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ADRIAN PAPAHAĞI

BOOKS FROM LOST LIBRARIES

THE MEDIEVAL DIOCESES  
OF CENAD, ORADEA, AND TRANSYLVANIA

Presă Universitară Clujeană  
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THE CENAD DIOCESE was established around 1030 by Saint Gerard (980-1046), a Benedictine monk of Venitian origins<sup>1</sup>. *Urbs Morisena*, the old episcopal see on the River Mureş, was renamed Cenad (Hu. Csanád) after a local military chieftain who supported King Stephen I of Hungary in his war against the local ruler Ahtum. The *Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi* (*Legenda maior*), which survives in two fifteenth-century manuscripts (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3662, and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 18624) narrates how the bishop established a school in Cenad, endowed it with an appropriate building, and appointed a certain master Walter to teach grammar and music, the prerequisites for the ordination of a first promotion of thirty young converts. Gerard later brought from Alba Regalis (Székesfehérvár) another teacher, a German called Henry, who became *vicemagister*; Henry taught students to read, and Walter instructed them in singing<sup>2</sup>.

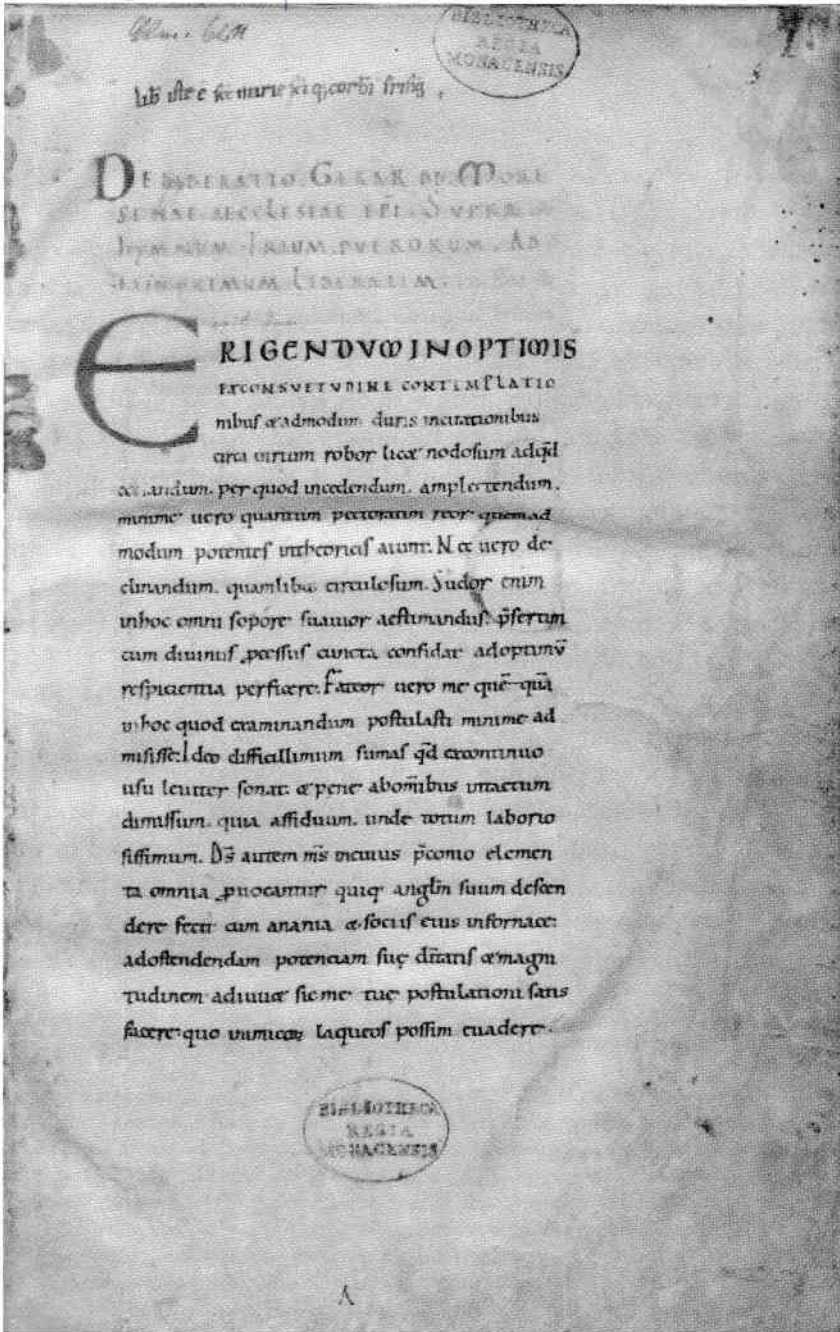
One may surmise that the school owned books, and that the chapter had a scriptorium where Gerard's own work, the *Deliberatio supra Hymnum trium puerorum* was laid down. Unfortunately, the only extant copy of Gerard's work (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 6211), copied in the second half of the eleventh century, contains no indication that it was produced in Cenad, although of course it must depend on Gerard's autograph or upon an exemplar produced in his diocese<sup>3</sup>. CLM 6211 was most likely copied in Bavaria, and entered in the collections of the Freising cathedral under bishop Ellenhard

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1. On St Gerard, see Klaniczay/Madas (1996: 113-16); Turcuş (2004); Mesaroş/Călin eds (2015); Mesaroş ed. (2016).

2. *Legenda S. Gerhardi episcopi* 10-11, ed. Madzsar (1938: 494-96): *Quadam autem die venerunt triginta viri ad episcopum neophiti, petentes, ut tolleret filios eorum, quos litteris cruditos in clericos ordinaret. Quibus susceptis, eos sub manu magistri Waltheri constituit, dans eis unam domum ad hec aptam, ut eos scientiis gramatice et musice informaret. [...] Quo viso, nobiles et magnates filios suos tradebant predicto Walthero ad instruendum, pro adipiscendo fructu scientie artis liberalis. [...] Qui [Maurus, Gerard's envoy to Alba Regalis] veniens Albam, peracto apud regem negocio, intravit scholas, ubi erat quidam Thevtonicus nomine Henricus, qui erat puerorum vicemagister [...], ille assensum prebens, acceptis libris suis venit cum eo ad episcopum. Quem episcopus gratanter suscepit et constituit eum scholaribus in lectorem. Waltherus autem preerat illis in cantura. See also Radu/Onciulescu (1977: 71-72).*

3. Glauche (2000) s.v. CLM 6211; Constantinescu ed. (1984: 50). The modern editions are Silagi ed. (1978); Baumgarten ed. (2019). A facsimile was printed recently: Gerardus (2018).



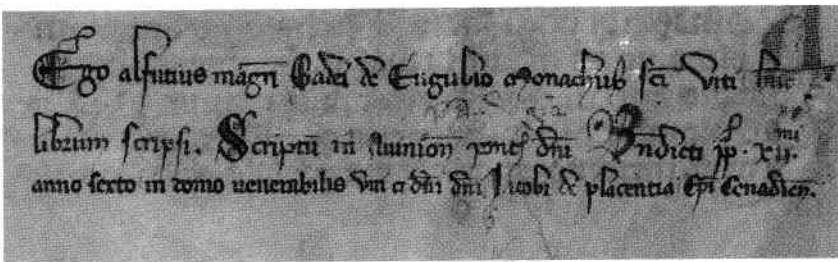
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 6211, f. 1r.

(1053-1078). No books connected with the activity of Gerard in Cenad have survived.

Gerard was certainly a learned man, who had first-hand knowledge of Augustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus and Gregory the Great, but it is unlikely that he had actually read the numerous authors adduced by Előd Nemerkenyi as possible sources of the *Deliberatio*<sup>4</sup>. Copies of the works of Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Plautus and Apuleius, for example, were rare even in the best European libraries around the year 1000. Indeed, it is hard to infer the direct knowledge of the classics from such echoes as *lumine mentis* (Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.5.10; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.200), *mediocres ingenio* (Cicero, *Brutus* 67.237), *contra mundi opificem* (Cicero, *De natura deorum* 1.8.18), *pluraliter, et non... singulariter* (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.5.16). Alexander Baumgarten may be right to suggest that Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* are the main source of Gerard's encyclopaedic references<sup>5</sup>.

The only extant book that is undoubtedly connected to a bishop of Cenad is the pontifical of the Italian Giacomo da Piacenza (Jacobus de Placentia), who died in Buda in 1348<sup>6</sup>. The manuscript (Zagreb, Metropolitan Library of the Archbishopric, MS MR 163) was copied by another Italian in 1339, as the colophon informs us:

Ego Alfutius magistri Tadei de Eugubio Monachus sancti Viti hunc librum scripsi. Scriptum in Avinione pontificatu domini Benedicti pontificis XII<sup>mi</sup>, anno sexto in domo venerabilis viri et domini, domini Jacobi de Placentia Episcopi Cenadiensis (f. 123r).

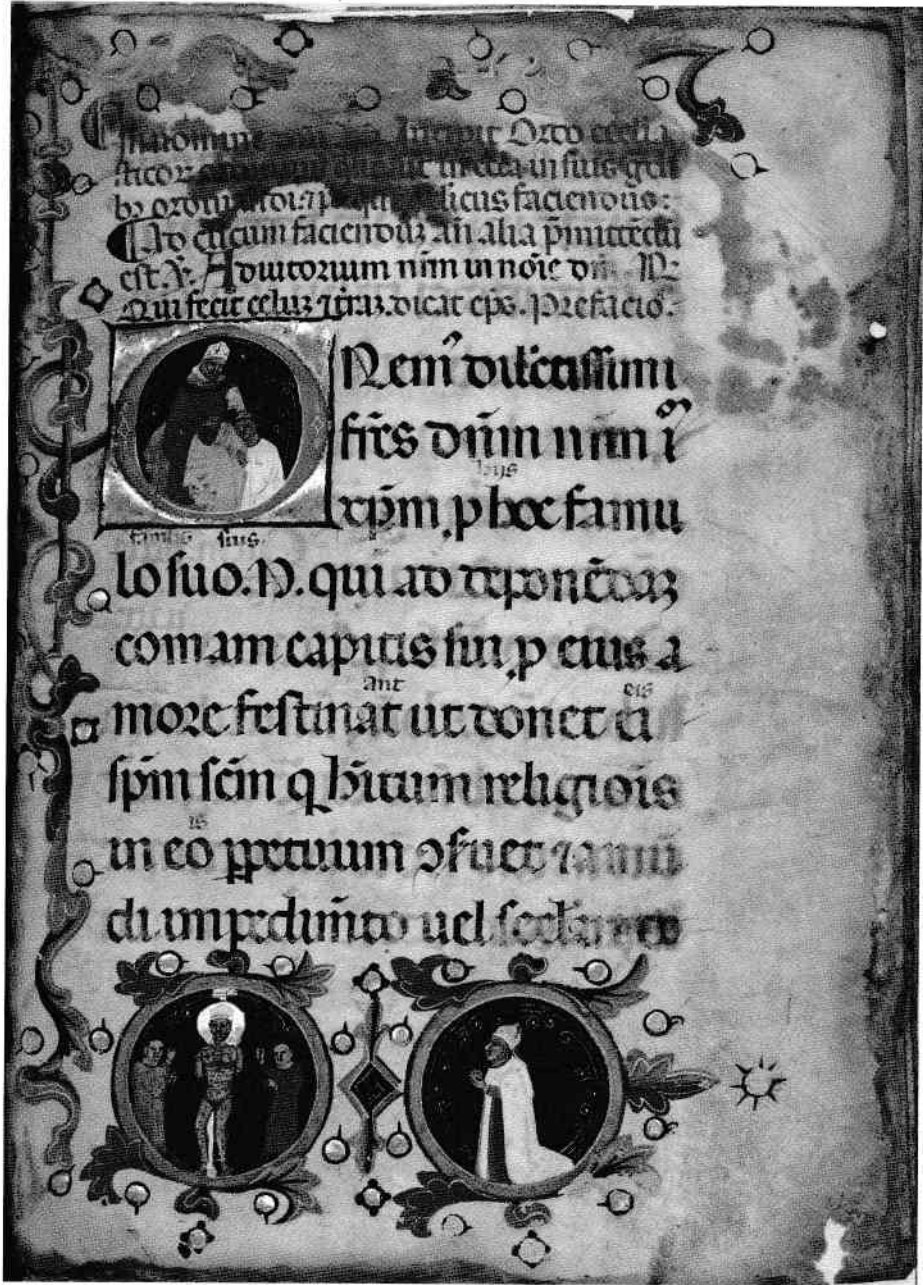


Zagreb, Metropolitan Library of the Archbishopric, MS MR 163, f. 123r.

4. Nemerkenyi (2004: 73-156).

5. Baumgarten ed. (2019: 8).

6. Kniewald (1940: 19-22); Kniewald (1941: 23); Markov (1944: nr 528); *BH II* 2945; Földváry (2013: 30).



Zagreb, Metropolitan Library of the Archbishopric, MS MR 37, f. 1r.

Giacomo was an interesting figure of Angevin Hungary: he was King Charles Robert's physician, served the monarch as a diplomat, and was rewarded with several ecclesiastical positions, culminating with the bishoprics of Cenad (1332-1343) and Zagreb (1343-1348)<sup>7</sup>. Miklós István Földváry believes that Giacomo also brought to Zagreb an older pontifical (Zagreb, Metropolitan Library of the Archbishopric, MS MR 37), a splendidly decorated book that also appears to be connected to Avignon<sup>8</sup>. However, only MS MR 163 bears the bishop's identification. I suppose that Giacomo ordered his pontifical to be made in Avignon in 1339, after he was appointed to his first episcopal dignity in Cenad, and kept using the book in Zagreb, where it remained after his death.

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The presence of books is also attested early on at the abbey of Igrış (Hu. Egres), established on the Palm Sunday of 1179 by a group of Cistercian monks from Pontigny<sup>9</sup>. Igrış was the only daughter of Pontigny in Hungary, although other Cistercian abbeys were founded in the kingdom in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries by Clairvaux, Acey, and Heiligenkreuz<sup>10</sup>. Igrış soon became an important monastic centre, and established filial branches at Cârța, in Transylvania, and Keresztúr, in Pannonia in 1202 and 1214. Yolande of Courtenay, the second wife of King Andrew II was buried in Igrış in 1233, and the monarch's remains were also transferred there from Oradea in 1235<sup>11</sup>. Unfortunately, the early *floruit* of the abbey was short-lived: in 1241 the Tatars sacked it, and killed most of the monks, laymen, and soldiers who had tried to resist within its fortifications. However, some monks were allowed to leave the precincts, as the contemporary *Carmen miserabile*, written by a canon of Oradea, Master Rogerius, informs us<sup>12</sup>. In the same year, the abbot of Igrış sought refuge in Bavaria, but he was not accepted<sup>13</sup>.

The plight of the Cistercian community in Igrış only sixty-two years after its establishment also meant the loss of its early library. Whether burnt by the Ta-

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7. Juhász (1958); Neagu (2016: 60-62).

8. Kniewald (1040: 17-19); Markov (1944: nr 529); *BH II* 2846; Földváry (2013: 30).

9. On the history of the abbey see Bósz (1911); Hervay (1984: 90-97); Turcuș/Turcuș (2012: 141-153).

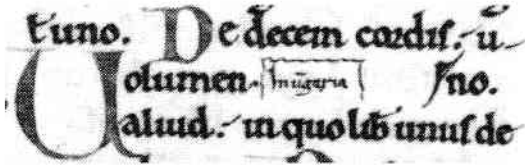
10. Hervay (1984: 20).

11. Hervay (1984: 91).

12. Rogerius (2010: 212): *exceptis quibusdam monachis* (ch. xxxvii).

13. Hervay (1984: 91-92).

tars or smuggled away by the surviving monks, the earliest books disappeared without a trace<sup>14</sup>. We do however have a precious source of information in the medieval catalogue of Pontigny's books, now Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H.12. On ff. 176-182, the manuscript contains the *Annotationes librorum Pontiniacensium*, copied between 1160-1174, according to its latest editor<sup>15</sup>. Next



to seven items in the rich *Annotationes*, a later hand added *in ungaria*; one further item is annotated "one ignores where it is, whether in Hungary or not" (*ignoratur ubi sit, utrum in Ungaria, necne*).

The list of seven or more volumes comprises, according to the reckoning of Radu Constantinescu and Eugen Lazea, up to fifty different texts by Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Nazianz, Remigius of Auxerre, Anselm of Canterbury, and Ivo of Chartres<sup>16</sup>.

A few comments must be made about this important document. Firstly, the *Annotationes* does not mention any liturgical books. We do however know that Cistercian abbeys had to endow their daughters with the necessary books for mass and office upon their establishment: these included at least a missal, a gradual, an antiphonal, a psalter, the Rule of the order, a book of hymns and a *collectaneum*<sup>17</sup>. Since such books are not marked *in Ungaria* in the *Annotationes*, one may suppose that they were copied especially for Igrış, and were not recorded in the Pontigny registers. Consequently, the books marked *in Ungaria* were sent to Igrış in 1179 only on loan, to be copied there and returned to their home library, where they had been inventoried before 1174. This suggests that Igrış had a scriptorium from the very beginning.

14. Peyrafort-Huin (2001: 71) believes that Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek MS 119 arrived there via Igrış, but brings no evidence to support her theory. Rössler (1891: 297-300) mentions as the main sources of Zwettl's manuscripts the abbey's own scriptorium and Heiligenkreuz, founded by Morimond in 1133. MS 119, dated by Rössler (1891: 344) 's. XIII<sup>ov</sup>', contains sermons by Hugh of Pontigny and Odo of Morimond, and may thus have come to Zwettl from Morimond via Heiligenkreuz, rather than from Pontigny via Igrış. Ziegler and Rössler (1985: 47-49) suggest that the manuscript was produced in Zwettl at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

15. Peyrafort-Huin (2001: 53).

16. The list was first edited by Lovass (1938: 224-226). See now Constantinescu/Lazea (1969: 1145-1163). The full text of the *Annotationes* was edited by Peyrafort-Huin (2001: 245-285).

17. Witkowski (2008: 340).



The second remark concerns the nature of the books lent to Igrış. These are mainly theological and homiletic miscellanies, for, as C. R. Cheney points out, the Cistercians “multiplied *florilegia*”<sup>18</sup>. Moreover, the array of authors whose works were sent to Igrış covers both patristic and recent authorities – Anselm died in 1109, and Ivo in 1115. Finally, we know that in the 1230s half of the monks were still of Burgundian origin, which suggests that people and books circulated between Pontigny and Igrış for several decades<sup>19</sup>.

This interesting glimpse into the early history of Igrış abbey suggests that the Cistercian community owned over a dozen books copied in France in the twelfth century, and possibly produced others in its own scriptorium. Scriptorial activity continued after the sack of the abbey by the Tatars in 1241, for in 1367 Alard, abbot of Igrış produced before Peter, the prince of Transylvania, a cartulary (*quosdam quaternos in uno volumine compressos*) proving the ownership of different estates<sup>20</sup> (some are copies of the privilege given by King Andrew II in 1205)<sup>21</sup>. Finally, we hear again about books from Igrış in 1489, when the monastery was “almost deserted and bereft of monks and goods” (*fere desolatum ac bonis et monachis destitutum*). In that year, the deacon Paul and his accomplices stole during the night “certain books” (*certos libros*) and precious objects<sup>22</sup>. The abbey, which had been converted into a fortress in 1536, was pulled down in 1551 by Mehmet, the Turkish governor of the Cenad province<sup>23</sup>.

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The destitution of Igrış seems to characterise the entire diocese during the late Middle Ages, and scholarly activity must have been relatively low in this part of the Kingdom of Hungary. The one scholar from the diocese of Cenad who rose to prominence in the fifteenth century, Pelbartus of Timișoara (de Themeswar) was active in Buda, so that he cannot be claimed here. Pelbartus was born in Timișoara around 1430, studied in Cracow from 1458 to 1463, and became a doctor of theology in 1471. The *Liber promotionum* of the University of

18. Cheney (1973: 344). Frioli (1990: 293) reaches the same conclusion: “sono particolarmente numerosi i volumi miscellanei”.

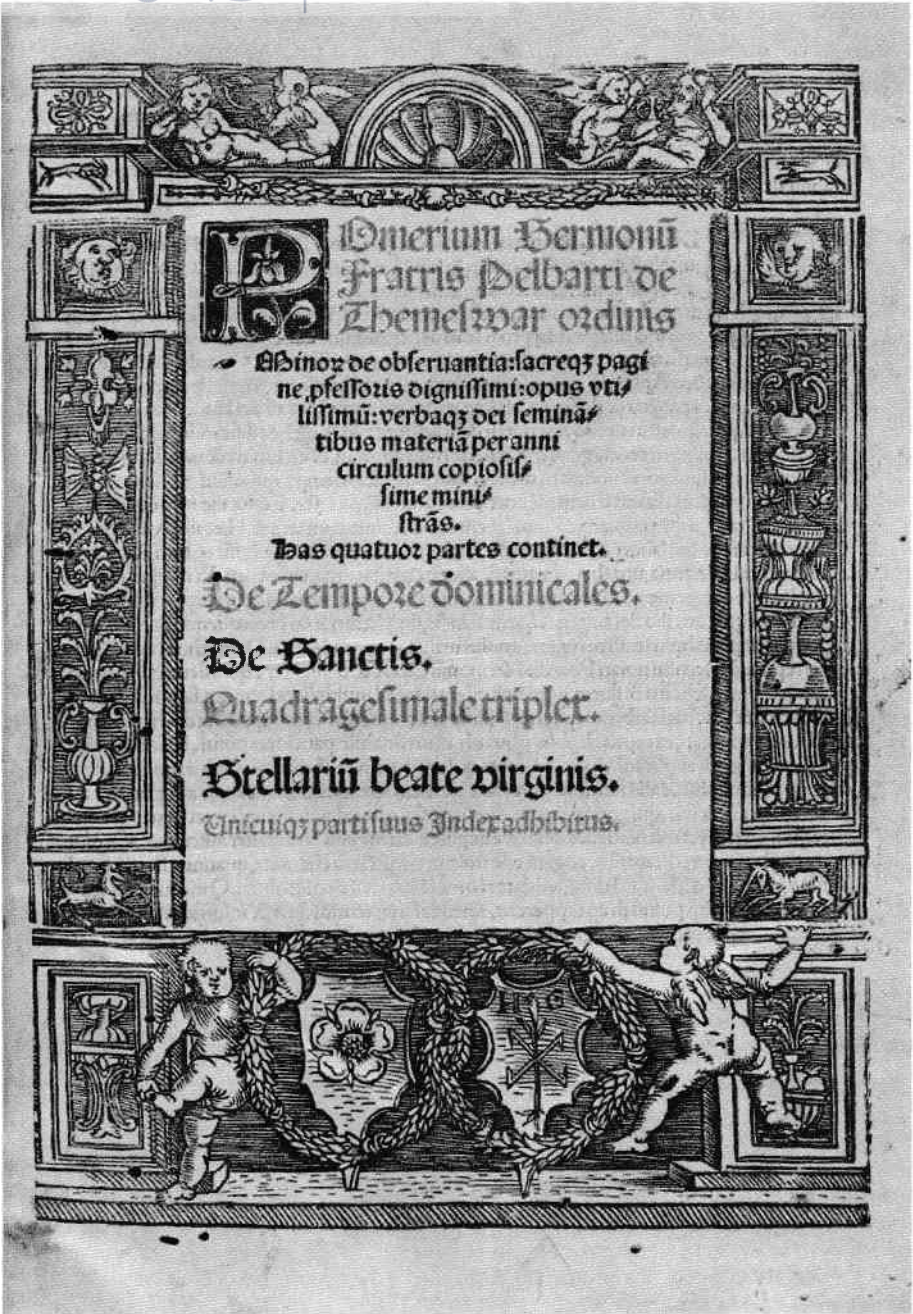
19. Juhász (1927: 220); Romhányi (1994-1995: 198).

20. Hervay (1984: 92).

21. *Urkundenbuch II* 293-97; Hervay (1984: 92): “he was not able to produce the original register” (*originale ipsius registri exhibere non valuisse*).

22. Hervay (1984: 93).

23. Hervay (1984: 94).



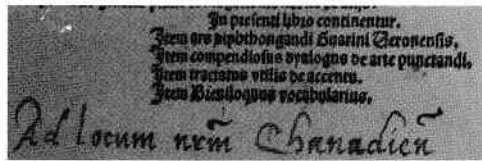
Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium sermonum*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran, 1521.

Cracow mentions him as *scriptor ecclesiasticus celebris*<sup>24</sup>. In 1483, when his works began to be published in print, he was active as a professor of theology in the Franciscan convent of Buda, where he was teaching and commenting Peter the Lombard's *Sentences* (*in conventu Budensi legebat fratribus aptis super Sententiis*)<sup>25</sup>. He died in the Hungarian capital in 1504, but his sermons, the *Pomerium sermonum*, and his theological encyclopaedia, the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, continued to enjoy a wide readership all over Europe — between 1483 and 1590, they were printed in no less than eighty-four editions<sup>26</sup>.

The Franciscans were relatively active in the diocese of Cenad in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Secondary literature attests an edition of Bartolus de Saxoferrato's *Expositiones super regulam fratrum minorum* (Brescia, 1502) owned by the prior of the Franciscan convent in Caransebeș, Blasius Nyári, in 1504<sup>27</sup>, but the copy, once in the Franciscan convent of Șumuleu Ciuc, can no longer be identified<sup>28</sup>.

Actually, very few books that circulated in the diocese of Cenad, or are connected to persons from this bishopric can still be identified. Two such volumes belong to the collections of the Franciscan convent of Gyöngyös. Thus, Inc. 55, an edition of Anselm of Canterbury's works printed by Caspar Hochfeder in Nürnberg in 1491 (ISTC ia00759000), belonged in 1574 to a certain *Sigismundus Chanadiensis* (f. 2r), but nothing indicates that the book was available in Cenad in the late medieval period, or that Sigismund himself had any connection to his birthplace. On Inc. 176, containing Reuchlin's *Vocabularius breviloquus* and other grammatical works printed by Koberger in Nürnberg in 1498 (ISTC ir00171500), a sixteenth-century hand wrote *Ad locum nostrum Chanadiensem* several times, on ff. ir and 1v.

Gyöngyös, Franciscan Convent,  
Inc. 176, f. 1v.



24. Baneu (2022: 8), quoting Gašiorowski (2000: 53).

25. Kosztolnyik (1967: 102).

26. Kosztolnyik (1967: 101). There has been a surge of interest in the works of Pelbartus at the University of Cluj. Alexandra Baneu (2016) wrote her doctoral dissertation on the *Conceptual Structures in the Works of Pelbartus of Themeswar: Elements of Scotist Thought in the Rosarium*, has published several related articles, and an edition of the prologue to the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium* (2022). Paula Cotoi (2019: 311-335) has studied the reception of the homiletic works of Pelbartus, and of Osvaldus de Lasko in Transylvania.

27. Karácsonyi (1924: 88); *BH III* 3339.

28. The book is not recorded by Muckenhaupt (2000).