and some argue that they should not be detached at all. One expert considers that such an intervention should be avoided if the fragment is less relevant than the host book, and if it produces irreversible information loss<sup>10</sup>. Another scholar stresses the following paradox: detaching a fragment provides information



Fig. 1-2. Cluj, BAR: the storage of Fragam. Cod. Lat. 12 and of its former host volume (U.63177).

by revealing both sides of a manuscript leaf, but it also destroys information by discarding an early-modern binding. In deciding whether a fragment should be detached, this scholar argues, one should “sacrifice the information considered less important by most scholars”<sup>11</sup>. For example, if the fragment contains a rare or precious text, or if the side of the fragment pasted to the boards can provide essential information, it may be detached. If it is a banal liturgical fragment, as most are, it is preferable to preserve the binding as it is. In any case, the host book and the fragments in its binding must be regarded as archaeological objects telling a story together. Even if a binding is dismembered, the process and all resulting elements should be documented redundantly<sup>12</sup>. At any time, scholars must be able to connect the manuscript fragment, other elements extracted from the binding, such as the cardboard or headbands, and the former host volume.

When we decided to detach fragments, we made sure that the fragment and the host book (for example the paper pastedowns) would incur no text loss. To compensate for the information loss resulting from the separation of the parchment wrapper, the cardboard, and the block of the host book, we made sure to keep elements together whenever possible, or to indicate that a certain fragment is linked to a certain book (figs 1-2).

Unfortunately, in the communist period such standards were unknown. Thus, earlier librarians placed ten detached fragments in a box, without indicating their provenance (fig. 3).

Deciding what fragments to include in the FRAGMED project was relatively easy. During the two years of the financed project, the restoration team in Alba Iulia had the ability to restore twenty-two fragments. This included the ten fragments kept in the aforementioned box, and twelve further items, which needed to be detached. These fragments had to be of local interest, or of international relevance on



Fig. 3. Cluj, BAR. A box containing what are now Fragm. Cod. Lat. 1, 3-10, and 13, prior to their restoration.

account of their age, rarity, language or nature. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2 (from R. 19) comes from the famous Oradea Antiphonal, as I was able to establish during preliminary research<sup>13</sup> (showcase 7). Fragm. Cod. Lat. 19-21 (from C. 54660, C. 57795, and MS C. 83) are *membra disiecta* from the gradual of St Michael's church in Cluj, whose main bulk is being kept at the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia under the shelfmark MS I.1 (showcase 8). The wrappers of the two printed books had been connected to the original manuscript in 1970<sup>14</sup>, and the third item revealed itself when all the books wrapped in manuscript fragments were grouped in one room.



Fragm. Cod. Lat. 14-15 are *membra disiecta* from the same antiphonal (**showcase 6**). Since the host of one of these fragments was a book by the Jesuit János Szilvási printed in Cluj in 1597 (BMV C. 218), I supposed that the wrapper came from a local manuscript, or at least from a manuscript maculated in our city. Dr Gabriella Gilányi, who saw the fragments, realised that two further leaves from the same manuscript were kept in Budapest. Further research confirmed that this was indeed a Transylvanian book<sup>15</sup>. Fragg. Cod. Lat. 26 was born when four unsuspected strips were found in the spine of C. 55090, from which Fragg. Cod. Lat. 15 had been extracted (**showcase 4**). Fragg. Cod. Lat. 22 and 22A were extracted from a second copy of Szilvási's book (BMV C. 219). Fragg. Cod. Lat. 11 displayed an impressive decorated initial, and was chosen for its artistic interest; moreover, it can be argued that the original book was the liturgical Psalter of the Franciscans of Cluj (**showcase 9**).

The remaining four fragments that were detached are of international relevance. Most wrappers mentioned so far come from late-medieval liturgical manuscripts in Latin, and of local interest. Conversely, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 12 was copied in the twelfth century, and transmits a famous chronicle completed by Otto of Freising in 1146-1147. Two cardboard pieces were also recovered from the binding of the host volume, U. 63177, and they tell a fascinating story (**showcase 3**). In retrospect, we feel that the decision to extract the fragment from the binding was justified: not only has all original information been preserved, but much insight has been gained.

The reasons for detaching the *membra disiecta* which are now Fragg. Cod. Lat. 16-18 are self-explanatory to anyone who knows how rare medieval antiphonals written exclusively in German are<sup>16</sup>. However, my expectations were exceeded when I was able to put together the pieces of a puzzle, and to reconstitute almost an entire leaf from nine small fragments wrapping the spine of MS C. 404, and the corners of MSS C. 177 and C. 404 (figs 4-5).



Fig. 4. Cluj, BAR, MSC. 404.

Fig. 5. Cluj, BAR, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 17.



Fragment of a manuscript page showing musical notation on red staves and Latin text. The text includes "in herre behaltet uns erleich" and "wachen".

Fragment of a manuscript page showing musical notation on red staves and Latin text. The text includes "agren. In der her. Vor dem anplik der", "ich verwei", "lob übersehen", and "In dem haws". A red flourish is visible on the right side.

Fragment of a manuscript page showing musical notation on red staves and Latin text. The text includes "wanc vnd der elund stng her ab", "den soleich in sem haws alleluia hawt ist hail ge", "sehen dem haws vo", and "alleluia. Martini".





Once again, no information has been lost, but so much has been gained by putting together the pieces of Fragn. Cod. Lat. 17 (**showcase 4**). All in all, detaching the fragments was an inspired and useful enterprise.

After the fragments were detached and restored, they received shelfmarks. At the Academy Library of Cluj, "MSS" designates modern manuscripts, and "Cod. Lat." prefixes the shelfmarks of medieval codices. "Fragn. Cod. Lat." thus imposed itself as an appropriate label for the newborn collection of medieval *fragmenta codicum* in Latin script. Since we have only a handful of fragments in German and French, we chose not to create special "Fragn. Cod. Germ." or "Fragn. Cod. Fr." shelfmarks. However, there will be a small "Fragn. Cod. Hebr." collection. *Membra disiecta* from the same manuscript were attributed consecutive numbers.

Once detached, what used to be dirty and torn wrappers became new items in the collection of the Academy Library of Cluj. They now enrich the national heritage, and increase the value of our city's medieval book collections. They have been digitised and published online, and can be studied by the international community<sup>17</sup>. In a way, they have been redeemed from the debasement and neglect which triggered and followed their maculation. The medievalist can exult: they are vindicated.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Papahagi 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Papahagi/Dincă/Mărza 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Jakó 1967a.

<sup>4</sup> Jakó 1977, pp. 13-71.

<sup>5</sup> Baroffio 2002 believes that there may be about 50 000 fragments of liturgical manuscripts in Italian libraries. I estimate the number of all Western medieval manuscript fragments in Romania to about 1000-1500.

<sup>6</sup> Mezey 1983, Mezey 1989, Vizkelety 1993, Vizkelety 1998, Madas 2006, Vizkelety 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Veselovská 2008-2019 (5 vols).

<sup>8</sup> Klöckner 1990; Traub/Miegel 2011; Sorbello Staub 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Perani/Ruini 2002.

<sup>10</sup> Schlechter 2015, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Merlani 2002, p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Schlechter 2015, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> Papahagi 2017a.

<sup>14</sup> Szigeti 1970.

<sup>15</sup> Gilányi/Papahagi 2019.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Stephan 1998, and *Handschriftencensus*.

<sup>17</sup> <https://fragmentarium.ms/partner-projects/transylvania>.

# WHERE CAN MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS BE FOUND?

## (SHOWCASE 1)

Fragments from medieval manuscripts can be found almost anywhere in more recent manuscripts or printed books. Entire or partial leaves or bifolia can wrap other books completely (fig. 6).

If the binder was careful to place the blank centre of the bifolium or the gutter between two columns of text over the spine (as in fig. 7), the shelved book appears to be wrapped in plain parchment. When browsing through the shelves in search of manuscript fragments, all the books bound in parchment must therefore be examined. In this case, the folding crease and the holes corresponding to sewing stations at the centre of the spine indicate that this is a recycled bifolium rather than plain binding parchment.

Binding books in parchment maculature certainly looks irreverent to us. Early modern binders may have regarded the result as cheap and unsightly; consequently, they sometimes tried to conceal the maculature by wrapping the spine in nicely tooled leather. Looking at the shelves, one notices only the white leather Renaissance binding of this copy of Heinrich Bullinger's commentaries to the Gospel of John (Zurich: Frosch, 1556), and does not suspect that the boards are wrapped in medieval manuscript fragments (fig. 8). In passing, one may deplore the fact that a modern shelfmark label was glued over the medieval fragment on the front cover of this book.



Fig. 6. Cluj, BAR, C. 54769.



Cyphar.  
Ord. iudic.

Mabem.  
e. 2. 4. v.

16. x.  
ff.

**S**icut in die iudicii cuncta peccatorum  
qua glumasti tibi. et quae eius nos semper ierem  
dicere profice et ordine defendi. **Ezechiel. p.**  
**S**imilitudo multo animalium facies hominis et  
facies leonis adexterae ipsorum quatuor facies  
autem bonis animalium ipsorum quatuor facies autem boni  
animalium ipsorum quatuor. Et facies aquae de super  
ipsorum quatuor et facies eorum et pene eorum extende de  
super. Due pene singulorum iungebat. et due tene  
bat corpora eorum. Et unumquodque coram facie sua  
ambulabat ubi erat impetum spiritus illius quod dicit  
bat. **Alia. v. Reges. ihs. dñs. m. stas. i. medio. v. isa.**  
paloz dicit pax vob. **mitti. Willo. t. d. i. d. s.**  
**F**aculus est camelus per foramen acus transire  
quod dicitur in die iudicii in regnum celorum. **Q. magis. m.**  
mirabatur dicitur ad semetipsum. Et quae potest  
salvus fieri. et in tuos illos ihs ait. **Apud ho-**  
mines impossibile est. sed non apud dominum. **Oia. em. n.**  
possibilia sunt apud dominum. **Et cepit ei peti. dice.**  
**Ece. nos. dimulim. oia. et. secuti. sum. ti. se.**  
respondens ihs ait. **Ame. dico. vob. nemo. e. q.**

Fig. 7. Cluj, BAR, C. 56305.

Fig. 8. Cluj, BAR, U. 56810.







The aspect was not the main concern of students who needed to consolidate their notebooks, and parchment maculature was the cheapest available material. In the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, the students of the Jesuit college of Cluj frequently used manuscript fragments in bindings. Cardboard notebooks displaying manuscript fragments in their half- and quarter-bindings are common in the collections of the Academy Library (fig. 9).

Some cases can be more spectacular. In MS C. 379 (fig. 10) fragments from Hebrew and Latin manuscripts were used to wrap the corners and the spine, but also as headband, tailband and inside the spine, pasted to the book block.

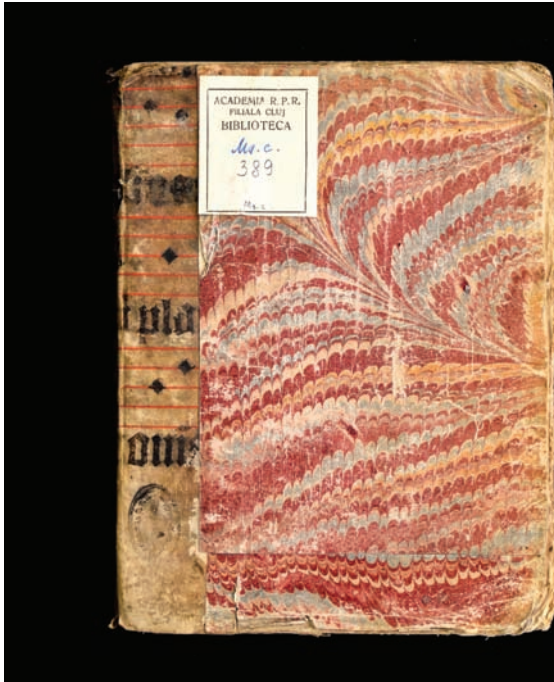


Fig. 9. Cluj, BAR, MSC. 389.



Fig. 10. Cluj, BAR, MSC. 379.







The question arises whether the youths who studied abroad bound their notebooks there with foreign material, or used fragments from Transylvanian manuscripts when they returned to Cluj. MSS C. 177, 404 (fig. 4) and 409 were copied at the Jesuit Academy of Graz, and thus the *membra disiecta* of an antiphonal in German extracted from their bindings must be Styrian rather than Transylvanian (Fragm.Cod.Lat. 16-17; showcase 4).

At times, manuscript strips are glued to the back of the quires, and are not visible unless the spine is broken or lies bare. In fig. 11 one can see two fragments from the calendar of a missal or breviary. In many cases, maculated fragments are pasted upside-down, to indicate that they need not be read – which is somewhat superfluous when strips are hidden under the spine wrapping. The spine of the book shown in fig. 12 was lost at an early date, since the nineteenth-century label was pasted directly onto the back of the quires, below two strips from a medieval manuscript.

Fig. 11. Cluj, BAR, CII. 167.



Fig. 12. Cluj, BAR, C. 53146.



Fig. 13. Cluj, BAR, Inc. S. 118.

Actually, many tiny manuscript fragments will forever remain hidden in the spines of intact early-modern bindings unless restoration works reveal them. What is now *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 15* was detached from the stately book *C. 55090*, and four strips from a *missale notatum* were discovered glued to the spine. Thus was born *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 26* (*catalogue nr 16*), an unplanned but welcome addition to our collection.

Medieval manuscript fragments can be encountered as flyleaves and pastedowns in incunabula and in other medieval manuscripts, whereas in modern books they are generally used as wrappers. In an incunabulum transferred from Satu Mare to the Academy Library of Cluj, a manuscript fragment is used to consolidate the spine, and is still visible as some sort of guard or partial flyleaf (*fig. 13*).

In another incunabulum, a part of the beautiful fourteenth-century bifolium functioning as pastedown was detached, leaving a mirror imprint on the wooden board (*fig. 14*). One can also notice the parchment strips linking the board to the spine, which would otherwise have remained hidden.

*Cod. Lat. 8* is a fifteenth-century paper manuscript copied in Italy. In the nineteenth century, the manuscript was rebound, and the pastedowns were detached from the former wooden boards. Fortunately, they were not thrown away or glued to the new cardboard panels, but were kept as flyleaves. This allows one to read both sides of a precious eleventh-century copy of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem* in Beneventan script – the only sample of this South-Italian writing in Romanian collections<sup>1</sup>. As can be seen, the writing on the side that had been glued to the wooden board is less readable (*fig. 15*).





Fig. 14. Cluj, BAR, Inc. C. 59.

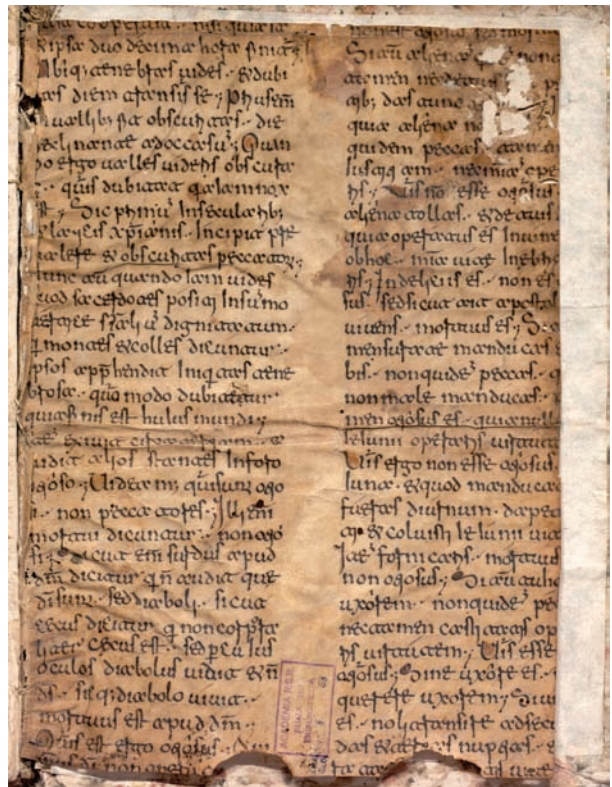
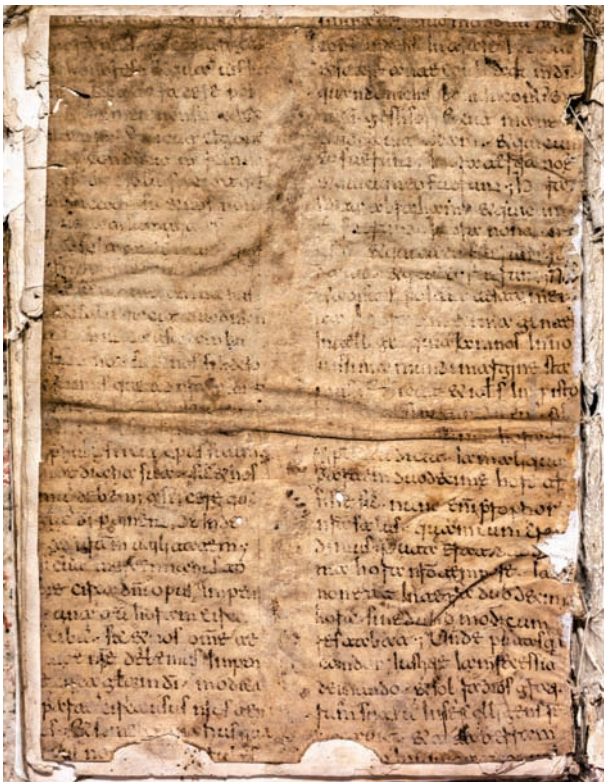


Fig. 15. Cluj, BAR, Cod. Lat. 8, f. 72r/v.



Sometimes, the pastedown was lost or stolen, and only the imprint on the wooden board has survived (fig. 16). Such is the case of a famous thirteenth-century fragment of the *Nibelungenlied* from the Batthyaneum Library of Alba Iulia. The pastedowns were photographed and published in 1898, but vanished after being detached from the host manuscript (MS III.70)<sup>2</sup>.

Thin parchment strips were sometimes sewn at the centre of quires in paper manuscripts, in order to consolidate them. In Cod. Lat. 5, a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript, one can find strips from one or more bifolia of a fine thirteenth-century scholastic manuscript (fig. 17).

Manuscript fragments can also be found in various objects, such as shoes, lamps, liturgical vestments and furniture. For example, a bifolium containing Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl's *De dilectione Domini* was extracted from the mitre of Dominic Kázmér (1668-1716), vicar of the bishop of Transylvania (fig. 18)<sup>3</sup>.

Leaves from paper manuscripts can be glued together to make cardboard, but no such examples have been found in our collections.



Fig. 16. Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS III.70.



Fig. 17. Cluj, BAR, Cod. Lat. 5.



Fig. 18. Cluj, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, MS 224, f. 1r.



90  
 2 simo  
 hoc tenen  
 mics r homi  
 ne liti Augm  
 2 in edoctia danti  
 omne sacras paginas  
 potes omnia involuta fr  
 ve oio septuages secreta pe  
 Come caritate ubi pendent on  
 lle ei tenet r ad hanc r ad p  
 diuus simonibo qui caritate tenet  
 in moribus carita se hant r cogita  
 vi cord vris caritatis r postea  
 vig d dnt duobz pceptis caritas  
 loqui put mibi dno d sua ligan  
 tate r p vras pces dignabit  
 mpre. Et ut fiat ad honore dei  
 r ad salute marz mraz monemz  
 coopante gra p impetranda  
 rogavimz admirad vome mraz  
 gre r ca devote salutem r saluta  
 coe angelica ductes due maria  
 Hec dno r salvator mō ma  
 dno d dilectione dei est pmd r  
 maximū madatu. Et ideo ppo su  
 pmo deos loqui r postea d p  
 dmi dilectione r tertio d m su  
 sa caritate sine q erā obfua r  
 madatoz nō ē meliora vite  
 etne. Et in pcessu nō curabo su  
 re modū mpmoibo ad hē p  
 tu obfua sē mthematē r  
 duode simonis dūm sione  
 broz subdūm sione r  
 Sz pcedam quo ad  
 desimplia r dpl  
 familiar all  
 modū pma  
 locutur

Tribuit autem  
 vicesimo secundo  
 spiritu quod a legē  
 doctor mtrona  
 flet dnm dices  
 ad ag quod ē  
 madatu magnū in lege vnde  
 ei dno dixit Diliges dnm de  
 um tūm ex toto corde tuo r extota  
 anima r extota mte tua hoc  
 est pmi r maximū madatum  
 Et subiūit dicens Sedm aut  
 ille est hinc Diliges pximu  
 būm sicut teipm addit quoq di  
 ceus in hys duobz madat  
 det vniūsa lex r pphie inuenis  
 p hoc q qd qd amet v moralit  
 v figuratū in lege qd nō mō  
 tole qmūitōre pōtūne v r  
 pbantū in pphie totū ad hē te  
 dit vt mtrōduca caritas q d q  
 diligit r pximū. Unde qd erā  
 de q homi pmissit qd pcepit  
 aut p hūit tōnd ad hē ferit  
 vt dnd diliget sup omnia r p  
 pximū vt seipm. Et in sup oia  
 alia pcepta dmiā sūt quōdā  
 explicatōes madatoz dilectōis  
 dei r pximi r m dūsa sūt in hys  
 duobz r implet mcoz imple  
 tōe pmo oia alia pcepta r  
 tota lex r pphie sūt mlla tōz



NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Papahagi 2016.  
<sup>2</sup>Alter 1898; Szentiványi 1958, p. 378; Wittstock 1995, pp. 79-82; Wittstock/Sienerth 1997, p. 101; *Handschriftencensus*, nr 2582; Papahagi/Dincă/Mârza 2018, nr 254.  
<sup>3</sup>Jakó 1967, p. 80; Kelemen 2010, pp. 19-20; Papahagi/Dincă/Mârza 2018, nr 359.







# THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF CLUJ

## (SHOWCASE 2)

The library of the Cluj branch of the Romanian Academy was established in 1950, and received the books of six religious entities that the newly installed communist regime had nationalised or suppressed: the Catholic High School (*Lyceum*), whose tradition went back to the first Jesuit school, established in 1579<sup>1</sup>, the Unitarian College (established in 1568)<sup>2</sup>, the Reformed College (established around 1610)<sup>3</sup>, and the Franciscan convent of Cluj (established in the eighteenth century)<sup>4</sup>, the Greek-Catholic diocese of Blaj, and the Catholic diocese of Satu Mare. These collections received specific shelfmarks – C (Catholic), U (Unitarian), R (Reformed), F (Franciscan), B (Blaj), and SM (Satu Mare) –, but were gathered under the same roof only in 1974, when the current building was inaugurated<sup>5</sup>.

One of the aims of the **FRAGMED** project was to identify fragments from manuscripts belonging to the medieval collections of Cluj. Since the Catholic, Unitarian, and Reformed colleges were installed in the buildings of the religious orders suppressed in 1556, they may have had access to the city's medieval books.

After 1556, the Unitarians occupied the parish church, and in 1568 they opened a school in the former Dominican convent. Parts of the Franciscan convent were demolished in 1558, and the stones were used to reinforce the city walls<sup>6</sup>. Prince Stephen Báthory (r. 1576-1586) initiated a counter-reformatory movement, and invited the Jesuits to Transylvania in 1579. The Society of Jesus operated a grammar school in the former Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur between 1579 and 1581, and again from 1616 to 1693. Between 1581-1589 and 1595-1604, the Jesuits ran a college in the buildings of the former Franciscan convent of Cluj<sup>7</sup>. In 1602, the Unitarian school was handed over to the Jesuits, who burned the books they found there (some were perhaps former Dominican books, or protestant books bound in medieval manuscript fragments)<sup>8</sup>. In 1603, the Unitarians plundered the Jesuit college, and set fire to the building. Some books were

destroyed, and others were taken into private custody, but were returned to the Jesuits, when they came back three months later<sup>9</sup>. A new inventory of the library was made in 1604, and some items in the Catholic collection of the Academy Library bear that date (fig. 19)<sup>10</sup>.

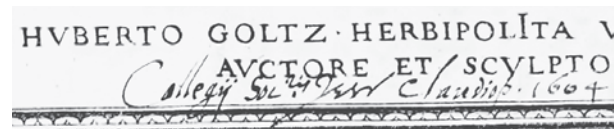


Fig. 19. Cluj, BAR, C. 55090, title page.

One year later, the Calvinist prince Stephen Bocskai (r. 1605-1606) banished the Jesuits from Cluj, and then from Transylvania. Under the supervision of the rector Argenti, the Jesuits sent a number of books to various churches in the Catholic Szekler region, in Eastern Transylvania, and despatched other volumes to Košice, in Northern Hungary. However, most books were apparently entrusted to *bona fide* parishioners from Cluj, and were retrieved in 1616, when the Jesuits reopened their school in Cluj-Mănăştur<sup>11</sup>. Books purchased by the Jesuits between 1616 and 1693, when they returned to the city, generally display the ownership note *Residentiae Monostoriensis Societatis Jesu* (fig. 20).

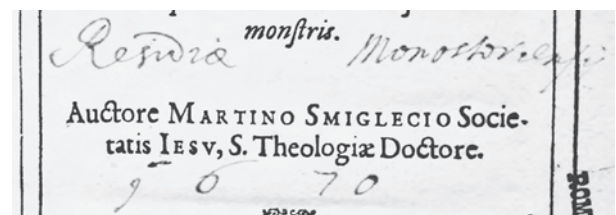


Fig. 20. Cluj, BAR, C. 59131, title page.

In 1773, the *Societas Jesu* was dissolved, and in 1776 the school was taken over by the Piarist Order, which ran it until 1948<sup>12</sup>. On the title pages of books acquired between 1693 and 1773 one can generally read *Residentiae Claudiopolitanae Societatis Jesu* (fig. 21).

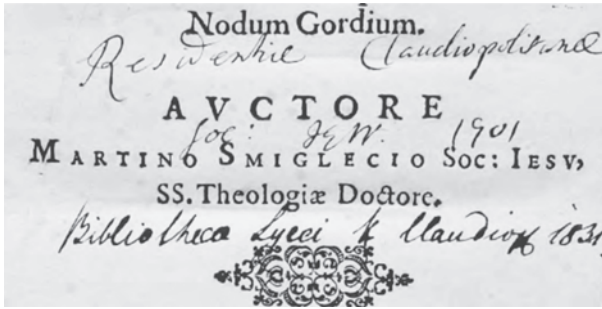


Fig. 21. Cluj, BAR, C. 56750, title page.

Around 1610, a Calvinist college was installed in the former Franciscan convent, which had been vacated by the Jesuits in 1605. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the books of this institution often bore ownership notes reading *Collegii Reformati Claudiopolitani* (fig. 22) and, misleadingly for present-day researchers, *Collegii Orthodoxi Claudiaci* (fig. 23). Unfortunately, it is impossible to demonstrate that any of the fragments wrapping books from the Reformed collections are of local origin.

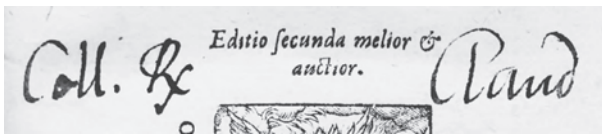


Fig. 22. Cluj, BAR, R. 82761, title page.



Fig. 23. Cluj, BAR, R. 83151, title page.

In 1716, the Austrian military commander of Transylvania, Count Stefan Stainville gave St Michael's church back to the Catholics, expelled the Unitarians, and burnt their books<sup>13</sup>. This notwithstanding, many Unitarian books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have come down to us. The Unitarians who studied abroad often brought back books and donated them to their college. Next to the most frequent ownership note (*Ecclesiae Unitarianae Claudiopolitanae*), one may read the names of various Unitarian book owners (e.g. *Valentini Radecii*, as in fig. 24).



Fig. 24. Cluj, BAR, U. 74432-3, title page.

As shown, books were often the victims of confessional hatred in Cluj, and therefore only a precious few manuscripts and incunabula have survived. A large gradual copied for St Michael's church before 1528 was kept in the Catholic *Lyceum* library until 1913, when it was transferred to the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (now MS I.1)<sup>14</sup>. Fragments from it were identified in the bindings of three Jesuit volumes<sup>15</sup>, which demonstrates that the Jesuits did not hesitate to maculate medieval manuscripts in order to bind books (showcase 8).

A book inventory drafted by the Benedictines of Cluj-Mănăştur in 1427 has also survived in the National Archives of Hungary<sup>16</sup>. It lists about fifty manuscripts, but none has been discovered so far. Were books from the venerable abbey, established in the second half of the eleventh century<sup>17</sup>, still available to the Jesuits, who occupied its premises in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

The Dominican convent, established in the fourteenth century, had "a beautiful and spacious library building" (*domus librariae pulchra et ampla*), as an inventory from 1509 informs us. The inventory has survived, and is now Cluj, Central University Library, MS 1030 (fig. 25), but unfortunately it does not contain the promised book list<sup>18</sup>.



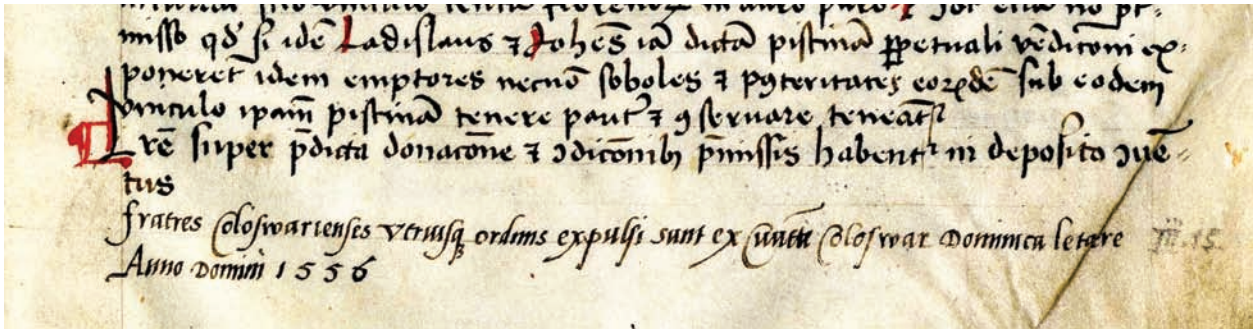


Fig. 25. Cluj, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, MS 1030, f. 3r.

Only one further book belonging to the Dominican library can still be identified in Cluj. This edition of writings by Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus) printed in Venice in 1500 bears an ownership note from the early 1500s, reading “Ad conventum Colosvariensem. Usus frater Jacobus (!) ordinis predicatorum.” (fig. 26). Further annotations show that the incunabulum ended up in the Jesuit College.

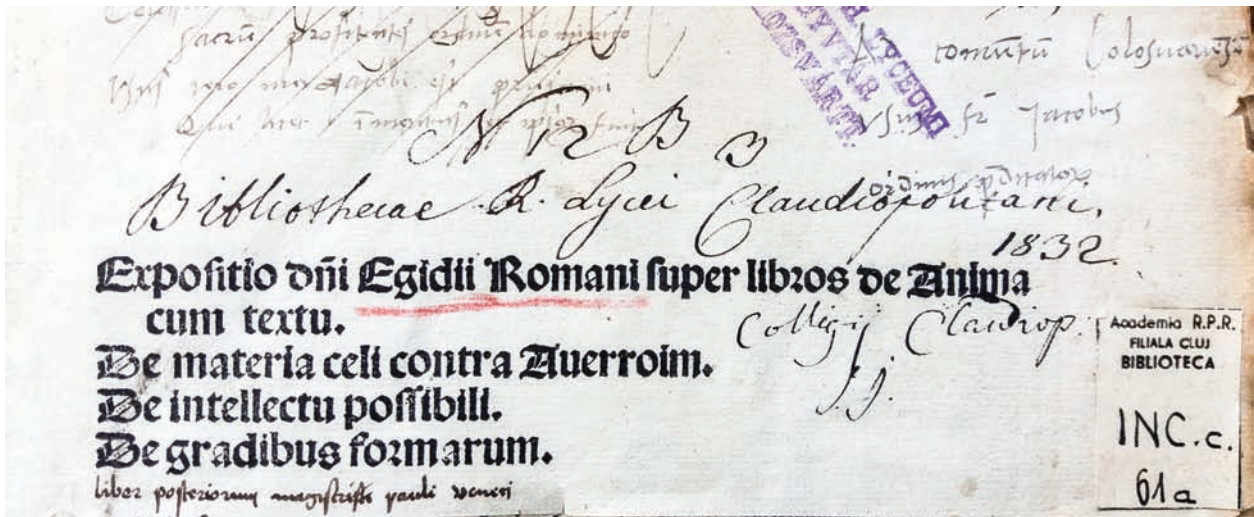


Fig. 26. Cluj, BAR, Inc. C. 61a, f. 1r.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jesuit and Calvinist colleges functioned in what was left of the Franciscan convent and church (erected between 1486-1516)<sup>19</sup>. Only two incunabula from the Franciscan library have been identified so far. A note in a book from Târgu Mureş (Petrus de Palude, *Sermones thesauri novi de sanctis*, Strassburg, 1488) reads “Conventus Colosvariensis ad plateam Luporum 1512 (?). Fratrum Minorum ac obseruantium ad????” (fig. 27).

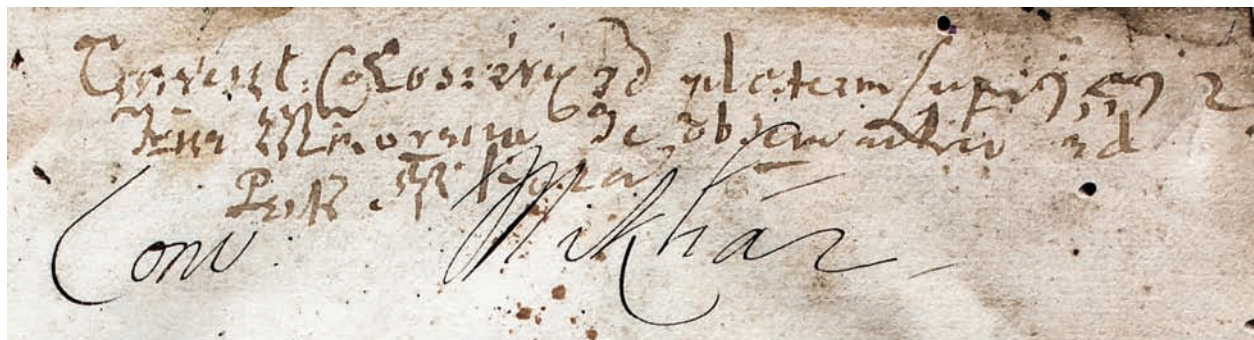


Fig. 27. Târgu Mureş, Biblioteca Teleki-Bolyai, Inc. 35, f. 1r.

Another book escaped destruction because the vicar of Crasna (Co. Sălaj) borrowed it, and probably never returned it. The book, which ended up in Budapest, contains Oswaldus de Lasko, *Sermones dominicales, Biga salutis intitulus* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, for Johannes Rynman, 1498) and bears the ownership note “Liber Conventus Coloswariensis fratrum minorum observantium. Iam ad Joannem plebanum de Carazna pertinet, residens ibidem. Ad posteros 1544.” (fig. 28).

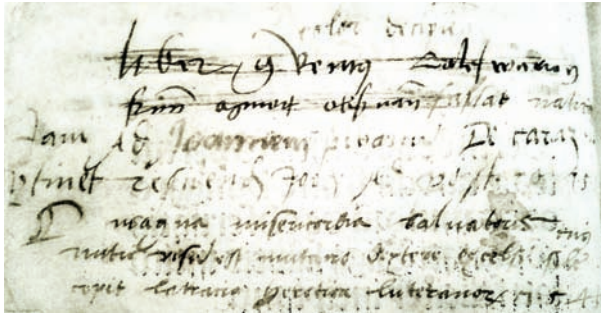


Fig. 28. Budapest, Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Múzeum és Könyvtár, 11685/S/81.

The survival of these books encouraged me to dig deeper, in an attempt to identify *fragmenta codicum* that may come from the medieval books of Cluj or Transylvania. As the following pages will show, the search has not been in vain, although in most cases the local provenance of fragments may be argued, but not demonstrated.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> György 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Lakó 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Sipos 1991.

<sup>4</sup> The medieval Franciscan convent had been dissolved in 1556.

The Franciscans returned to Cluj only in the eighteenth century, and occupied the buildings of the former Dominican convent.

<sup>5</sup> Ursuțiu 1995, pp. 29-31; Sipos 2004, pp. 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> Rusu 2000, p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> Jakó 1991; Costea 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Simén 1877, p. 195.

<sup>9</sup> Jakó 1996, pp. 82-86.

<sup>10</sup> Jakó 2008, p. 138; Sipos 2008, p. 213.

<sup>11</sup> Jakó 1996, pp. 87-89.

<sup>12</sup> György 1994, pp. 79-83; Sipos 2004, p. 30.

<sup>13</sup> Simén 1877, p. 200.

<sup>14</sup> Alba Iulia, Bibl. Batthyaneum, Registrul de intrări, nr 25, 15 March 1913.

<sup>15</sup> Szigeti 1970; Papahagi 2021.

<sup>16</sup> Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, DL 36403, pp. 1-26, edited by Tagányi 1889.

<sup>17</sup> Benkó 2000.

<sup>18</sup> Entz 1996, p. 344; Kelemen 2010, p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Karácsonyi 1924, pp. 99-103; Boros 1927, pp. 45-46; Rusu 2000, pp. 106-109.





## PROVENANCE RESEARCH: FRAGM. COD. LAT. 12

(SHOWCASE 3)

The overwhelming majority of medieval manuscript fragments found in bindings at the Academy Library of Cluj come from liturgical books produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A twelfth-century fragment stands out, and we were curious to discover more about the partial bifolium transmitting Otto of Freising's *Chronica de duabus civitatibus* (fig. 29).

The host volume is a copy of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, printed Basel in 1520 (fig. 30)<sup>1</sup>. In the seventeenth century, it belonged to "Laur<entius> Dálnoki" (Lőrinc Nagy Dálnoki, 1614-1661), who signed his name on the title page. Dálnoki graduated from the Unitarian College of Cluj in 1634, continued his studies at the University of Padua, and returned as a teacher to his *alma mater* in Cluj in 1639. He was also a doctor of medicine, and died of pest in 1661.<sup>2</sup> On the same page, one can also read the signature of Stephanus Conradus, a contemporary notary from Cluj. Upon Dálnoki's death, the volume integrated the Unitarian College library, as attested by another note. Before the nationalisation of this library, the book bore the shelfmark R. 1622.

Although so much is known about the early-modern provenance of the book, one could not tell whether the book was bound in Cluj or elsewhere. The odds were against the availability of maculature from such an old manuscript in Cluj; however, when the fragment was detached, the opposite was revealed. Alongside with the medieval manuscript fragment, the restorer Maria Cernea extracted from the binding a bifolium from a seventeenth-century chronicle mentioning events that took place in Cluj and Transylvania around 1609, and the two cardboard pieces constituting the covers of the book (fig. 31).

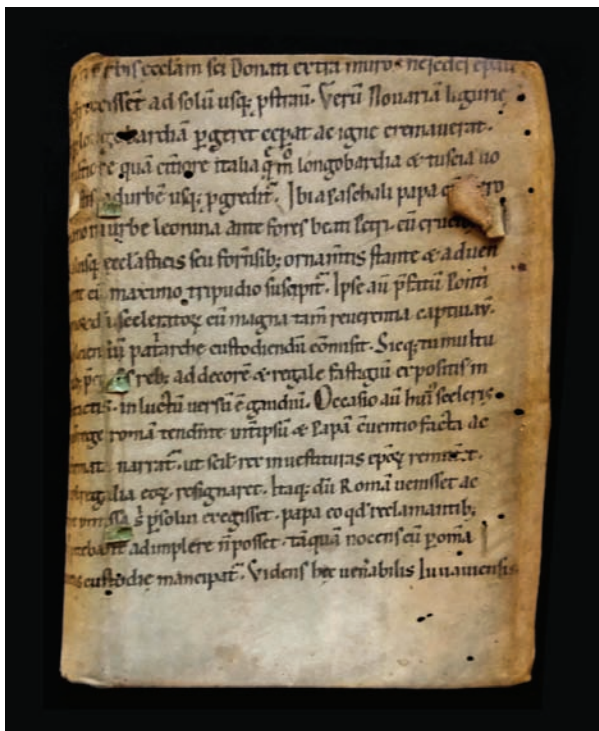


Fig. 29. Cluj, BAR, U. 63177 before restoration.



Fig. 30. Cluj, BAR, U. 63177, title page.





Fig. 31. Cluj, BAR, U. 63177 dismembered during restoration.

The cardboard plates (figs 32-33) revealed another interesting fact: they were made by compacting paper extracted from a book printed in Cluj in 1619 or 1620<sup>3</sup> (fig. 34). Unsurprisingly many copies of this Unitarian work printed in Cluj were available locally, and sixteen of them have survived at the Academy

Library. Some copies were indeed bound in leather, like BMV U. 46 (the binding is dated 1621, fig. 35), but others were mutilated and turned into cardboard. Thus, BMV U. 61, which starts at p. 335 (fig. 36), may be the actual source of the cardboard extracted from the binding of U. 63177.



Fig. 32. Cardboard extracted from the covers of Cluj, BAR, U. 63177.



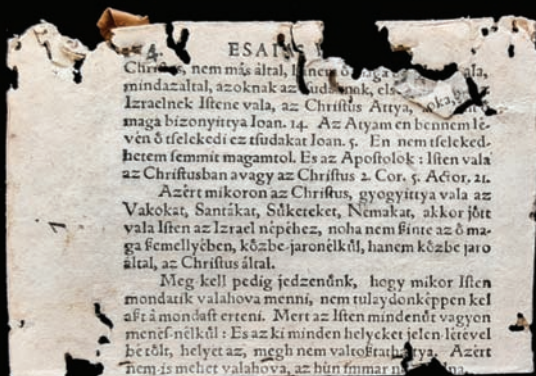


Fig. 33. Cardboard from Cluj, BAR, U. 63177 and the corresponding page in an intact copy of the source book.

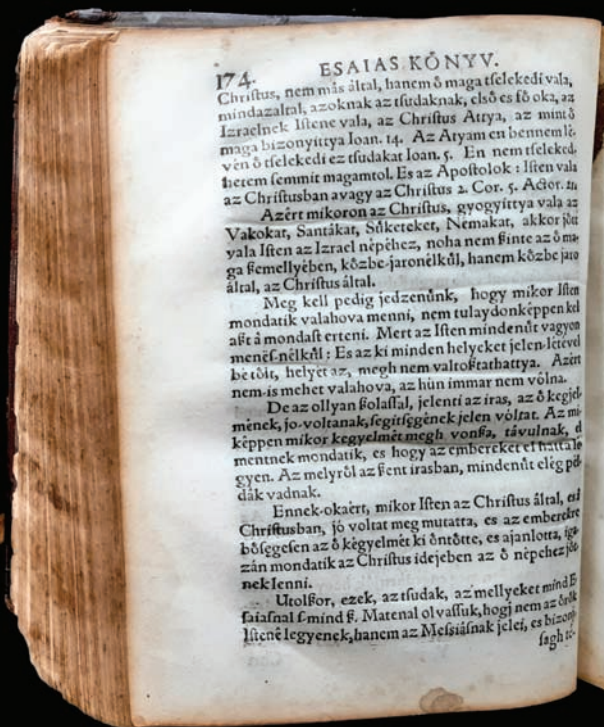


Fig. 34. Cluj, BAR, BMV U. 46, title page.

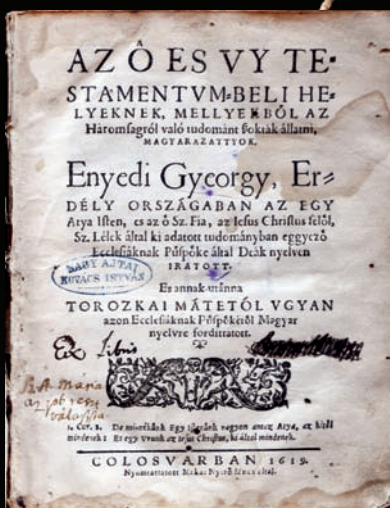


Fig. 35. Cluj, BAR, BMV U. 46, front cover.

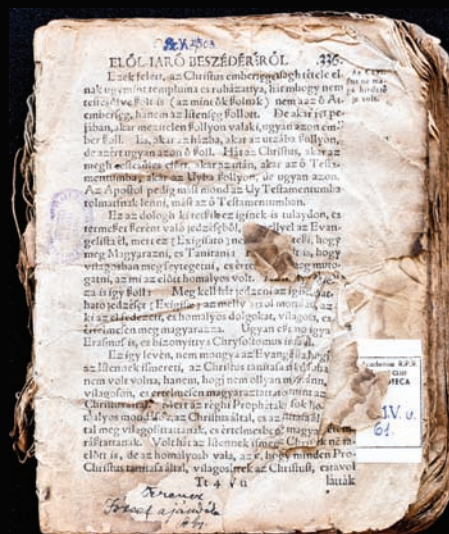


Fig. 36. Cluj, BAR, BMV U. 61.

This gives us valuable information about early modern binding practices, and it demonstrates that the medieval fragment was available in Cluj after 1619-1620. But where did it come from? Was Otto of Freising's chronicle available in medieval Transylvania, or was the fragment imported much later as binder's maculature. Of course, it is more likely that the fragment was imported in post-medieval times from Austria or Bavaria, where it was presumably copied a few decades after its composition.

Otto (c. 1114-1158) was born in Klosterneuburg into royalty. He was the fifth son of Leopold III, margrave of Austria, and of Agnes, daughter of emperor Henry IV. From her previous marriage to Frederick I of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia, Agnes was the mother of Conrad III, and thus the grandmother of the great emperor Frederick II Barbarossa. Otto was thus the son, grandson, half-brother and uncle of German dukes, kings and emperors. He studied in Paris, entered the Cistercian order, and persuaded his father to establish Heiligenkreuz in 1133. Between 1136-1138 he ruled the Burgundian abbey of Morimond, and in 1138 he was elected bishop of Freising. He attended the Second Crusade in 1147 and, having reached Jerusalem despite the defeat of his army, he returned safely to Bavaria. He was involved in major political disputes in Bavaria, but died in Morimond.<sup>4</sup> Otto of Freising wrote two chronicles: *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus* (*Chronicle or History of the Two Cities*), inspired by Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, covers events up to 1146<sup>5</sup>; *the Gesta Friderici imperatoris* (*Deeds of Emperor Frederick I*) was left unfinished at the bishop's death.

Otto's *Chronica* was quite popular in Bavaria and Austria, as attested by the numerous extant twelfth-century copies. This is an incomplete list: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 1001 and CLM 1003 (s. XII); Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 164 (s. XII<sup>2</sup>); Heiligenkreuz, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 197 (c. 1200); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 413, ff.144v-150r (s. XII<sup>ex</sup>); Vorau, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Cod. 276 (s. XII<sup>iv</sup>); Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 284 (c. 1200). Leaves from a dismembered Austrian or Bavarian manuscript may have ended up in Transylvania in the seventeenth century.

However, given Otto's popularity in the Cistercian community, the Transylvanian abbey of Cârța (Lat. Candella, Germ. Kerz), founded in 1202<sup>6</sup>, may also have owned a copy of the *Chronica*. Unfortunately, only one French manuscript from this abbey has been identified in Sibiu<sup>7</sup>, and no medieval booklist from Cârța has survived. We shall never know if the original manuscript circulated in medieval Transylvania, but in any case it appears to be of Bavarian or Austrian make. It is as elegant as any of the extant twelfth-century manuscripts, as the comparison with Munich, CLM 1003 (figs. 37-38) demonstrates.<sup>8</sup> Below, I reproduce the beginning of book VII, chapter 15:

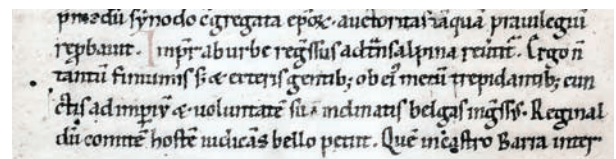


Fig. 37. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 12 (detail).

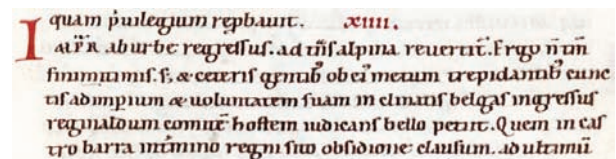


Fig. 38. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 1003, s. XII<sup>2</sup>, f. 110r (detail).

Our fragment undoubtedly belonged to a good quality manuscript produced before or soon after 1200. It was copied by two hands in what appears to be a South-German *Praegothica*. All the symptoms of this script around 1200 are present: the survival of the straight, half-uncial *d* (fig. 39 a); *m* with or without feet (figs 39 b-c); the alternative shapes of final *s* (figs 39 d-f); the hesitation between initial *v* and *u* (figs 39 g-h); the coexistence of the ampersand and the uncrossed Tironian *et* (figs 39 i-j)<sup>9</sup>.



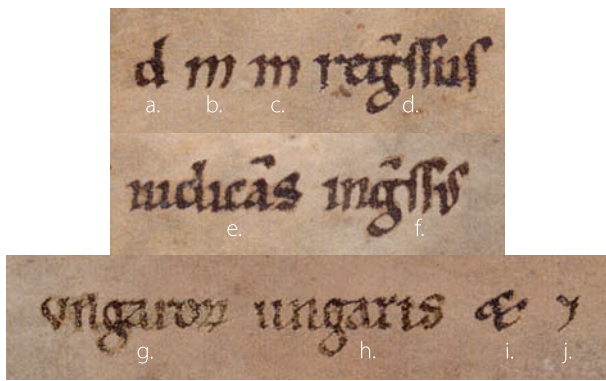


Fig. 39. The palaeography of Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 12.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Paraphrases Des<iderii> Erasmi Roterodami in epistolas Pauli apostoli ad Rhomanos Corinthios & Galatas, quae commentarii uice esse possunt*, Basel: Johannes Frobenius [per Hieronymum Frobenium], 1520 – USTC 682544.

<sup>2</sup> Szabó/Tonk 1992, p. 150, nr 1535; Dományházi/Latzkovitz 1997, pp. 29, 39, 131-132, 136, 143, 165-166, 192.

<sup>3</sup> György Enyedi, *Az ó es vy testamentvm-beli helyeknek...*, Cluj: Makai Nyirő [Typ. Heltai], 1619, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1620 – RMNy nrs 1187, 1222.

<sup>4</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto\\_of\\_Freising](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto_of_Freising); Pfister 2008; Ehlers 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Edited by Hofmeister 1984, Lammers/Schmidt 1961. English translation, Mierow/Evans/Knapp 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Hervay 1984, pp. 112-199; Thalgott 1990; Zell 1997; Schuller 2005; Papahagi 2015, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, MS 660. See Papahagi/Dincă/Mârza 2018, nr 471.

<sup>8</sup> Halm/Laubmann 1892, nr 1003.

<sup>9</sup> Derolez 2003, pp. 56-71.

# SOLVING PUZZLES

## (SHOWCASE 4)

Leaves and bifolia from the same manuscript are called *membra disiecta* (“disjoined members”).<sup>1</sup> We might perhaps call smaller fragments extracted from the same page, which often amount to mere strips, *membra fracta* (“broken limbs”). The attempt to put them together, like the pieces of a puzzle, reminds me of these lines from Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus*:

O, let me teach you how to knit again  
This scatter’d corn into one mutual sheaf,  
These broken limbs again into one body. (V.iii.69-71)

Marcus Andronicus refers to actual mutilations and to civil war, but manuscripts are also victims of human hatred and of historical vicissitudes. Knitting manuscript fragments again into one body is thus almost an act of cultural piety, and in any case a moving and exhilarating event in the life of any scholar. The joy is even greater when unsuspected fragments emerge after a detached wrapper has laid the spine of its host book bare. Fragments retrieved from the spines of books are typically small strips pasted between the raised bands. Inevitably, they form a puzzle that needs to be solved. Luckily, in many cases the fragments are contiguous, and can be rearranged so as to yield an identifiable passage.

Such is the case of our *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 26*, consisting of three strips extracted from the spine of the stately book C. 55090. The side reproduced here (fig. 40) transmits a pericope from the Gospel of John which is read on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September). The rubric *Secundum Ihoannem* (!) connects the top part to the central one, and the rubricated initial “I” connects the middle strip to the bottom one. We thus get the following reading:

*Secundum Ihoannem.* In illo tempore dixit Ihesus turbis iudeorum: Nunc iudicium est mundi, nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras. Et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum. Hoc autem dicebat significans qua morte esset moriturus. Respondit ei turba: Nos audiimus ex lege quia [Christus manet in aeternum...] (Io. 12:31-34).

*According to John.* At that time Jesus said to the Jewish crowds: Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. This he said, signifying what death he should die. The people answered him, We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever... (King James Version)

Although the fragment is very small, it has been possible to determine that the readings on the other side correspond to the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, which is celebrated on 8 September. The dates of the feasts thus allow one to establish the recto and the verso of the fragment: obviously, the feast celebrated on 8 September falls on the recto, and the one on 14 September follows on the verso.



Fig. 40. Cluj, BAR, *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 26*, verso.

More assumptions can be made about the provenance of the three strips. The host book (C. 55090) belonged to the earliest Jesuit library of Cluj, of which an inventory was made in 1604, as demonstrated by a note on the title page (fig. 19); moreover, the volume’s wrapper, *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 15* is a Transylvanian product (showcase 6). Thus, these strips come from a missal that was most likely maculated in Cluj, and may have belonged to the city’s medieval collections.



In other cases, the wrapper and the strips extracted from the spine come from the same manuscript. The four pieces constituting Fragm. Cod. Lat. 22A represent the top of a leaf, as shown by the border and by the rubricated folio number ('11'). The script, the width of the column, and the original folio number demonstrate that the four strips come from the same fifteenth-century missal as Fragm. Cod. Lat. 22, the full leaf wrapping Cluj, BAR, BMV C. 219 (fig. 41). One may note in passing that the folio numbering was not visible when Fragm. Cod. Lat. 22 was still wrapping the host book (fig. 42), because the recto was pasted onto the cardboard; also, the four strips of Fragm. Cod. Lat. 22 were invisible. With hindsight, this argues in favour of detaching wrappers.



Fig. 41. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 22 and 22A.

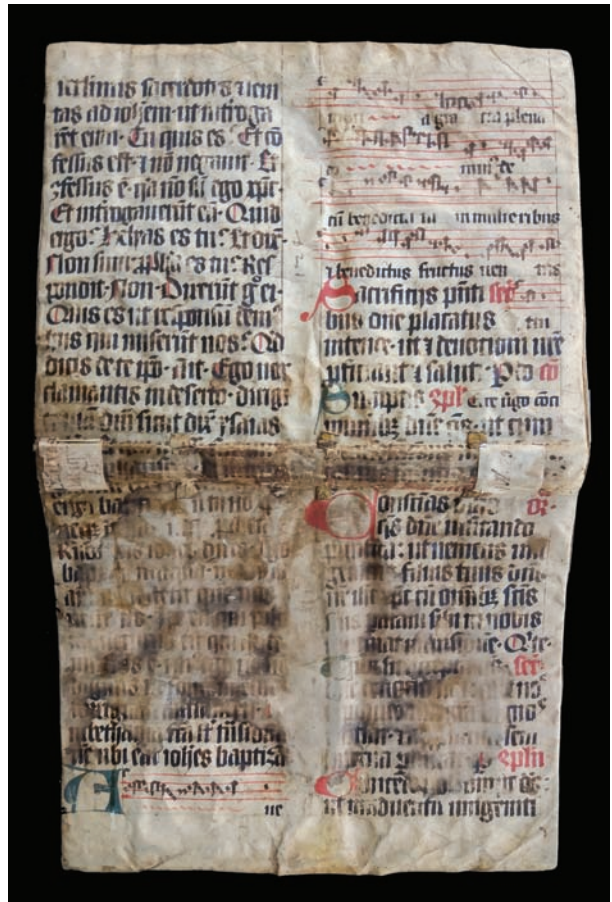


Fig. 42. Cluj, BAR, BMV C. 219, binding.

BMV C. 219 is the work of János Szilvási, a Jesuit from Cluj, and was printed in this city in 1597. The book belonged to the Jesuits, who were running a school in Cluj-Mănăştur in the seventeenth century (see the ownership note “Residentiae Monostoriensis Societatis Jesu 1670” – fig. 43). The missal from which our fragments were extracted may have been mutilated by the Jesuits while still in Cluj (before 1605), or after they had moved into the former Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur. In all likelihood, they used a missal that they had found in Cluj or Cluj-Mănăştur. We may thus be looking at a local product, or in any case at a book that was used locally in the Middle Ages. Musicological and liturgical analysis by specialists may reveal more about the nature of this missal, and perhaps further *membra disiecta* will be found. Unfortunately, the palaeography of this unremarkable and highly standardised Northern *textualis* (fig. 44) reveals nothing of interest: the manuscript could have been produced anywhere in Central Europe.

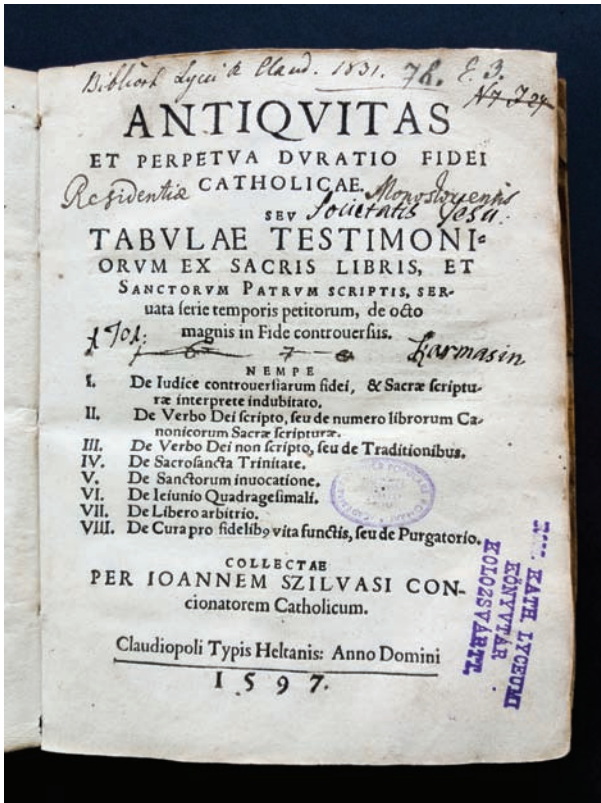


Fig. 43. Cluj, BAR, BMV C. 219, title page.

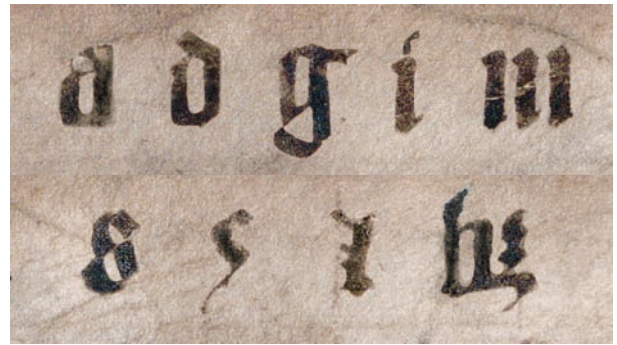


Fig. 44. The palaeography of Cluj, BAR, Fragn. Cod. Lat. 22.

Sometimes, parchment fragments may be cut so as to bind the boards to the book block, as shown below (fig. 45). The Germans call such pieces, which always come in pairs, *Flügelzüge* ("wing guards")<sup>2</sup>. Luckily, the two pieces forming Fragn. Cod. Lat. 3 were cropped from the same column (fig. 46); thus, although one or two letters are missing between the two parts, the readings of this missal fragment can be reconstituted and identified.

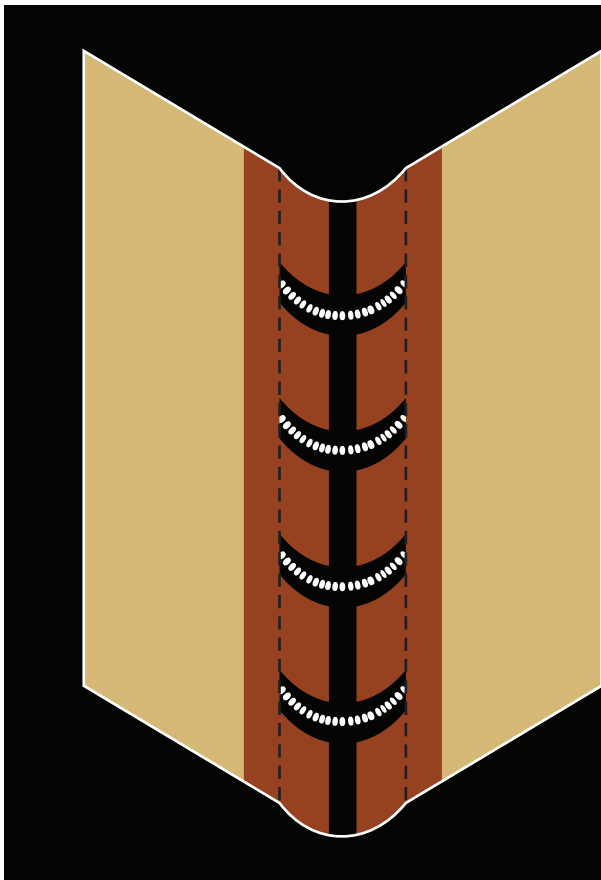


Fig. 45. Binding scheme.



Fig. 46. Cluj, BAR, Fragn. Cod. Lat. 3.



Other puzzles are considerably more complex, but also more rewarding. My expectations were exceeded when I was able to reconstitute almost an entire leaf from nine small fragments wrapping the spine of MS C. 404, and the corners of MSS C. 177 and C. 404 (fig. 47).

The result is the amazing Fragm. Cod. Lat. 17 (fig. 48). The eight pieces cropped from the top and from the bottom of the leaf were wrapping the corners of two quarter-bound notebooks, and the central fragment was a spine wrapper. The reconstituted leaf can be compared to another leaf coming from the same antiphonal, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 18 (fig. 49).



Fig. 47. Cluj, BAR, MS C. 404, binding.



Fig. 48. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 17.



Fig. 49. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 18.

Obviously, the most remarkable feature of this fifteenth-century antiphonal is that it is entirely in German, which is exceedingly rare. I am still studying the fragments, so these are only tentative remarks. To begin with, very few antiphonals copied entirely in German have survived; therefore, the fragments found in Cluj enter a highly exclusive club. Eight manuscripts containing German are listed by the *Handschriftencensus*, and among them only one is entirely in German. There are considerably more breviaries containing German (ninety-three items are known to the *Handschriftencensus*)<sup>3</sup>. Rudolph Stephan studied extensively three pieces in German, but the text of our fragments does not overlap with those already known – an antiphonal from Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3079)<sup>4</sup>, a psalter and hymnal from Munich (Universitätsbibliothek, MS 2° 152)<sup>5</sup>, as well as another fragment from Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. Nov. 3863)<sup>6</sup>.

For the time being, only the provenance of the fragments can be guessed. Fragn. Cod. Lat. 16-18 were wrapping students' notebooks. Two of them

(MS C. 404 and MS C. 177) were copied by the same person in 1695 and 1696; MS C. 409 was begun on 4 November 1676, and was completed on 7 September 1677. Fortunately, the students had put down their teachers' names. Thus, in MS C. 409, one can read: "Hucusque R. P. And. Gloyach infirmatus 22 Jan. die deinde mortuus. 6 Februarii Residuum ex eius scriptis M. Bidellus dictavit" (f. 24v – **fig. 50**); "Hic incoepit dictare R. P. Hyeron Milser 6 Martii" (f. 26v); "Incepit R. P. Franc. Winsauer 4<sup>ta</sup> Maii" (f. 44r) etc.

Andreas Freiherr von Gloyach (1630-1677), Hieronymus Milser (1624-1694) and Franz Winsauer (1639-1679) were professors of philosophy and theology at the Jesuit College of Graz<sup>7</sup>. Gloyach was also rector of the college in 1671, and Milser was the librarian of the college for six years.

Similarly, the student who copied the two other manuscripts wrote the following colophons: "Finita 15 Julii Anno 1695. OAMDG B:V:OO:SS:IC<sup>8</sup>; Sub R. P. Alexandro Donati. Fran. Peltman" (MS C. 404, f. 244v – **fig. 51**), and "Finita 21 Maii 1696 in festo S. Hospitii; Sub R. P. Alexandro Donati. Francis. Peltman" (MS C. 177, f. 272r).

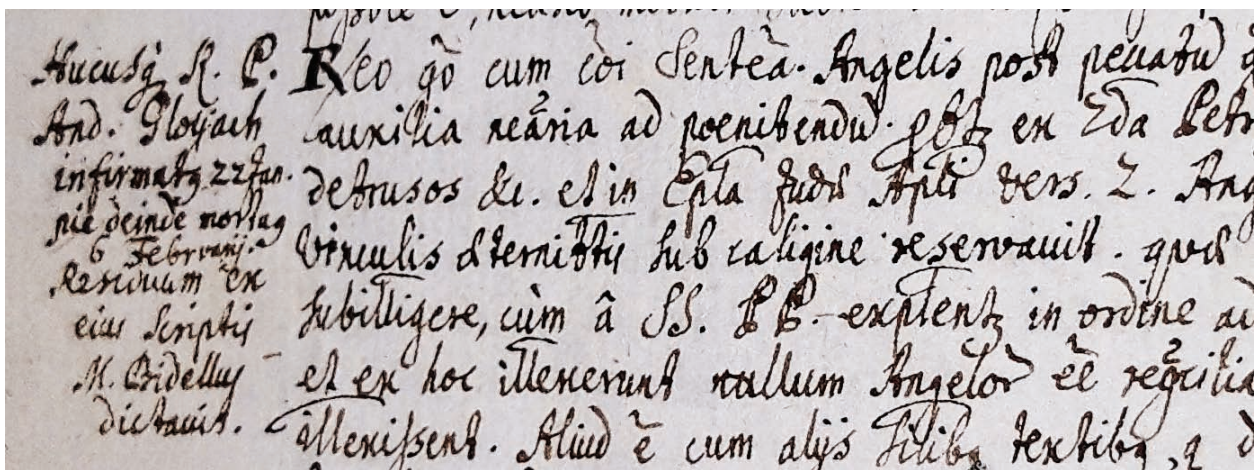


Fig. 50. Cluj, BAR, MS C. 409, f. 24v.

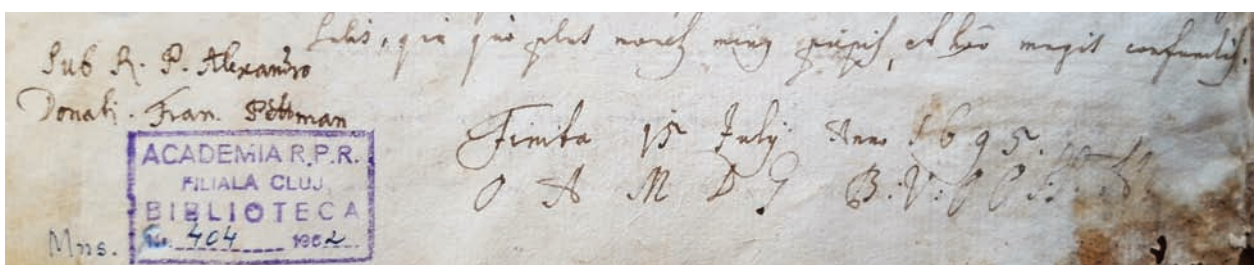


Fig. 51. Cluj, BAR, MS C. 404, f. 244v.



Alexander Donati (1638-1700) taught mathematics, but also philosophy and theology at the Jesuit College of Graz<sup>9</sup>. He also published a book entitled *Agalmata Mariana* (Graz: Heredes Georgii Widmanstetter, 1695). "Franciscus Peltman" (Franz Pelzmann) may be the name of the student who copied the two manuscripts.

It is obvious that the three host manuscripts belonged to young people who returned to Cluj after studying in Graz in 1676-1677 and 1695-1696. Since the Jesuits no longer provided superior education in Cluj after 1605, some of the local students manifestly completed their studies at the Jesuit College of Graz, which functioned between 1573 and 1773<sup>10</sup>. I doubt that antiphonals in German were used in Transylvania in the fifteenth century, so I believe that the two students from Cluj bound their copybooks in Graz. I would not be surprised if further leaves from this antiphonal were identified in Graz or elsewhere in Austria. One may object that it is unlikely that maculature from the same medieval antiphonal was available for almost two decades (1677-1696). Another possibility is that the second

student brought home some maculature from Graz, and bound all three philosophical notebooks in the Jesuit school of Cluj-Mănăstur after 1696.

Further research is needed before one can say where Fragm. Cod. Lat. 16-18 were copied. Robert Klugseder argues that the liturgical psalter from Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3079, dated 1477) was produced for a community of female penitents in the Austrian capital, as women were seldom educated in Latin<sup>11</sup>. Similarly, our fragments may come from an antiphonal intended for a lay or conventual female community in the region of Graz.

To conclude this chapter, we must travel south, from Styria to Italy. It took some effort to realise that Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8 and 9, which obviously come from the same Italian missal, belong to the same bifolium (fig. 52).



Fig. 52. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9 (top) and 8 (bottom).

Only after reconstituting the text and identifying the feasts was it possible to arrange the two disconnected fragments. Thus, the first step was to transcribe all the barely readable passages and to identify the feasts. I did not rely only on printed sources, but checked the text against a contemporary Italian missal – the beautiful Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro, MS B. 63. Even in apparently desperate cases, a few readable and contiguous words make the identification possible; as shown below, the Vatican manuscript allows one to reconstitute the badly erased text on Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9 (fig. 53). The text corresponds to the feast of St Benedict:

*Postcommunio.* Protegat nos domine cum tui perceptione sacramenti beatus Benedictus abbas pro nobis intercedendo, ut et conuersionis eius experiamur insignia. *Notandum quod de festis que ueniunt post quartam feriam maioris ebdomade usque as sextam feriam post octauam...*

This passage on Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9 is followed by a gap. The beautiful historiated initial on Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8 indicates the beginning of another feast: the Annunciation. St Benedict's feast falls on 21 March, and the Annunciation on 25 March; thus, this side of Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8 is obviously the bottom of the leaf containing Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9. Following this discovery, one can establish the height of the original page, and implicitly the amount of missing text. The height of the page can be reconstructed because we know the width, and the two sides generally respect the proportion of Carnot ( $1:\sqrt{2}$ , i. e. the width runs to circa 70% of the height)<sup>12</sup>. Subsequently, all the other feasts must be identified, in order to establish the place of the bifolium within the quire. Supposing that the original quire was a *quaternio*, as sketched in fig. 54, the bifolium can consist of folios 1 and 8, 2 and 7, 3 and 6, or 4 and 5. If this were the bifolium at the centre of the quire, the text would flow continuously from fol. 4r/4v to fol. 5r/5v. However, if this were any other bifolium, there would be a gap in the text from 1v to 8r, from 2v to 7r, or from 3v to 6r. Of course, the exterior bifolium would present the longest gap.

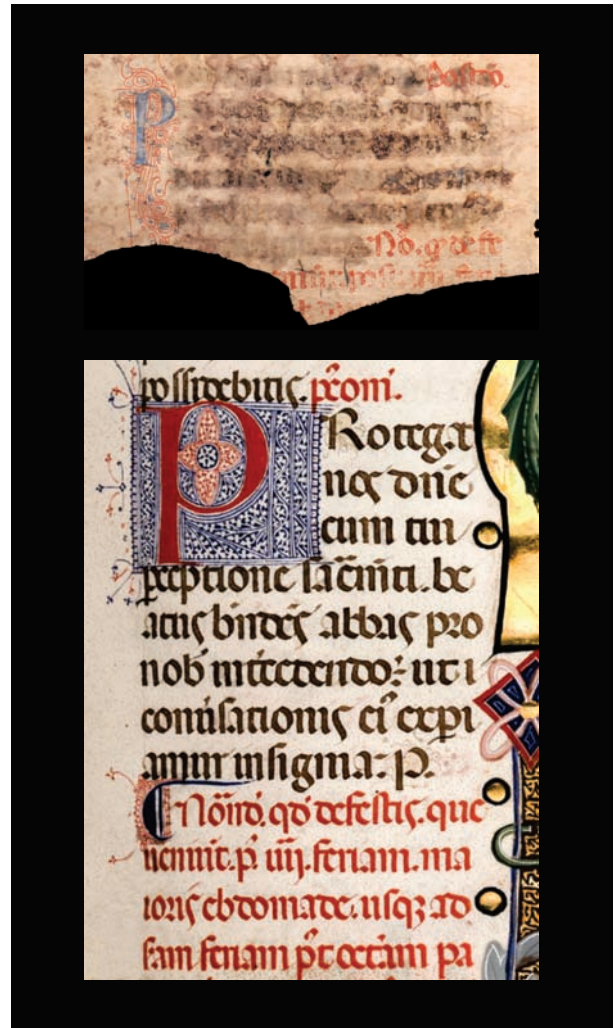


Fig. 53. The same passage in Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9 and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro, MS B. 63.

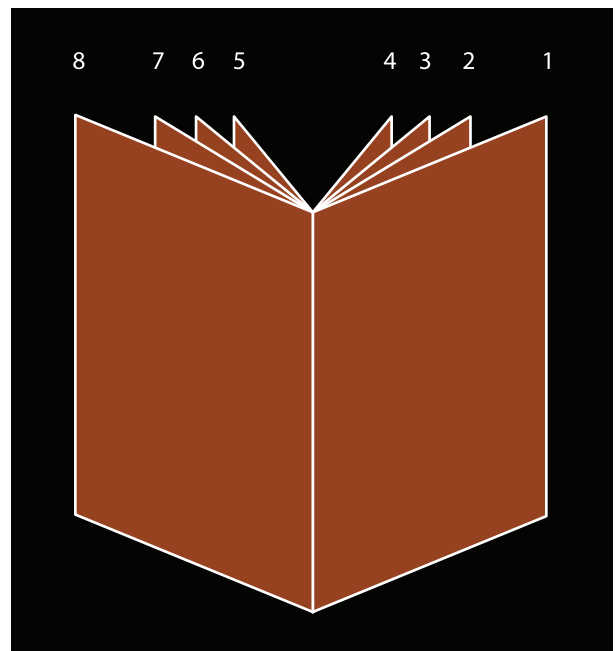


Fig. 54. The structure of a *quaternio*.



Fortunately, in this case, the catchword on *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8* shows that we are dealing with the exterior bifolium of the quire (*fig. 55*).



Fig. 55. Cluj, BAR, *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8*, catchword.

The identification of the other feasts from the *Sanctorale* confirms this: the bifolium contains the feasts of the holy Pope Damasus I, of St Lucy and St Thomas the Apostle (11, 13 and 21 December) on what was the first leaf of the quire, followed by a long gap, and then by the feasts of St Benedict, the Annunciation, Sts Tyburtius, Valerian and Maximus, and St George (21 and 25 March, 14 and 23 April) on what was the last leaf of the quire.

The manuscript is obviously an Italian product. Its most significant artistic feature is the historiated initial *D*, inhabited by the image of the Virgin Mary. The quality of the drawing, the pink of Our Lady's veil, the shape of the blue field, and above all the white tendrils decorating the letter and its field are typically Italian. All these features can be found in other Italian manuscripts, such as the *Summa de jure canonico* by Monaldus Justinopolitanus produced towards the middle of the fourteenth century, and kept at Chalon-sur-Saône (*fig. 56*)<sup>13</sup>.



Fig. 56. Historiated initials in Cluj, BAR, *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8*, and Chalon-sur-Saône, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 17 (14).

The Southern *textualis* of the manuscript also argues for a dating around the mid-fourteenth century. One may note the two-compartment *a* and *g*, the two shapes of the *d*, but only round final *s*, undotted *i*'s, feetless minims, and the uncrossed Tironian *et* (*fig. 57*)<sup>14</sup>.



Fig. 57. The palaeography of Cluj, BAR, *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8-10*.

Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8-10 were deposited in a box containing other fragments detached from bindings in the twentieth century (fig. 3). No provenance note accompanied the fragments, but the faint sixteenth- or seventeenth-century note “Jesus Maria” at the bottom of Fragn. Cod. Lat. 10 (fig. 58) suggests that the manuscript was owned by the Jesuits. Thus, one may suppose that this beautiful Italian missal was maculated in the Jesuit schools of Cluj or Cluj-Mănăştur. How it got there will never be known (perhaps it belonged to the former Dominican convent).

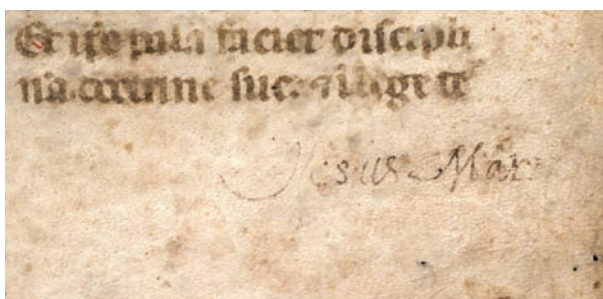


Fig. 58. Cluj, BAR, Fragn. Cod. Lat. 10, detail.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See Pellegrin 1957.

<sup>2</sup> See Schlechter 2015, pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> <https://handschriftencensus.de/search/hss/1/antiphonar>, consulted on 3 January 2022. See also *Verfasserlexikon* vol. I, coll. 1028-1033 and vol. XI, coll. 287-297.

<sup>4</sup> Klugseder 2014, pp. 167-173.

<sup>5</sup> Gottwald 1968, pp. 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> Stephan 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Peinlich 1864, pp. 65, 72, 80; Koren 2001, pp. 80, 84.

<sup>8</sup> This can be expanded as “Omnia ad maiorem Dei gloriam. Beata Virgo, omnes sancti, Iesus Christus”.

<sup>9</sup> Peinlich 1864, p. 63; Koren 2001, p. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Berger 2001, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Klugseder 2014, pp. 172-173.

<sup>12</sup> Muzerelle 1985 and Papahagi et al. 2013, nr 316.07.

<sup>13</sup> <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/1354>

<sup>14</sup> Derolez 2003, pp. 103-111.





# LIBRI INUTILES: LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS

## (SHOWCASE 5)

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Catholic liturgical manuscripts gradually became obsolete. They were rendered redundant by the Reformation, which swept through much of Northwestern and Central Europe, including Transylvania, but also by the printing revolution. In the Catholic Church, printed Roman missals gradually replaced the old manuscripts after the Council of Trent (1545-1563). "It was, then, printing, not Protestantism, which outmoded the medieval Vulgate and introduced a new drive to tap mass markets", Elizabeth Eisenstein wrote.<sup>1</sup> Actually, it was both, and the collections of the Academy Library in Cluj demonstrate that the Jesuits dismembered medieval manuscripts as much as the Protestants did.

The attitude of Protestants towards medieval (i. e. Catholic) liturgical books was anything but homogenous. In Braşov, the first Lutheran minister, Johannes Honterus (elected in 1543) established a school, a printing house, but also a library, where he integrated the medieval books that he had inherited from the former Catholic parish. The ancient book collections survived unharmed into the seventeenth century, and only perished in the fire that devastated the "Black Church" of Braşov in 1689<sup>2</sup>.

Very few manuscripts survived the great fire of 1689. One of them was offered to the governor of Transylvania, Samuel von Brukenthal, in 1782 and tells an interesting story. Additions in German demonstrate that the gradual was still in use during the first decades of the Lutheran Reformation. For instance, on f. 2r, a sixteenth-century hand glossed the *Kyrie eleyson* in German (*gott aller Scho<sup>p</sup>ffer erbarm dich unser* – fig. 59). In 1552, hymns accompanied by musical notation were added at the end of the book (fig. 60).



Fig. 59. Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, MS 759, f. 2r.

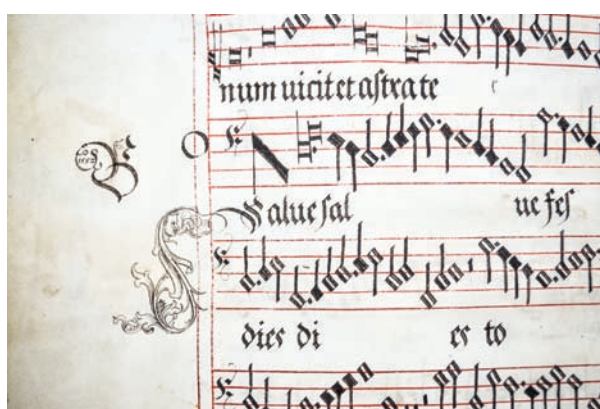


Fig. 60. Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, MS 759, f. 272v.

The Calvinists and Unitarians were not as tolerant as the Lutherans. In Cluj and Oradea, the Reformation was rather violent, and the Protestant populace stormed the Catholic institutions on several occasions. Oradea was besieged by the Calvinists in 1557, and in 1565-1566 Calvinist mobs pillaged the cathedral<sup>3</sup>. As already shown, the Unitarians sacked the Jesuit College of Cluj in 1603, and destroyed many of its books. In the same year, the royal judge Stephen Báthory of Ecsed, whose family had received medieval books from Oradea, made provisions in his testament that "the old books should be dismembered and distributed to school children; they will be suitable for binding their books in them"<sup>4</sup>.

Parchment leaves were used where the manuscripts were dismembered, or they could end up in the possession of binders, and circulate widely. Similarly, books and book owners are notorious travellers. In 1627, Balthazar Solimosy, a Unitarian scholar from Cluj, purchased in Venice two volumes of sermons published in the same city in 1610. He paid forty Venitian *denarii* for the books, and another thirty-five Hungarian *denarii* for the binding, which was made in Bratislava (*Posonii* – fig. 61) using fragments from an early fourteenth-century French copy of *Summa Halensis*.

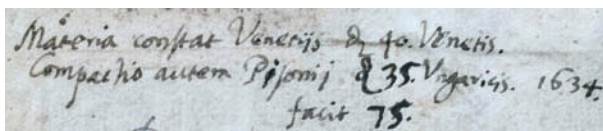


Fig. 61. Cluj, BAR, U. 61808, note.

Eventually, the books ended up in the library of the Unitarian College of Cluj, and can now be consulted under the shelfmark U. 61808 (figs. 62-63).

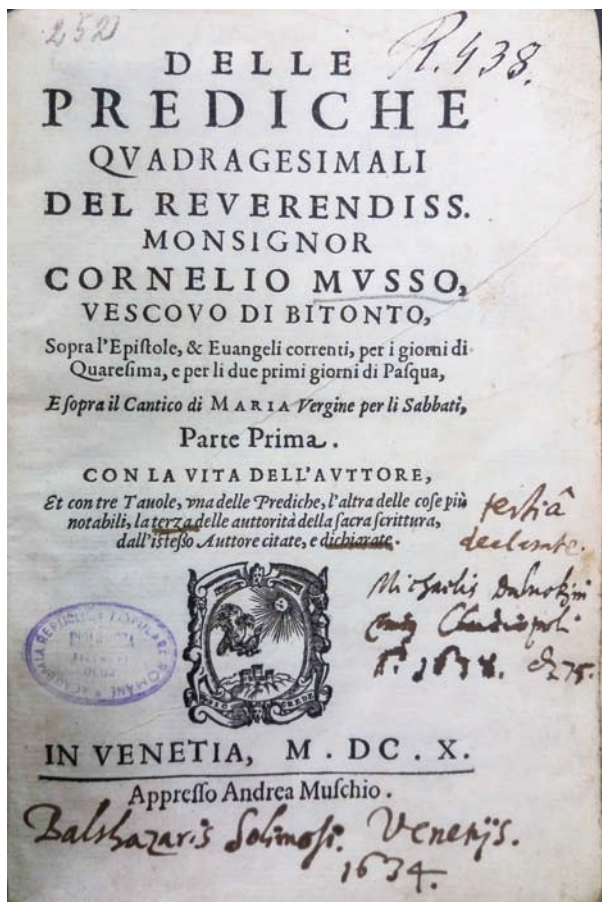


Fig. 62. Cluj, BAR, U. 61808, title page and ownership notes.

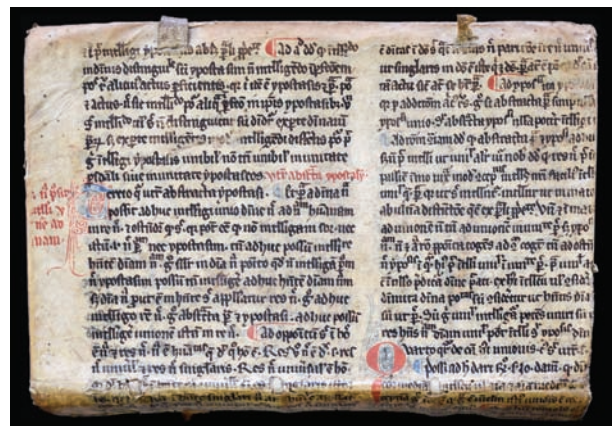


Fig. 63. Cluj, BAR, U. 61808, front cover of one of the volumes.

All this precious information was lost when librarians from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries detached fragments from bindings without documenting their provenance. Liturgical books are relatively standardised, and only a few manuscripts have survived from medieval Transylvania, so that it is virtually impossible to tell whether the fragments exhibited in this showcase, which were found in a box (fig. 3), circulated or were produced in our part of the world. In any case, three of the most typical late-medieval liturgical books are represented here: the breviary, which contains “the texts necessary for the celebration of the divine office” (Fragm. Cod. Lat. 4), the antiphonal, which “contains the sung portions of the office” (Fragm. Cod. Lat. 13), and the missal, which contains the “texts necessary for the performance of the mass (including chants, prayers, and readings), together with ceremonial directions” (Fragm. Cod. Lat. 7)<sup>5</sup>.

Fig. 64. Cluj, BAR, Fragn. Cod. Lat. 4, verso.



mon: mos dei mo  
os coagulat mo  
t qd suspicatum  
gulatos os mo  
do hitare ieo: et  
ifine **Q**ueri dei  
mltiplex **Q**uia le  
iens **Q**uia **Q**uia  
altu cepisti capu  
pist **Q**uia **Q**uia  
red **Q**uia **Q**uia  
**Q**uia **Q**uia  
dm **Q**uia **Q**uia  
ds **Q**uia **Q**uia  
e: utice: capill: p  
idelutis **Q**uia **Q**uia  
a **Q**uia **Q**uia  
aris **Q**uia **Q**uia  
isanguie: lingua  
eummas **Q**uia **Q**uia  
ellus **Q**uia **Q**uia  
u regis **Q**uia **Q**uia  
tenere: principes  
medio iune  
**Q**uia **Q**uia

h dē qd opatus es in b **T**em  
plo tuo i iherlm: t offeret reges  
unua **T**uorpa feras arum  
duns **T**u gregano thauror m  
uacis plore: ut excludat eos  
qui plati s argento **O**ssipa  
gts que bella uoluit **I**uemēt  
legati ex egypto: ethyopia p  
uemēt man' ei dō **E**gna  
te carate dō: psallite dūs **P**  
callite deo qui ascedit sup ce  
lu cel: ad orientē **C**oe tad  
non sue uoce ututis **C**ate glo  
ria dō sup **M**agfaria ei  
ututis ei **M**uabris  
ds mlas **M**is ds **M**is ds  
ututē **M**is ds **M**is ds  
bndcus ds **M**is ds **M**is ds  
te dne **M**is ds **M**is ds  
Posuisti lacrimas meas in spai tuo,  
**A**mpl' lana me, dne ab **L**auds  
iusticia mea **L**auds **L**auds  
cet yumpu ds **L**auds **L**auds  
bia ma. laudabit te iuita ma ds  
ms **L**auds **L**auds **L**auds  
**L**auds **L**auds **L**auds **L**auds  
**L**auds **L**auds **L**auds **L**auds

Ann. 6. m.  
i. Re.



Fragm. Cod. Lat. 4 (fig. 64) is a typical Central European breviary, copied in a regular Northern *textualis*, with only limited decoration (the usual red and blue lombards). Next to the canticle of Anna, read or sung at lauds on Wednesdays (*Exultavit cor meum in domino...*), a sixteenth-century hand wrote “C[anticum] Annæ/ 1. Reg[um]”, which is an interesting indication that this fifteenth-century liturgical book was still being used in the next century. Although this cannot be proved, the original manuscript may well be a local product.

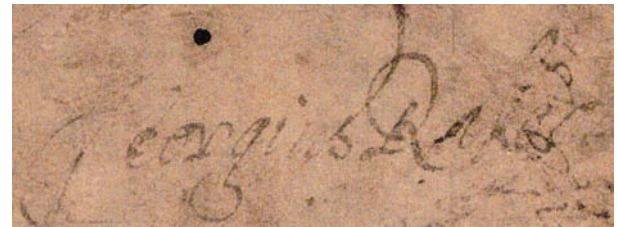
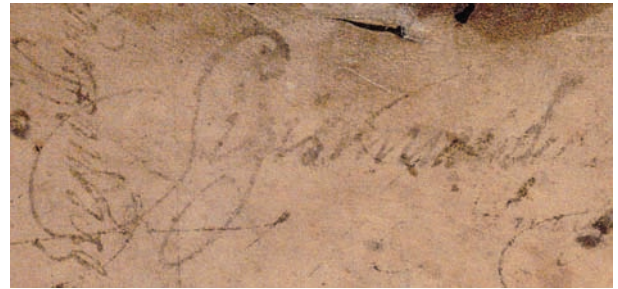


Fig. 65. Cluj, BAR, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 7, historical notes.

Fragm. Cod. Lat. 7 was perhaps maculated in Transylvania, as a series of faint early-modern notes suggest. “Sigismundus” and “Georgius Rakoczi (?) +++ Transylvaniae Princeps...” (figs 65-66), may refer to Sigismund Rákóczi, prince of Transylvania in 1607-1608, and to George Rákóczi I or II, princes of Transylvania in 1630-1648 and 1648-1660.

The catchword on the flesh side of the open bifolium shows that we are dealing with the outer bifolium of the quire. If the quire was a *quaternio*, the pages would be: \*1r (flesh-side, right); \*1v (hair-side, left); \*8r (hair-side, right); \*8v (flesh-side, left).

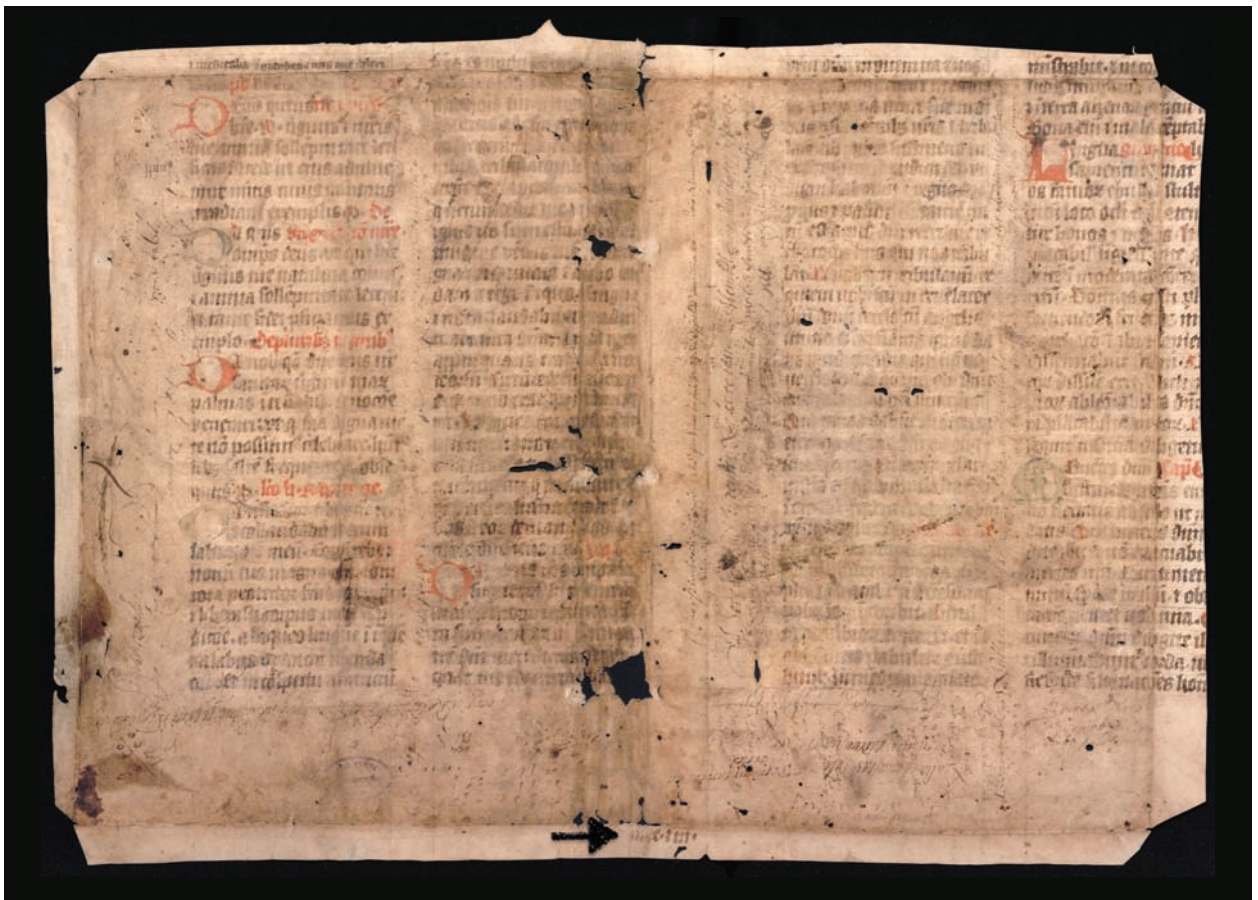
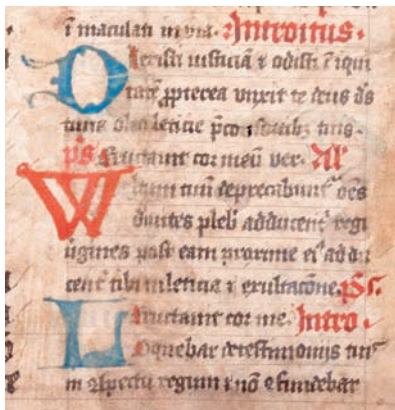
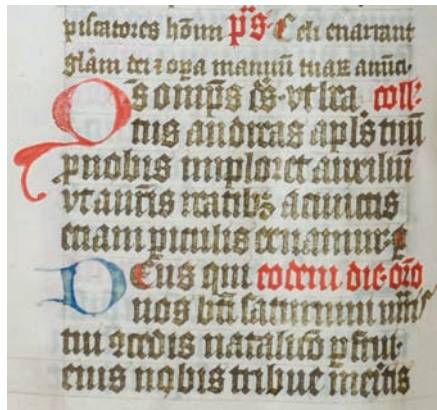


Fig. 66. Cluj, BAR, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 7 (arrow points at catchword).

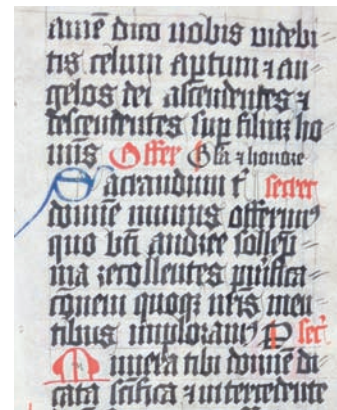




a.



b.



c.

Fig. 67. Details from Cluj, BAR, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 7, hair side (a) and Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Național Brukenthal, MSS 597 (b) and 598 (c).

The average Northern *textualis*, the layout, and the decoration of the fragment are common in missals produced in the fifteenth century in Transylvania, and all over Central Europe (fig. 67).

The spiked tops of such letters as *a*, *n*, *m*, *p*, and the type of dotting of the *i* argue for a dating in the second half of the fifteenth century (fig. 68). The text is slightly slanted, and the ink was manifestly not good enough to resist the tear and wear, so that it is barely readable today.

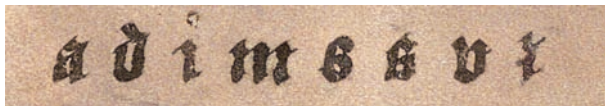


Fig. 68. The palaeography of Cluj, BAR, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 7.

As opposed to all the other fragments from our collection, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 13 was not wrapping a book. We found it in a box (fig. 3), alongside nine other *fragmenta codicum* that had all the characteristics of book wrappers (trimmed edges, spine and turn-in creases, dirty exposed side and clean glued side, paper fragments still sticking to them). Perhaps the leaf was detached from its manuscript to serve as maculature, but was never used to that end. Moreover, it bears the stamp of the Transylvanian Museum, an institution born in 1859 with the goal of collecting ancient and valuable objects from the Transylvanian gentry and aristocracy. Interestingly, the other medieval manuscripts and fragments collected by the Transylvanian Museum are kept today at the Central University Library in Cluj. Consequently, the

fragment does not come from any of the historical libraries of Cluj, but most likely from a private Transylvanian collection.

Moreover, this fine fifteenth-century antiphonal seems to be a foreign product. Its exquisite pen-flourished initials, its carefully decorated and sometimes historiated cadels (the A at the top of the verso – figs 69-70), its regular *textus praescissus* (fig. 71), and its standard square Gothic musical notation point to a professional workshop outside Transylvania.



Fig. 69. Cluj, BAR, Fragg. Cod. Lat. 13 verso.

The **A** cadel on the verso (fig. 70) is inhabited by a plummeting dove, aptly representing the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost (the fragment contains the office of vespers on Pentecost).



Fig. 70. Cluj, BAR, Fragn. Cod. Lat. 13, verso (detail).

The *textus praescissus* is highly standardised and regular: the letters are not slanted, the footless minims are perpendicular on the baseline, the two-compartment **a** is closed by hairlines. The only notable features are the absence of *i* dotting, which argues for a dating in the early fifteenth century, and some hesitation whether to cross the Tironian *et*, which may be an Austrian symptom.



Fig. 71. The palaeography of Cluj, BAR, Fragn. Cod. Lat. 13.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Eisenstein 1983, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup>Gross 1887, p. 593; Nussbächer 1977, pp. 99-101; Papahagi 2015, pp. 40-41; Papahagi 2021, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup>Czagány 2019, pp. 168-169.

<sup>4</sup>Czagány 2019, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup>Brown 1994, s. vv. 'Breviary', 'Antiphonal', 'Missal'.





## TRANSYLVANIAN CHOIR BOOKS

### (SHOWCASE 6)

One of the purposes of the FRAGMED project was to identify multiple fragments extracted from the same manuscript, known as *membra disiecta*<sup>1</sup>. Some ten score books wrapped in medieval parchment manuscripts were placed on the tables of a large reading room, those that looked similar were grouped together, and finally the actual *membra disiecta* were isolated. This was the case of two books, BMVC.218 and C.55090 (fig. 72).

Both printed books belonged to the Jesuit schools of Cluj and Cluj-Mănăştur. BMVC.218 is a copy of János Szilvási's *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae...*, printed in Cluj in 1597, on the press founded by Gáspár Heltai. Szilvási's career illustrates the turmoils of the Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation in Transylvania. Born in Dej around 1570, he was brought up in Cluj in the Unitarian faith, but converted to Calvinism in his last school year.

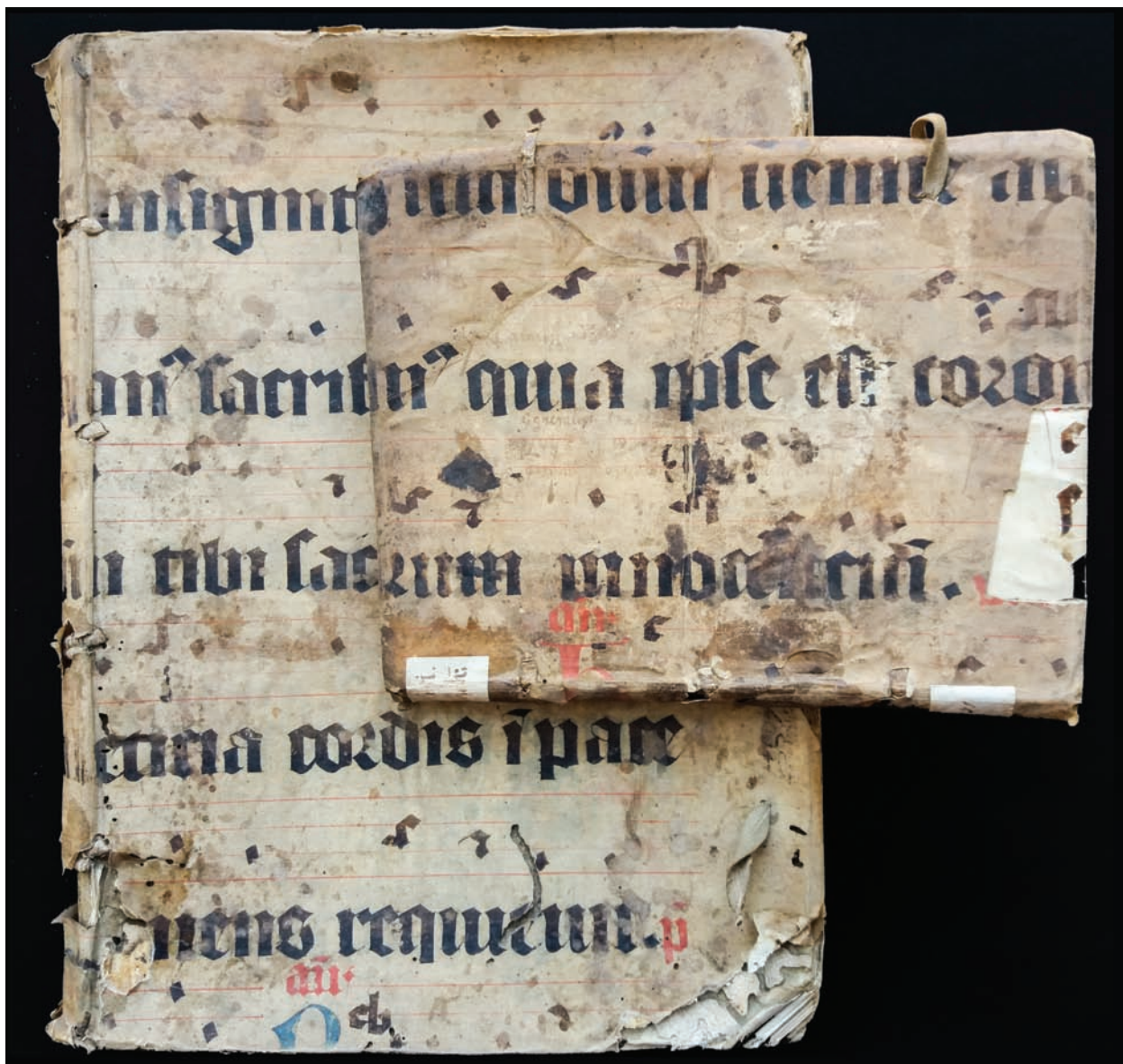


Fig. 72. Cluj, BAR, BVM C.218, and C.55090 before restoration.

In 1587 he became a student in Heidelberg; back to Transylvania, he served as reformed archdeacon in Târgu-Mureş and Orăştie, but in 1595 he converted to Catholicism. *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae...* is his third and last published work – the previous ones advocate Unitarian and Calvinist positions<sup>2</sup>. The book's title page is missing, but the next page bears the seventeenth-century ownership note – "Soc<ietatis> JESV in Monostor". Twelve copies of Szilvási's book have survived in Transylvania (including another copy at the Academy Library in Cluj, BMV C. 219 – fig. 43), and seven can be found in Bratislava, Budapest, Debrecen, Gyöngyös and Pannonhalma<sup>3</sup>. Eight of these copies are bound in medieval manuscript fragments<sup>4</sup>.

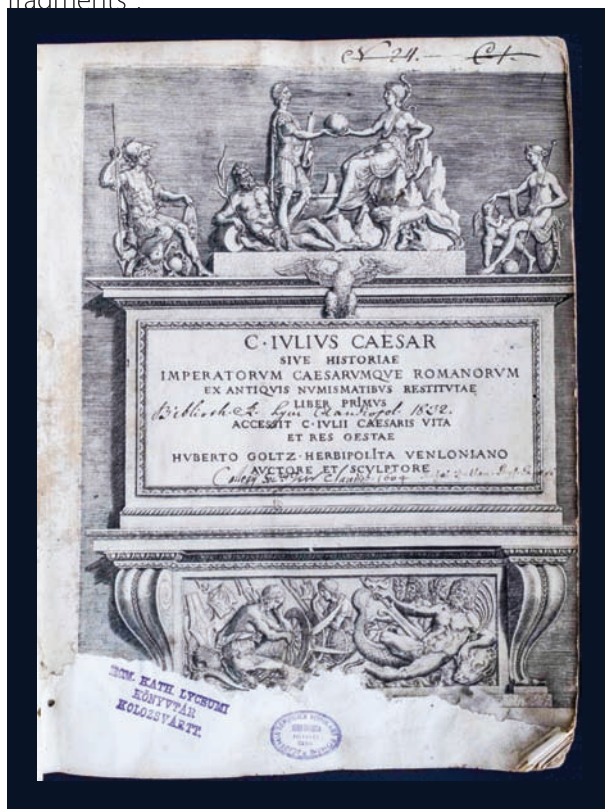


Fig. 73. Cluj, BAR, C. 55090, title page.

The beautiful C. 55090 also belonged to the earliest book collection of the Jesuit College, which survived the 1603 plunders and was inventoried in 1604. The book is a copy of *Caius Julius Caesar, sive historiae imperatorum caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restituta...*, written, illustrated and printed by Hubert Goltz (Brugge, 1563; USTC 401143). The title page bears the ownership note

"Collegii Soc<ieta>tis JESV Claudiop<olitani> 1604" (fig. 73). One may suppose that the two books were bound locally, with parchment extracted from available manuscripts.

During a research trip to Budapest, I showed these findings to Gabriella Gilányi and Zsuzsa Czagány from the Institute of Musicology (Zenetudományi Intézet). Dr Gilányi, who is working on Transylvanian musical manuscripts, realised that the newly discovered fragments and two further leaves known to Hungarian musicologists<sup>5</sup> were *membra disiecta* from the same fifteenth-century Transylvanian antiphonal. Janka Szendrei's F 34 (Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T422/b<sup>6</sup>) was extracted from the binding of a printed book bearing the shelfmark Tört. F. 256, which had belonged to Count Ádám Teleki of Szék (d. 1792), administrator of Dăbâca (Co. Cluj), and to his heir, Countess Mária Teleki, according to a note on the front flyleaf (fig. 74):

Ex Bibliotheca Excellentissimi quondam Domini Comitis Adami Teleki de Szék primis Mensis Septembris diebus in Anno 1793 in tres partes divisa cessit in partem Illustrissimae Dominae Comitissae Mariae Teleki de Szék.<sup>7</sup>

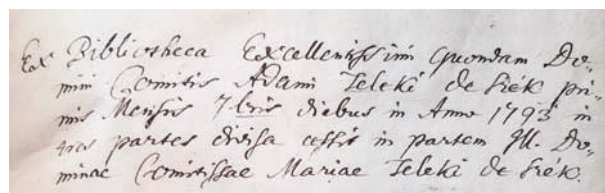


Fig. 74. Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, Tört. F. 256.

The second fragment was detached from the binding of protocols from Cluj-Mănăştur (Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, F 15, Kolozsmonostor, *Protocollum maius I 1629-1638*), which proves its Transylvanian provenance. Thus, the original antiphonal was certainly dismembered in the former Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur, or in some other religious institution from Cluj in the first decades of the seventeenth century.



The four fragments from the *sanctorale* part of this antiphonal were analysed in an article published in 2019<sup>8</sup>, and in the meantime a fifth fragment has been discovered in Budapest. Also, detaching the fragments from their host books in 2021 has doubled the amount of text that we were able to read.

Moreover, identifying other leaves from the same manuscript allows one to reconstitute the original size of mutilated fragments. Thus, the full leaf from the Academy Library in Budapest allows one to reconstitute the size of the original manuscript (fig. 75).



Fig. 75. Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, T 422/b (a); Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 14r (b) and 15 (c).

The original manuscript was a sizeable book, measuring about 500 x 345 mm, and displaying a highly regular *textus praescissus (sine pedibus)*, a demanding calligraphic script “considered appropriate only for the most formal (usually liturgical) manuscripts”<sup>9</sup>. The fact that no feet are applied to the minims involves supplementary calligraphic efforts, and adds to the mannerism of this type of script<sup>10</sup>. Scholars therefore consider that the *textus praescissus* ranks highest in the hierarchy of Gothic book scripts<sup>11</sup>. The original antiphonal was certainly a book of good quality, and was probably produced in a professional workshop in Transylvania. The decoration includes the usual rubricated lombards, and highlighted cadels decorated with masks (human heads – **fig. 76**)<sup>12</sup>, but one may presume that such an elegant book also had more elaborate initials at the beginnings of the main sections.



Fig. 76. Mask cadel in Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 15.

Gabriella Gilányi’s detailed musicological analysis confirmed Janka Szendrei’s assumption that the antiphonal was copied in Transylvania: “this is proved by the conservative neume structures, in spite of the relatively late age of the antiphonal, by the angular but conjunct forms, by the robust writing style etc.”<sup>13</sup> These are the main features of the fragments’ musical notation, according to Gilányi (**fig. 77**)<sup>14</sup>:

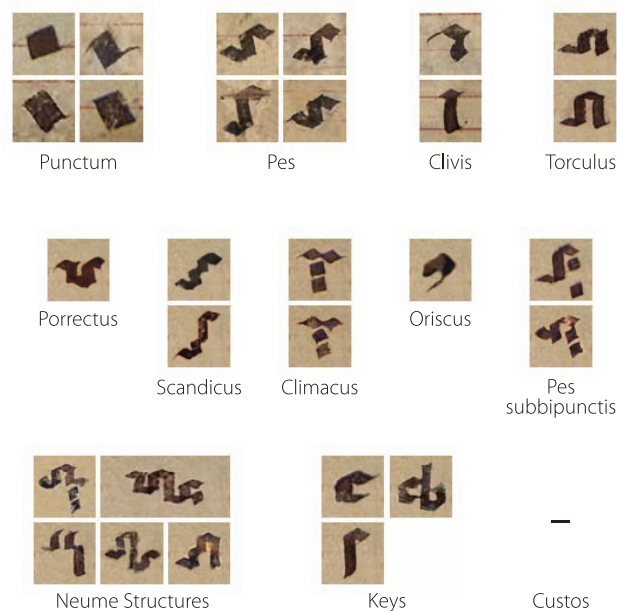


Fig. 77. The musical palaeography of Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 14-15 and Budapest, MTAK, T422/b.

The profusion of data that can be extracted from these *membra disiecta* stands in stark contrast to the scarcity of information provided by Fragm. Cod. Lat. 5, which was found in a box (**fig. 3**), without provenance notes (**fig. 78**).

Fig. 78. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 5, verso.

Fortunately, various annotations made in the seventeenth century show that the fragment was extracted from archival material used in the Szekler region: “Leveltár A 997, 1627, Udvarhely ????” – “Archive A 997, 1627, Odorheiul Secuiesc”; “Anno Domini 1623 Mensis Maji 26”; “Anno 1635”. “Salomon de (?) Zereda” (**fig. 79**) may be someone from Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszékreda in Hungarian).

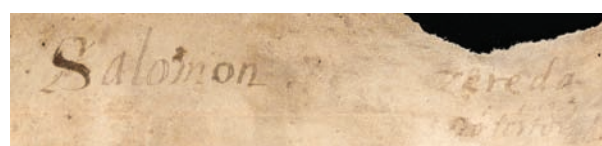


Fig. 79. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 5 (detail).



Handwritten marginal note on the right side.

Handwritten text above the main musical staff.

**P** **H** **K**

*Handwritten text in Gothic script with large decorated initials in red and blue.*

**P** **H** **K** **L**

*Handwritten text in Gothic script with large decorated initials in red and blue.*

**P** **H** **K** **L** **M**

*Handwritten text in Gothic script with large decorated initials in red and blue.*

**P** **H** **K** **L** **M** **N**

*Handwritten text in Gothic script with large decorated initials in red and blue.*

*Handwritten text in Gothic script, likely a rubric or marginal note.*

*Handwritten text in Gothic script, likely a rubric or marginal note.*

*Handwritten text in Gothic script, likely a rubric or marginal note.*

*Handwritten text in Gothic script, likely a rubric or marginal note.*

*Handwritten text in Gothic script, likely a rubric or marginal note.*

*Handwritten text in Gothic script, likely a rubric or marginal note.*

*Small handwritten notes at the bottom of the page.*

Thus, this fragment copied in the early-sixteenth century may come from the Szekler region in Eastern Transylvania, and perhaps even from the famous Franciscan convent of Șumuleu Ciuc. The original gradual was a sizeable book, measuring around 600 x 430 mm. Its square musical notation, its script and the decoration of its initials are similar to what can be found in a gradual produced in the first decades of the sixteenth century for the Franciscans of Cluj (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS I.2, s. XVI)<sup>15</sup>, and especially in an antiphonal made for the Dominicans of Sighișoara in 1506 (Sighișoara, Evangelical parish office, MS s. n. – figs 80-81)<sup>16</sup>.



Fig. 80. Initial S in Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 5 (a); Sighișoara, Biserica Evanghelică C. A., Oficiul parohial, MS s. n. (b); Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS I.2 (c).

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> cf. Pellegrin 1957.

<sup>2</sup> Zoványi 1977, s.v. 'Szilvási János'.

<sup>3</sup> *RMNy*, nr 808.

<sup>4</sup> Cluj, BAR, BMV C. 218 and 219; Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum Library, Tr. XVI/150; Sighișoara, "Zaharia Boiu" Municipal Library, IV.361; Miercurea Ciuc, Csíki Székely Múzeum, 1775 and 1897; Debrecen, University Library, 702065; Pannonhalma, Abbey Library, 123b F2.

<sup>5</sup> Szendrei 1981, nrs F 34 and F 348.

<sup>6</sup> Not just 'T 422', as in the available literature, nor 'T 422/6' as written in pencil on the verso. T 422 consists of leaves from a printed book; the printed sheets of paper constituted the cardboard of the binding, and the parchment leaf provided its covering. Fragment T 422/b is kept in a separate envelope, together with two other large unrelated fragments (T 638 and T 995/b). The register of fragments at the Hungarian Academy Library (*Töredék registrum* I, 422) indicates Cluj/Kolozsvár as the provenance of the printed book fragments.

<sup>7</sup> The book's binding was restored in 1973, according to a label on the rear pastedown. The volume contains Sigmund of Herberstein's *De legatione Basilii magni principis Moscoviae liber...*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1551 [USTC 690718].

<sup>8</sup> Gilányi/Papahagi 2019.

<sup>9</sup> Derolez 2003, p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Steinmann 1979, pp. 316–319. On the calligraphic execution of *textus praescissus*, see Drogin 1980, pp. 149–152 and Harris 1995, pp. 54–57.

<sup>11</sup> Brown 1990, p. 80.

<sup>12</sup> For more details on such initials, see Papahagi 2020.

<sup>13</sup> Gilányi/Papahagi 2019, pp. 20–21.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Papahagi/Dincă/Mârza 2018, nr 2.

<sup>16</sup> Papahagi/Dincă/Mârza 2018, nr 506.

Fig. 81. Sighișoara, Biserica Evanghelică C. A., Oficiul parohial, MS s. n.





*oro*  
Intra  
Stuita  
te bre Ma  
ne v. fr  
p. d. lit.

Ecce est regina v.

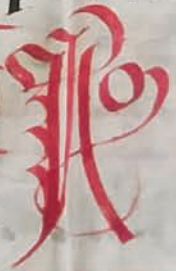
ginu que genuit re

ge velut Rosa decora vgo dei ge

nitrice per qua reperim deum et homi

ne alma virgo intercede pro no

bis omnibus. Laudate. p. d.



**G**loria  
Tirps  
yel  
se



# THE GREAT CHOIR BOOKS FROM ORADEA

## (SHOWCASE 7)

In the fifteenth century, Oradea was an affluent diocese. Several of its bishops were influential diplomats and fine scholars, with excellent international connections. The Florentine Andrea Scolari (1409-1426) was the first bishop to appoint a permanent librarian (*rector armarii librorum*), yet no books survive from this age. In his will, Scolari mentioned a single volume, a pocket French Bible worth thirty-six florins<sup>1</sup>. Three of Scolari's successors were also of Italian origin, but it was during the rule of the Croatian John Vitez (1445-1465) that Oradea became a centre of humanistic learning. The scholarly bishop had a large personal library of some five hundred volumes, which left Oradea when Vitez was appointed archbishop of Esztergom<sup>2</sup>. Towards the end of the century, the Moravian John Filipec, a remarkable diplomat and humanist, became bishop of Oradea (1476-1490) and of Olomouc (1484-1490), while also serving as chancellor to king Matthias Corvinus (1485-1490)<sup>3</sup>. The Dominican scholar Petrus Ransanus (Pietro Ranzano) praised Filipec's munificence towards his cathedral in these terms:

Sacram, cuius est Antistes, aedem ditavit pretiosis tum sacerdotum vestibus, tum argenteis vasis, libris praeterea magnis, quos vocant graduarios et antiphonarios, omni ex parte adeo mire exornatos, ut magni ac ditissimi alicuius regis dicata Deo dona possint non immerito iudicari.<sup>4</sup>

He enriched the holy house whose bishop he is with precious liturgical vestments, silver chalices, and also with large books called graduals and antiphonals, wonderfully decorated throughout, so that one might consider, not without reason, that some great and wealthy king had made those gifts to God.

The combined effects of the Turkish conquest following the battle of Mohács (1526), and of the Reformation were fatal to the diocese of Oradea and to its books. In 1557, Oradea was besieged and sacked by Calvinist troops. However, an inventory of the chapter's treasures drafted in that year shows that the four huge volumes of Filipec's gradual and antiphonal ("libri maiores graduales cum optima illuminatione conscripti quatuor") were still in place<sup>5</sup>.

Filipec's choir books left Oradea at some point after 1557, and were dismembered in the seventeenth century in Northern Hungary, according to the most recent theory<sup>6</sup>. The main bulk of the antiphonal's two volumes ended up in Győr, but the gradual volumes were lost. Fragments from Filipec's antiphonal, and more rarely from the gradual, have been identified in Budapest, Győr, Debrecen, Bratislava, Modra, Kosičce, and in other towns, as shown on this map (fig. 82).

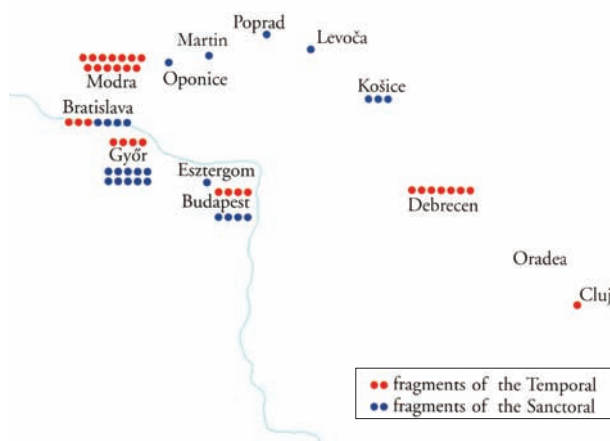


Fig. 82. Dispersion of fragments from the *Antiphonale Varadinense* (from Czagány 2019, vol. III, p. 208).

In 1872, Bishop János Zalka of Győr ordered the restoration of the antiphonal. The 317 surviving leaves (179 of the *Temporale* and 138 of the *Sanctorale*) were rebound in one massive volume, weighing about seventy kilograms and measuring about 800 x 540 mm.<sup>7</sup> The largest book surviving from medieval Hungary, now kept in the the Diocesan Treasury and Library of Győr, was known for a century as the "Zalka Antiphonal" (fig. 83). Earlier scholars thought that the antiphonal had always belonged to the Cathedral of Győr<sup>8</sup>, but in 1981 the musicologist Janka Szendrei was able to demonstrate that it followed the liturgical use of Oradea<sup>9</sup>. Thus, the manuscript was identified as one of Filipec's choir books, and is now known as *Antiphonale Varadinense*.

Fig. 83. Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár, s. n.



The image shows a page from a medieval manuscript. On the left, a large, ornate initial letter 'A' is decorated with intricate gold and blue patterns. Inside the 'A' is a miniature illustration of the Nativity scene: the Virgin Mary is kneeling in prayer, the infant Jesus lies in a manger, and the three wise men are kneeling before him. Two angels are shown flying in the sky above the stable. To the right of the initial, the text 'vespres' is written in a Gothic script, followed by 'nostra' on the next line. Below this, the text 'da genitrix intacta' is written on a line of musical notation. The text continues with 'ue illuda ue pax ge lus' and 'ac a pius' on subsequent lines. The musical notation consists of black diamond-shaped notes on red staves. A decorative floral border runs vertically down the right side of the page, featuring blue, yellow, and red flowers and scrolling vines. The page number '53' is visible in the bottom right corner.

vespres  
nostra  
da genitrix intacta **A**  
ue illuda ue pax ge lus  
ac a pius **A** ue  
cōa pius patris spīādoze lene



As for the book's origin, the palaeography, the rhombic musical notation, and the outstanding decoration point to Bohemia, and probably to Prague<sup>10</sup>. These salient features allowed me to identify one fragment from the gradual and one from the antiphonal at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj<sup>11</sup>. Most characteristically, the *i*'s have a peculiar systematic dotting, and the hairline of the *e* extends below the preceding *e* (figs 84-85).

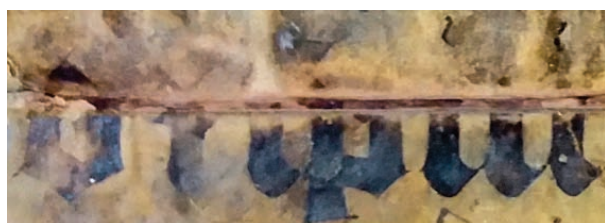


a.



b.

Fig. 84. Details from Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 1 (a) and Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár, s. n. (b).



a.



b.

Fig. 85. Details from Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2 (a) and Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár, s. n. (b).

The cadel *G* in Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2 also calls to mind similar initials in the volume from Győr – unfortunately, the two dwarfs inhabiting the decorated initial are invisible on the photograph, and can barely be seen with the naked eye in good daylight (fig. 86).



a.



b.



c.



d.

Fig. 86. Details from Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2 (a) and Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár, s. n. (b-d).

The morphology of the rubricated *R* (*responsorium*) with yellow highlighting is also very similar (fig. 87).



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 87. Details from Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2 (a) and Győr, Diocesan Treasury and Library, s. n. (b-c).

Nothing is known about the provenance of the gradual fragment, now Fragm. Cod. Lat. 1, which was detached and placed in a box at some point in the twentieth century (fig. 3). The iter of Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2 can be reconstituted with confidence, and it tells a fascinating story. As Zsuzsa Czagány noted, it was extracted from the same leaf as a fragment that ended up in the Slovakian city of Modra (Bratislava, National Archives, Modra branch, 3119)<sup>12</sup>. Thus, almost half of the original leaf may be reconstituted, as shown below (fig. 88).



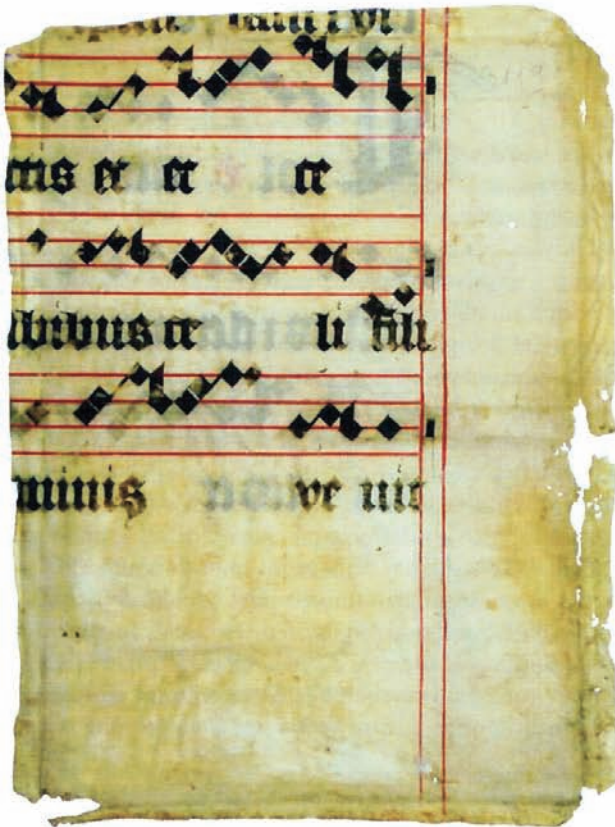


Fig. 88. Reconstituted page section containing the fragments from Cluj and Modra (from Czagány 2019, vol. III, p. 225).

The great number of fragments surviving in Győr, Bratislava and Modra seem to confirm Czagány's theory that the antiphonal was dismembered in Northern Hungary in the seventeenth century<sup>13</sup>. At some point after 1667, two books were bound together and wrapped in our *Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2*: János Lippay's *Posoni kert* and *Gyümölczös kert*, printed by Matthaeus Cosmerovius in Vienna in 1664 and 1667<sup>14</sup>. Lippay (1606-1666) was a Jesuit botanist and garden architect from Bratislava. In 1697, the book belonged to a certain Nicholas Orbonás in Alba Iulia, as attested by a note on the front flyleaf: "Ex Libris <sub rasura: +++ +++ Nicolai Orbonas?>, Cui Deus Providebit. Comparantur (!) Alba Iulia die 15 Maius. Anno 1697. Ex Donatione Generosi Domini Nicolaj Orbonas, Manu propria." (fig. 89).

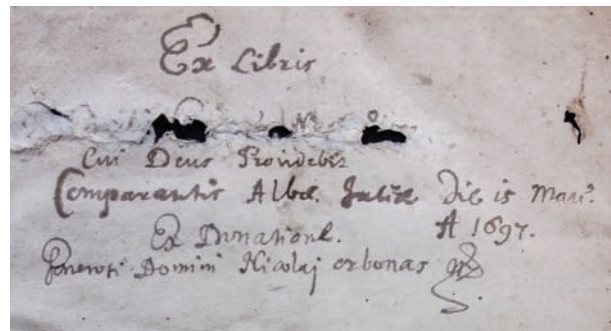


Fig. 89. Cluj, BAR, BMVR. 19, front flyleaf.

The book did not come to Cluj directly from Alba Iulia, but travelled to Budapest and back to Transylvania. Stamps on the verso of the title page show that the book belonged to the professor István Horvát (1784-1846), director of the National Museum in Budapest. In 1846-1851, Horvát's library was purchased by the National Museum, and became part of the National Library of Hungary<sup>15</sup>. Since the National Széchenyi Library already had a copy of this title, it discarded the volume, as a stamp on the title page indicates, and donated it to the Reformed College of Cluj, in whose library it entered in 1871, as the stamp on the verso of the title page demonstrates (fig. 90) – and this is how the book returned to Transylvania.

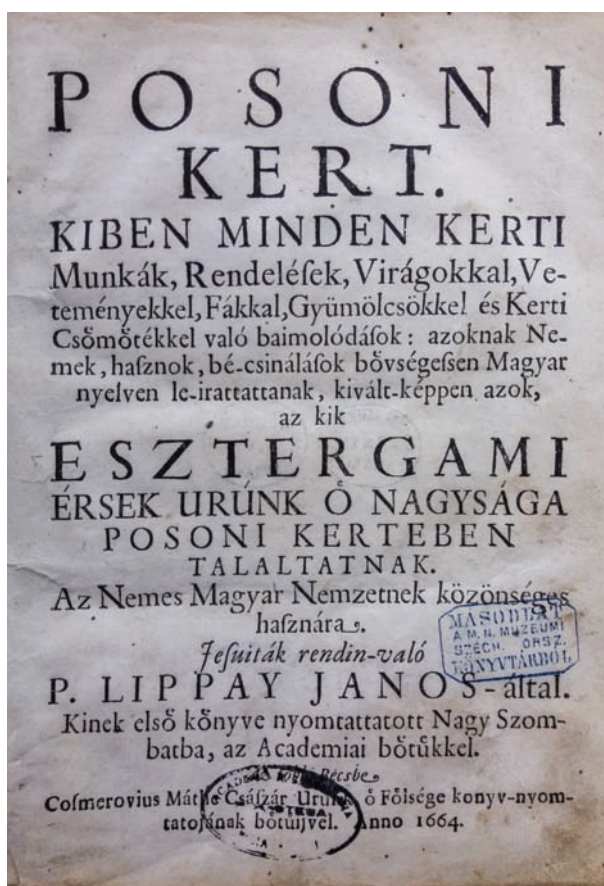


Fig. 90. Cluj, BAR, BMVR.19, f. a1r and a1v.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Balogh 1923-1926, p. 187: "Item lego et darj volo prefato meo monasterio construendo unam bibbiam (!) de lietera (!) gallica parvj voluminis pretij florenorum triginta sex vel circa."

<sup>2</sup> Csapodi-Gárdonyi 1984; Földesi 2008, p. 104, and catalogue entries and pictures.

<sup>3</sup> On Filipec, see Kalous 2006. On Filipec's books, see Csapodi 1967 and Csapodi 1975.

<sup>4</sup> Ransanus 1579, f. E3v; modern edition Ransanus 1977.

<sup>5</sup> Mikó/Molnár 2003, p. 316 (p. 392 of the original document in the National Archives of Hungary).

<sup>6</sup> Czagány 2019, vol. III, pp. 178-179.

<sup>7</sup> Rómer 1877.

<sup>8</sup> Radó 1973, p. 530, nr 181: "Factum possessionis longaevae 'in Repositorio istius Cath. Ecclesiae' valde verisimile reddit, antiphonarum ingens pro hac ecclesia exaratum esse".

<sup>9</sup> Szendrei 1981, pp. 40-41; Szendrei 1988.

<sup>10</sup> Szendrei 1988, cf. *supra*; Czagány 2016a, pp. 105-106; Czagány 2016b. Lóránd Zentai believes that "the decoration was made around 1490 in a significant Czech miniature workshop, possibly in Prague, in Master Matheus' workshop" (*Kódexek* 1985, p. 163, nr 185).

<sup>11</sup> Papahagi 2017a; Papahagi 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Czagány 2019, vol. III, pp. 203, pp. 224-226.

<sup>13</sup> Czagány 2019, vol. III, p. 199.

<sup>14</sup> *RMNy* 1656-1670, nrs 3173 and 3334.

<sup>15</sup> Berlász 1963-1964; Indali 1967.



# THE GRADUAL OF ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH IN CLUJ

## (SHOWCASE 8)

The Catholic parish of Cluj is dedicated to the archangel Michael, who is also the patron saint of Transylvania. The current church was built from around 1348-1349, when the city was allowed to elect its own vicar, until the 1480s. In 1528, the church was renovated, and the sacristy received a new gate, decorated in the Renaissance style<sup>1</sup>. The date '1528' was engraved at the base of the sculpted pillars, and was still visible in old photographs (fig. 92). Unfortunately, the date is now concealed by wood panels (fig. 91). Moreover, the iron gate, which has since been replaced, bore the initials of its donor or maker, 'L.B.'



Fig. 91. Cluj, St Michael's church, sacristy gate in 1943 (a)<sup>2</sup> and now (b).

In 1970, Kilián Szigeti connected St Michael's sacristy gate to a large gradual kept at the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (MS I.1), whose binding has metal pieces dated in '1528' (fig. 93) and bearing the initials 'L BVE'<sup>3</sup>. This huge book, weighing sixteen kilograms and measuring 570 x 410 mm, was transferred to Alba Iulia from the Catholic High School of Cluj on 15 March 1913.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 92. Cluj, St. Michael's Church, dated sacristy gate pillar ('28').



Fig. 93. Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS I.1, dated metal clasp ('1528').

Kilián Szigeti believed that the manuscript was copied shortly before 1528 by the Benedictines of Cluj-Mănăştur for St Michael's parish church. He was certainly right to note that, in the *sanctorale* section, only Candlemas (the feast of the Presentation of Jesus Christ and of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, on 2 February) and Michaelmas (on 29 September, fig. 94) are introduced by historiated initials<sup>5</sup>.

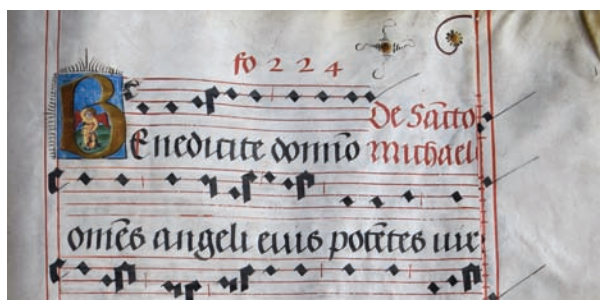


Fig. 94. Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS I.1, f. 224r.

On account of the Messine gothic musical notation, Janka Szendrei believed that the manuscript was "a foreign product, for Hungarian use"<sup>6</sup>. However, Transylvanian workshops were perfectly able to produce liturgical books with stately decoration, following German, Bohemian or Polish models<sup>7</sup>, so that the gradual may also be a local product.



Fig. 95. Cluj, BAR, C. 54660-62, C. 57795 and MS C. 83 before the restoration.

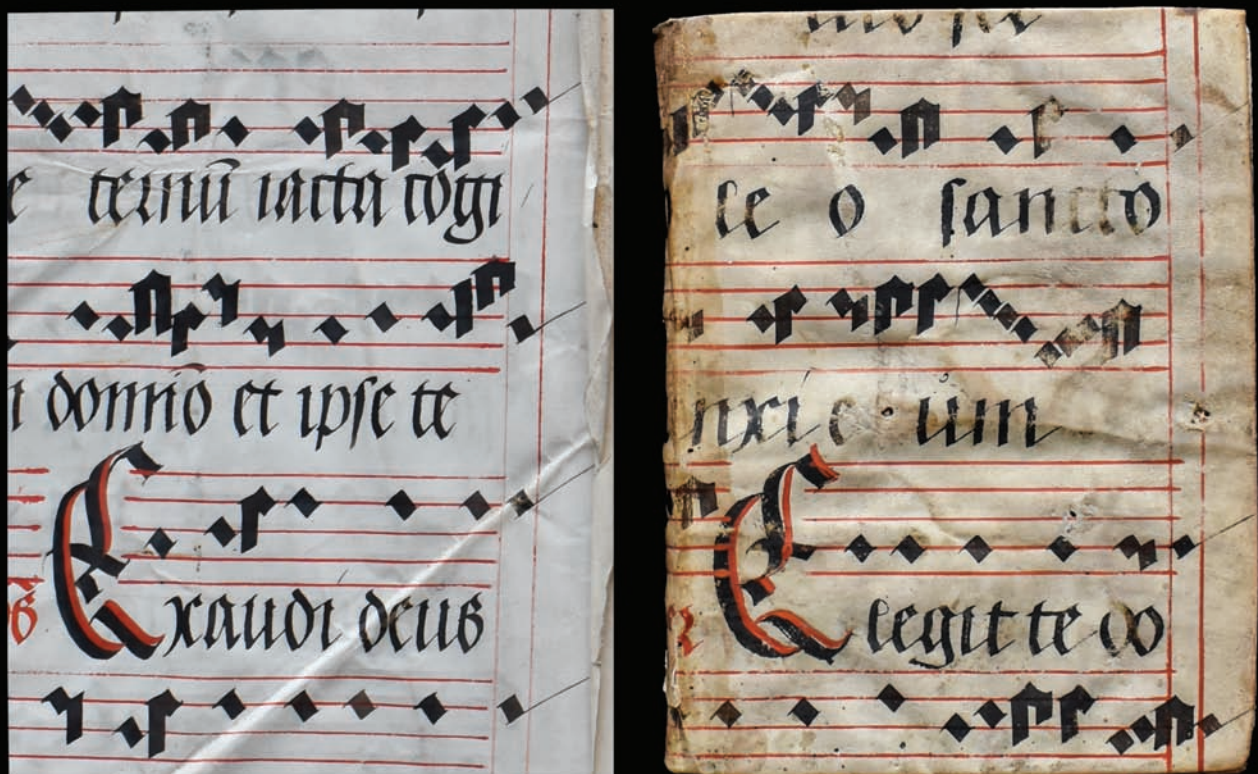


Fig. 96. Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS I.1 and Cluj, BAR, C. 57795 before restoration (details).



In his important study, Szigeti identified fragments extracted from this gradual in the bindings of two books from the Academy Library in Cluj. The title page of C. 57795 (Martinus Smiglecius, *De erroribus novorum Arianorum*, Cracoviae: A. Petricovius, 1615) bears the ownership note "Residentiae Monostoriensis 1656"; on the title page of C. 54660-62 (Aloysius Juglar, *Elogia patriarcharum Christi Jesu dei hominis*, Moguntiae: J. B. Schönwetter, 1669) one can read "Domus PP Monostoriensis Cat. inscriptus 1690". One can now add a third fragment to the list: MS C. 83, a treatise of physics copied in the seventeenth century (fig. 95).

As the palaeographical, musical and codicological analysis reveals, the three fragments undoubtedly come from St Michael's gradual (fig. 96).

The provenance of the three fragments demonstrates that the gradual was mutilated in the seventeenth century in the Jesuit school of Cluj-Mănăştur. Leaves were extracted from both ends of the manuscript, as the original folio numbering demonstrates. Today, the volume contains 216 leaves: it starts with the original f. 36, and ends with the original f. 255. Actually, ff. 36 and 37 had a narrow escape: they are detached, but were not used as binding material (fig. 97). Fragm. Cod. Lat. 19 (formerly wrapping C. 54660-62) bears the folio number 293 (fig. 98), which provides valuable information about the number of missing leaves.



Fig. 97. Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS I.1.



Fig. 98. Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS I.1 and Cluj, BAR, C. 54660-62 before restoration.



Fig. 99. Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS I.1 and Cluj, BAR, C. 57795 before restoration.

Given the size gap between the huge gradual and average seventeenth-century books (fig. 99), tens of volumes could have been wrapped in what used to be ff. 1-35/255-293 and beyond. The fact that only three books out of tens or hundreds presumably bound in *membra disiecta* from this gradual have survived shows how many early-modern books have perished as well. Actually, the destruction of ancient books is the rule, and their survival is a happy accident.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Grandpierre 1936, pp. 33-34, fig. 28; Balogh 1943, p. 339, fig. 128; Pascu/Marica 1969, fig. 67; Pascu 1974, fig. opposite p. 129.
- <sup>2</sup> Balogh 1943, fig. 128.
- <sup>3</sup> Szigeti 1970, p. 168.
- <sup>4</sup> Alba Iulia, Bibl. Batthyaneum, *Registrul de intrări*, nr 25/15 March 1913.
- <sup>5</sup> Szigeti 1970, pp. 167-68.
- <sup>6</sup> Szendrei 1981, nr C51.
- <sup>7</sup> Dincă 2019.



# A FRANCISCAN LITURGICAL PSALTER

## (SHOWCASE 9)

The psalter was one of the earliest liturgical books. The continuous recitation (*lectio continua*) of the psalter, to which other readings, prayers and sung parts were added over the time, was known as *cursus* or *officium*. This “liturgy of the hours” involved the reading of a number of psalms at every canonical hour: matins (at nighttime), lauds (early in the morning), prime (at the first hour of daylight), terce (at the third hour of light), sext (at noon), nones (at the ninth hour of light), vespers (at sunset) and compline (at the end of the day). To this end, liturgical psalters (*psalterium feriale*), which grouped the psalms in the order of reading during the day and through the week, appeared as early as the seventh century<sup>1</sup>. Breviaries, which included all the texts necessary for the celebration of the divine office, developed from the ninth century onwards. In the later Middle Ages, laymen used books of hours, which were the ‘light’ yet glamorous version of breviaries<sup>2</sup>.

The Academy Library in Cluj owns one beautiful twelfth-century psalter, which unfortunately does not belong to the city’s historical collections. Cod. Lat. 3 (fig. 100) was purchased by the Greek-Catholic scholar from Blaj, Timotei Cipariu (1805-1887). The Romanian bibliophile acquired many of his manuscripts and printed books from antiquarian bookshops in Vienna, and Cod. Lat. 3 seems to be a product of Austria, Bavaria or Switzerland<sup>3</sup>.

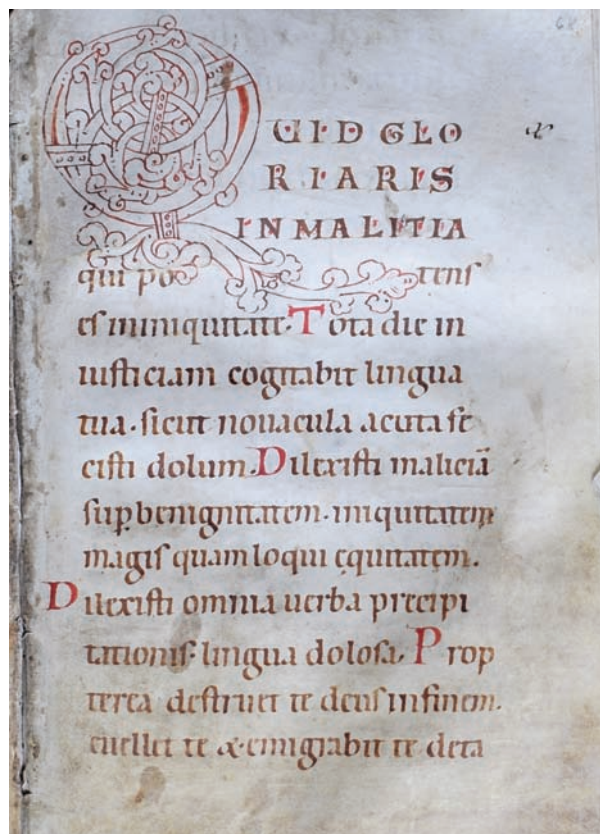


Fig. 100. Cluj, BAR, Cod. Lat. 3, f. 68r.

When I came across a splendidly illuminated leaf from a liturgical psalter wrapping the printed book U. 74432-33, I was delighted at the discovery, and appalled at the state of conservation of the rare manuscript fragment (fig. 101). This was by far the most beautifully decorated fragment we came across, and thus it was also the first to be restored in the laboratory run by Alexandru Ştirban at the National Unity Museum in Alba Iulia.



Fig. 101. Cluj, BAR, U. 74432-33 before restoration.

You can see here an immodest picture of the modest FRAGMED team accompanying the precious book to Alba Iulia (fig. 102).

Unitarian rector in Cluj [from 1605], a pastor from 1607, and a Unitarian bishop of Transylvania from 1616 until his death.”<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 102. Bogdan Crăciun, Alexandru Știrban, Adrian Papahagi, Codruța Cuceu and Tudor Vlasa with U. 74432-33.

As the shelfmark indicates, U. 74432-33 belongs to the former Unitarian collection. It is a copy of Christoph Herdesianus' *Consensus orthodoxus sacrae scripturae et veteris ecclesiae...*, printed in Zürich by Christoph Froschauer in 1585. The book belonged to Valentinus Radecius/Walenty Radećy, who inscribed his name on the frontispiece (fig. 103). Radećy (? –1632) was a Unitarian priest of Polish descent. He was born in Gdańsk, studied in Raków, was a schoolmaster in Luślawice, then a

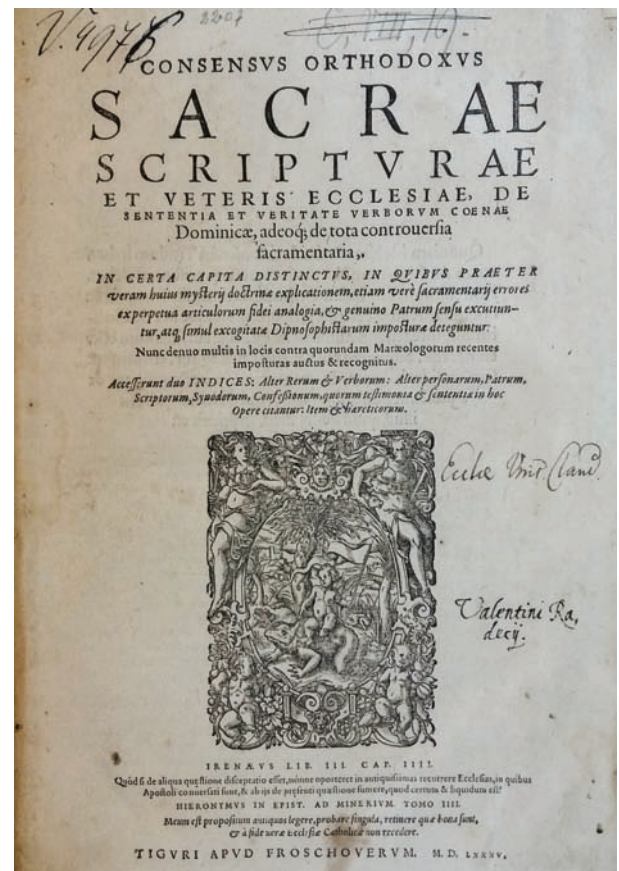


Fig. 103. Cluj, BAR, U. 74432-33, title page.



It is highly interesting that Radecius was the rector of the Unitarian College in 1605, when the Jesuits were chased from Cluj. As already mentioned, in 1603 the Unitarians sacked the Jesuit college, and devastated its library. Here is the testimony of the Unitarian Gáspár Heltai on 13 June 1603, the day after the event:

Rogavi postea Nicolaum Radnothi et Martinum Seres, ut ea nocte ibi pernoctarent et in sacello librorum haberent curam, ne ita turpiter perderentur; quod etiam libenter fecerunt. [...] In domum Reverendi Domini Patris Rectoris intravi et quidam scripta pedibus lutosus conculcata allevavi et perlegi. [...] Item cum viderem Kendium [...] petii, ut mihi ex membranis aliquot daret folia, dedit itaque [...]. Habeo ita apud me *Breviarium Romanum* in membrana conscriptum, et in folio tenuem alium.<sup>5</sup>

I afterwards asked Nicholas Radnothi and Martin Seres to sleep there [in the sacked Jesuit college] during the night, and to take care of the books in the altar, lest they should perish vilely – which the two did. [...] I entered the residence of the Reverend Father Rector, I lifted from the ground several writings trampled under muddy feet, and I read them. [...] Also, when I saw Kendi, I asked him to give me some parchment leaves, which he did. [...] Thus, I have at home a Roman breviary copied on parchment, and another thin one *in folio*.

Like Heltai, Radecius may have obtained medieval manuscripts and manuscript fragments during or soon after the sack of the Jesuit college, and he could have bound this and other books in parchment leaves that he found there. One may also be reminded that, from 1581 until 1605, the Jesuit College was installed in the former Franciscan convent. Could the stately fragment wrapping Radecius' book come from one of the liturgical books lying in the altar of the former Franciscan church?

When Fragm. Cod. Lat. 11 was detached from its host book and restored (fig. 104), it revealed an interesting fact. The recto of the leaf, which had been hidden in the binding, contains the Athanasian creed (*Quicumque vult...*). One can read the last sentence, which continues onto the verso: "Hec est fides catholica quem nisi | quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit saluus esse non poterit". The first rubric on the verso indicates the beginning of the matins office on Monday (*Feria II*) in the Roman usage<sup>6</sup>: the *invitatorium*, the hymn *Somno refectis*, two antiphons, followed by the beginning of psalm 26 (27), *Dominus illuminatio mea*, which incidentally

is the motto of the University of Oxford. The initial *D* of *Domine* is beautifully illuminated, in subtle agreement with the text of the psalm, but also in order to indicate the beginning of a new section (*Feria II*).

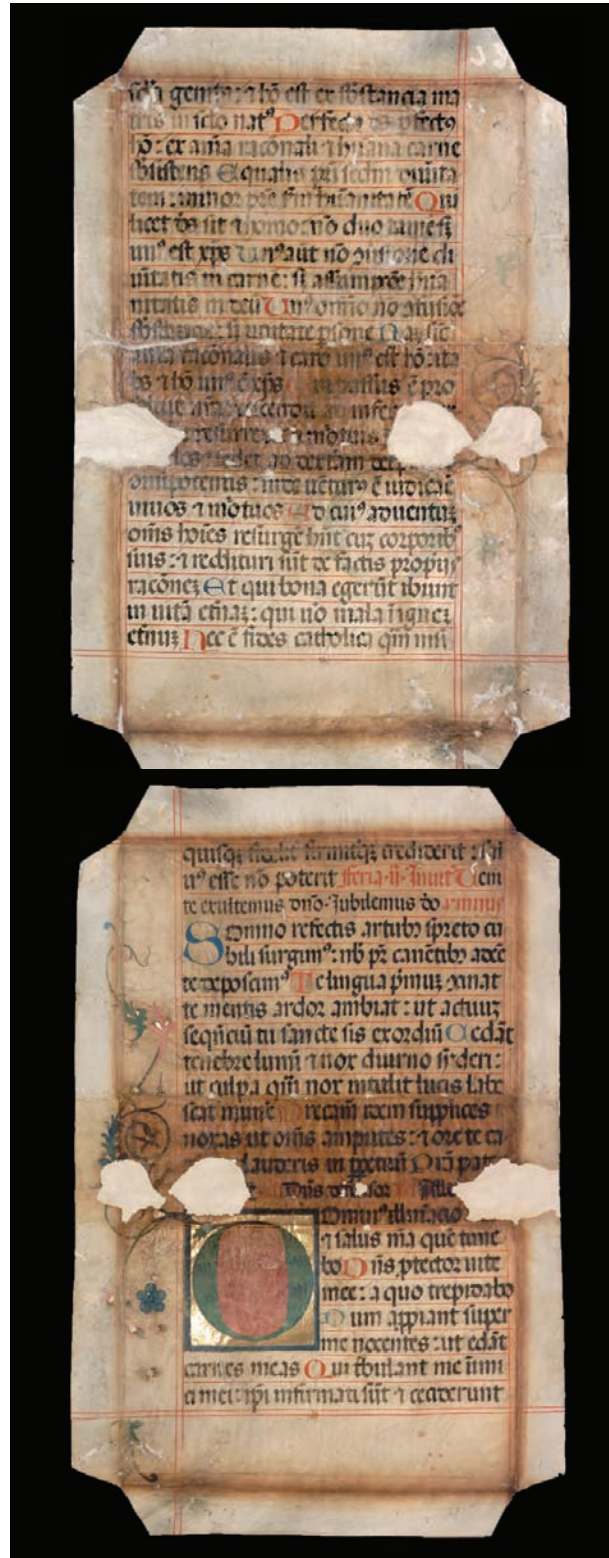


Fig. 104. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 11, recto and verso.



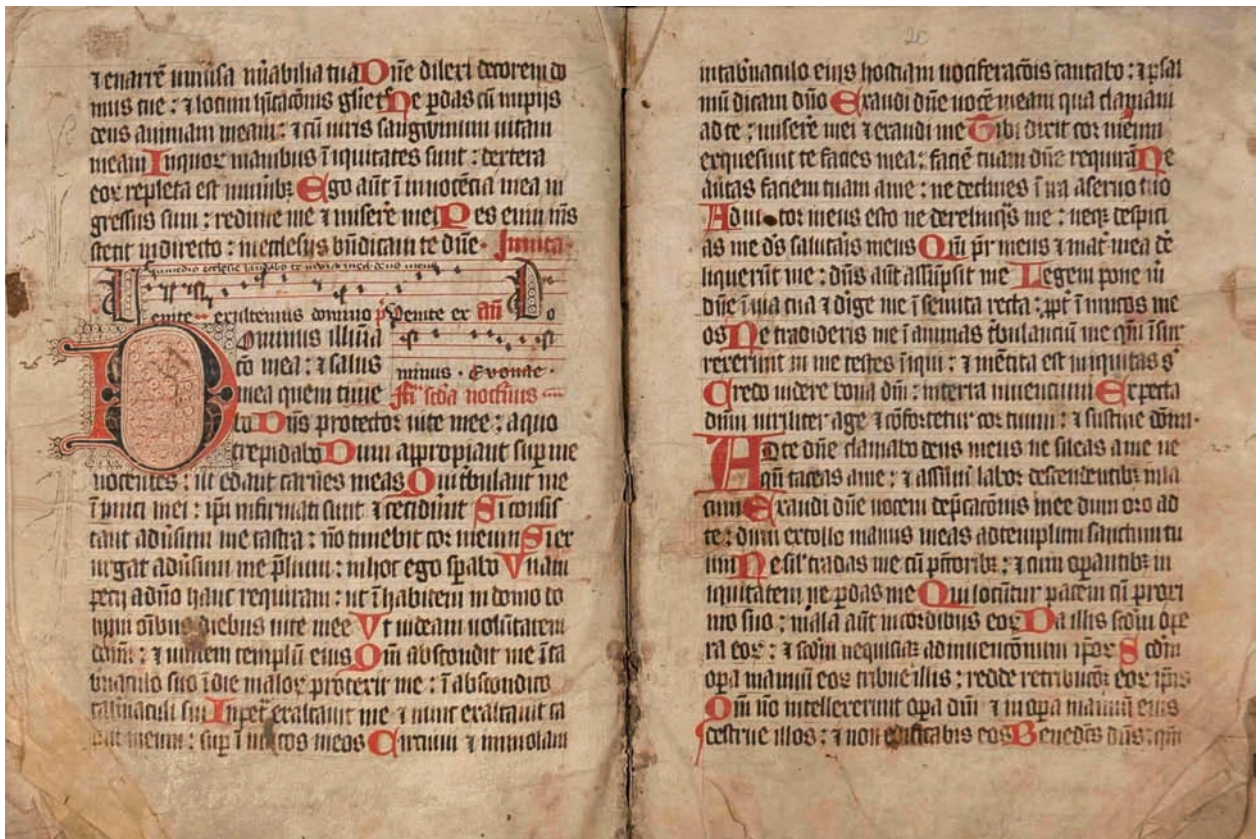


Fig. 105. Braşov, Arhiva Bisericii Evanghelice C. A., MS I.F.70, ff. 19v-20r.

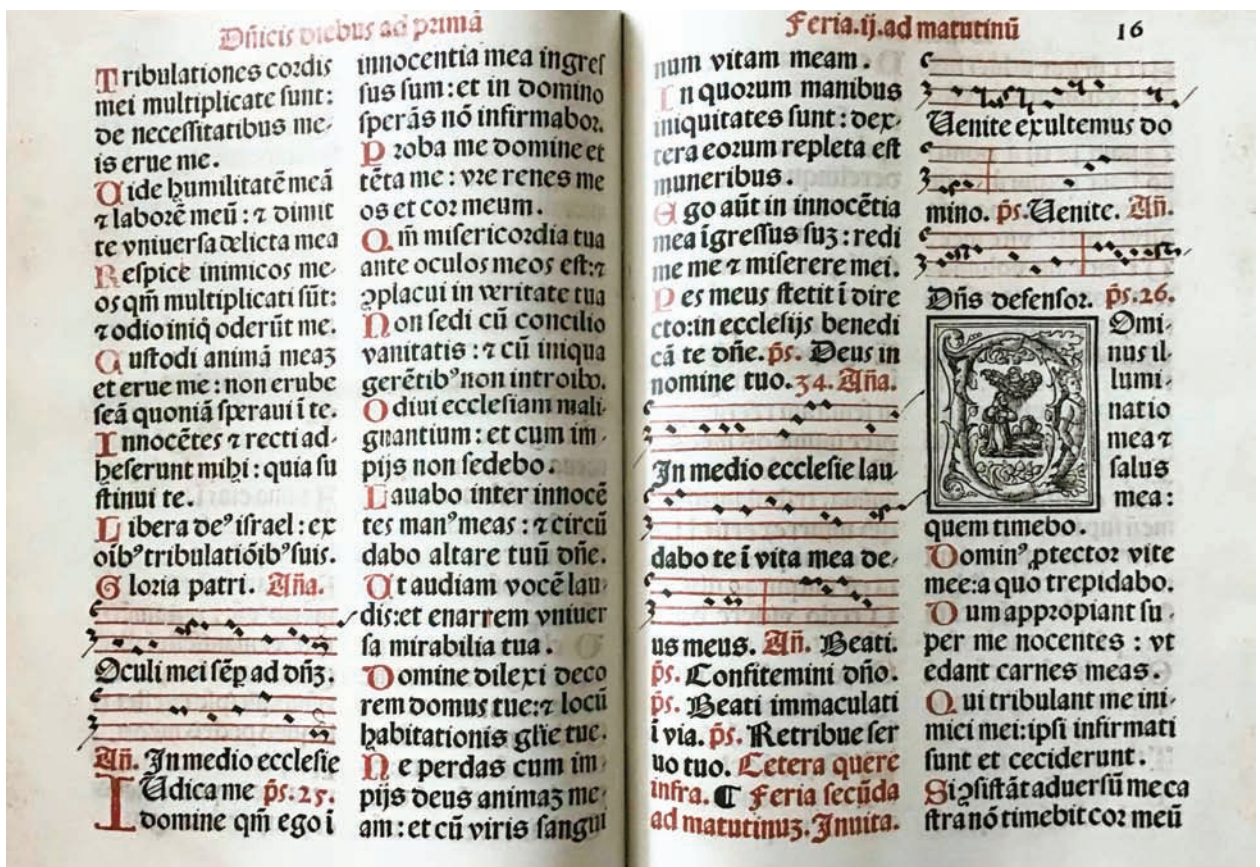


Fig. 106. Psalterium Strigoniense (Nicolai Olah), Venice, 1523, ff. 15v-16r.



According to Andrew Hughes, the Athanasian creed was probably composed in Gaul in the fifth or sixth century, and was used in the German liturgy by the ninth century<sup>7</sup>. Pierre Salmon argues that it was inserted, in lieu of a psalm, at the end of Prime in Roman breviaries and liturgical psalters copied after the eleventh century<sup>8</sup>. Interestingly, in the rites of Transylvania and of Esztergom (followed by the Transylvanian Saxons), the *Quicumque vult* does not appear in this place. One can compare a few extant sources: the liturgical psalters of Sighișoara, Municipal Library, MS Folio 261, inv. 3169, and Brașov, Archive of the Honterus Community, MS I.F.70, both from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century (fig. 105), or Nicolaus Olahus' copy of the *Psalterium Strigoniense*, published in Venice in 1523 (fig. 106)<sup>10</sup>. As can be seen, in all these sources, the office of Prime on Sundays ends with Psalm 25 (26), *Iudicame, domine*.

However, after 1223, the Franciscans stopped following local rites, and adopted the Roman office, which included the presence of the *Quicumque vult*

at the end of Prime on Sundays<sup>11</sup>. This Franciscan use is confirmed by two Transylvanian manuscripts: Budapest, National Széchenyi Library, Cod. Lat. 366, *Psalterium OFM Transsilvaniae*, copied in the second half of the fourteenth century, and Șumuleu Ciuc, Franciscan Convent, MS A IV.1, produced at the beginning of the sixteenth century (fig. 107)<sup>12</sup>.

Thus, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 11 probably comes from a Franciscan liturgical psalter. Can it be a Transylvanian product, and could it have belonged to the Franciscan convent of Cluj? Yes to both, although neither can be proved by a mere fragment. The Franciscan convent of Cluj was established in 1486, and the buildings were completed two decades later<sup>13</sup>. The script and the decoration show that our fragment comes from a large choir book (582 x 385 mm) produced around 1500. As shown in the table below, a series of large deluxe liturgical books were produced in or for Transylvanian communities in the first two decades of the sixteenth century (the manuscripts are sorted by size in ascending order).

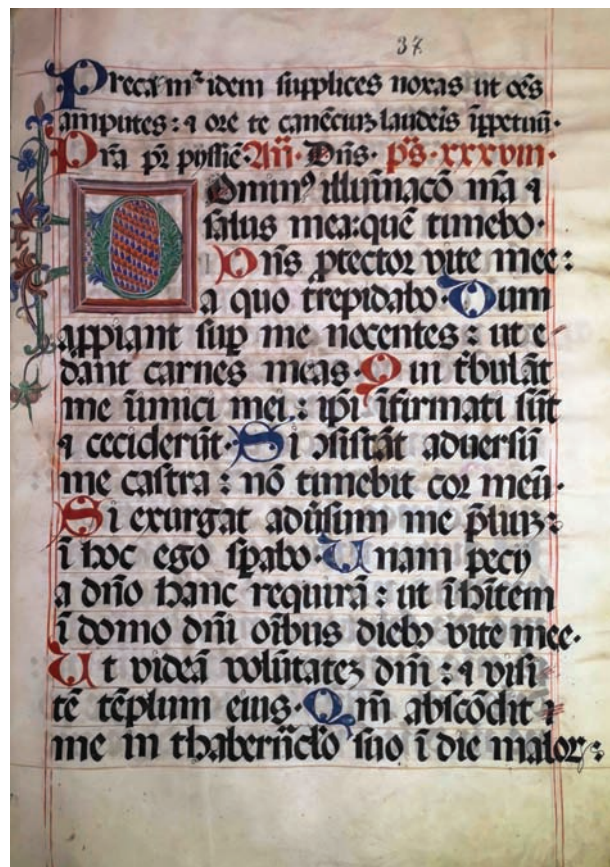
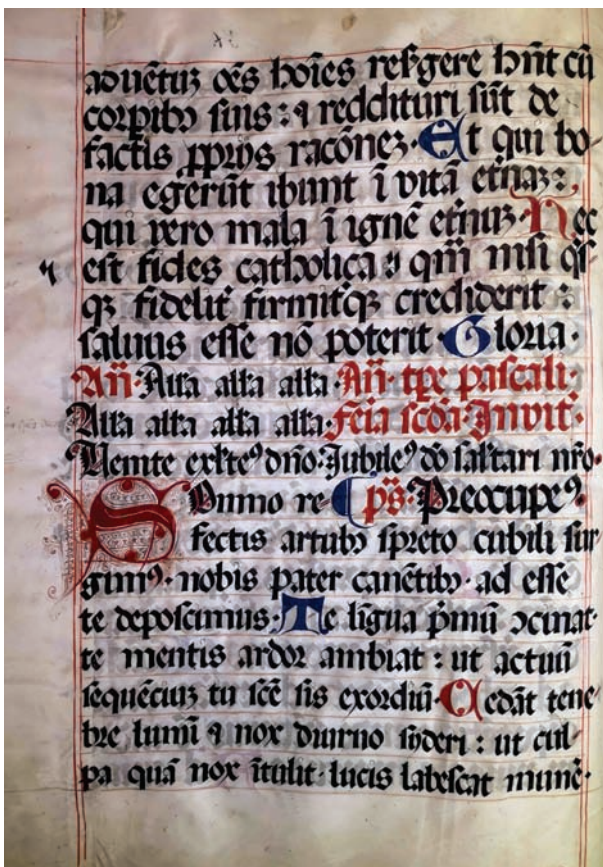


Fig. 107. Șumuleu Ciuc, Mănăstirea franciscană, MS IV A.1, ff. 36v-37r.

TYPE	SIZE (in mm)	DATE	SHELFMARK	PROVENANCE
Graduale	539 x 383	1500s	Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum, MS I.2	Cluj, OFM?
Antiphonale	570 x 385	1506	Sighișoara, Evangelical Church, s. n.	Sighișoara, OP
Graduale	570 x 385	1500s	Sighișoara, Evangelical Church, s. n.	Sighișoara, OP?
Sequentiale	570 x 400	1500s	Mediaș, Evangelical Church, Inv. 913	Mediaș?
Graduale	570 x 410	1520s	Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum, MS I.1	Cluj, St Michael's
<i>Psalterium feriale</i>	582 x 385	1500s	Cluj, BAR, <i>Fragm. Cod. Lat. 11</i>	Cluj, OFM?
Graduale	596 x 436	1520s	Șumuleu Ciuc, Franciscan Convent, MS A.IV.2	Șumuleu OFM
Nocturnale	615 x 407	1522	Șumuleu Ciuc, Franciscan Convent, MS A.IV.3	Șumuleu OFM
<i>Psalterium feriale</i>	620 x 465	1500s	Șumuleu Ciuc, Franciscan Convent, MS A.IV.1	Șumuleu OFM
Antiphonale	635 x 410	1500s	Sibiu, Brukenthal Museum, MS 759	Brașov

We know for sure that three of these books are local products. MSS A IV. 2 and A IV.3 (fig. 108) were made in 1522 and 1524 for the Franciscans of Șumuleu Ciuc by friar Clemens from Hunedoara, active in Târgu Mureș<sup>14</sup>.

Similarly, the *vigiliale* from Sibiu was made at the behest of Marcus Knoll, the priest of Șura Mare, in 1507 (fig. 109)<sup>15</sup>. In a recent study, Adinel Dincă has demonstrated that the Master of the Sibiu *vigiliale* also decorated the *Liber civitatis* from Sighișoara, and the Altemberger Codex (formerly in Sibiu, now at the National History Museum in Bucharest).<sup>16</sup>





Fig. 108. Șumuleu Ciuc, Mănăstirea franciscană, MS A.IV.2, f. 98v.



Fig. 109. Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, MS 633, f. 5r.

To conclude, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 11 may come from a liturgical psalter produced in Transylvania for the Franciscans of Cluj. In 1556, the Franciscans probably left behind their large choir books, which were too heavy to carry. I have shown elsewhere that the Dominicans from Bistrița also abandoned some of their books, which were hidden by local Catholics and discovered only in the eighteenth century<sup>17</sup>. The Jesuits, who occupied the former Franciscan convent, may have retrieved the book, as they demonstrably retrieved St Michael's gradual (showcase 8). In 1603, the Franciscan liturgical psalter may have been vandalised by the Protestant mob, and this is how one or more leaves may have entered into Radecius' possession. Paradoxically, we may be thankful to Radecius for wrapping his book in this fragment, which thus became, as Rosamond McKitterick wrote in a different context, "evidence preserved by destruction"<sup>18</sup>.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Palazzo 1993, pp. 129-132.

<sup>2</sup> Salmon 1967.

<sup>3</sup> Jakó 1967a, pp. 50-51, fig. 2; Papahagi/Dincă/Mărza 2018, nr 382.

<sup>4</sup> Ósz 2014, p. 232, n. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Veress 1983, pp. 170-72.

<sup>6</sup> Hughes 1995, p. 52, § 402, fig. 4.2.

<sup>7</sup> Hughes 1995, p. 38, § 224.

<sup>8</sup> Salmon 1967, p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> Kovács 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Szoliva 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Salmon 1967, pp. 156, 163.

<sup>12</sup> Radó 1973, nrs 59, 61.

<sup>13</sup> Karácsonyi 1924, pp. 99-103; Boros 1927, pp. 45-46; Rusu 2000, pp. 106-109.

<sup>14</sup> Șumuleu Ciuc, Mănăstirea franciscană, MS A.IV.2: "in die pasche 1524" (f. 100r), "per fratrem Clementem de Hunyad" (f. 181v); MS A.IV.3: "per manus fratris Clementis de hwniad tunc temporis in Wasarhel degentis" (f. 123v); Papahagi/Dincă/Mărza 2018, nrs 401-402.

<sup>15</sup> Sibiu, Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, MS 633, f. 4v: "Hoc vigiliale fecit fieri venerabilis dominus Marcus Knoll, plebanus in Magnohorreo [Șura Mare] pro usu et conservatione omnium et singulorum fratrum Cibiniensium, pro tunc collector capituli eiusdem, in anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo septimo"; Papahagi/Dincă/Mărza 2018, nr 457.

<sup>16</sup> Dincă 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Papahagi 2017b.

<sup>18</sup> McKitterick 2007, p. 145: "The most striking feature of palimpsests for the historian is the paradox that they represent evidence preserved by destruction."





**CATALOGUE**  
OF RESTORED MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS  
(Fragm. Cod. Lat. 1-22, 26)

# 1. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 1 – Graduale Varadinense

(“Zalka Gradual”, Graduale a. u. Ecclesiae Varadinensis)

Parchment; 182 – 185 x 275 – 277 mm  
Prague; 1476 – 1490

## Description

<i>Script, Hands</i>	The text was copied by one hand in a stately <i>textura</i> . Note the peculiar dotting of the <i>i</i> .
<i>Musical Notation</i>	Bohemian rhombic Gothic musical notation. Four-line red staves. Space between stave lines: 12 mm.
<i>Decoration</i>	-
<i>Ruling</i>	Red ink.

## Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	855 – 890 x 570 – 590 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	610 – 613 x 350 mm
<i>Columns, Width</i>	1 col., 350 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	7 lines, 45 mm
<i>Numbering</i>	The original MS had folio numbering (top centre of pages). [?] visible on the hair side, and {iber} – on the flesh side.		

## Current Condition

<i>Extent</i>	The fragment represents roughly one eighth of the original leaf, and was extracted from the top side of the fol.
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## Content

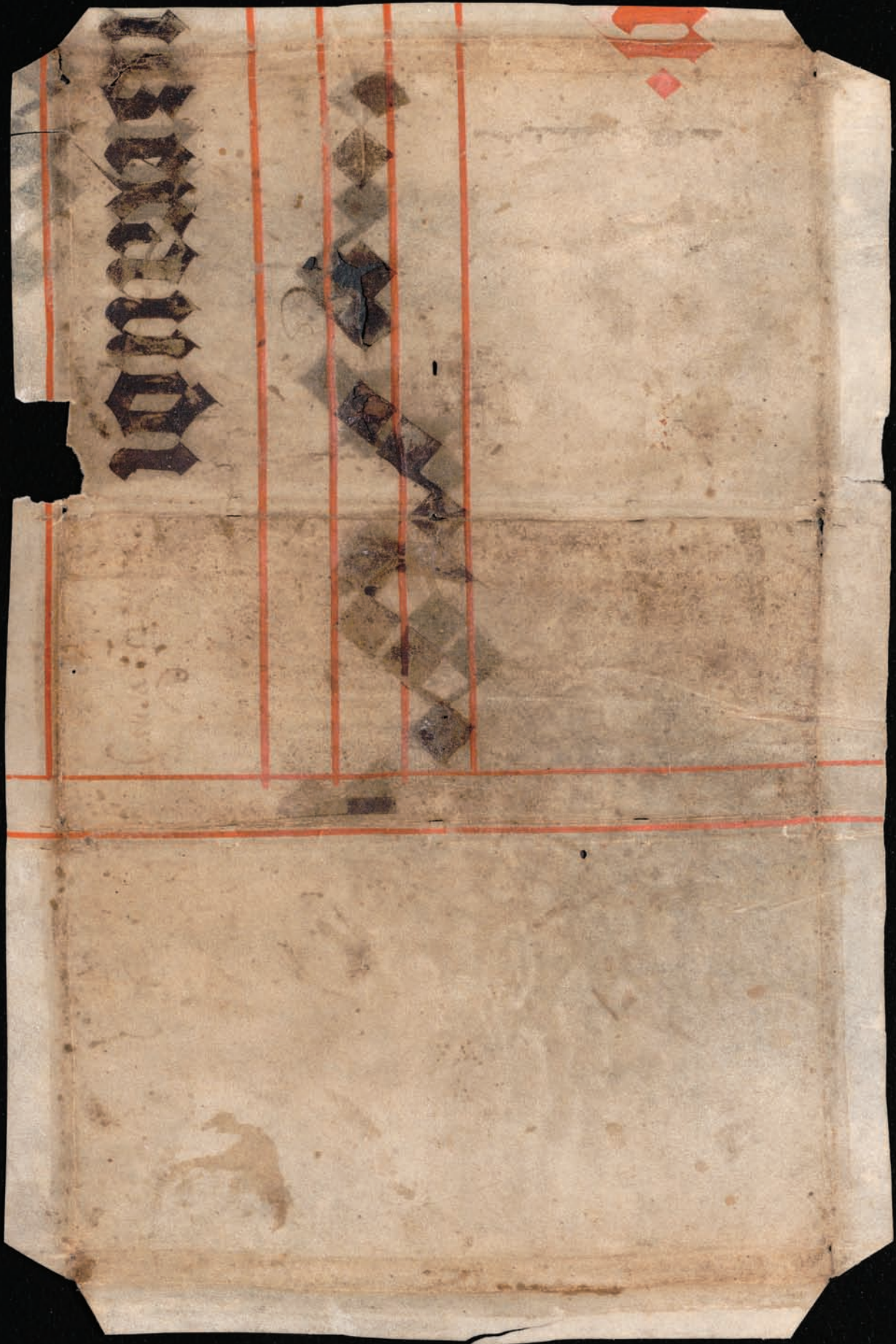
<i>Text Language</i>	Latin
<i>Content</i>	The longest surviving text sequence is – <i>us exaudi</i> –. A search of the Vulgate text yields the following possible matches: 'Dominus exaudiet me cum clamavero ad eum' (Ps. 4: 4); 'Iste pauper clamavit, et Dominus exaudivit eum' (Ps. 33: 7); 'Clamaverunt justi, et Dominus exaudivit eos' (Ps. 33: 18); 'Deus, exaudi orationem meam; auribus percipe verba oris mei!' (Ps. 53: 4); 'et sic deprecatus exaudietur' (Eccl. 33: 4); 'et Dominus exauditor non delectabitur in illis' (Eccl. 35: 19); 'Ego Dominus exaudiam eos' (Isa. 41: 17); 'Tunc invocabis, et Dominus exaudiet' (Isa. 58: 9); 'dicit Dominus, exaudiam caelos' (Ose. 2: 21). Unfortunately, '[Clamaverunt justi, et Domin]us exaudi[vit eos]', corresponding to the <i>Commune plurimorum Martyrum</i> in the <i>Commune Sanctorum</i> of the Gradual, or '[De]us, exaudi [orationem meam; auribus percipe verba oris mei]', the responsory on the <i>feria secunda</i> in the fifth week of Lent ( <i>Dominica V Quadragesimae, feria II</i> ), which would be good candidates, do not match the music.

## History

<i>Origin</i>	The manuscript was most likely produced in Prague for Johannes Filipec, bishop of Oradea (1476-1490) and Olomouc (1484-1490), and chancellor of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1485-1490).
<i>Provenance</i>	Oradea cathedral. The volumes of the <i>Antiphonale</i> and <i>Graduale Varadinense</i> were most likely dismembered in Northern Hungary in the seventeenth century. The main body of the <i>Antiphonale</i> is now in Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár, but fragments are scattered from Modra and Bratislava in Slovakia to Budapest, Esztergom, Debrecen and Győr in Hungary. Only rare fragments of the <i>Graduale</i> have survived.
<i>Host Volume</i>	Unknown. The fragment was detached at some point in the twentieth century and kept in a box. No provenance notes have survived.

<b>Bibliography</b>	Papahagi 2017a; Czagány 2019.
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MAGNUS







**G**loria

...

...

...

Gloria

...



## 2. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 2 – Antiphonale Varadinense

(“Zalka Antiphonal”, Antiphonale a. u. Ecclesiae Varadinensis)

Parchment; 390 x 230 mm  
Prague; 1476 – 1490

### Description

<i>Script, Hands</i>	The text was copied by one hand in a stately <i>textura</i> . Note the peculiar dotting of the <i>i</i> .
<i>Musical Notation</i>	Bohemian rhombic Gothic musical notation. Four-line red staves. Space between stave lines: 12 mm.
<i>Decoration</i>	Large initial G (2 lines, black ink), originally decorated with a grotesque male figure, which is now barely visible. Rubricated and highlighted initial R ( <i>Responsorium</i> ), 1 line.
<i>Ruling</i>	Red ink.

### Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	855 – 890 x 570 – 590 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	610 – 613 x 350 mm
<i>Columns, Width</i>	1 col., 350 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	7 lines, 45 mm
<i>Collation</i>	The fragment belongs to the beginning of the <i>temporale</i> part of the Antiphonale Varadinense ( <i>Dominica I Adventus</i> ), whose main bulk is kept in Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár. It was extracted from the upper part of the original f. 2 or 3; the lower part ended up in Modra, Slovakia, and is now kept in Bratislava, Štátny archív, pobočka Modra, 3119 (see Czagány 2019). The original book had two volumes ( <i>temporale</i> and <i>sanctorale</i> ).		

### Current Condition

<i>Extent</i>	The fragment represents roughly one fourth of the original leaf, and was extracted from the top side of the leaf.
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### Content

<i>Text Language</i>	Latin
<i>Content</i>	<i>Content [Dominica I Adventus]</i> (r:) [V.] Quinque terrigene... [pau]per. [V.] [Qui] / regis [Israel intende] / qui ded/[ucis]...; (v:) [R.] ite. Glo[ria] patri et filio] et spiri[tui] sancto. Amen]. R. Aspici/[ens]...

### History

<i>Origin</i>	The manuscript was most likely produced in Prague for Johannes Filipec, bishop of Oradea (1476-1490) and Olomouc (1484-1490), and chancellor of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1485-1490).
<i>Provenance</i>	Oradea cathedral. The volumes of the <i>Antiphonale</i> and <i>Graduale Varadinense</i> were most likely dismembered in Northern Hungary in the seventeenth century. The main body of the <i>Antiphonale</i> is now in Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár, but fragments are scattered from Modra and Bratislava in Slovakia to Budapest, Esztergom, Debrecen and Győr in Hungary.
<i>Host Volume</i>	BMV R. 19 – János Lippay, <i>Posoni kert</i> , Vienna: Matthaues Cosmerovius, 1664 (RMNy 3173); id., <i>Gyümölczös kert</i> , Vienna: Matthaues Cosmerovius, 1667 (RMNy 3334). Ownership note: “Ex Libris / <sub rasura: ††† ††† Nicolai Orbonas?> / Cui Deus Providebit / Comparantur (!) Albæ luliæ die 15 Maius. / A 1697. / Ex Donatione. / Generosi Domini Nicolaj orbonas. MD.” Stamp of Prof. István Horvát (1784-1846), director of the National Museum in Budapest after 1837. In 1846-1851, Horvát’s sizeable library was purchased by the National Museum, and became part of the National Library of Hungary. Since the National Library already had a copy of this title, it donated the volume to the Reformed College of Cluj in 1871.

<b>Bibliography</b>	Papahagi 2019; Czagány 2019, vol. I, p. 63, vol. III, pp. 181, 198-199, 202-205.
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### 3. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 3 – Missale

Parchment; a: 317 x 17 – 52 mm; b: 310 x 23 – 57 mm  
Transylvania?; s. XV<sup>1</sup>

#### Description

*Script, Hands* The text was copied by one hand in a Northern *textualis*.

*Decoration* Blue/red lombards (2 lines). Traces of flourishing.

*Ruling* Faint black ink.

#### Original Condition

*Page Size* 320 – 330 x 200 – 220 mm *Text Block* 240 – 250 x 160 – 170 mm

*Columns, Width* 2 cols, 70 – 80 mm *Lines, Height* 28 lines, 8 – 10 mm

*Numbering* Contemporary running title or folio numbering in red ink.

#### Current Condition

*Extent* The two fragments were extracted from the same column. They must be read in the order 3ar-3br, 3bv-3av. Between the two fragments there once existed another thin strip containing 2-4 letters.

#### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* *[In natale plurimorum sanctorum]*

(3ar-3br:) ...[mulie]/res de res[urre]ctione mortuos suos. Alii autem [disten]ti sunt non suscipientes [redem]pcionem, ut meliorem inuen[irent] r[esurre]ccionem. Alii uero ludib[ria] et uer]bera experti insuper et uincula et c[ar]ceres. Lapidati sunt, secti sunt, ten[tat]i sunt, in occisione gladii mo[r]tui sunt, circumierunt in melotis, in [pelli]bus caprin[is], egen]tes, angu[st]iati, afflicti [quibus] dignus non [erat] mundus. In solitudinibus er[rante]s, in montibus et in speluncis [et in ca]uernis terræ. Et hi omnes testi[mon]io fidei probati inuenti sunt. (Hebr. 11: 35-39) [pro I]esu domino nostro. *Liber Sapientie*. Redd[et mer]cedem (*recte* Reddidit iustis mercedem) laborum suorum, et deducet illos in [uia] mirabili. Et fuit illis in uela[mento] diei et in [luc]e stel]larum nocte; [tr]anstulit il[los] per ma]re rubrum et [trans]uexit illos per aquam nimiam. In[im]icos autem illorum dimersit in ma]re et] ab altitudine inferorum ed[uxit] illos. Ideo iusti tulerunt s[poli]a impiorum, et decantauerunt, d[omine, no]men sanctum tuum. Et uictricem [man]um tuam laudauerunt pariter... (Sap. 10: 17-21) *Liber Sapientie* (one column missing; 3bv-3av:) Euastabit eos. [lust]icia rectorum liberabit eos et in i[nsidii]s suis ca]piuntur iniqui. I[ustus] d[e] angustia sua liberatus est et [tradet]ur impius pro eo. Simulator [or]e decipit a micum suum iusti [autem] liberabuntur sciencia. In bonis i[ustorum] exaltabitur [ciuitas] et in perdic[i]one impiorum peribit. In benedictione iustorum exaltabitur ci[uitas]. (Prov. 11: 3, 6, 8-11) *Liber Sapientie*. Qui timent d[ominum] non erunt incredibiles [uerbo] illius et qui diligunt illum con[seru]abunt uiam illius. Qui timen[t] Dominu]m præparabunt corda sua, et in co[nspe]ctu illius sanctificabunt animas [suas.] Qui timent Dominum cu[stodi]unt mandata eius et paciencia[m] habe]bunt usque [ad inspec]tacionem (!) [eiu]s (Eccl. 2: 18-21)/ *Ad hebreos*. (*recte Ad Corinthios*) Fratres, Spe[ctaculu]m facti sum[us] mundo et a[n]geli]s et hominibus. Nos stulti propter [Christum] uos autem prudentes in [Christo.] Nos infirmi, uos autem [forte]s. Vos nobiles, nos autem [ig]nobiles. Usque in hanc horam [et esur]imus et sitimus et sitimus et [nudi] sumus et colaphis cædimu[r] et inst]abiles su/[mus, et laboramus...] (1 Cor 4: 9-11)

#### History

*Origin/ Provenance* Unknown.

*Host Volume* Unknown. The fragment was detached at some point in the twentieth century. No provenance notes have survived.



is dicit  
Alii autem  
pientes  
ore i uer  
no ludic  
i uicla i  
ti fut. ter  
gladii me  
nelotis.

es anst  
dign? no  
tudis. ex  
peliuas  
oimo test  
ueta fut.

**R**edde  
labo

ter illos i  
his i uel  
a nocte

re ruy? i  
numa. J  
micit i m  
feroz ed  
tulerit  
carit d  
matric  
tine pit

de mortuo suo  
ta fut no fut  
pcau. ut meli  
etur reat. Alii  
vera cept. i sup  
lapidat. i ter  
fut i o. done  
lit. i u. i

affat  
mibus. i. i. i  
i. i. i. i. i. i. i  
i. i. i. i. i. i. i  
no fut. p. b. i  
i. i. i. i. i. i. i  
i. i. i. i. i. i. i

**S**apientia  
suo? i. i. i. i.

mirabil. i. i. i.  
diei. i. i. i.  
i. i. i. i. i. i.

erit eos paqui  
cos at illos di  
abaltitudine i  
eos. J. i. i. i. i.  
a i. i. i. i. i. i.  
i. i. i. i. i. i. i.  
i. i. i. i. i. i. i.  
i. i. i. i. i. i. i.  
**S**apientia

## 4. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 4 – Breviarium

Parchment; 355 x 228 – 232 mm  
Transylvania?; s. XV<sup>2</sup>

### Description

*Script, Hands* The text was copied by one hand in a regular Northern *textualis*.  
*Decoration* Alternating red and blue lombards (1-2 lines); highlighted initials (red); rubrics.  
*Ruling* Black ink.

### Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	430–450 x 300–310 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	360–390 x 240 mm
<i>Columns, Width</i>	2 cols, 110 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	30-31 lines, 11 – 14 mm
<i>Numbering</i>	Contemporary running title or folio numbering in red ink.		

### Current Condition

*Extent* One mutilated leaf.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* [*Feria IV ad matutinum; ad laudes*]  
(ra:) [Qui dominatur]/in uirtute sua X Propterea exaudi/[uit deus...] (Ps. 65: 7-19); (rb:) /oderunt eum a facie eius. X D[ominus dabit uer]bum ewangeli[zantibus uirtute] multa/ (Ps. 67: 1-12); (va:) [Dum discernit celestis reges super eam, niue dealbabuntur in Se]/Imon: mons dei, mons pinguis... X (vb:) benedictus deus. (Ps. 67: 15-36) *An.* In ecclesiis benedicite domine (!) V. Deus uitam meam annunciaui tibi. *Laudes.* Amplius laua me... *Ps.* Miserere. *An.* Te decet ympnus. *Ps.* Ipsum (Ps. 64). *An.* Labia mea laudabunt te in uita mea deus meus. *Ps.* Deus deus meus (Ps. 62). *An.* Exultauit cor meum in domino et exaltatum est cor meum in deo/ (*alia manu, s. XVI: C[anticum] Annæ/ 1. Reg[um]*).

*Glosses and Additions* "C[anticum] Annæ/ 1. Reg[um]" (s. XVI, vb)

### History

*Origin/ Provenance* Unknown.

*Host Volume* Unknown. The fragment was detached at some point in the twentieth century. No provenance notes have survived.

**See fig. 64.**



## 5. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 5 – Graduale

Parchment; 300 x 430 mm  
Transylvania?; s. XVI<sup>i</sup>

### Description

<i>Script, Hands</i>	The text was copied by one hand in a late Northern <i>textualis</i> .
<i>Musical Notation</i>	Square Gothic musical notation, four-line staves.
<i>Decoration</i>	Alternating red and blue lombards, and cadels (2 lines, 50-60 mm).
<i>Ruling</i>	Red ink.

### Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	600 – 620 x 430 – 440 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	420 – 440 x 270 mm
<i>Columns, Width</i>	1 col., 270 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	37 – 38 lines, 30 mm
<i>Numbering</i>	Contemporary running title or folio numbering in red ink.		

### Current Condition

<i>Extent</i>	This is the top half of the original leaf. The gap in the text on the verso and the regular height of staves and text lines (30 mm) suggests that the original leaf had another 3-4 lines of text and staves.
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### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* *Ad Missam*  
(r:) [Gl.] Domine deus agnus dei filius patris Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram/ [patris miserere nobis, quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum sancto spiritu]; (v:) in gloria dei patris. Amen. Sanctus. Agnus dei. Ite missa est. *In festis trium lectionum*. Sanctus. Agnus dei. Benedicamus. *Predictum*. Benedicamus. Sanctus. Agnus. *dicant in vigilia beati Andree quando in dominica evenerit et in octava eiusdem. In profestis diebus. Kyrieleyso/[n]...*

### History

<i>Origin</i>	The manuscript was probably made in Transylvania, for use in the Szekler region, during the first decades of the sixteenth century.
<i>Provenance</i>	The fragment was wrapping seventeenth-century registers. On the top right-hand side of the verso, a twentieth-century hand wrote: "Leveltár A 997, 1627, Udvarhely ????" – "Archive A 997, 1627, Odorheiul Secuiesc"). In the right margin of the recto one can also read the date "Anno Domini 1623 Mensis Maij 26". In the left margin of the verso, a seventeenth-century hand wrote "Salomon de Zereda" (cf. Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc). In the top margin of the verso, one can read "Anno 1635". The right margin of the verso contains annotations about the Epistles of Paul. Various other seventeenth-century annotations.
<i>Host Volume</i>	Unknown. The fragment was detached at some point in the twentieth century. No provenance notes have survived.

**See fig. 78.**

## 6. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 6 – Graduale

Parchment; 130 x 220 – 228 mm  
Transylvania/Hungary?; s. XV<sup>1</sup>

### Description

- Script, Hands* The text was copied by one hand in a Northern *textualis*.
- Musical Notation* Square Gothic musical notation, four-line staves.
- Decoration* Highlighted flourished cadel and rubricated lombards (2 lines, 25 mm).
- Ruling* Black ink; red stave lines.

### Original Condition

- Page Size* 360 – 380 x 250 – 270 mm      *Text Block* 270 – 300 x 187 – 190 mm
- Columns, Width* 1 col., 187 – 190 mm      *Lines, Height* 9 – 10 lines, 15 mm
- Numbering* Possible former medieval (contemporary) fol. number 'l' = 50 (red), top right corner of verso.

### Current Condition

- Extent* This is the top one quarter or one third of the original leaf.

### Content

- Text Language* Latin
- Content* (r:) [*Sabb. Hebd. 3 Quad.*] [*Of. Cognoui domine quia equitas iudicia tua et in veritate tua humiliasti me ut non dominetur omnis*]/iniusticia domine. *Com.* Nemo te condempnauit mulier nemo domine nec ego te condempnabo iam amplius. *Dominica quarta [Quad.]*; (v:) Letatus sum in his que dicta sunt mihi in domum domini ibimus. *V.* Fiat pax in vertu/[te tua...]

### History

- Origin/ Provenance* Unknown.
- Host Volume* Unknown. The fragment was detached at some point in the twentieth century. No provenance notes have survived.





...atus ... que Duda fuit mu

... in ...

... et ...

... u ...



## 7. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 7 – Missale

Parchment; 335 – 340 x 475 – 480 mm  
Central Europe (Transylvania?); s. XV<sup>2</sup>

### Description

*Script, Hands* One hand, average Northern *textualis*. The spiked tops of such letters as *a, n, m, p*, and the dotting of the *i* argue for a dating in the second half of the fifteenth century.

*Decoration* Alternating red/blue lombards (1-2 lines).

*Ruling* Black ink.

### Original Condition

*Page Size* 380 – 390 x 270 mm *Text Block* 270 – 280 x 180 – 182 mm

*Columns, Width* 2 cols, 81 – 82 mm *Lines, Height* 30 – 32 lines, 7 – 10 mm

*Collation* The catchword on what is now the leaf on the left-hand side of the flesh side of the open bifolium shows that we are dealing with the outer bifolium of the quire. If the quire was a *quaternio*, the pages would be: \*1r (flesh side, right); \*1v (hair side, left); \*8r (hair side, right); \*8v (flesh side, left).

### Current Condition

*Extent* One partial bifolium.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* (flesh-side, right = \*1ra:) †††; *Liber Sapientie*. †††; (\*1rb:) *Sapientie*. Linguas sapientium ornat [scientiam] os fatuorum ebullit stultitiam...; *Sapient[ie]*. Metuentes dominum sustinet misericordiam eius...; (hair side, left = \*1va:) *Ad corinthios*. Fratres spectaculum facti sumus...; *Sapientie*. [lus]ti in perpetuum viuent, et apud [dominu]m est merces eorum...; (\*1vb:) *Petri apostoli*. Benedictus deus et pater domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui secundum magnam misericordiam suam regenerauit nos...; *Sapientie*. /; (hair side, right = \*8ra:) [*In festo plurimorum confessorum atque pontificum*] *Com*. Fidelis seruus et prudens...; *Com*. Semel iuravi in sancto meo...; *Compl*. Sancti tui domine confessoris atque pontificis N. tribue nos supplicatione foueri...; *Compl*. Refecti domine benedictione sollempni quesumus ut per intercessionem confessoris tui N. medicinam sacramenti et corporibus nostris prosit et mentibus. Per. *Compl*. Beati confessoris tui atque pontificis N. domine precibus confidentes...; *Compl*. Sumentes gaudia sempiterna de participatione sacramenti et de festiuitate beatorum tuorum N. quesumus...; [*In festo plurimorum virginum et martyrum*; *De una virgine non martyre*; *De pluribus uirginibus*] (\*8rb:) *Sequitur de uirginibus*. Gaudeamus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes in honore N. martiris...; *Ps*. Eructauit cor meum; *Intro*. Me expectauerunt peccatores...; *Ps*. Beati immaculati in via qui ambulant in lege domini. *Off*. Cognoui domine quia equitas iudicia tua...; *Ps*. Beati immaculati in via. *Introitus*. Dilexisti iusticiam et odisti iniquitatem...; *Ps*. Eructauit cor meum...; *Al*. Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes diuites...; *Ps*. Eructauit cor meum. *Intro*. Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum et non confundebam /; (flesh side, left = \*8va:) *Ps*. Beati immaculati (?); †††. Deus qui nos beate N virginis et martiris tue...; *De una virgine non martire*. Da quesumus omnipotens deus vt qui beate uirginis tue natalicia...; *De pluribus uirginibus*. Da nobis quesumus dominne deus noster sanctarum uirginum tuarum palmas...; *lectio libri Sapientie*. Confitebor ††††; (\*8vb:) ††††.

### History

*Origin/ Provenance* The fragment was used as a wrapper in the seventeenth century, in Transylvania. This is demonstrated by early-modern notes on the exposed side of the wrapper, e.g. "Georgius Rakoczi (?) ††† Transylvaniae Princeps..." (? George Rákóczi I and II, princes of Transylvania 1630-1648 and 1648-1660); "Sigismundus" (? Sigismund Rákóczi, prince of Transylvania 1607-1608). Other notes include: "Nulla calamitas sola. Sequitur patrem sua proles".

*Host Volume* Unknown. The fragment was detached at some point in the twentieth century. No provenance notes have survived.



bitis rorare. Quis dicit ut  
ad ista munda munda...

**S**equitur de ieiuniis.

**Q**uidam omnis in die dicit  
estis celebrantes et honorati. Et  
mris deum passione gaudet ange  
li collaudat filii dei. **S**ed videtur  
et mei deum dicit dicit ego ego.

**M**ones ut poterit testimonio  
tua dicit in illis die estumacis vi  
di sine lacrima mandatu tui nimis  
**P**er dicit in mandatu tui quia ambu  
lante et lege dominum. **M**oniam.

**Q**uoniam dicit quis equas nob  
na tua in obare tua hinc illa  
me estige amore tuo carnis meae a  
mandatis nro me me repellas. **P**er dicit  
et mandatu in tua. **M**oniam.

**Q**uoniam dicit quis equas nob  
na tua in obare tua hinc illa  
me estige amore tuo carnis meae a  
mandatis nro me me repellas. **P**er dicit  
et mandatu in tua. **M**oniam.

**A**ntes plerumque adducunt regi  
nones possit eam primum et ad de  
cent abulencia et exultatione. **S**ed.

**I**nter dicitur cor me. **I**ntro.  
Dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur  
in dicitur regum iud e fundat

...

**H**ic dicitur...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

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...

...

...

...

...



## 8. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8 – 10 – Missale

Parchment; Fragm. 8: 160 x 320 mm; Fragm. 9: 147 x 480 mm; Fragm. 10: 175 x 410 mm<sup>1</sup>  
Italy; s. XIV

### Description

*Script, Hands* One hand, Southern *textualis*.

*Decoration* Fragm. 8 displays a beautiful historiated initial *D*, featuring the Virgin Mary. The initial introduces the prayer (*oratio*) "Deus qui de beatae Mariae virginis utero...", read during the Annunciation feast. The quality of the picture, the shape of the blue field, the white tendrils inside the field, and the initially pink veil of the Virgin point to an Italian workshop (see a similar initial in Chalon-sur-Saône, B.M. MS 17 (14), Monaldus Justinopolitanus, *Summa de jure canonico*, Italy, s. XIV, on the *Initiale* database). Fine pen-flourished initials (red/blue, 2-3 lines). The peculiarity of the pen flourishing consists in the presence of blue elements in the red tendrils, and of red elements in the blue tendrils.

*Ruling* Lead ruling on the flesh side.

### Original Condition

*Page Size* 370 – 385 x 260 – 270 mm

*Text Block* 240 – 250 x 160 mm

*Columns, Width* 2 cols, 75 mm

*Lines, Height* 31 – 33 lines, 7 – 8 mm

*Collation* Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8 and Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9 were extracted from the same bifolium (the exterior bifolium of the quire). The text must be read in this order (Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9 - top; Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8 - bottom): hair side right (\*1r); flesh side left (\*1v); flesh side right (\*8r); hair side left (\*8v). NB: \*1 and \*8 refer to the possible position inside the quire, not to the collation of the original manuscript. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 10 was extracted from a different bifolium.

### Current Condition

*Extent* Fragm. 8 and 9 were extracted from the top and bottom of the bifolium. Fragm. 10 represents the bottom one third or two fifths of the original bifolium.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

#### **Content** **Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8 – 9**

Fragm. Cod. Lat. 9 and 8 correspond to the top and bottom of a bifolium containing the following feasts: ?; *S. Damasci* (11 Dec.); *S. Luciae* (13 Dec.); *S. Thomae Apostoli* (21 Dec.) – f. \*1; *S. Benedicti abbatis* (21 Mar.); *Annunciatio S. Mariae* (25 Mar.); *SS. Tyburcii, Valeriani et Maximini* (14 Apr.); *S. Georgii* (23 Apr.) – f. \*8.

(Hair side, right = f. \*1r?: Fragm. 9 > Fragm. 8): One would expect here *In Conceptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*. The few readable passages (e.g. *Off. Michi...*) seem to rule that out; (Flesh side, left = f. \*1v?: Fragm. 9, col. a): *In sancti damasci martyris et confessoris. Oratio*. Exaudi domine preces nostras... *Secr.* A[cc]epta tibi sit...; (Fragm. 8, col. a): [*Responsio in comm.*] *in uigilia [unius apostoli. Gr.]* Nimis honorati [sunt amici tui] deus, nimis confortatus [est principatum] eorum. V. Dinumerabo [eos] et super arenam multiplicabuntur; (Fragm. 9, col. b): [*In S. Luciae virginis*] V. Diffusa est gratia...; *Off.* Offerentur regi...; *Secr.* Accepta sint tibi domine...; *Comm.* Diffusa est gratia...; *Postcomm.* Saciasti domine familiam tuam...; *In/ [S. Thome apostoli?]*; (Fragm. 8, col. b: –; Flesh side, right = f. \*8r?: Fragm. 9, col. a): [*In S. Benedicti abbatis*] *Secr.* Sacris altaribus domine hostias...; *Comm.* Amen dico uobis...; *Postcomm.* Protegat nos domine...; *Nota quod de fe[stis] que uen[i]unt post iiii. feriam [maioris e]bdom[ade]...*; (Fragm. 8, col. a): [*In annunciatione Sancte Marie*] [*Ps. Eruc]tauit cor meu[m] uerbum bonum di]co eg[er]o opera mea regis; V. Gloria. Or.] Deus qui de beate [marie] uirginis utero [uerbum]*

<sup>1</sup> The fragments' shapes are irregular; the maximum height and width are indicated.



tuum angelo nuntiante carn[em]/...; (Fragm. 9, col. b:) [*In annunciatione Sancte Marie Introitus*] /suscipere uoluisti...; *Epistola*. Locutus est dominus ad Achaç. *Responsio in feria iiii<sup>o</sup> iiii<sup>o</sup> temporum de aduentu*. Gr. Diffusa est gratia...; v. Propter ueritatem...; *Dictum graduale et tractus sequens non dicuntur si hoc festum celebratum est [pro pascha sed] dicuntur duo Alleluia*; V. Aue/ [Maria]...; (Fragm. 8, col. b: –; Hair side, left (= f. \*8v?): Fragn. 9, col. a:) *Secr.* In mentibus nostris quesumus...; *Comm.* Ecce uirgo...; *Postcomm.* Gratiam tuam domine mentibus nostris...; (Fragm. 8, col. a: –; Fragn. 9, col. b:) [*in SS. martyrum Tyburcii et Valeriani et Maximini*] *Secr.* Hec hostia quesumus domine...; *Comm.* Gaudete iusti...; *Postcomm.* Sacro munere saciati...; *Si predictum festum in xi<sup>o</sup> celebratum sit officium de communi martyrum*...; (Fragm. 8, col. b:) [*In S. Georgii*] [V. Beatus] uir qui suffert tem[ptatio]nem...; *Off.* Confite/[buntur celi mirabilia tua]...

### Fragm. Cod. Lat. 10

(Flesh side, right:) [*Pro S. Mauritio et sociis martyribus, 22 Sep.*] (col. a:) [*Secr.*] Respice quesumus d[omine munera que] in sanctorum martyrum [tuorum mauricii et so]rciorum eius com[memorazione deferimus...]; *Postcomm.* Celestibus refecti sac[ramentis]...; (hair side, left:) [*In dedicatione S. Michaelis archangeli, 29 Sep.*] (col. b:) [*Secundum matheum*. [In illo tempore] accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum... X Amen di[co uo]bis nisi conuersi fueritis et/[efficiamini sicut paruuli] (Mat. 18: 1-3); (hair side, right:) [*Pro martyre pontifice*] (col. a:) [*Or.* Infirmi- tatem nostram respice] /omnipotens deus...; *Secr.* Hostias tibi domine beati N.<omen> martiris tui atque pontificis...; *Postcomm.* Refecti participatione muneris sacri quesumus domine deus noster/...; (col. b:) [*Lectio libri sapientie*. lustus cor suum tradet...] /Si enim Dóminus magnus uoluerit... X... et in lege t/[estamenti domini gloriabitur.] (Eccl. 39: 8-11); (flesh side, left:) [*Pro martyre non pontifice*] (col. a:) Beatus homo qui inuenit sapienciam...; (col. b:) *Lectio libri sapientie*. lustum deduxit dominus... (Eccl. 10: 10-14).

### History

<i>Origin</i>	Italy.
<i>Provenance</i>	The manuscript may have been maculated by the Jesuits of Cluj. On the hair side of Fragn. 10, an early-modern hand (s. XVII-XVIII) wrote "Jesus Maria".
<i>Host Volume</i>	Unknown. The fragments were detached at some point in the twentieth century. No provenance notes have survived.

...  
...  
... **In** ...  
... **Secre.** ...  
... **S** ...

... **San** ...  
...  
...  
...  
... **Secre** ...



**S**icut enim in scriptis  
... **Secur.** ...  
... **A** ...  
... **A** ...  
... **P** ...  
... **No. q. de fe**

...  
...  
...  
... **Ena. ac. m. dom. m.** ...  
... **ma. g. r. m. m. m.** ...  
... **pe. r. d. u. c. n. a.** ...  
... **P** ...  
... **Q** ...  
... **al. r. u. s. t. u. s. s. e. o. n. t.** ...  
... **si. h. o. c. f. e. s. t. i. u. m. c. e. l. e. b. r. a. t. i. o. n. e. s. t.**



...  
... **inguis** ...  
... **nam a glo nificante ca**

## 9. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 11 – Psalterium feriale a. u. OFM in Transsilvania

Parchment; 582 x 385 mm  
Transylvania (Cluj?); s. XVI

### Description

<i>Script, Hands praescissus.</i>	The text was copied by one hand in a very regular <i>textus praescissus</i> .
<i>Decoration</i>	Large foliated lettrine <i>D</i> on verso (green, pink, blue, gold; acanthus leaves, flowers, tendrils; 6 lines); red/blue lombards (1-2 lines).
<i>Ruling</i>	Red ink.

### Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	585 – 590 x 385 – 390 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	440 x 250 mm
<i>Columns, Width</i>	1 col., 250 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	22 lines, 20 mm

### Current Condition

*Extent* One leaf.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* (r:) [*Feria I. Ad primam.*] / secula genitus, et homo est ex substantia matris in seculo natus. X Hec est fides catholica quem nisi (v:) quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit saluus esse non poterit. (*Athanasian Creed: Quicumque vult...*). *Feria II. [Mat.] Invit.* Venite exsultemus domino. Iubilemus deo. *Ymnus.* Somno refectis... *An.* Dominus defensor. *An.* Alle[luia]. [*Ps.*] Dominus illuminatio mea... X infirmati sunt et ceciderunt/ (Ps. 26).

### History

*Origin* Transylvanian product?

*Provenance* The manuscript may have belonged to the Franciscan convent in Cluj, erected c. 1486-1516. The book may have ended up in the library of the Jesuit College, which occupied the premises of the former Franciscan convent in 1581-1605. In 1603, the Jesuit Collge was plundered by the Unitarians. The Unitarians may have used the large psalter as maculature in the following years.

*Host Volume* U. 74432-33 – [Christoph Herdesianus], *Consensus orthodoxus sacrae scripturae et veteris ecclesiae, de sententia et veritate verborum coenae dominicae, adeoque de tota controversia sacramentaria, in certa capita distinctus, in quibus praeter veram huius mysterii doctrinae explicationem, etiam vere sacramentarii errores ex perpetua articulorum fidei analogia, et genuino patrum sensu excutiuntur, atque simul excogitatae dipnosophistarum imposturae deteguntur: nunc denuo multis in locis contra quorundam mataeologorum recentes imposturas auctus & recognitus. Accesserunt duo indices...*, Tiguri [Zürich], apud Froschoverum [Christoph Froschauer (II)], 1585. The host book belonged to Valentinus Radecius/Walenty Radecy, who inscribed his name on the title page ("Valentini Radecy"). "Valentinus Radecius (? – 1632) was a Unitarian priest of Polish descent. He was born in Gdańsk, studied in Raków, was a schoolmaster in Lusławice, then a Unitarian rector in Cluj [from 1605], a pastor from 1607, and a Unitarian bishop of Transylvania from 1616 until his death." (Ósz 2014, p. 232, n. 33).



quisq; fidei firmitq; crediderit : sci  
u<sup>o</sup> esse nō poterit *sera. ii. Inuit* **V**eni  
te exultemus dno. jubilemus do *ymus*

**S**omno relictis artub; spreto cu  
bili surgim<sup>o</sup>: nō p<sup>r</sup> canētib; adēe  
te deponam<sup>o</sup> **T**e lingua p<sup>r</sup>mu; xinat  
te mentis ardor ambiat : ut actiu; **A**  
sequācū tu sancte sis exordū **A**edāt  
tenebre lumī r nox diurno s<sup>r</sup>deri :  
ut culpa qm nox intulit lucis late  
scat munē **R**ecam<sup>o</sup> rē in supplices  
noxas ut omīs amputes : r ore te ca  
laueris in ppetuū **D**ni pat  
Dns dñs. ser. *ille*

**D**omi<sup>o</sup> illu<sup>o</sup> **D**omi<sup>o</sup> illu<sup>o</sup>  
r salus mā quē tunc  
bo **D**ñs p<sup>r</sup>ector uite  
mee : a quo trepidabo  
**D**um appiant super  
me nocentes : ut edāt  
carnes meas **Q**ui tbulant me iūni  
a mei : ipi infirmati sūt r ceciderunt



## 10. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 12 – Otto Frisingensis (OCist), *Chronica seu Historia de duabus civitatibus*

Parchment; 185 x 315 mm  
Bavaria/Austria?; s. XII<sup>2</sup>

### Description

*Script, Hands* The text was copied by two hands in a neat South German *praegothica*. Corrections by another hand. Alternating shapes of final *s*, ampersand and uncrossed Tironian *et*, initial *v* and *u*; straight *d*; *e caudata*.

*Decoration* Simple red initials, highlighted initials (red).

*Ruling* Drypoint ruling; no extant prickings.

### Original Condition

*Page Size* 125 – 185 x 270 – 316 mm      *Text Block* 112 – 144 x 120 – 130 mm

*Columns, Width* 1 col., 120 – 130 mm      *Lines, Height* 22 – 23 lines, 7 – 8 mm

*Collation* Judging by the gap separating the text on the two leaves, this must have been the outer or the second bifolium of the quire (ff. \*1-8 or \*2-7 inside a *quaternio*).

### Current Condition

*Extent* One partial bifolium.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* [Books VI.31-32, VII.14-15]  
(\*1/2r:) ... episcopus vero clam elapsus aufugit. Eapropter imperator [pascha Domini Ravenna celebra]to uerno tempore... X Unde quidam ex nostris hunc rerum humanarum casum deplorat, rithmum in modum tragedie... (VI.31); (\*1/2v:) ... [in abdit]is siluarum claustris perdidit. Contra quos cum debite... X ... in palatio lateranensi sedente flagitiosam et turpem... (VI.32); (\*7/8r:) ... dicere non oportet. Inde castra mouens Appenium [opid]umque quod Pons tremulus uocatur... X ... tanquam nocens cum per omnia esset innocens custodie mancipatur. Videns hec uenerabilis luuauiens/[is ecclesie]... (VII.14); (\*7/8v:) ... ceteros in fugam uertit. Romani fuga in ponte iuxta castrum Crescentii... XV. Imperator ab urbe regressus... Quem in castro Barra, in ter/[mino regni sito]... (VII.15).

*Editions* Lammers/Schmidt 1961; Hofmeister 1984.

### History

*Origin* The manuscript may have been copied in Bavaria or in Austria, where Otto of Freising's texts were particularly popular.

*Provenance* The fragment may have been imported to Transylvania as maculature for binders; if the manuscript circulated in medieval Transylvania, it may come from the Cistercian abbey of Cârța (est. 1202).

*Host Volume* U. 63177 – *Paraphrases Des. Erasmi Roterodami In epistolas Pauli apostoli ad Rhomanos Corinthios & Galatas, quae commentarii uice esse possunt*, Basel: Johannes Frobenius [per Hieronymum Frobenium], 1520 (USTC 682544). The book had belonged to "Laurentius Dalnaki", who signed his name on the title page. Lőrinc Nagy Dálnoki (1614-1661) was a teacher at the Unitarian College in Cluj in the 1630s and 1640s. On the title page, one can also read the signature of Stephanus Conradus, a contemporary notary from Cluj. Dálnoki bequeathed the book to the Unitarian College of Cluj (shelfmark "R.1622").



...ta castrū cretenti coarctati. tybi se committit. plurimiq; adsq; q  
gl. idis pisse narrari. & ceteri crudelis. sacro p. petro. angustias  
portari suspectas. habens. multos uisus supit. exstusq; papa  
capitū legi dicit. Huius maxime scelis auctor fuisse dicit. Huius  
natione lotharing. q; p. modū factus ē. iniquitatis archiepis. i. v.  
regis cancellari. ē. p. m. t. p. mos. et p. p. p. d. s. c. l. l. i. a. r. i. Que tam  
p. r. e. d. i. t. a. r. e. v. e. n. i. t. u. s. c. a. p. t. i. v. a. g. i. u. m. e. t. m. e. a. r. e. r. e. p. o. s. t. i. v. a. d. i. u.  
s. i. r. o. i. n. t. a. s. e. m. e. r. e. d. i. b. i. l. i. s. a. m. i. s. i. n. c. h. a. a. s. s. i. t. e. i. p. s. i. q. d. e. a. m. e. s. s. i.  
m. o. i. m. m. e. s. s. i. m. u. s. a. e. r. e. g. n. u. s. i. n. p. e. s. t. i. f. e. r. u. h. o. s. t. e. d. i. u. i. n. o. i. n. d. i. c. e. u. s. q.  
a. d. i. u. r. e. t. i. m. m. u. s. e. n. s. e. r. S. h. e. c. h. a. e. t. e. n. i. J. g. p. a. l. u. p. t. e. p. o. r. i. s. a. d. e. l. e. g. o.  
a. u. s. e. t. e. r. o. s. i. m. o. p. o. n. t. i. f. i. c. e. e. u. e. n. i. o. n. g. f. a. c. t. a. r. e. a. a. u. b. r. e. u. o. c. a. t.  
a. e. e. r. r. o. r. t. o. a. b. e. o. p. u. i. m. d. e. i. n. u. e. s. t. i. t. a. e. p. o. x. p. o. l. e. g. o. e. s. i. e. d. e. m. i. s. s. o.  
u. r. b. e. i. n. g. e. d. i. t. I. u. n. e. q. s. i. p. e. n. i. t. i. m. a. d. u. e. l. t. e. s. e. u. e. s. a. e. p. o. n. t. i. f. i. c. e. n. u. i.  
r. e. r. b. e. c. a. l. u. r. a. b. e. o. q. c. o. r. o. n. a. t. f. a. u. o. r. e. s. e. n. i. u. i. m. p. r. i. s. e. a. u. g. e. r. i. n. o. m.  
s. o. r. t. i. t. A. n. n. o. a. b. i. n. e. d. n. i. a. e. x. x. i. a. n. n. o. u. r. e. g. n. u. m. e. i. p. r. e. s. i. d. i. c. a. r. i. a.  
p. a. n. e. i. m. p. i. a. l. a. v. H. o. c. p. u. n. l. e. g. u. m. p. o. l. a. t. o. m. a. n. o. p. o. e. t. i. c. e. n. u. i. u. s. e. r. o. r. t. i. t.  
p. r. e. s. d. u. s. y. n. o. d. o. c. o. g. r. e. g. a. t. a. e. p. o. x. a. u. c. h. o. r. n. a. t. a. q. u. a. p. r. i. u. i. l. e. g. u. m.  
r. e. p. b. a. u. t. I. m. p. r. a. b. u. r. b. e. r. e. g. i. s. s. u. s. a. d. t. r. i. n. i. t. a. t. e. p. r. i. m. i. t. S. e. q. u. o. n.  
t. a. n. t. i. f. i. n. i. m. i. s. s. i. e. e. x. t. e. r. s. i. g. e. n. t. a. b. o. e. i. m. e. t. u. t. r. e. p. i. d. a. n. t. i. b. e. c. u. m.  
e. t. i. s. a. d. i. m. p. r. i. v. e. u. o. l. u. n. t. a. t. e. s. u. a. i. n. c. l. i. m. a. t. u. s. b. e. l. g. a. s. i. n. g. l. i. s. s. i. R. e. g. n. a. l.  
d. i. u. c. o. m. m. e. h. o. s. t. e. u. i. c. i. a. s. b. e. l. l. o. p. e. t. i. t. Q. u. e. i. n. e. a. s. t. r. o. B. a. r. t. a. i. n. t. r.

...to. ugo. q. p. p. e. i. r. e. c. i. u. r. a. t. i. s. i. n. t. o. r. i. a. u. a. s. t. a. n. t. i.  
d. e. h. i. r. e. p. a. r. i. u. i. d. e. a. t. n. o. n. e. a. c. c. e. p. i. n. C. r. e. m. o. n. a.  
o. b. u. i. t. h. u. i. t. Q. u. e. e. i. m. i. t. r. o. h. o. n. o. r. e. s. u. s. c. e. p. i. t. s. e. c. u. n. d. u. m.  
d. o. c. a. l. o. r. e. m. o. n. a. n. a. l. o. c. a. s. u. b. i. t. D. u. s. a. q. u. i. m. i. n. r. e. s. t. i. l. a. O. d. o.  
r. u. p. r. o. d. e. r. m. o. i. n. g. a. l. l. i. a. i. m. p. r. i. r. e. b. e. l. l. a. r. C. u. i. q. a. d. i. g. n. o. m. i. n. u. a. d.  
B. a. r. r. u. n. o. t. e. o. b. i. d. i. o. n. e. e. u. r. u. s. t. e. a. b. o. d. i. l. o. n. e. h. e. l. g. a. r. u. d. u. c. e. a. l.  
a. d. h. i. l. o. c. e. d. i. t. a. e. u. e. r. a. l. l. u. s. d. i. i. n. s. i. g. n. u. i. n. d. i. o. n. e. a. u. g. u. s. t. o. i. n. t. a. l. i. a.  
p. e. l. l. a. r. e. s. i. a. c. o. r. d. i. s. s. e. r. e. l. l. a. s. i. s. C. r. e. m. o. n. e. d. i. s. e. p. i. d. u. b. i. t. i. t. r. i. h.  
i. n. a. e. s. t. a. t. i. s. r. e. i. u. d. i. c. i. o. n. i. i. n. e. x. l. u. s. i. d. e. p. o. r. t. a. n. t. L. e. m. o. d. e. h. u. e. i. n.  
d. n. i. L. a. r. m. e. e. x. e. l. e. b. r. a. n. t. t. u. m. u. l. t. u. o. r. o. d. a. p. i. f. e. r. r. e. g. i. s. i. n. e. a. t. o. r.  
m. o. r. p. r. i. n. c. e. p. s. o. i. m. i. u. s. i. n. u. r. b. e. i. m. p. u. g. n. a. t. C. u. i. b. u. s. a. u. t. f. o. r. t. i. s. e. d. e. t.  
p. t. a. m. i. p. e. r. t. u. r. e. g. i. s. d. i. u. r. s. f. e. r. r. e. n. u. a. l. e. r. t. i. s. f. u. i. s. s. i. m. u. l. t. i. s. t. a. n. d. e. i. n.  
c. i. u. i. t. H. i. s. t. a. t. e. d. i. u. b. r. o. m. a. n. p. o. n. t. i. f. i. c. e. m. e. d. i. a. l. a. u. e. i. s. i. u. a. r. c. h. i. e. p. i. n. o.  
d. n. o. s. u. o. i. n. u. i. s. t. e. r. e. b. e. l. l. a. r. e. t. e. x. m. a. n. u. e. a. u. t. h. a. g. C. o. n. r. a. d. s. u. b. a. d. e.  
t. a. l. i. a. e. r. r. o. r. i. o. r. i. p. p. e. n. n. i. m. i. i. n. s. i. e. n. t. r. e. g. i. n. a. & o. m. n. i. a. o. r. d. i. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. c. u.  
i. p. s. u. i. r. e. t. e. r. e. i. p. e. a. p. u. l. l. i. a. i. n. g. l. i. s. a. e. t. r. e. u. l. l. i. u. r. b. e. s. C. a. p. u. a. B. o. n. e. n. e. n. t.  
p. l. u. r. e. s. p. u. a. g. a. r. p. a. d. i. a. r. e. t. i. m. a. r. i. s. d. n. i. d. o. m. i. r. e. n. c. a. r. e. d. i. s. p. o. n. t.  
f. e. r. a. l. o. c. a. r. a. g. i. t. e. r. e. c. o. r. r. u. p. t. i. o. n. e. a. d. i. s. p. h. i. m. o. s. d. e. e. r. r. o. r. i. s. e. t.  
p. u. b. p. a. d. i. d. e. r. A. o. r. t. u. s. i. b. i. u. r. i. a. l. i. o. s. H. a. n. g. i. a. n. n. d. n. e. r. e. g. u. m. t. u.  
d. a. s. i. b. i. r. e. g. i. s. s. p. o. n. t. a. C. o. n. o. f. r. a. n. c. o. r. d. u. r. a. l. i. q. p. l. u. r. e. s. Q. u. e.  
t. e. r. e. i. h. u. m. a. n. i. t. a. e. a. s. t. i. d. e. p. l. o. r. a. n. t. r. a. t. i. m. i. s. m. o. d. u. r. e. g. e. d. i. t.



De spiritu  
ad uesperas  
antiphona  
super psal  
mos.

alleluia alleluia alleluia. Bnd. Luouonae

**V**eni sancte spiritus reple tuorum corda fi

delum et tu amoris meis ignem accende qui p

diuersitate linguarum multarum gentes in unita

te fide congregasti alleluia alleluia **L**aud.

Repleti  
sunt **versu.**  
Repleti s  
omnes s. s. al  
**antiph.**

Luouae. **N**on uos relinqua orpha

nos alleluia uado et uenio ad uos alleluia et

gaudebit cor uestrum alleluia. Magni Luouae



# 11. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 13 – Antiphonale

Parchment; 420 x 340 mm  
Central Europe (Austria?); s. XV

## Description

<i>Script, Hands</i>	The text was copied by one hand in a neat <i>textus praescissus</i> .
<i>Musical Notation</i>	Square Gothic musical notation, four-line staves.
<i>Decoration</i>	Alternating red/blue lombards (2 lines) with elaborate pen flourishing. Foliated and highlighted cadels (2 lines). The A cadel on the verso is inhabited by a plummeting dove, illustrating the Holy Ghost of the Pentecost antiphon.
<i>Ruling</i>	Red ink, only staves.

## Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	470–490 x 340–350 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	345 x 215 mm
<i>Columns, Width</i>	1 col., 215 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	8 lines, 13–14 mm

## Current Condition

*Extent* One leaf. The bottom of the page was trimmed, but otherwise the leaf is close to its original size.

## Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* [Dominica Pentecostes, Ad vespas]  
(r:) [Al]/leluia alleluia alleluia. *Ps.* Benedictus. Euouuae (!). *De spiritu ad uesperas antiphona super psalmos.* Ueni sancte spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium et tui amoris in eis ignem accende qui per diuersitatem linguarum multarum gentes in unitate fidei congregasti alleluia alleluia. Laudate. Euouae. *R.* Repleti sunt. *Versic.* Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto alleluia. *Antiphona.* Non uos relinquam orphanos alleluia uado et uenio ad uos alleluia et gaudebit cor uestrum alleluia. *Ps.* Magnificat. Euouae; (v:) [An.] Alleluia spiritus paraclitus alleluia docebit uos omnia alleluia alleluia. Nunc. Euoua. [Invit.] Alleluia spiritus domini repleuit orbem terrarum uenite adoremus alleluia. Venite. [An.] Factus est repente de celo sonus aduenientis spiritus uehementis alleluia alleluia. Magnus deo. Euouae. [An.] Confirma hoc deus quod operatus es in nobis a templo sancto tuo quod est/[in Jerusalem, alleluia, alleluia].

## History

<i>Origin</i>	The manuscript appears to be a fifteenth-century Central European (Austrian?) product.
<i>Provenance</i>	Late nineteenth-century stamps reading “Erdélyi Múz<eum> Egye<sület> Könyvtára – Kézirattár” (Hungarian: “Library of the Transylvanian Museum Association – Manuscripts”). The Transylvanian Museum Association was established in 1859; its manuscripts and old books are now in the Special Collections of the Central University Library, Cluj.
<i>Host Volume</i>	Unknown origin. The leaf was kept in this condition, in a box.

## 12. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 14 – 15 – Antiphonale a. u. Ecclesiae Transsilvaniensis

Parchment; Fragm. 14: 370 x 250 mm; Fragm. 15: 370 x 580 mm  
Transylvania (Cluj?); s. XV<sup>1</sup>

### Description

<i>Script, Hands</i>	The text was copied by one hand in a neat <i>textus praescissus</i> .
<i>Musical Notation</i>	Hungarian Gothic musical notation. "The musical script follows the common system of the main Hungarian plainchant codices: the notation is written in black ink over a set of four red horizontal lines occupying the whole width of the writing space. The text lines are unusually short, but the text itself is large compared to the musical notation, which suggests that text and the music are of unequal value in these musical fragments. [...] The style in which the chants were written is archaic and rather provincial, which also explains the unusually small neumes." (Gilányi/Papahagi 2019, pp. 8-9).
<i>Decoration</i>	Alternating red and blue lombards (2 lines, c. 40 mm); highlighted initials (1 line, red); Fragm. 15 also contains a pen-flourished cadell with mask (2 lines, c. 40 mm).
<i>Ruling</i>	Only staves, red ink.

### Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	500 x 345 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	355 – 360 x 230 – 240 mm
<i>Columns, Width</i>	1 col., 230 – 240 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	7 lines, 20 – 25 mm
<i>Collation</i>	Four leaves from the original MS have been discovered so far. In the order of the text, they are: 1. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 15 (from C. 55090), Saint Stephen protomartyr – 26 December; 2. Cluj, BAR, Fragm. Cod. Lat. 14 (from BMV C. 218), Innocents – 28 December; 3. Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T 422/b, Saint Vincent martyr – 22 January; 4. Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, F 15, Kolozsmonostor, <i>Protocollum maius I 1629-1638</i> , Saint Gregory the Great – 12 March. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 15 was the central bifolium of the quire, so that the text continues as follows (supposing the quire was a <i>quaternio</i> ): *4r: flesh side, right; *4v: hair side, left; *5r: hair side, right; *5v: flesh side, left.		

### Current Condition

<i>Extent</i>	<b>Fragm. 14:</b> one partial leaf (almost the entire text block); <b>Fragm. 15:</b> one partial bifolium. The fragment contains the top 6/7 of the entire text block on f. *5; the exterior of the text block was mutilated on f. *4.
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### Content

*Text Language* Latin

<i>Content</i>	<b>Fragm. 14:</b> [ <i>In Nativitate Innocentium</i> ] (r) /...mendacium Ideo. V. Ex ore inf[antium]. <i>Ymnus</i> . Saluete f[lores]. <i>An</i> . Istorum est enim regnum celorum qui contempserunt uitam mundi et peruenerunt ad premia regni et lauerunt stolas suas in sanguine agni. <i>Ps</i> . Magnificat. <i>Invitatorium</i> . Regem (v:) [re]gum dominum uenite ad[o]remus quia ipse est corona sanctorum innocencium. <i>Psalmus</i> . Venite. <i>an</i> . Herodes uidens quia illusus esset a magis misit in bethleem et [occi]dit omnes pueros q/[ui]... <b>Fragm. 15:</b> (*4r:) [ <i>In natiuitate Domini</i> ] [ <i>An</i> . Natus est nobis hodie saluator qui est Christus dominus] / in ciuitate dauid. Eu[ouae]. [ <i>Officium S. Stephani protomartyris</i> ] [ <i>In festo pro]tho[martyris S. Ste]pha[ni] ??? de. s...???. Responsorium</i> . Lapidis torrentes (!) illi... [V.] Mortem enim... / [quam saluator dignatus est pro omnibus pa] (*4v:) ti [ha]nc ille primus red[didit sal]uatori. Ipsum. [V. Gl]oria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Ipsum. <i>Antifona</i> . Aue prothomartir [Stepha]ne signifer eterni... [An. Lumine uultus tui do...] (*5r:) ...mine insignitus prothomartir stephanus sacrificium iustitie seipsum tibi sacrificium (!) ideoque in leticia cordis in pace [obdorm]iens requiescit. <i>Ps</i> . Cum inuoca(rem). <i>An</i> . Benediccionis / [tue domine munere iustifica] (*5v) tus et scuto tue proteccionis in passione munitus nominis sui coronam stephanus a te percipere meruit. <i>Ps</i> . Verba mea. <i>An</i> . O quam admirabile [est] nomen tuum domine deus noster... /
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in scuto: in p[er]sonis

imp[er]atione milium: nois

suu[m] coronā stephanū are

po[te]re meruit. p[er] **V**erba m.

**Q**ua admirari

no[m]i[n]e tuū d[omi]n[us] deus n[ost]r[us]

in civitate dan

**L**

ap[er]tes tore

tes illi

vialtes su

rum ip[s]i secu

omnes ab[er] m[er]it

**M**orte enim e

**De**  
**ph**  
**de s**

## History

*Origin* Transylvania.

*Provenance* All the fragments are connected to Transylvania, and more specifically to the region of Cluj: Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T 422/b was extracted from the binding of a printed book bearing the shelfmark Tört. F. 256, which had belonged to Count Ádám Teleki of Szék (d. 1792), administrator of Dăbâca (Hungarian: Doboka), Co. Cluj, and then to his heir, Countess Mária Teleki, according to a note on the front flyleaf. Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, F 15, Kolozsmonostor, *Protocollum maius I 1629-1638* was detached from the binding of protocols from Cluj-Mănăştur, which proves its provenance. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 14 was used in the binding of a book printed in Cluj in 1597 (BMV C. 218). Both fragments from the Academy Library come from the earliest Jesuit collections, constituted before 1604, which occasionally use local manuscript fragments as wrappers.

*Host Volume* **Fragm. 14:** BMV C.218 – *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae, seu tabulae testimoniorum ex Sacris Libris, et Sanctorum Patrum scriptis...* collectae per Ioannem Szilvasi concionatorem Catholicum, Cluj: Heltai, 1597 (RMNy 808). On the dedicatory page (iir), ownership notes "Societatis Iesu in Monostor" (s. XVII), and "Bibliotheca Lycei Regalis Claudiopolitani 1831". Former shelfmarks on front pastedown: J. H. 31 (s. XVII?), N7 I 22 (red pencil, s. XVIII/XIX?); 113.d.32 (s. XX), and label with the current shelfmark (s. XX).

**Fragm. 15:** C.55090 – *Caius Julius Caesar, sive historiae imperatorum caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restituae liber primus. Accessit Caii Julii Caesaris vita et res gestae*, Brugge: Hubertus Goltzius, 1563 (USTC 401143). The title page displays the ownership notes: "Collegii Societatis IESV Claudiopolitani 1604", "Bibliothecae Regiae Lycei Claudiopolitani 1832", as well as an explanation of the woodcut engravings written by a seventeenth-century hand ("Musai. Mathem. & Phys. Experimentia").

NB: Fragm. Cod. Lat. 26 was found in the spine of C. 55090.

**Bibliography** Gilányi/Papahagi 2019; Papahagi 2021, p. 74.



## 13. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 16 – 18 – Antiphonale (Teutonice)

Parchment; Fragm. 16: 120 x 255 mm; Fragm. 17: 360 x 260 mm; Fragm. 18: 367 x 235 mm  
Austria (Styria?); s. XV<sup>2</sup>

### Description

*Script, Hands* The text was copied, apparently by one hand, in a Gothic *hybrida* ("schleifenlose Bastarda").

*Musical Notation* Messine Gothic musical notation on staves (four lines).

*Decoration* Alternating red/blue lombards, simple and flourished cadels (2 lines, 25 mm), rubrics.

*Ruling* Only staves, red ink.

### Original Condition

<i>Page Size</i>	365 – 370 x 260 – 270 mm	<i>Text Block</i>	280 x 175 – 185 mm
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<i>Columns, Width</i>	1 col., 175 – 185 mm	<i>Lines, Height</i>	10 lines (+ 10 staves), 14 – 15 mm
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*Collation* Fragm. Cod. Lat. 16 (*De Sanctis, Tempore Paschale?*); Fragm. Cod. Lat. 17 (*In dedicatione ecclesiae*);  
Fragm. Cod. Lat. 18 (St Catherine, 25 Nov.).

### Current Condition

*Extent* **Fragm. 16:** one partial leaf, extracted from the bottom of the original leaf (wrapping the spine of MS. C. 177); **Fragm. 17:** one reconstituted leaf: the four fragments (c. 50 x 90 – 95 mm each) extracted from the top of the original leaf were the corner wrappers of MS C. 404; the larger fragment (c. 130 x 250 mm), extracted from the centre of the original leaf, was the spine wrapper of MS C. 404; the four fragments (c. 60 – 65 x 125 – 130 mm) extracted from the bottom of the original leaf were the corner wrappers of MS C. 177; **Fragm. 18:** one full leaf.

### Content

*Text Language* German

*Content* **Fragm. 16:** [*De Sanctis, Tempore Paschale?*]  
(flesh side:) /gangen ir ain und in dy end der welt des erdreich ir wart Czeugnüss. Gloria dem vater und dem sun und dem;/ (hair side:) Gloria dem vater und dem sun und dem heiligen geiste amen.  
*ympnus.* Leben der heiligen. über das magnificat antifen. Ir töchter iherusalem chomet her und secht dy/  
NB: Ir toechter iherusalem = Filiae Jerusalem venite et videte martyrem cum corona qua coronavit eum dominus in die sollempnitas et laetitiae alleluia alleluia.

**Fragm. 17:** [*In dedicatione ecclesiae?*]

(r:)/stat der warhait (?) deiner glori. Sy czyer (?). Gloria dem vater und dem sun und dem heiligen geist. Herr, SÄlig sind dye do wanent in deinem haws herr. In der welt der welt werdent loben dich <sub rasura: werdent mir ein pophel (?). Got.> Collecta in der tttt nona antiphona. Edel gestain. Capitulum. Ir seit am tempel des lemtigen (?) gots als der herr spricht wenn ich in den wirt umbgen und in wanen und wirt regot und sy werdent mir ein pophel. R. Heylig sind dy do wanent in deinem haws herr. In der welt der welt werdent sy loben dich. In deinem (!). Gloria dem vater und dem sun und dem heiligen geist heilig (!). v. In deinem haws herr czympt (?) heilikait in die leng der tÄg. Collecta als var czw vesper. Cz w der andern vesper über ps. antiffen. Mein gelüb laist ich dem herren in den fürhausen. Ich gelaube ttt. In das haws des herren (v: tttttttttttttttttttttt Gestreüt ttttt. Nur dw herre pehaltest uns eitlich wachent ünseren augen. Nwr der her. Vor dem anplik der engel psallire ich dir mein got. Ich vergies tt. tttttttttt lob iherusalem. v. Daz ist daz haws. An. über ttttt. Zachee eilund steig abher wenne hew<sup>e</sup>t in deinem hawse mues ich wanen und der eilund staig herab und nam den fröleich in sein haws alleluia hewt ist hail geschechen dem haws von got alleluia. Magnificat.

NB: Edel gestain = Lapidis pretiosi omnes muri tui...; Heylig sind dy do wanent in deinem haws herr = Beati qui habitant in domo tua domine; Vor dem anplik der engel psallire ich dir mein got = In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi domine; Zachee eilund = Zachaeus festinans descende...

**G**rosse glori vnd eer legestu vber in der chor In der

nem haul **G**loria dem vater. **Der chor** Grotz ist sem  
Der gerechte wnt als am palm gnien. Innd als am cedarparom  
am peccy libano wnt er gemert in haus des herren **Dannach coll-**  
**gannc aus als zu der stet.** tem zu der andern vs singt man die  
antiffen all fünf dy man singt auf dy laudes dz ist dy lobmetten  
ame hebe an die an Wer mem verieken wort am andre hebe an den  
ps Salig ist der man der fürcht te **Der and ps** Ich gelaube drcum  
ps zu dem herren do ich betrübe wart ps wo tuff han ich herr **Cap**  
der herr hat gegeben als wir in der  
ersten vs **ompin** Chriſte ihu du gott  
v ant glori te **Dannach** hebe ame an  
die antiffn auf dz **magnificas.**

**M**em sel du verſmächte den a

in der welt hat er verſmächte mit nen wolluſtichaiten  
vnd darvmb verdient er zu thomen zu den hochten

anden der priesterſchaft. **E u o n a e.** **Dannach coll' als in**  
der ersten vs vnd geht  
mit den segn. **Der ersten vs vnd metten**

Nun hebe sich  
an dy hyston von  
sand sand hatren  
an vber dy ps. **D**ie hochmütigen unthätigen ka



**Fragm. 18:** [?; In festo S. Catherinae]

(r:) *zwo*. Grosse glori und eer legestu über in *der chor* In deinem hail. *zwo*. Gloria dem vater. *der chor*. Graz ist sein. v. Der gerecht wnt als ain palm gruen. Und als ain czederpawm am perg lybano wirt er gemert im haws des herrn. *darnach collecta ganz aus als zw der sext. tem zw der andern vers singt man dye antiffen all fünf dy man singt auf dy laudes, daz ist dy lobmetten aine hebt an dye antiphen* Wer mein veriehen wirt *ain andre hebt an den psalm* Sälig ist der man der füricht etc. *der ander psalm* Ich gelaube darum. *ps.* zw dem herren do ich betrübt wart. *ps.* zw tieff han ich herr. *Cap.* der herr hat gegeben. *als var in der ersten vers ympnus* Christe ihesu du ganz. v. mit glori etc. *darnach hebt aine an dye antiffen auf daz magnificat.* Glori der welt hat er versmächt. Mein sel dy grosmächt den. *an.* Glori der welt hat er versmächt mit iren wollustichaiten und darumb verdient er zw chömen zw den hochsten graden der priesterschaft. *Euovae. Darnach collecta als in der ersten vers und geit mit (?) den segn nur in der ersten vers und metten. Nwn hebt sich an dy hystori von sand sand Katrein. An. über dy Ps.* Die hochwurdigen iunkchfrawn ka/(v:)/therine hochezeit nem auf fröleich dy guetig mueter der christenhait. Grüst seist iunkchfraw got wirdig grüst hast gütige und genämew pehab uns freüdde dw ietzt und gloria (?). *Evovae. Psalm.* Alle laudate. lobet chinder. *Cap.* Ich wir dein veriehen herr der chünig und wirt mitloben dich +++++ veriehen deinen grossen namen wenn dw +++++ helfer und ain peschirmer und hast erlost [meinenn laib] von der verlust. *Der char (!).* Got sey gedankcht. *Res. +++++ (2 illegible lines)* ... herrn dy dw +++++ under dem schad des lieben. Thon der hiez der welt durch für uns zw der winnisam (?) des paradises. V. Libleich tochter/

NB: Glori der welt hat er versmächt mit iren wollustichaiten und darumb verdient er zw chömen zw den hochsten graden der priesterschaft = *Gloriam mundi spreuit cum suis oblectationibus et ideo meruit provehi ad summum sacerdotii gradum* (S. Nicolai, 6 Dec.); Ich wir dein veriehen herr der chünig... = *Confitebor tibi domine rex...*

**History***Origin*

The manuscript was most likely maculated in Graz, and may be of Styrian origin.

*Provenance*

Fragm. Cod. Lat. 16-18 were wrapping students' notebooks: MSS C. 404 and C. 177 were copied by the same person ("Franciscus Peltman" – Franz Pelzmann?) in 1695 and 1696; MS C. 409 was begun on 4 November 1676, and was completed on 7 September 1677. The students marked the names of teachers from the Jesuit Academy of Graz: "Hucusque R. P. And. Gloyach infirmatus 22 Jan. die deinde mortuus. 6 Februarii Residuum ex eius scriptis M. Bidellus dictavit" (MS C. 409, f. 24v); "Hic incoepit dictare R. P. Hyeron Milser 6 Martii" (MS C. 409, f. 26v); "Incepit R. P. Franc. Winsauer 4ta Maii" (MS C. 409, f. 44r); "Finita 15 Julii Anno 1695. OAMDG B:V:OO.SS.IC; Sub R. P. Alexandro Donati. Fran. Peltman" (MS C. 404, f. 244v); "Finita 21 Maii 1696 in festo S. Hospitii; Sub R. P. Alexandro Donati. Francis. Peltman" (MS C. 177, f. 272r).

*Host Volume*

**Fragm. 16:** MS C. 177 – Student's notebook: "Tractatus in libro De Mundo, et Coelo" (f. 1r), 1696 (f. 272r).

**Fragm. 17:** MS C. 177 (*cf. supra*), MS C. 404 – Student's notebook: "Tractatus in libros octo, quos Aristoteles appellat de physicis Auditu" (f. 1r), 1695 (f. 244v).

**Fragm. 18:** MS C. 409 – Student's notebook: "Tractatus de Angelis. Inc.: Disputatio prima de existentia et quiditate angelorum. Articulus Primus, De Existentia. De Angelis quaeritur primo an sint?..." (f. 1r), 4 Nov. 1676 (f. 1r) – 7 Sept. 1677 (f. 81r).

**See also fig. 5.**

## 14. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 19 – 21 – Graduale Ecclesiae S. Michaelis Claudiopolitanae

Parchment; Fragm. 19: 220 x 240 mm; Fragm. 20: 222 – 230 x 345 – 347 mm;  
Fragm. 21: 255 – 259 x 95 – 97 mm  
Transylvania (Cluj)?; s. XVI<sup>i</sup> (ante 1528)

### Description

*Script, Hands* The text was copied by one hand in a late Gothic *bastarda*. One-compartment *a*, loops for *l*, *h*, footless minims.

*Musical Notation* Messine Gothic musical notation on five red staves.

*Decoration* Alternating red/blue lombards (2 lines).

*Ruling* Red ink.

### Original Condition

*Page Size* 570 – 575 x 405 – 410 mm *Text Block* 430 x 260 mm

*Columns, Width* 1 col., 260 mm *Lines, Height* 8 lines, 26 – 29 mm

*Collation* The fragments were extracted from the Gradual of St Michael's church in Cluj (currently, Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS I.1). Fragm. 19 was extracted from the top of the original fol. 293 (rubricated contemporary folio number still visible).

### Current Condition

*Extent* **Fragm. 19:** One partial leaf, extracted from the top of the original leaf. **Fragm. 20:** One partial leaf. **Fragm. 21:** One partial leaf.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* **Fragm. 19:**  
(r:) [Kyriel]/eyson. Kyrieley[son. Kyr]ieleyson. Gloria [sit] deo. (?) Et mor.../; (v:) [*Gloria*. ... [do]/mine deus rex celestis [deus pater] omnipotens. Domine fi[li unigenite] Jesu Christe altiss/[ime]

**Fragm. 20:** [*In festo unius martyris pontificis*]

(r:) [Inue]/ni dauid seruum meum oleo sancto meo unxi eum. Alleluia. *Uer.* Elegit te dominus sacerdo/[tem sibi ad sacrificandum ei.]; (v:) [Inueni Dauid seruum meum oleo sancto] /unxi eum manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei et brachium meum confortauit eum. *Offer.* Ueritas mea et misericordia mea/ [cum ipso et in nomine meo exaltabitur cornu eius]

**Fragm. 21:** (a:) ++++ / ...bile. Qui /...ti veni a rea.../???; (b:) [*In festo Iohannis Baptistae?*] ++++[???]. Ne timeas Zacharia ne time[as quoniam exaudita] est deprec[at]io tua...]

NB: Not enough text to determine the recto and verso..

### History

*Origin* Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library, MS I.1, from which the fragments were extracted, is the former gradual of St Michael's church in Cluj. The manuscript is most likely a local product, made for St Michael's church in Cluj. St Michael's feast is highlighted and introduced by a historiated initial in the MS (f. 187r, formerly f. 224r). In 1528, the Renaissance sacristy gate of St Michael's church was finished (date carved in stone). The ironsmith who made the gate also produced the gradual's massive clasps, and dated them (1528). This is the manuscript's *terminus ante quem*.

*Provenance* The gradual survived during the Reformation, was integrated in the Jesuit library (s. XVI-XVIII), and then into the library of the Catholic "Lyceum". In 1913, the MS was transferred to Alba Iulia by order of the Catholic bishop of Transylvania. By that time, several quires from the beginning and the end of the manuscript had been mutilated by the Jesuits.



Host Volume

**Fragm. 19:** C. 54660-62 – *Elogia Patriarcharum et Christi Jesu Dei Homini Emanuelis Thesauri... et Aloysii Juglaris*, Moguntiae: Sumptibus Joannis Baptistae Schönwetteri, 1669. The volume belonged to the Jesuit school in Cluj-Mănăstur: “Domus PP Monostoriensis Catalogo Inscriptus 1690”, “Bibliothecae Regalis Lycei Claudiopolitani 1832” (title page).

**Fragm. 20:** C. 57795 – *De erroribus Novorum Arianorum libri duo...* Auctore Martino Smiglecio SJ, Cracoviae: In officina Andreae Petricouii, 1615. The same ownership notes on the title page as above.

**Fragm. 21:** MSC. 83 – Student's MS, “Physica” (f. 1r), s. XVII.

**Bibliography** Szigeti 1970; Papahagi 2021, pp. 72-73.





omnes in terra dicitur  
omnes in terra dicitur  
omnes in terra dicitur  
**Veni fili nati dni**

**H**odie fac nos que ven  
et dominus saluabit nos et  
maie uidebi in gloriam eius

Domine etiam uolentudo ei oratio

**D**ominus qui nos se  
temporems ut au

ma uolentudo ei oratio  
ut uolentudo ei oratio  
ut uolentudo ei oratio

et domine **Veni fili nati**

**H**odie fac nos que ven  
et dominus saluabit nos et  
maie uidebi in gloriam eius  
facile. et ipse uerum non  
quiescit. et erudiat  
ut uolentudo ei oratio  
saluator eius ut letemus  
animo suo. et uidebit  
tes in terra. et uidebit  
indomiti. et uidebit  
tibi neque mori. quod  
dominus noniam. et eius  
na gte in manu domini

et uolentudo ei oratio  
et uolentudo ei oratio  
et uolentudo ei oratio  
et uolentudo ei oratio  
et uolentudo ei oratio  
et uolentudo ei oratio

**A**d re  
tes. Paulus man

terius ihu xpi us  
tatis uult segregatus in  
euangelium di. quod ante  
miserat per uelias suos in  
scripturis suis de filio suo  
qui fuit et cetera. et cetera

David secundum carnem. Qui

in terra. et uidebit  
in terra. et uidebit  
in terra. et uidebit

et dominus saluabit nos et  
maie uidebi in gloriam eius  
facile. et ipse uerum non  
quiescit. et erudiat

ut uolentudo ei oratio

saluator eius ut letemus

animo suo. et uidebit  
tes in terra. et uidebit  
indomiti. et uidebit  
tibi neque mori. quod  
dominus noniam. et eius  
na gte in manu domini



## 15. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 22 – Missale notatum

Parchment; 370 x 250 mm  
Transylvania?; s. XV

### Description

*Script, Hands* The text was copied by one hand in a Northern *textualis* of average quality.

*Musical Notation* Messine Gothic musical notation on four red staves.

*Decoration* Alternating red/blue lombards (1-2 lines), rubrics.

*Ruling* Black ink.

### Original Condition

*Page Size* 370–380 x 250–260 mm *Text Block* 270–275 x 175 mm

*Columns, Width* 2 cols, 80–82 mm *Lines, Height* 31 lines, 8–9 mm

*Numbering:* 'IX.' rubricated at the top of the verso

### Current Condition

*Extent* One leaf.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* (ra:) [Et hoc est testimonium Iohannis, quando miserunt iudei ab Iero]/salimis sacerdotes et leuitas ad eum ut interrogarent eum... X ubi erat iohannes baptizans. (lo. 1: 19-28). Ave (rb:) maria... *Secr.* Sacrificiis presentibus... *Comm.* Ecce uirgo concipiet. *Compl.* Sumptis muneribus domine quesumus... *De omnibus sanctis oratio.* Consciencias nostras quesumus domine uisitando purifica...; *Secr.* †††† *Compl.* Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut in aduentu unigeniti (va:) filii tui domini nostri ihesu christi cum omnibus sanctis placitis tibi actibus presentemur. [Ad accedentes v.] Qui uiuit. *In uigilia natiuitatis domini.* [Invitatorium] Hodie scietis quia ueniet dominus et mane uidebitis gloriam eius. *Ps.* Domini est terra et plenitudo eius orbis terrarum. *Or.* Deus qui nos redempcionis tue... *Lectio ysaie prophetei.* Hec dicit dominus propter syon non tacebo et propter iherusalem non quiescam... (vb:) *Ad romanos.* Fratres: Paulus seruus ihesu christi notatus apostolus segregatus in ewangelium dei... *Gr.* Hodie scietis quia ueniet dominus... V./

### History

*Origin/ Provenance* The fragment was detached from a book printed in Cluj in 1597, and may thus be of local provenance, and even of local origin. The host volume belonged to the Jesuits of Cluj.

*Host Volume* BMV C.219 – János Szilvási, *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae*, Claudiopoli: Typis Heltanis, 1597 (RMNy 808). Ownership notes: "Residentia Monostoriensis Societatis Jesu 1670", "Soc. Iesu in Monostor", "Szarmas 1701", "Bibliotheca Lycei Regalis Claudiopolitani 1831". Former shelfmarks: N7122 - s. XVII/XVIII; 78.E.3, s. XIX.

## 16. Fragm. Cod. Lat. 26 – Missale notatum

Parchment; 95 – 100 x 107 – 111 mm (3 fragments of c. 30 – 33 x 107 – 111 mm)  
Central Europe (Transylvania?); s. XIV/XV

### Description

*Script, Hands* The text was copied by one hand in a Northern *textualis* of average quality.

*Musical Notation* Messine Gothic musical notation on four red staves.

*Decoration* Rubricated initial *I*, highlighted initials.

*Ruling* Faint black ink.

### Original Condition

*Page Size* 340 – 360 x 220 – 240 mm

*Text Block* 240 – 250 x 170 mm

*Columns, Width* 2 cols, 80 mm

*Lines, Height* 30 – 33 lines, 6 – 7 mm

*Numbering:* 'IX' rubricated at the top of the verso

### Current Condition

*Extent* Three contiguous fragments from the same column.

### Content

*Text Language* Latin

*Content* (r:) [*Nativitas Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 8 Sept.] [*Lect.* Liber generationis Jesu Christi... / ...et fratres eius in transmigracione babillonis... X ...de qua natus est Ihesus qui uocatur christus. *Off.* ??? *Secreta.* U[nigeniti tui] (?); (v:) [*Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis*, 14 Sept.] [*Al.* Alleluia. Dulce lignum] / dulces clauos dulcia ferens pondera que sola fuisti digna sustinere regem celorum et dominum. *Secundum Ihoannem.* In illo tempore dixit Ihesus turbis iudeorum: Nunc iudicium est mundi, nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras. Et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum. Hoc autem dicebat significans qua morte esset moriturus. Respondit ei turba: Nos audiuimus ex lege quia / [Christus manet in aeternum.] (lo. 12:31-34).

### History

*Origin* Probably Transylvanian, like Fragm. Cod. Lat. 15, detached from the same binding.

*Provenance* Unknown.

*Host Volume* C.55090 – *Caius Julius Caesar, sive historiae imperatorum caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restituae liber primus. Accessit Caii Julii Caesaris vita et res gestae*, Brugge: Hubertus Goltzius, 1563 (USTC 401143). The title page of C. 55090 displays the ownership notes: "Collegii Soc<ieta>tis JESV Claudiop<olitani> 1604", "Bibliothecae R<egii> Lycei Claudiopol<itani> 1832", as well as an explanation of the woodcut engravings written by a seventeenth-century hand ("Musai. Mathem.<atica> Phys.<ica> Experi.<entia>").

**See fig. 40.**



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Adrian Papahagi

## A Transylvanian Puzzle

Reconstructing Medieval Culture from Manuscript Fragments

Most manuscripts copied or used in medieval Transylvania perished in natural and human calamities, or simply because liturgical and cultural evolution, and above all the printing revolution made them redundant. Before the awakening of bibliophile and antiquarian instincts, parchment leaves extracted from manuscripts and incunabula were commonly used as maculature. *Felix culpa*: this allowed medieval *fragmenta codicum* to survive in the bindings of early modern books. Almost two hundred such fragments – some of local provenance – have been identified at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj. For the first time in Romania, the FRAGMED project restored, studied, digitised and exhibited some of this precious "evidence preserved by destruction".

Adrian Papahagi is associate professor of Medieval and Early Modern English Studies, and director of the CODEX Centre at the "Babeş-Bolyai" University of Cluj.



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