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COLECȚIA *ISTORIA CĂRȚII ȘI A TEXTELOR*

– ISTORIA CĂRȚII ȘI A TEXTELOR 3 –

ADRIAN PAPAHAĞI
CARMEN OANEA

MEDIEVAL BOOKS
IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION ORGANISED AT THE
LIBRARY OF THE CLUJ-NAPOCA BRANCH
OF THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY,
9 SEPTEMBER – 9 OCTOBER 2026

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ISTORIA CĂRȚII ȘI A TEXTELOR
Colecție îngrijită de/ a series edited by Adrian Papahagi

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FOREWORD

In February 2022, we organised an exhibition entitled *A Transylvanian Puzzle: Reconstructing Medieval Culture from Manuscript Fragments**, which introduced the historical collections of the Academy Library in Cluj, and focused on a few late-medieval liturgical fragments of certain or probable Transylvanian origin.

The current exhibition presents new findings, and shifts the focus to books and book fragments imported by the scholars of Cluj from other parts of Europe. It also displays non-liturgical manuscript fragments from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, and a handful of Hebrew, Slavic and Arabic witnesses. Well preserved incunabula are discussed alongside mere fragments from early prints.

Until recently, over two hundred and fifty medieval *fragmenta codicum* lay hidden in plain sight at the Academy Library of Cluj. Most of these are already available to the public, and the QR codes in the album are sending to their descriptions on Fragmentarium and on other platforms.

During this project, supported by a grant from the Romanian Research Council (PN-IV-P1-PCE-2023-0465), the CODEX Centre of the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj established partnerships with various European projects, to which we are contributing: *Fragmentarium*, *Material Evidence in Incunabula*, *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, *Books within Books: Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries*, and *Handschriftencensus*. We would like to thank Dr William Duba, Prof. Cristina Dondi, Prof. Andrew Pettegree, Dr Arthur der Weduwen, Prof. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, and Prof. Jürgen Wolf for their support.

Our fragments in Hebrew were described by Dr Miruna Belea (Paris), the one in Church Slavonic was catalogued by Dr Anca Libidov (Bucharest), and Dr Oliver Duntze (Berlin) helped us identify the incunabula fragments; they are warmly thanked for their generous expertise.

Above all, we would like to thank our friends and colleagues from the Academy Library in Cluj, and in particular Revd Prof. Ioan Chirilă and Dr Bogdan Crăciun for supporting this project in every way.

Soon, all our *fragmenta codicum* will be published online and in book form. Until then, enjoy this foretaste!

A. P. & C. O.



* Scan this QR code to download the catalogue
A Transylvanian Puzzle (2022).

ate vite ambulent. **S**i
in contemplati facti sum
similitudini mores eius.
simul et resurrexeris cum
Hoc sciens quia uenis
homo in simul crucifige

regnum. **U**ideris ac
uili mirabaris. **H**
uolentes. **D**ixit g
poterit saluus a. **A**spici
ens ad the dicit illis. **A**ud
ides hoc tuum fili me

Oratio et sequitur
baptisma inueniet. **S**ur
nente mihi in futurum
nuntia et peccat. **E**go **I**
ui ut uiuam habearit
habitu ueneris habetis.

etiam uox tua et h
curus e eis **S**
qui habuitas
necsi. **H**oc uob
et caritatem propriam

Orationes

quisq; fidelit firmatq; crediderit : sci
u⁹ esse nō poterit *ffera. ii. Inuit* Veni
te exultemus dñō. jubilemus dō *ymnus*

Somno refectis artub; sp̄reto cu
bili surgim⁹ : nō p̄r canētib; adēe
te deponam⁹ **T**e lingua p̄mu; xanāt
te mentis ardor ambiat : ut actiu;
sequāū tu san cte sis exordiū **C**edāt
tenebre lumī i nor diurno s̄deri :
ut culpa qm̄ nor intulit lucis labe
scat munē **R**ecam̄ rēem supplices
noxas ut om̄s amputes : i ore te ca
lauderis in p̄petuū **D**ñi pat̄

Domus dñi. for. illu.

Domin⁹ illu. iao
i salus m̄a quē tunc
bo **D**ñs p̄tector uite
mee : a quo trepidabo
Dum appiant super
me nocentes : ut edāt
carnes meas **Q**ui t̄bulant me iuni
ci mei : ip̄i infirmati sūt i ceaserunt

FRAGMENTOLOGY AND (SOME OF) ITS PROBLEMS

CLUJ, B. A. R.,
FRAGM. COD.
LAT. 11

Fragment from a
liturgical psalter
(*psalterium feriale*)
produced around
1500.

At the top of the
page one can read
the last words of
the Athanasian
Creed (“... quis-
que fideliter
firmiterque
crediderit salvus
esse non poterit”).
The use of the
Athanasian
Creed instead of
Psalm 25 at this
place indicates
a Franciscan
liturgical use.



Between the 1450s and the 1550s, the landscape of book production and ownership in Europe changed dramatically. Printing, humanism, and the Reformation rendered many medieval manuscripts useless – *libri inutiles*.

Some manuscripts had indeed become hard to read, old or imperfect copies of texts were replaced by modern printed editions, reading interests shifted in some milieux from scholastic to ancient and humanistic texts, Catholic liturgical manuscripts became redundant in Protestant communities, and so on.

When this happened, some books were destroyed altogether, others were recycled. Parchment was ideal as cheap binding material, whereas sheets of paper pasted and pressed together were turned into cardboard. Not only manuscripts, but also incunabula (books printed until 31 December 1500) and later prints could be recycled, especially if copied or printed on parchment – some heavy-use liturgical books were printed on parchment beyond the sixteenth century.

Beautiful old manuscripts, like the psalter on the facing page, were dismembered pitilessly (and recklessly, some may say) to protect printed books. Paradoxically, this offered some sort of life extension to manuscripts which would otherwise have perished altogether, and some fragments reached us in this way. Like palimpsests, manuscript fragments thus become “evidence preserved by destruction”, to quote Rosamond McKitterick.



CLUJ, B. A. R.,
MS C.272

In the binding:
antiphonal or
gradual, s. XV.



Of course, old books were not destroyed systematically or dogmatically. The picture is more complex – indeed, too complex for the purposes of this short album. This is not the place for a comprehensive study on the fate of medieval books in Cluj or in Transylvania: we have done this elsewhere at some length (Papahagi 2023).

This exhibition and its catalogue merely want to present a few *fragmenta codicum* from the collections of the Academy Library of Cluj. If anything, it is an illustration of the many tasks of fragmentology – a branch of codicology which has developed in the last decades.

Much information that full manuscripts or incunabula may provide is lost in fragments. The text is incomplete, and generally devoid of any element of identification provided by full books: *incipit* and *explicit*, *titulus*, colophon, rubrics, binding, ownership notes etc.

At times, fragments can be very small, with too little text to allow identification. However, even in desperate cases, there are elements to use: in the case of the thin strip covering the spine of MS C.272, for example, the palaeography points towards the fifteenth century, but there is too little notation to go by: five-line staves, C keys, rhombic punctus, and a clavis that seems to point away from Bohemia, and more towards Cracow or the Metz Gothic notation. All of these are possible in the area of Trnava, where the host volume was copied.

Fragments used as wrappers are often dirty, washed out, bleached, torn, creased, and hard to read. It took some effort to identify the beautiful humanistic fragment wrapping the volume C.88409 (Jean Buys, *Enchiridion piarum meditationum in omnes dominicas...*, Douai: Gérard Patté, 1631 – USTC 1118598) as a copy of Xenophon's *Hiero* in the translation of Leonardo Bruni (Aretino). Fortu-



CLUJ, B. A. R., C.88409

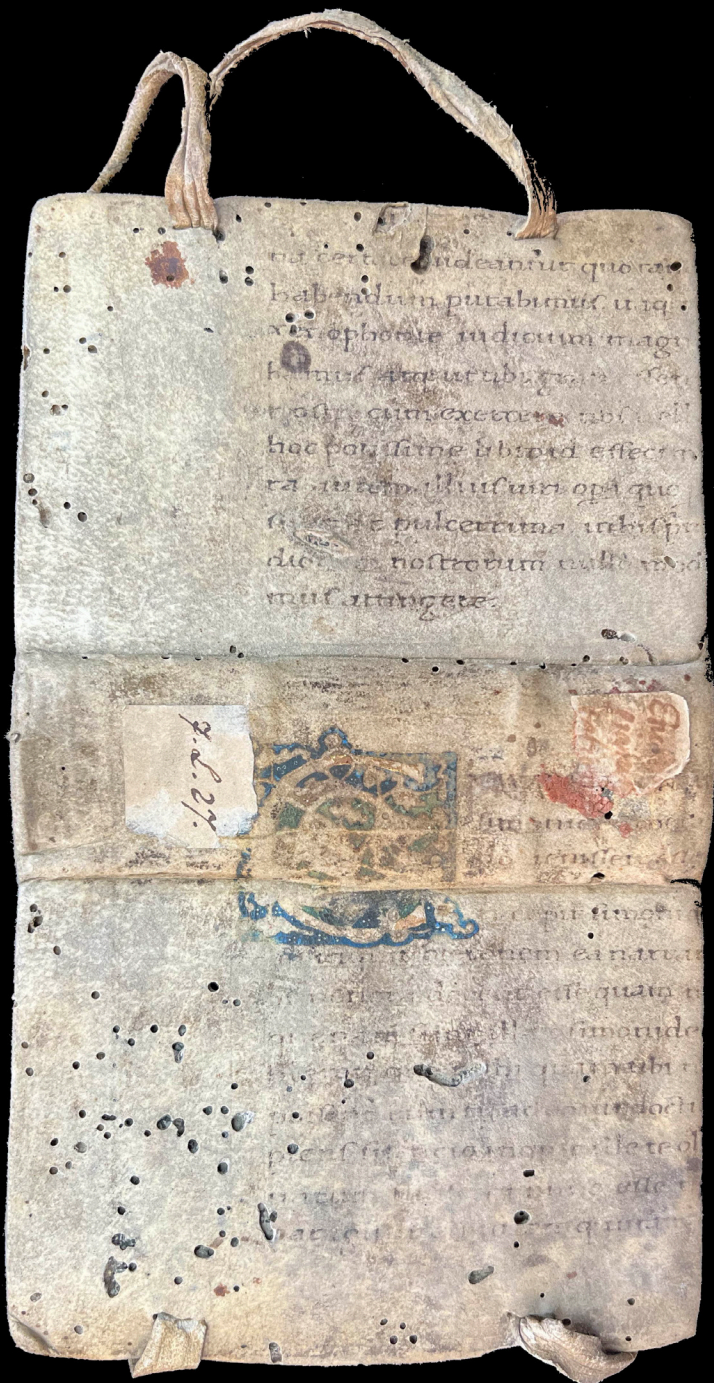
Xenophon, *Hiero (Tyrannus)*, tr. by Leonardo Aretino, Italy, s. XV^{iii-iv}.

The fragment contains the end of the preface, and the beginning of Xenophon's text, introduced by a decorated initial: "Cum ad Hieronem tyrannum Simonides poeta aliquando venisset..." – "Once upon a time Simonides the poet paid a visit to the tyrant Hiero..."



VATICAN, B. A. V., Vat. Lat. MS 1807, FOL. 2 RECTO

The beginning of the same text, with a similar decorated initial.



The image shows a fragment of a medieval manuscript, likely from a liturgical book or a historical record. The parchment is severely deteriorated, with significant staining, foxing, and loss of material, particularly along the right edge and in the center. The text is written in a dark, formal Gothic script. Several large, decorated initials are present: a red 'I' in the upper left, a blue 'C' in the lower left, and a red 'C' in the lower right. The text is arranged in a single column, though the damage makes it difficult to read in many places. The overall appearance is one of great age and historical value.

[Faint, illegible handwritten text from another page]

1871



CLUJ, B. A. R.,
FRAGM. COD. LAT. 8-9

Missal, Italy, s. XIV^{med}

This is the exterior
bifolium of the quire,
as demonstrated by the
catchwords in the red
frame at the bottom of
Fragm. Cod. Lat. 8.



nately, the fragment contains the beginning of the text, and thus displays a beautiful initial with the typical humanistic *bianchi girari*. A comparison of our poor fragment to a well preserved manuscript of the same text, and of a similar humanistic make (Vatican, Vat. Lat. MS 1807), makes one wonder why such a beautiful humanistic manuscript was recycled as binding material. It also demonstrates that not only liturgical manuscripts, but also relatively “modern” humanistic books could become *libri inutiles*.

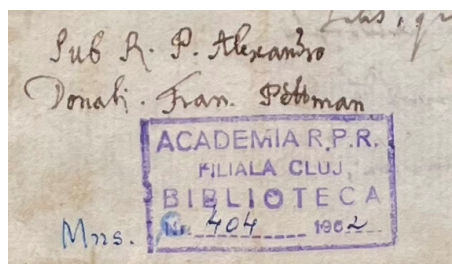
Identifying the text is not the only problem. One may come across fragments that need to be put together like a puzzle. Fragg. Cod. Lat. 8 and 9 were found in a box, alongside other fragments, with no indication of provenance. The two pieces stem from bifolia, as demonstrated by the typical creases and sewing holes. Their measurements, decorated initials, text and palaeography indicate that they come from the same missal. The Southern Gothic *praescissa* argues for a dating around the mid-fourteenth century. One may note the *a* and *g* with two closed compartments, the two morphologies of the *d*, but only round final *s*, undotted *i*'s, minims without feet, and the uncrossed Tironian *et* (cf. Derolez 103-111).



It was interesting to realise (Papahagi 2022: 35-38) that the two fragments, separated by a gap, belong to the same bifolium: the beautiful histo-

riated initial on Fragn. 8 introduces readings for Annunciation (25 March), and the pen-flourished initial *P* above introduces the feast of Saint Benedict (21 March).

Puzzles may get even more complicated, and therefore more rewarding. Three manuscripts copied in the last decades of the seventeenth century (MSS C. 177, 404, 409) contained fragments from an antiphonal in German. The host volumes are dated university notebooks quoting teachers' names, which has allowed us to link them to the Jesuit Academy of Graz. For example, Alexander Donati (1638-1700), mentioned by the student Franciscus Peltman (Franz Pelzmann), taught Mathematics, Philosophy and Theology in Graz (Peinlich 63; Koren 84).



The three host volumes carried eleven fragments: one full leaf (on MS C.409), and ten smaller fragments wrapping the spines and the corners of the other notebooks. Because antiphonals written completely in German are extremely rare, and the corner pieces were almost impossible to decipher, the decision was made to detach the medieval manuscript fragments from their host volumes.

Much to our delight, we discovered that nine out of the ten smaller pieces had been cropped from the same leaf, which we have been able to reconstitute (Fragn. Cod. Lat. 17). While we initially dated the antiphonal to the fifteenth century, Prof. Jürgen Wolf (Univ. of Marburg and Handschriftencensus.de) suggested a dating at the end of the fourteenth century, which makes our fragments even more important in a tradition with relatively few witnesses (see Stephan 1998).

To conclude, in addition to the usual tasks of codicology, palaeography, and the history of the book, fragmentology has a few supplementary challenges linked to the reduced legibility and information supplied by *fragmenta codicum*. If host books are available, they provide more information, and contribute to the thrill of provenance research. ■



Fragn. Cod Lat. 16-18 on
handschriftencensus.de

Cluj, B. A. R.,
MSS C.177, 404 & 409

Three notebooks copied
by students at the Jesuit
University of Graz in
1676/1677, 1695, and
1696, shown before
the fragments of an
antiphonal in German
(Fragn. Cod. Lat. 16-18)
were detached from their
bindings.





CLUJ, B. A. R., FRAGM. COD. LAT. 17

Antiphonal in German (Bavarian-Austrian dialect), copied around 1400.



Große elon und eer legetu über in der chor In den

nem hail **G**loria dem vater. der chor Singt ist sem
der gerecht wirt als am palm gauen. Und als am gederparum
am perg libano wirt er gemert in haus des herrn darnach coll.
gung aus als zu der seet. tem zu der andern vs singt man die
antigen all singt dy man singt auf dy landes an ist dy lobmetten
ame hebe an die an Wer men verichen wirt am andre hebe an den
ps Salig ist der man der sünde te der and ps Ich glaube darcum
ps zu den herren do ich betrübe wart ps No uess han ich here Cap
der hat hat gegeben als wie in der
eign vs rumpig chiste ihu du gont
v ant glori te du nach hebe ame an
die antign auf du magnifico.

Glori der welt hat
er versmacht **E**m sol du versmacht den a

n der welt hat er versmacht mit nen wollustichau

und darvmb verdient er zu chomen zu den hochten

darnach coll' als m
der eyn vs und gait
me den fern mien
der eyn vs und meten

anden der priesterschaft. E u o n a e

Nun hebe sich
an dy hyston von
sind sind hatren
an über dy ps **D**ie heidnische unchristen ka





De Sancto Michaeli
Benedicite domino

omnes angeli eius potentes uir-
tute qui faciatis uerbum eius
ad audiendam uocem sermo nui

e uis *B*enedic anima mea do-
mino et omnia que intra me sunt

nomini sancto eius *E*uouae *B*

*B*enedicite domino



MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS: TYPES AND PROVENANCE

The overwhelming majority of the *fragmenta codicum* we have catalogued so far come from late medieval liturgical manuscripts. Among the 175 fragments from the Academy Library in Cluj published on *Fragmentarium* until August 2026, 113 were copied in the fifteenth century, and 135 stem from liturgical manuscripts (missals, antiphonals, and graduals being by far the most frequently represented):

48 – missal	11 th century – 3
31 – antiphonal	12 th century – 7
21 – gradual	13 th century – 7
13 – Bible	14 th century – 46
12 – breviary	15 th century – 113
2 – lectionary	16 th century – 11
2 – pontifical	
2 – sequentiary	
1 – hymnal	NB: some manuscripts were
1 – liber ordinarius	dated across centuries (e.g. 1276-
1 – obsequiale	1325), and thus were counted
1 – psalter	twice.

In this context, literary, philosophical, juridical or even homiletic texts, and especially those copied before 1300 inevitably stand out, and command special attention. The Tatar-Mongol invasion of 1241-1243 destroyed most manuscripts available before that date in Transylvania. Even among extant manuscripts, few have demonstrable connections to Cluj and Transylvania before the Reformation (ca. 1550).

There are fortunate exceptions, when a medieval manuscript from Cluj has survived alongside some of its *membra disjecta*. The gradual of Saint Michael's church in Cluj, copied before 1528 (when it was re-

bound, and a dated clasp was added) was transferred to the Batthyaneum Library in 1913, where it received the call number MS I.1 (Papahagi 2022: 57-60, 98-99).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, it was mutilated, and many leaves were extracted in order to bind books at the Jesuit school of Cluj-Mănăştur, and documents of the city authorities. This shows that leaves were available to bookbinders who served various institutions; however, before 1913 the manuscript was still owned by the successor of the Jesuit school. It is impossible to know whether the Jesuits mutilated the gradual, or rather rescued it after being mutilated, and used some of the already excised pages. Some extant leaves in MS I.1 have been cut out, but were not used as binding material.

Two fragments from this stately book, measuring 570-575 x 405-410 mm were discovered in 1970 by scholar Kilián Szigeti in the bindings of books from the Academy Library, and a third one was identified by us in 2020. The three fragments have been detached from their host books, and are now *Fragm. Cod. Lat.* 19-21. They can be seen on the opposite page still in the bindings, and compared to the full manuscript in Alba Iulia.

In 2024, Zsuzsa Czagány discovered three more leaves from the gradual at the National Archives of Cluj. We have decided to include this exciting discovery in the exhibition and in the present album. The host volumes from the Academy Library are books printed in 1615, 1669, and a seventeenth-century student's notebook. The municipal protocols and accounts from the National Archives cover the years 1581-1625. Was the gradual used as a continuous source of parchment between 1581 and 1669, or was it plundered in the later 1600s to bind new and old manuscripts, books and documents? Perhaps new discoveries will give us more information about the book's fate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Given the size of the book and the number of missing leaves, such discoveries are still possible.

This is a happy instance of fragments that can be traced back and compared to their extant source. In most cases, fragments travelled in



ALBA IULIA, BATTHYANEUM LIBRARY, MS I.1, AND CLUJ, B. A. R. FRAGM. COD. LAT. 19-20

Above, the fragments are still in the bindings of their host volumes: C.54660-62, C.57795, and MS C.83. Below, Cluj, B. A. R. C.57795 is placed next to Alba Iulia, MS I.1.



Qui tenuerit uerba sapi
entie habebit spem in te sem

Auget filii *in diis* (pi) tene
re non in rege suo nescientes tho

rum delicti crimine sordidatum

Quam Christus sponsus uirginu

um est filius **Q**uius gre

mina opera in factis eius sunt

NON DICO
FALSUM
TESTIMONIU
NITIMCOY
TRA PROX
MITTEM



CLUJ, NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ROMANIA, PRIMĂRIA ORAȘULUI CLUJ, SERIA B.2, PROTOCOALE DE JUDECATĂ, NR. II/7, 1582-86 (OPPOSITE) & PRIMĂRIA ORAȘULUI CLUJ, SOCOTELILE ORAȘULUI CLUJ, PACHET 16, NR. XXVIII-XXXV, 1625 (ABOVE)

Above, fol. 230 of the manuscript. The leaf on the facing page has no folio number, and may come from the *Sequentiale* section of the gradual (Czagány 109-110).



CLUJ, B. A. R., FRAGM. COD. LAT. 12 AND ITS FORMER HOST VOLUME, U.63177

Preserving the links between the elements of a dismembered binding: a twelfth-century medieval manuscript fragment copied in Austria or Bavaria, the cardboard consisting of leaves from a book printed in Cluj in 1619, and the host volume (a book printed in Basel in 1520).

bindings a long distance from the place where they were made and used.

The decision to separate a fragment from its host volume is a vexed one. Destroying information and dismembering a historical object to retrieve information and to reconstitute another historical object is something of a paradox. However, in some cases precious information can be obtained *only* by detaching the fragment. In such a case, the process must be thoroughly documented, and the items extracted from a binding must be linked in some form, so that they may be consulted together. Unfortunately this was not common practice in the past, so that many fragments have survived as single leaves, separated from their host volumes, and thus from a provenance history which can no longer be reconstituted.

We were careful to document all stages of detaching fragments, and to maintain the connections between the materials extracted from a given volume. Such is the case of Fragg. Cod. Lat. 12, which was extracted from the volume U.63177 (Erasmus, *Paraphrases in epistolas Pauli...*, Basel: Johann Froben, 1520). Fragg. Cod. Lat. 12 comes from a copy of the *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* composed by the founder of the Cistercian abbey of Heiligenkreuz, Otto, bishop of Freising (1111-1158). We have written at large about this fragment (Papa-hagi 2022: 25-29); suffice it to say that the book was not bound in Basel, where the presence of a fragment from a manuscript copied around 1200 would not be amazing. The cardboard of the covers, extracted together with the fragment, comes from a book printed in Cluj in 1619, which demonstrates that the book was bound in this city.

In 2025, we discovered a second leaf from the same manuscript of Otto's *Chronica* (Fragg. Cod. Lat. 33), and had it detached from its host volume (Jacques Houllier, *De morbis internis...*, Frankfurt: Johann Wechel, 1589). It is legitimate to believe that both books were bound in Cluj, where more leaves from a late twelfth-century Bavarian or Austrian copy of the chronicle were available. It would be far-fetched to state that the fragments come from a manuscript that circulated in

se ee paraclitū p̄dicabat. Et elat inania ad similitu
dine xpi. cū discipulos eligens ad p̄dicandu. r̄p̄t̄
impia dogmata ap̄ r̄ib. hereticis mutata. Hic secta
tores manichei usq; hodie uocant. **xxviii.**

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. iiii. claudi. xxx. viii. ab uictoria
uoluntate senat̄ imp̄r. creat. Hic gothos q̄ p̄xx. annos
illyricū & macedonia p̄uagati fuerant bello p̄ss̄t̄ ac in
credibili strage deleunt. Ob quā causā clippensis ciuitas
incuria & stantia equestris aurea asenatu dect̄
no. ap̄ imp̄sū n̄ morbo corrept̄ ap̄ s̄y. imp̄i die obit̄.

Cuius q̄r̄t̄. si suis ab egerm̄ substituit̄. xvi. imp̄sū die obit̄.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

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Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

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Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.

Anno ab incarn̄ dñi. cē. lxx. vi. **xxv. iiii.** munda.



medieval Transylvania, but one may imagine that the only Cistercian abbey of Transylvania, Cârța (Ge. Kerz, Lat. Candella, County Sibiu), established in 1202, had a copy of the works of this major Cistercian figure. Although Cârța was plundered by the Tatars and Mongols in 1241, it resurrected and continued to exist until the fifteenth century. But, of course, this is mere speculation, and we will never know if Otto's works circulated in Transylvania around 1200.

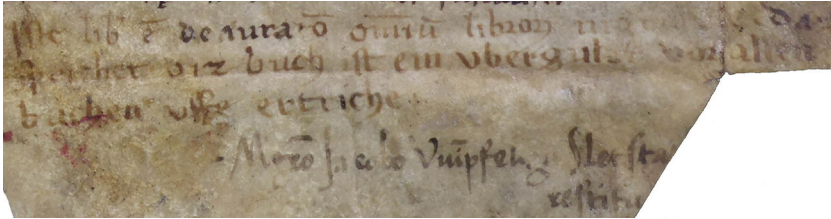
While it cannot be linked to a host volume, another twelfth-century fragment has a clear provenance. Although it is a simple bifolium, this item received a codex shelfmark (Cod. Lat. 12) in the twentieth century, and was catalogued alongside the other manuscripts (Jakó 1967: 69-70). The fragment was misshelved and lost (cf. Papahagi, Dincă & Mârza 182), and was found only recently by Dr Bogdan Crăciun.

Luckily, this used to be the first bifolium of the original manuscript, and thus has various ownership notes. The oldest annotation on the recto of what used to be fol. 1 is a fourteenth-century text in Latin and German, which reads: "Iste liber est de aurario omnium librorum... diz buch ist ein ubergutes vor allen buchen uff ertrichen" – "This book is a treasure among books... this book is the most excellent of all books on earth."

On top of the same page, one can read the note "Cartusie Argen...", which is a clear indication that the book belonged to the Carthusian monastery of Mons Sanctae Mariae Argentinae, established in Strasbourg in 1335, and demolished in 1591 (Wikipedia).

It was probably on that occasion that the renowned Alsatian humanist Jacob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) acquired the manuscript for his rich library in Sélestat. Wimpfeling was a renegade Lutheran, remembered for his *Defensio Germaniae*, printed in Strasbourg in 1502. Below the fourteenth-century note, a humanistic hand added: "Magistro Iacobo Wimpfelig Sletsta[tiensi] restitu[endus]" – "This book must be restituted to Master Jacob Wimpfelig from Schlettstadt/Sélestat".

It is safe to suppose that the twelfth-century manuscript was produced in Alsacia, where it was owned. In addition to Iuvencus' *Evan-*



gelicae historiae (I, 9-35 and 380-438), the fragment also contains a grammatical poem with such useful exhortations:

Disce puer verbum quo possis discere versum;
Verbum si nescis versum componere nescis.

[illegible]

Inul cōtinet qm̄ ex eis surgit for
marū pulchra. et innumerabil
multiplicitas. Inuere interiorib
oculis qm̄ multiplicet regule. et
arte artificis unū sint. et in anio
disponeris eas uiuunt. qm̄ infinit
linearū nūc in uno puncto unū sub
sistit. et huiusmodi naturalia pspice
exempla exq̄b. uelut phisice
theorice penmis. ult. omia subue
ctus. diuina grā aduersus illum
nat. potis. et diuina uerbi nūc acie
inspicere. et quantū d. it. huma
na. u. quā. in omib. dñi sui que
remib. uidere. qm̄ omia que per
uerbū facta sūt. in ipso uiuunt et
uita sūt. In ipso etiā ut uox loqui
diuina uiuunt. et mouent. et lum
et ut ut magnus diuinitas. in op
qua. et omia. et sup. essentialis
diuinitas. Et uita etiā lux hoim.
filii que om̄. theologie bus
uocati uerbi. in eā nominis
et luce. Nec imperio inuasi
appellati. ut dñi in nob.
insinuant. significaciones. uer
bū hq̄. et dñi nō. it. q. p. ip̄u
locutus ē. p. omia. qm̄ ip̄e dñs
et factus sūt. Lux ē. et uita. qm̄
idē filius lux ē. et uita omiūq.
ip̄u facit. et uita. Et qd illuminat.
Nō aliud nisi se ip̄u. et patrē suū.
Lux itaq̄. est. et se ip̄u illuminat.
se ip̄u mundo declarat. se ip̄u
in omib. se manifestat. Lux
diuine cognitiōis. et dñi. do re
re. du hō dñi dñi. Dupli
cat. q. lux. eterna. se ip̄u mundo
declarat. p̄scripturā uidelicet
et creaturā. Nō em̄ alit. in nob.

diuina cognitiō. et dñi. et in
p̄dine scripturā. et dñi. et
creaturā. species. et dñi. et
diuina. et in animo. et dñi. et
cōcipe intellectū. inq̄ cognosces
uerbū. Sentu corporeo formas
ac pulchritudines rerū pspice
sensibiliū. et in eis intelleges di
uerbū. Et in his. et dñi. et
aliud tibi ueritas declarabit.
p̄ter ip̄u. q̄ p̄cet omia. et q̄
nichil. contemplatur. es. q̄ ip̄e
ē omia in omib. que sunt. et
est ip̄e. Et enī nulli. et dñi. et
substantiale. ita nulli. et dñi. et
ip̄u. et qd substantia. Et in
lux hominū. Q. uita addit. lux
hominū. quā. specialit. ac p̄
lux hominū. q̄ est lux. angelorum
lux inuicibilis. et condit. lux
toti. et uisibilis. et manifestat. et
dñi. An forte uerbū. manifestat.
et dñi. specialit. ac p̄. et lux hominū
dñi. et in hominū. nō. et dñi. et
etiā. angelis. et q̄ creaturā diuine
cognitiōis. p̄. et dñi. et
tibi. se ip̄u. declarat. Nō em̄.
p̄. angelis. angelis. nō. p̄. angelis.
hominū. sed. p̄. et dñi. et
angelis. et in. et dñi. et
uerā. humanitate. quā. tota. et
munitate. substantie. suae. et
p̄. et dñi. et cognitiōis. et
cognitiōis. se. et dñi. et
hominū. ē. dñi. et q̄. et
et dñi. et om̄. et dñi. et
lectura. creaturā. se. et dñi. et
manifestat. et q̄. diuinitatis. quā.
p̄. et dñi. et ē. et dñi. et
mysteria. Et lux. in tenet. et dñi. et

ludi apertis. Unde inquit. Aliquid
tenebre. ne aut lux in dno. Au
di. claxata. Sedentib. in regione
abre mortis lux orta est eis.
Lux in tenebris luere. totu gen
humanu. in merito originalis pec
cati intencor. et erat. n interioru
oculoru. qd. sensibiliu forme
coloru. q. sentiunt. sed interioru
qd. intelligibiliu species. et pul
chritudine. discernunt. Non in
tenebris huius caliginosi aeris.
sed in tenebris ignorantie aeris. trans.
Non in absentia. lucis que mundu
corpora illuminat. Post cuius
ortu exurgit lux in tenebris.
lucet. se cognoscere. Qm. uero
totu genus humanu. in duas ue
luti partes dividit. in cos. unde
cet quoru. cor. d. cognitione. ue
r. et ill. illuminata sunt. et in cos.
q. ad huc in obscuris. sumis. sup. p. ca
tal. atq. p. fidis. tenebris. p. manens.
euanglia subiungit. Et tenebre
ei. n. cophenderit. Aci. eundem.
miceret. Lux. in tenebris. fidelium.
animaru. luere. et magis. ac ma
gis. luere. a fide. inchoans. ad spe
ciem. transiens. Impioru. uero. cor.
d. n. p. fidu. et ignorantia. luce
uerboru. in carne fulgentis. no
cophenderit. Obscuratu. e. eni
ut. ait. ap. l. insipient. cor. coru.
et sapientes. se. et dicentes. Stulti
fieri. sunt. Sed. iste. sensus. moralis.
Physica. uero. horu. uerboru. the
oria. talis. est. humana. natura.
et. si. n. p. careret. sine. p. p. d. u. n. d.
luere. n. posset. No. equ. naturalis.
lux. e. sed. p. n. ticeps. lucis. capax.

siq. de sapientie. e. n. ipsa sapientia
cuius participatione sapient. fieri
ne. potest. Sicut. g. aer. n. p. se. p. se.
ipsu. n. lucet. sed. in tenebris. uocu
bulo. n. cupit. Capax. tam. solis.
luminis. e. ita. n. natura. du. per
se. ipsa. considerat. qued. tenebro
sa. substantia. e. capax. tam. ac. p. n.
ticeps. lucis. sapientie. Et. que. id
modu. p. fatu. aer. du. sol. et. ta
dio. participat. n. et. p. se. luce
re. sed. soli. splendor. d. in. eo. a
part. et. ut. et. naturale. s. u. do
scuritate. n. p. d. et. luce. sup. ue
nit. in. se. recipit. n. rationa
bilis. p. e. nature. pars. du. p. se. m.
di. uer. p. possidet. n. p. se. et. uel
ligibiles. et. d. n. suu. sed. p. n. suu. XX
sibi. diuini. l. m. cognoscit. Audi
ipsu. uerbu. Non. uos. in. ore. et. his
q. loquimur. sed. ipsi. p. se. u. n. q. u.
loq. in. uobis. Ac. uia. n. t. n. n.
uoluit. nos. docere. id. ipsu. in. ore.
n. intelligere. ac. sep. in. ore. cor
dis. n. in. ineffabili. n. sonare. Non.
uos. et. his. q. loquimur. sed. ipsi. p. se. u. n. q. u.
loq. in. uobis. Hoc. e. me. in. uob.
luere. uobis. manifestat. q. ego
su. lux. intelligibili. mundo. hoc
est. rationalis. et. intellectualis.
nature. Non. uos. et. his. q. intelligi
tis. me. sed. ego. ipse. in. uobis. p. se. u. n. q. u.
meu. me. ipse. intelligo. q. uos. n.
estis. substantia. d. lux. sed. parti
cipatio. p. se. substantia. luminis.
Lux. itaq. in. tenebris. a. luere. q. d.
uerbu. uita. et. lux. ho. um. in. n. a.
natura. que. p. se. in. uel. uigata. et
considerata. in. formis. qued. tene
bro. sita. repperitur. lucere. non

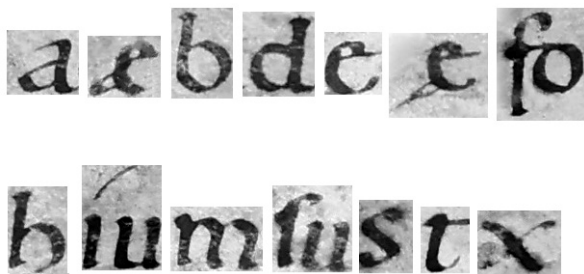


Learn, boy, the word, that you may learn the verse;
If you know not the word, you cannot compose the verse.

Cod. Lat. 12 was wrapped in a leaf extracted from an early cinquecentino book (*Super secunda Digesti novi*, Milan: Johann Scinzenzeler, 1502), which also deserves attention.

The twelfth century is represented in our collection by another set of bifolia (reproduced on the previous pages), extracted from a stately large format homiliary (490 x 365 mm). The bifolia are wrapping the first two volumes of Bartolus de Saxoferrato, *Expolita commentaria... in prima parte Infortiati...*, Venice: per Baptistam de Tortis, 1520 (C.55608 I-II). We do not know how the volumes arrived in Cluj.

Despite their piteous condition, the two bifolia are perfectly readable, and display a splendid *Praegothica*, with all the symptoms of the passage from Caroline minuscule to Gothic script. The top compartment of the *a* is open, *æ* coexists with *e caudata*, the *d* has only the half-uncial morphology with a straight ascender, the stroke of the *e* starts pointing to 2 o'clock, rather than 3 o'clock as it did in Caroline minuscule, the shaft of the *f* descends below baseline as in Caroline minuscule, but the tall *s* stands on the line as in Gothic script, the limb of the *h* descends below baseline and the *x* does not extend below baseline, which are Gothic symptoms, the *i* is occasionally dotted by a hairline when it appears next to other minims, the Gothic word-final *s* dominates, the *m* has sketchy feet applied to all minims, and the shaft of the *t* extends above the top stroke (cf. Kwakkel 25-42; Derolez 56-



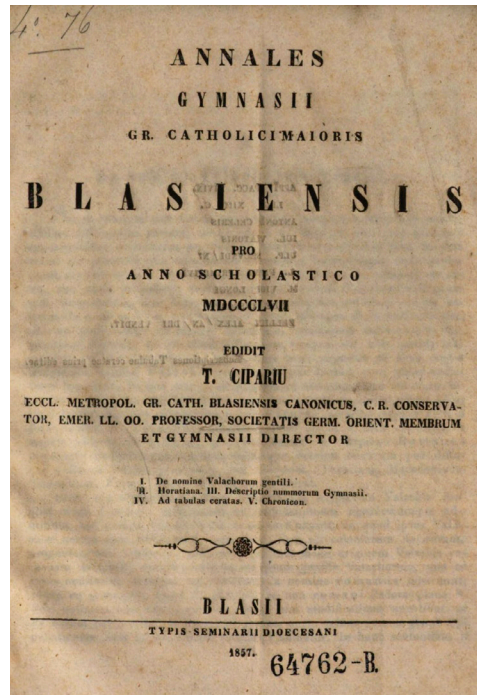
71). The aspect of the script is still rounded (see the bows of *b* and *d*); perhaps it was copied in Northern Italy.

The two bifolia (fols 78-82 in the original manuscript) transmit continuous texts from famous early-medieval homilies: Venerable Bede's *Homilia VII, In Natale Domini*, and John Scotus Eriugena's *Homilia in prologum Evangelii secundum Joannem*, 'Vox spiritualis aquilae'.

The last notable set of fragments we would like to present come from the library of Timotei Cipariu (1805-1887). The scholar from Blaj purchased what is now Cluj, B. A. R., Cod. Lat. 8 in 1856 from the antiquarian bookshop of Johann Schratt, in Vienna (Botezan, Botezan & Cuibus 234-235). The fifteenth-century Italian manuscript contains Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (fols 2r-5v) and Macrobius' commentary (fols 6r-69r). We know the scribe, but not the date of the manuscript: "pater Georgius scripsit sibi ac cui bona fortuna concedit <add. altera manu> videlicet domino Jacobo Pechiaro (?)" (fol. 69r).

When Cod. Lat. 8 was rebound in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, two parchment fragments that functioned as pastedowns in the previous binding were recycled as flyleaves, which allows one to read both sides.

In 1857, Cipariu wrote a note in the *Annales Gymnasii Greco-Catholici Maioris Blasien-sis* about the first and less remarkable fragment, a copy of Horace's *Carmina* from the late thirteenth century. In 1967, Zsigmond Jakó noted the second fragment, in Beneventan script, but was unable to identify the text.



Nec te mis uisus iniqui cecidit aium
Tollat hic magnos peno nubimplex
hic amos oia pater atq; princeps
Nou sias meoq; equitare multos Te duxit reser

Te duxit reser
Sic te belene luam fiera
Vencorq; regat pater
O bñctis alio pect iapiga
Naus qe abq; arctiam
Dctes maglu fimbz amas Reclas icolumi pcor
T e fucate duntoru mee Illi robui et lxo nuplex
C uet patus erat qui fingit nua
C omist pellago rite
P nuntus nec timuit pcpit affrai
D cecit me aqulombz
N et mto nec rabinu notu hratu
A uo non adue arbitet
O mo tollere seu nult ponere fira
A uo mortis timuit gaoñ
A uo fira cecle mostu namia
A uo mto mare turbuñ et
T n fano scoplos acce muna
N e qe pñs ab fadu Princeps areano dñcaabli
T eam si m impie Non ingeda mte anfibit uari
A uo oia pcepti fens humana nro par uenai neplas
A uo pñs pñs gñs Ingnē fñuice mala genitibz uicijit
P ostignē bñdara como
D ubuicet maces et nona febuñ
T ems inqubus coloz
D emonq; pñs mra neccia
L et cōpñt gñdum
F eptus guam rēdalis acn
P emis nō lōi tans
P emis adxrona lrañcus laboz
N il mortibz arduū est



More recently, the only fragment in Beneventan script in Romanian collections received the attention it deserved (Papahagi 2016). The fragment transmits parts from the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* (homily 34), once attributed to Saint John Chrysostome. The beginning of the passage, on fol. 72v, can only be divined. It starts somewhere in the middle the sentence: “Opera autem nostra sunt opera iustitiae: non ut agros nostros colamus, et vineas: non ut divitias acquiramus, et congregemus honores sed ut proximis proximus.” (PG 56: 817, ll. 63-66). A few words from the beginning of the next sentence become legible on the third line of fol. 72va: “quamvis hec...” (PG 56: 817, l. 66). The final lines on fol. 72r are quite legible: “Si ui|<dua> es, noli transire ad sec|<un> das & tercias nupcias, &| <ope> rata <es castita>tis uite|<m>.” (PG 56: 818, ll. 67-69)

As we wrote elsewhere (Papahagi 2016), the script of the text lacks the consummate formalism displayed by Monte Cassino homiliaries: the treatment of the minims is considerably less manneristic; the characteristic shape of letters *c*, *r*, *s*, and the punctuation also differ from the Desiderian and Oderisian production at Monte Cassino.

One may note the rounded aspect of such letters as *d* and *o*, the short final *r*, the vertical 3-shaped stroke for the abbreviation of *m*, the broken *c*, the profusion of circumflex and acute accents, and the peculiar use of the 2-shaped question mark (see opposite). All these point away from Monte Cassino, and possibly to centres like Capua or Benevento in the eleventh century.

In this chapter, we have presented fragments copied from the eleventh to the early sixteenth century, transmitting liturgical, homiletic, literary and historical texts in verse and prose. With the exception of the gradual of Saint Michael’s church, which may have been produced locally, they were copied in Italy, Alsacia, Bavaria or Austria. Even for such a small selection, the diversity of places, dates, texts and scripts is remarkable. ■



L'EXPULSION



DES JÉSUITES

IN QUATVOR LIBROS METEOROLOGICORVM. ARISTOTELIS DISPVTAO VNICA

Quamvis oia f' ad hanc de Meteo: max' p'fines tal' emulass' ob rempori
brutis nob: i' p'one uti n' p' p'cedenda postulant, ut h'ic q' p'fines p' p'cedenda
p'fines p'cedunt. Soluzio est q' majore p'fines, selectis minutis n' q' n'clari poss'
vnt apud M. et Platonem. Conyub.

QVASTIO PRIMA

De Meteo^{ris} in Communj.
Articulus Primus

Sub P. Francisco
Raulin.

Quid sit Meteoron q' ejus mak et loci generat

1. Meteoron graui, latius sublimi, uel i' sublimi suspensum h' e' q' plerumq' in
terra fixum i' sublimi hoc e' in aliqua aëris regione et sua noui p' ac p'nti
natura oia aëris ueluti i' sublimi suspensum uariare. I' q' oia singulari quidam modo
degent ab influentia solis et stellis, q' in alto existunt. Hinc u. d' q' Meteo^{ra} uariant
n. in p'fines q' h' a' solis et stellis p' influentia quasi in p'fines ueluti in corpo
ribz. Sic in aëre sol imp'rimet quasi ueluti in p'fines quoad Colores p'fines. Meteo^{ra} uariant in a
g'ent ueluti et sic de alijs: et p'fines ip' aff' et f'ca Meteorologia e' in p'fines ueluti in p'fines.

2. De hinc reddi uol. Cur i' solis e' q' generant i' sublimi ueluti p'fines Meteo^{ra} co
lorum fulmina, tonitrua, ueluti Nubes pluuia, Nix, pruina, Colores in alto appa
rentes et h'ic dicant Meteo^{ra}; d. m. q' generant i' terra et mari qualia p'fines f'fines
flues et reflexus ueluti, Seligida, Metalla oia, fungi imo n. multa acalia ex p'fines
de p'fines h'ic dicant Meteo^{ra}; q' h'ic oia fixum et dependent ab influentia solis. Hinc q' Meteo^{ra}
in h'ic latitudines p'fines n' solis illigunt ueluti nigritas, hoc q' ueluti in nigritas
albiditas p'fines et ueluti h'ic noua f'ca ab elidit dista. Sed n. ueluti p'fines ueluti
qualia p'fines Metalla lapides p'fines ueluti ut h'ic multa n. ueluti in p'fines, et sic oia
q' ab influentia p'fines genunt, h'ic h'ic ueluti in p'fines dicant Meteo^{ra} p'fines ea
dicant in Phys. p'fines q' p'fines in Cid. com. p'fines.

3. Meteo^{ra} oia Meteoron n' solis influentia p'fines p'fines p'fines. Remota
et p'fines, Remota i'p'fines aëre aqua, et terra p'fines p'fines terra et aqua. Proxima
est d' a' Solis h'ic sublimi h'ic et sublimi oia corporibz ueluti p'fines ueluti et in
alio eleuata. H'ic h'ic a' p'fines ueluti h'ic et p'fines h'ic ueluti. In aëre h'ic.
uapor a. h'ic a' p'fines q' h'ic h'ic, p'fines, et q'fines f'fines h'ic et ueluti oia h'ic h'ic
uapor aëre: salis i' f'fines illi q'fines ueluti oia aqua ad ignem calefacta p'fines p'fines
d'et, et q' impingunt in corpus aliq' f'fines, ueluti in aqua ut quoniam h'ic h'ic
i' aqua oia aqua p'fines et ad luculentia ueluti applicata. De h'ic ueluti i' Solis
Calidit et f'fines q' h'ic terra, i' corpore terris oia; salis i' q'fines ueluti p'fines
d'et h'ic h'ic h'ic ueluti ab igne confusis: Ex quo h'ic h'ic et q'fines
ad uapor et ueluti.

4. Porro h'ic h'ic i' sublimi terra et uapor sublimi aqua



STUDENTS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Manuscripts can carry other manuscripts. This is true for palimpsests, or for medieval codices which incorporate fragments from older manuscripts in their bindings. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the quires of paper manuscripts are sometimes reinforced with parchment strips from older manuscripts. One typology in our collection deserves particular attention: it consists of notebooks compiled by students from Cluj at foreign universities in the seventeenth century.

University education in Cluj was short-lived in the early modern period. The Jesuit university established in 1581 by Stephen Báthory, prince of Transylvania and king of Poland, was sacked by the Protestants in 1603, had to close in 1605/1606, and was allowed to reopen only in the last decade of the century (cf. K. Jakó; Szabó Páll; Varga). Secondary education was maintained by the Catholics, the Calvinists and the Unitarians throughout the seventeenth century, but higher education had to be obtained abroad until 1698.

Catholic students from Cluj often attended the Jesuit colleges of Graz, Vienna, and above all Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnavia). The Jesuit university of Trnava — precursor of the present-day Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest — was founded in 1635 by Cardinal Péter Pázmány, himself a former pupil of the Jesuit school of Cluj-Mănăştur.

Some notebooks compiled at these universities returned to Cluj wrapped in medieval manuscript fragments. Students often dated their manuscripts, and named their teachers and university. Even when the university is not identified, the name of the teacher may point us in its direction. Such is the case of MS C.272, where the student informs us that he studied “sub P<atre> Francisco Raulin”. Franciscus Raulin taught Physics and Metaphysics at Trnava in 1659/1660 (Fischer 153).

The manuscript, containing three courses (“In quatuor libros Meteorologicorum Aristotelis disputatio unica”; “In duos Aristotelis libros De ortu et interitu”; “Tractatus ethicus in librum Aristotelis ad Nicomacum”) was begun before 13 February 1660 (fol. 17v) and was finished on 10 April the same year (fol. 170v).

Liturgical manuscripts are, of course, the most frequent type of wrappers of seventeenth-century notebooks. The tiny musical fragment present in the spine of MS C.272 has already been discussed, so it shall not be mentioned here.

MS C.293 offers us more information. It is wrapped entirely in a fragment from a fifteenth-century antiphonal, preserving the full width of the original written area, which allows one to reconstitute the approximate size of the original manuscript. The fragment was copied by a single hand in a late Northern Textualis, perhaps not far from Trnava. Its music is notated in the so-called (German) Metz Gothic notation. The chants (“V. Illuxerunt coruscaciones tue orbi terre, commota est et contremuit terra. *In iii^o nocturno an.* Cognoverunt. V. Tulerunt. R. Narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis alleluia...”) were used on the fourth Sunday after Easter.

MS C.293 (“Tractatus I. Theologicus in primam partem D. Thomae de Deo uno et trino”) is also linked to Trnava, as recorded by the note “Dono Datus a R. P. Ignatio Barmet. Inceptus hic tractatus a R. P. Balthasare Geraldin 29 Novembris 1663.” Balthasar Geraldin was teaching at Trnava in this period (Fischer 155). The fragment was described on *Fragmentarium* by Markéta Prošková, an MA student at Charles University, Prague, as an exercise for an international summer school we organised in Cluj in July 2026, and the entry was revised by Adrian Papahagi.

In addition to the names of teachers, seventeenth-century manuscripts from Trnava sometimes contain posters publishing theses defended at that university, and other noteworthy schemes and charts. Two such items from MS C.285 (“In *Organum* Aristotelis”, 1658) are reproduced on the next pages.



CLUJ, B. A. R., MS C.293

In the binding: *Antiphonale* with Metz Gothic notation, Central Europe, s. XV.

An engraving of two cherubs (putti) standing on either side of a central vertical column. The cherub on the left holds a hammer aloft in its right hand, while the cherub on the right holds a chisel aloft in its right hand. Both figures are depicted with curly hair and are wearing draped garments. The background features a landscape with a body of water, distant hills, and a small boat on the left. The style is characteristic of 18th-century decorative arts.

[illegible]

PERILLVSTRIS AC GENEROSÆ
DOMINATIONIS TVÆ
Clienti deducissimus
FRANCISCVS PEXA.
Nob. ac Generosus D. FRANCISCVS PEXA,

[illegible]

[illegible]

A circular library stamp from the University of Toronto Libraries. The text "UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARIES" is curved along the top inner edge, and "1911" is at the bottom. The center contains the text "ACQ. 101" and "BIB. 101".

Prædictus R. P. Lad. vid. Dr. Fennichina.



MS C.244 is wrapped in a partial leaf from a missal on parchment, copied in the first half of the fifteenth century by a single hand in a highly angular Northern *Textualis*, possibly also not far from Trnava. As the rubrics indicate, this page of the missal contained rites for the twenty-first to the twenty-third Sundays of ordinary time, usually falling between late August and September, and for the Dedication of a church (*In dedicatione ecclesiae*). One may note the large parted initial introducing this ceremony.

The fragment served in the binding of a school manuscript copied at Trnava in 1671, as recorded on the fragment itself: “Tractatus R. P. Lad. Vid. De Poenitentia. Anno MDCLXXI. Tyrnaviae.” The host volume is a composite of two theological treatises: “Tractatus In Secundam Secundae D. Thomae. De fide, spe, charitate, virtutibus theologicis” (fols 1–45), and “Tractatus Primus De Paenitentia... Lectio R. [P.] Vid. 7 Nov.” (fols 51–115).

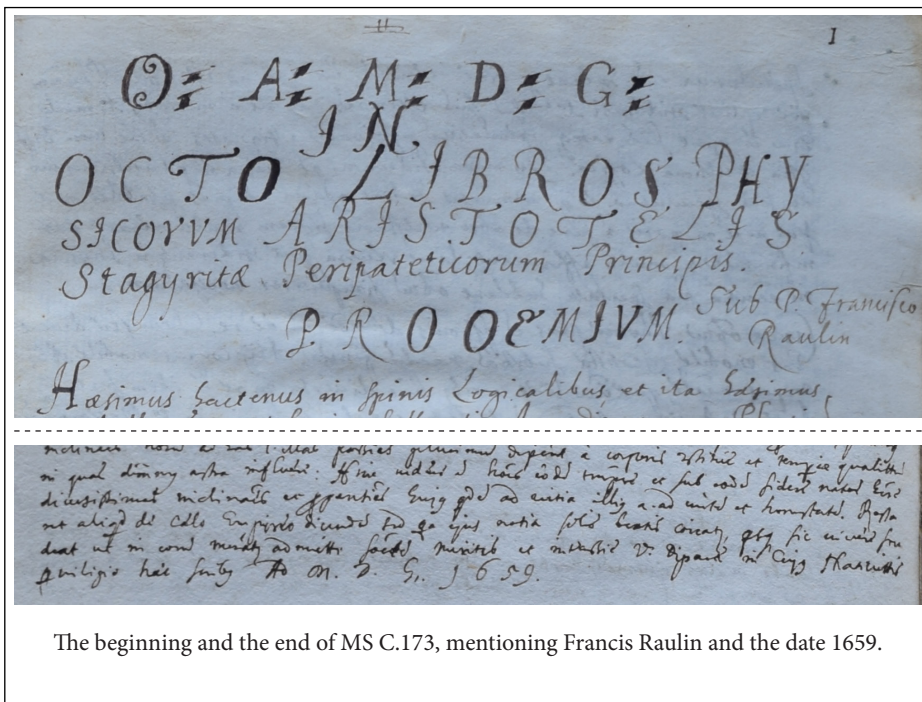
The fragment was described on *Fragmentarium* by Boglárka Párdi, an MA student at the Central European University in Vienna, as an exercise for the same summer school we organised in July 2026, and the entry was revised by Adrian Papahagi.

The oldest of the fragments we are presenting here, the wrapper of MS C.173, comes from a fourteenth-century homiliary. The single leaf, cut in half and cropped from the centre of the written area, preserves roughly one half of the original page. The text has been identified as part of Homily 65 of Maximus of Turin (*In die natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae*, PL 57, coll. 384–385), one of the most widely copied Latin homilists of the Middle Ages.

The parchment carries text copied in the first half of the fourteenth century by a single hand, in a neat Gothic *Textura Praescissa*, a high-grade script remarkable for its formality and for the sparing use of abbreviations — even the common *et* is written out in full. Note the *a* with the open top compartment, the two morphologies of *d*, the minims without feet, and an occasional hairline dot over the *i*. Decoration is restricted to simple rubricated initials and section numbers.

aodimfer

Single letters from the fragment
wrapping MS C.173.



The beginning and the end of MS C.173, mentioning Francis Raulin and the date 1659.

The host volume, a school manuscript on Aristotle's *Physics* ("In Octo Librorum Physicorum Aristotelis Stagyrityae Peripateticorum Principis"), was copied in 1659 at Trnava by the Transylvanian Jesuit Paulus Almási, who signed his name on the first flyleaf. Almási also recorded the name of his teacher, the already mentioned Francis Raulin. Almási himself later taught at Trnava (cf. Fischer 153).

While almost all the medieval manuscripts of Cluj were lost, a new flow started unintentionally in the seventeenth century. The *fragmenta codicum* smuggled into Cluj in the disguise of bindings remained unnoticed for many centuries. Their existence is now recognised, and they form a new collection of medieval objects in our city. ■

num beatissimus
qui in hac uice
de materna conciu
e saluatus in mun
nec dum secun
de prophetico gau
lauit. Huius ig
m. omnem par
materno abutero
in inter ipsa la
a. melius concre
mus. solus tan
im. ultra le. em
m. raturam
na et e. culta
Tu autem. **IIII**
nam decuit frs.
de matre sterili
ur. qui fecundi
ginis reieclat.
mirabilem par
abiliter natus
Huius etiam qm
quamq. mag
quod zacharias
inter futuris o

et non crederet. usque
et amiserat. donec pmissione
completa. natus noui ho
minis prece. paterne lingue
uincula relaxaret.

Os enim. quod angelus
clauserat. pmissus
ab angelo. filius reuerauit.
Nam cum de nuncupatione
paruli. cognatorum uici
norumq. hesitaret arbitri
um. pphetiam uici nomi
tis. cuius angelo in
tante dixerat. recepta su
bito uisum. sicut am
tus. natus. natus. ut eui
natiuitatem pceptione ce
lesti tacitus expectabat.
nati uocabulum loqueret
et agnosceret. amicus sene.
peum se sibi red. itum. qm
dese non crederat. nasci
turum. nec dixerat. ut
celitus illum. uel pmissum
fuisse uel natum. cuius cau
sa. et amisse se. plabat. et
recepisse sermonem. **VI**



Alucinatiois tui dñe
 uniosem pariter et
 amoris fac nos habere p
 petuū. qz nūc tua guber
 natioē destituit: quos in
 soliditate tue dilectiois i
 stituit. *Oratio. Vñ possit*
dñi plures coll. Lectio
ephe beati Iohānis apłi

[illegible]

dem. **S**piritus ubi uult
 spirare: et uocem eius au-
 dis: sed non scis unde ue-
 niat: neque quo uadat. Sic
 est Spiritus. **R**espondit nicho-
 demus: dixit ei. Dominus
 dicit: et tu non habes scientiam
 quid sit. **R**espondit ihesus: et dixit ei.
 Tu es magister in israel
 et haec nescis? **A**me ame
 dico tibi: quod nunc scis la-
 quum meum: quod uidimus te
 stamur: et testimonium no-
 strum non accipitis. Si cre-
 renatur uobis: non cre-
 ditis. Quomodo si dixe-
 ro tibi? **E**tiam crederetis?
 Et nunc ascendit in celum
 nisi quis descendit de celo:
 filius hominis qui est in
 celo. **E**t sicut moyses exal-
 tauit serpentem in deser-
 to: ita et aliarum oportet fi-
 lium hominis: ut non mori-
 amur.

tes et hanc igitur **u**o dicitur
 rur. sed Iremissa est oblecta
 olit. **I**tem feria. ii. iii. et
 iiii. post octauas penthe-
 costae: seruabitur officium mis-
 se: totum sicut in die san-
 ctissime trinitatis: uel in festo. ni-
 si fuerit festum. **I**tem. **Q**uod
 aut officii. quia tunc de
 tali festo dicitur: offitium
 et ad unum suffragium. **I**tem
 faceret: sancta trinita-
 te. **F**estum tamen officia-
 tum his diebus non ser-
 uatur in horis: quia ipse
 sanctus misse de eodem serua-
 bitur. **D**e sancta Trini-
 tate. **I**ntroitus.

Benedicta sit sanc-
 ta trinitas atque i-
 domita unitas: co-
 ncedi ei: quia fecit nobis
 misericordiam suam. **B**ene-
 dictus pater et filius
 et spiritus sanctus. **G**loria
 patri. **R**espondit.

denuo. Spiritus ubi vult
spirat: et vocem eius au-
dis: sed non scis unde ve-
niat aut quo vadat. Sic
est omnis qui natus est ex
spiritu. Respondit nicho-
demi et dixit ei. Quomo-
do possunt hec fieri? Re-
spondit ihesus et dixit ei.
Tu es magister in israel
et hec ignoras. Amen amen
dico tibi: quod scimus lo-
quimur: et quod vidimus te-
stamur: et testimoniū no-
strū non accipitis. Si ter-
rena dixi vobis et non cre-
ditis. quomodo si dixe-
ro vobis celestia credetis?
Et nemo ascendit in celū
nisi qui descendit de celo
filius hominis qui est in
celo. Et sicut moyses exal-
tauit serpentem in deser-
to: ita exaltari oportet fi-
lium hominis: ut omnis
qui credit in ipsum nō pe-
reat. sed habeat vitam eter-
nam. *Ordo dicis. Offer-*
torii. Secreta. Prefatio.
Com. et Complet. ut s̄
die sancto. Sed Coican.

tes et Hancigis nō dicitur.
sed Iremissa est alleluia
dicis. Item feria. ij. iij. et
iiij. post octavas penthe-
seruabitur officium mis-
se per totū sicut in die san-
cte trinitatis: ut infra. ni-
si fuerit festum. ix. lectio-
nū aut officij. quia tūc de
tali festo dicitur officij
misse cum suffragi. et pre-
fatione de sancta trinita-
te. Festum tamen officia-
tum his diebus non ser-
uatur in horis: quāq̄ of-
ficiū misse de eode serua-
bitur. De sancta Trini-
tate Introit.

Benedicta sit sanc-
ta trinitas atq̄ i-
diuisa unitas: cō-
fitemini ei: quia fecit nobiscū
misericordiā suam. *ps̄ Bene-*
dicamus patrē et filiū cum san-
cto spiritū. Gloria in ex. et ad ps̄m dicis
do. vo. Oremus. Collecta
Manipotes sempiter-
ne de qui dedisti fa-
mulis tuis in confessio-
ne vere fidei eterne trini-

3 ij

... in horis: quāq̄ of-
ficiū misse de eode serua-
bitur. De sancta Trini-
tate Introit.
Benedicta sit sanc-
ta trinitas atq̄ i-
diuisa unitas: cō-
fitemini ei: quia fecit nobiscū
misericordiā suam. *ps̄ Bene-*
dicamus patrē et filiū cum san-



FRAGMENTS FROM INCUNABULA

The passage from manuscripts to printed books in the fifteenth century was not abrupt: manuscripts were still copied, and incunabula were often decorated, rubricated, notated musically, and annotated by hand. Incunabula deemed “useless”, especially if printed on parchment, could be turned into bookbinding material, just like manuscripts.

The Academy Library in Cluj preserves six volumes bound in parchment extracted from printed liturgical books dating to the last decade of the fifteenth century. Five of these were once part of missals, and one was removed from an obsequial (a book used for funeral and other rites). The leaves were repurposed in the bindings of books printed as late as 1668 (BMV R.127) or 1671 (B.3983). Other fragments were used to protect seventeenth-century notebooks of Transylvanian students attending the Universities of Trnava (MS C. 488) and Basel (MS R.1442-51). The fragments come from books originally printed in Cologne, Bamberg, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, and possibly Lyon, and were identified with the help of Dr Oliver Duntze (Handschriften und Historische Drucke – GW, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

In one way, it is harder to identify incunabula fragments than manuscript fragments, because specific books must be pinned down. It is easy to realise that the fragment in the binding of MS R.1442-51 comes from a late fifteenth-century missal produced in Central Europe. However, because this is an incunabulum, one must find the exact title from which the fragment comes. In this case, it is a missal for the use of Cologne printed in that city by Heinrich Quentell in 1494. Once that is ascertained, things get easier, because one has enough data to look for other copies of the book, and to compare, for instance, the beautiful decoration of initials personalising each book.

Like the full incunabulum in Munich, the book from which our fragment was extracted was decorated by hand (probably also in Germany) with major pen-flourished initials, in addition to the red and blue lombards.

The 586 pages of the host volume contain notes taken by Ferenc Páriz Pápai in 1672-1674, mainly at the Faculty of Medicine in Basel. Pápai (1649-1716), the son of a Calvinist pastor, started his education in Cluj under the famous János Csere Apáczai (1625-1659). He left Transylvania in 1672, and studied in Leipzig, Marburg, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, and lastly in Basel, where he obtained his degree in medicine (Dezsi). Pápai published several works in Cluj, including *Pax animae* (1680), *Pax corporis* (1690), *Pax aulae* (1696), and *Pax sepulchri* (1698).

Like MS R.1442-51, MS C.448 also contains lecture notes. Unfortunately, the only inscription left on the manuscript does not mention the name of its seventeenth-century owner. However, the note records diligently the title of the lecture, the year, the professor, and the university. The same information is rendered twice: once inked on the back cover (in the lower margin of the leaf), and again at the end of the notebook, under the index. The notes read: "Tractatus De Augustissimo Incarnationis Mysterio Sub R. P. Ladislao Vid. Anno M DC LXIX Tyrnaviae" and "Index Super Tractatum de Incarnatione. Anno 1669. Dictata a R. P. Ladislao Vid. Disputatio 1^{ma}".

The volume is wrapped in a fragment from a *Missale Salisburgense*, printed in 1498 in Nürnberg by Georg Stuchs for Johann Rynman. The original dimensions are preserved almost intact. Cloth strings were added to both boards to keep the notebook closed. Extant copies of the full incunabulum display magnificent decoration. We are reproducing here the Crucifixion scene facing the *canon missae* in a copy from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. It is impossible to know if the copy from which our fragment comes was equally beautiful – but one may dream.

Another student from Cluj who wrapped a book in an incunabulum fragment was Michael Udvarhelyi, one of the many Transylvanian

Francisci Páriz Pápai



Manuscriptorum

tomus I-us.

1443

Raptim excepta in Collig. Primis

Celeberr. d. s. Jo. Cass. Bauhini

in Fernelii Pathologia. Basileae

DE FEBRE EPHEMERA

P. Francisci Pápai. Gallicis

Propter quod refrigeret et humet. et simul ad fudor corporis transmittat, hoc
impetato, fudor enim de febre finiri solent.

1449

Anno à Christo nato 1674. 14. Martij. St. v.

Præsentis Erit. d. s. Jo. S. Henri. Glafiro.

Vipilario Xofocomi Galilei p. facta w.

1. Invenio annos 25 difficultatibus deglutit. Obftructio quo d, qu.
liquida deglutit facile pica vero difficultatibus. Nec ulla inflammatio
apparet. E. erit Viarum pectus. qu. ab initio laboravit fere
epidemia hae typhus cum defluviis. ad. oz. in Oculis Col-
lusa pinta viscida à calore febrili exusta. deglutitionem impet-
re videtur. Emollenda E. via:

CLUJ, B. A. R., MS R.1442-51

Details from Ferenc Páriz Pápai's notes
at the Faculty of Medicine in Basel, 1672-1674.



MÜNCHEN, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, 2 INC.C.A. 3667

Missale Salisburgense, Nürnberg: Georg Stuchs for Johann Rynman,
13.VIII.1498, 2°, fol. 141v.



tota mente sectet. *Per. Ad Gala.*

Res: Si pre *thas. ca. vi.*

occupatus fuerit homo
in aliquo delicto: vos q
spiritalis estis: huiusmodi instru
ite in spū lenitatis. *Consideras te*
ipm: ne et tu tenteris. Alter alteri
us onera portate. et sic adimple
bitis legē xpī. Gra. S aliu fac ser
uum tuū deus me^o sperantes in te. *v.*

Alurib^o pāpe dñe orōnē meā. Alla.

v. *Oscede nob dñe misericōdiam tuā: et*
salutare tuū da nobis. Euā. Habe
te fidē dei. errv. Offe. T n te spe

ci tu es deus me^o: in mani

bra mea. *Secū. T* n ho

tui dñe pces et mune

as p famulo tuo. psta

miat: hec agere et re

media tu semp. rna valeam

obtinere. *Com. H* mēto ver

teant: pccā me cōsolata et in pūata

te mea. *Lōplē. H* uius dñe perce

ptio sacramētī: famuli tuū mun

det a crimine. et ad celestia dona

pducāt. *Per. Pro cōgregatiōe.*

O minē refugiu fac^o *Just.*

O es nobis a generatiōe et pge

nie: a seculoz in seculū tu es.

Pē. Prius qz montes fierent aut for

maretur terra: et orbis. *Ofo*

*A*sfunde quēsumus dñe

famulis tuis spūritū veri

tatis et pacis. vt quē tibi placita

sūt toto corde cognoscāt. et agni

ta tota virtute sectentur. *P. 2. c.*

bri pauli apli. Ad roman. ca. vi.

Res: Nō regnet peccatū

in vestro mortali corpo

re: ad obediendū deside

rijs ei^o. *Sz neqz erhibeatis mē*

bra vra arma iniquitatis pctō. *Sz*

erhibete vos deo tanq^o et mortu

is viuētes: et mēbra vra arma in

sticte deo. Peccatū enī vob non

dñabit. *Nō enī estis sub lege: sz*

sub grā. *Gra. P* rorector nū aspice

de^o et respice sup seruos tuos. *v.* *Dñe*

deus virtutū et audi pces tuoz mo

rū. *Alla. v.* *Dñe refugium iuctus es*

nob a generatiōe et pgenie. *Euāgel.*

Respicies ihs in discipu. Et nū

tur ibi. Sed vt serues eos a ma

lo. rev. Offert. S icuti holocausto

arietum et idurozū et sicut in milibu

z aurozū pūctū. sic fiat sacrificiū

in cōfiteat^o pūctū. *Per. v.* *qz nō est cōfiteat^o*

in cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o

in cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o

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in cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o cōfiteat^o

ficon
 inter
 resoue
 adiuuari et
 expleri. p.
 op̄s de⁹ et beati am
 solus tuus et pontifi
 terāda solēntas et deuo
 bis an̄ q̄ et salutē. p.
 Ecce sacerdos magnus
 Homo q̄da peregre

Dñe ppitiat^r intēde: z bea
 niani cōfessoris tui atqz pō
 cis fac nos gaudere iuffra
 gijs. Per. **Complenda**
 Restq q̄s op̄s de^r vt de pce
 munerib⁹ gr̄a⁹ z erhiben
 mercedente zate aniano
 atqz pōrifice bñfi
 umam⁹ p. **Barret**
 iofficiū r̄ indle
 th vidus. **Di**
 lex st. iust.

q3 abbate nullis nos patia
subiacere periculis. p. **Sec**
Quoniam dñe quas tit
ferm' ppiti' respici
teret de febeato colubano
fore tuo p hec vincula p
Quoniam absolue
Glesum' op
erne mun' solē
intercedēt
fore tuo
nostris

CLUJ, B. A. R., BMV R.¹²⁷

Opposite: *Supplementum Rhenianum*, Levoča: Typis Breverianis, 1668, with Michael Udvarhelyi's ownership note on the title page, and the engraving *Miseria animae Christianae* as a pastedown.





Calvinists to enrol at the University of Franeker in the Netherlands (cf. Postma). The *matricula* lists Udvarhelyi under the year 1705, but does not mention the area of studies (Szabó 108). The book in the collection of the Academy Library, BMV R.127, is a copy of the *Supplementum Rhenianum* printed in Levoča in 1668 (USTC 1771106; RMNy 3457). A remarkable engraving is bound in the front pastedown: entitled *Miseria animae Christianae*, it depicts a man driven by the seven cardinal sins (*Superbia, Avaritia, Luxuria, Invidia, Gula, Ira, Acedia*) and blindfolded by the devil. The original copper engraving was probably designed or at least printed by the Flemish printer and engraver Carel Collaert (1598-1654), active in Antwerp. The Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, which also owns a copy, identifies Collaert as the printer, but not as the engraver.

The half binding of BMV R.127 is a hybrid between an incunabulum printed on parchment, and four squares cut out from a parchment manuscript. The boards are wrapped in two distinct pieces of parchment, which might be part of the same leaf. The text on the front board does

not flow continuously onto the back board, but breaks at the spine, where blank parchment is used. The printed text was probably produced in Lyon in 1500 by Jacques Sacon. The corners are covered in manuscript text, dating to the latter half of the fifteenth century.

The wrapper of U.63259-61 was extracted from a copy of the *Misale Halberstadense*, printed by Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg, in 1498. The fragment was used in a seventeenth-century binding reuniting three *colligata*, all printed in Raków by Sebastian Sternacki in 1619 and 1625. The second title is a 1625 copy of *Disputatio Christophori Ostorodi* in German (U.63260); it is followed by a 1619 copy of Walenty Smalc's *Odpowiedź na książkę X. Jakuba Zaborowskiego...*, printed in 1625 (U.63261). The Polish titles are accompanied by handwritten translations into Latin, probably by Joachim Stegmann, who compiled the first volume of the *colligatum* (U. 63259): *Responsio ad Librum Jacobi Zaboronii cui titulum dedit: Ignis cum Aqua*, and *Responsio ad Scriptum Danielis Clementini, cui titulus: Antilogiae et absurda Scinianorum*.

The combination of texts in German and Polish is not surprising, considering the career of Joachim Stegmann (1595-1633), the volume's owner. Stegmann was a Lutheran pastor in Fehrland, Germany until 1626. His interest in Antitrinitarianism (or Unitarianism) forced him to leave Germany and seek refuge first in Gdańsk, and then in Raków. There he joined the Racovian Academy as a professor of Mathematics and rector. In 1633 he moved to the Unitarian school in Cluj, where he died soon after (Jasiński). The volume travelled from Raków to Transylvania with Stegmann, and remained here after his death.

B.3983 differs from the cases presented above. The bindings discussed so far contain fragments of missals; here, we are in the presence of an obsequial, a type of book used for funerals and other rituals and ceremonies.

The bifolium wrapping B.3983 contains a tract from Exodus: "Dixit Dominus ad Moysen...", and was extracted from the 1496 edition of the *Obsequiale Salisburgense* printed in Nürnberg by Georg Stuchs. In this case, too, the comparison to a decorated page from a well-preserved

est in yniuersa creatura q̄ sub
celo est. Tuus fac? sum ego
oculus minister. qui nūc gau
deo in passionibus meis pro
vobis. et adimpleo ea que de
sunt passionū christi. p̄ corpe
eius qd̄ est ecclesia. Tuus fa
ctus sum ego minister. s̄m di
spensatione dei. q̄ data est mi
hi in vobis. vt adimpleā ver
bum dei mysteriū qd̄ abscon
ditum fuit a seculis et genera
tionibus. nunc manifestū est
sanctis eius quib? voluit de
us notes facere diuitias glo
rie sacramenti huius in genti
bus. qd̄ est in nobis spes gle
rie. et vobis nūciam?

manibus curauit. et mirabat
ppter incredulitatem corū.

Item. vi. Secm. 2. de. 1. cap.
En illo tpe. Descendit
Iesus in capharnaū. cum
tatem galilee. ibiq; docebat il
los sabbatis. Et stupebāt de
doctrina eius. qz in p̄tēstate
erat sermo ipsius. Et i synago
ga erat homo habēs demoni
um immundū. et exclamauit
voce magna. Sine. quid no
bis et tibi iesu nazarene. Veni
sti perdere nos. Scio te qz sis
sanctus dei. Et increpauit il
lum iesus dicens. Obmuta scē
et exi ab illo. Et cum eiecisset

demoniū. ait illi. nūc
in oibus. et colloq; iebā
intuicem dicētes. Ad
verbum qz in p̄tate et v
imperat spiritib? immu
ndis. Et diuulgat affa
lo in omnē locū. are

Do. are. dicitur

tata est syon et iherusalem. que
ps. Dominus regnauit exulta
ra letentur in saecula multa.

Item. 1. de. 1. cap.
Om̄ps semp̄. et ne deus
infirmitatē nr̄az respi
ceat. qz p̄cedū nr̄az de
terā tue maiore. et extende

Item. 1. de. 1. cap.
Elite eile. p̄uidentes apud
vosmetipsos. nūc malū. p̄ma
lo reddētes. p̄uidentes bona.
nō. i corā deo. sed etiā corā
omnibus hoībus. Si fieri p̄
qd̄ et vobis est. cū oībus pa
cem. hātes. Ad vosmetipsos



reum cognoscimus p hac
in inuisibilem amorem
rapiamur. Et ideo cū an-
gelis et archangelis: cum
thronis et dominationi-
bus. Lucez omni militia
celestis exercitus hym-
num glorie tue cani-

mus sine fine dicentes:
Benedictus.
Quoniam tu es dominus deus
sacratissimus celebrantes: q
vel quo beate marie tunc me-
ra virginitas hunc mundo
edidit saluatorem. Sed et me-
moriam venerantes. In pa-
tris eiusdem gloriose semp
reginis marie genitricis eius-
dem te et dñi nostri iesu chri-
sti: sed et brōz apostolorū. rē.
**Sequens prefatio cum suo
cantu dicit in epiphania do-
mini per tota octaua.**
Aterne deus: Qui cum

natū nostre mortalitatis
apparuit noua nōstroz
salutatis sue luce repa-
uit. Et ideo cū.
Quoniam tu es dominus deus
sacratissimus celebrantes: q
vel quo beate marie tunc me-
ra virginitas hunc mundo
edidit saluatorem. Sed et me-
moriam venerantes. In pa-
tris eiusdem gloriose semp
reginis marie genitricis eius-
dem te et dñi nostri iesu chri-
sti: sed et brōz apostolorū. rē.
**Sequens prefatio cum suo
cantu dicit a dominica pri-
ma in quadragesima usq ad
officia in ramis palmarū.**

Aterne deus: Qui cor-
porali ieiunio vitia com-
patis: mentem eleuas
virtutem largiris et pre-
mia. Per christum do-
minū nostrū. Per quem
maiestatem.
**Sequens prefatio cū suo can-
tu dicitur quorundam a vigi-
lia pasche usq ad octauam:
et in solennibus festis et per**

copy (again at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich) shows that our fragment was extracted from what could have been a stately book.

The host volume contains a copy of Ferdinand von Fürstenberg's *Poemata*, printed in Amsterdam over two hundred years later (1671) by the Dutch printer and bookseller Daniel Elzevier.

The earliest inscription found on the volume is probably contemporary with the book. The note does not mention the name or origin of its owner or reader, but refers to the price of the book: "Kostet bei Weigel 1 fl. 4 gr." The note indicates that the volume might have been used in Germany, Austria or in another German-speaking area of Central Europe at an earlier date, when it was bound with the fifteenth-century bifolium. The book was eventually acquired by the Romanian scholar, bibliophile, and Greek-Catholic canon Timothei Cipariu in the nineteenth century. After his death, the collection was moved to the Greek-Catholic Diocesan Library of Blaj, where it stayed until 1948. After the communist regime suppressed the Greek-Catholic Church and its institutions, the collection was transferred to the Academy Library in Cluj.

It is worth adding that musical notation was not systematically printed in incunabula. Sometimes, it had to be added by hand, using the type of notation adapted to the local tradition and to the particular use. It is instructive to compare the *Obsequiale Salisburgense* in the binding of B.3983, which has printed musical notation, to Inc. 52 at the Academy Library (*Missale romanum*, [Venice: Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1487]), where only the staves were printed, and the notation was added by hand.

One should never forget that both incunabula and manuscripts are structurally *codices*, so that their decoration, annotation, musical notation, binding, rubrication, foliation etc. are studied with the same methods, and sometimes by the same people. ■



Perlimonia
 Fastenzeit
 Penitential

erunt anni agnoscitis
 ueritatem puer o uen
 deris. Intro
 turba sa sue rit am ma me
 in i ra mise ritor die
 ris.
 De us

B. 3983
 ne uoce orati omis mee. Domine do
 mi ne deus salutaris me
 umbra caput me um in di e bel
 Ne tradas me
 a desiderio me o peccato
 ri cogitauerit aduersu
 me ne derelinquas me ne unq exal ten



**Benedictio salis & aque minor: nulla to-
minica p circuli anni ptermittenda. Hora
sueta a sacerdote induto stola ante offi-
cium misse pagenda.**

Deus in adiutoriū meū intende.
Dñe ad adiuvandū me festina
Gloria pñi & fi. & spī. san. **S**i-
cut erat in prim. Pat nñ. Ave maria. Et ne.

U. Vinet anima mea & laudabit te. Et iudicia tua ad-
iuuabūt me. **U**. Erravi sicut omis que perijt. Quere
seruū tuū quia mādata tua nō sus oblitus. Credo
in deum &c. **Sequit exorcismus salis.**

Exorcizo te creatura salis per deū **X**
omniū: p deū **X** sanctū: p deū **X** verū:
Per teū q te p helyseū pphetā i aquā mit-
ti iussit: ut sanaret sterilitas aque: ut effici-
aris sal exorcizatū in salutē credentiū: ut sis
omib⁹ te sumētib⁹ sanitas anie & corporis:
et effugiat atqz discedat ab eo loco q asper-
sum fueris ois fantasia & nequicia vel ver-
sucia diaboliice fraudis: omnisqz spūs im-

a in



~~Este libro es de m^o m^o Jacobo de Rupe p^omen^o ad Colu^obrar^o ad Cor^ont^o v^o p^o p^o p^o~~

De laude dei

De tribus modis attingit laudare deum.

CAPIT.

Laus dei

Laudem dei tria considerare debemus. s. modum: causam: instrumentum. Circa laudem dei considerare debemus modum. Tribus modis contingit laudare deum. s. exteriori tñ. s. voce: et non corde: interiori tñ. s. corde: et non voce: interiori et exteriori simul. s. corde et voce. Primo enim quidam laudant deum exteriori tñ. s. voce non corde. de quo dicitur b. Math. xv. Hypocrite bene pphetant de vobis. Isaias p. xxi. dices: Populus hic labijs me honorat: cor autem eorum longe est a me. Qd verbum exponit quattuor modis. Primo fm Remigii ibide sic: Hypocrita dicit simulatorem: qz aliud ope simulat: et aliud corde gestat. sic populus iudaicus hypocrisis dicit: qz sub honore dei terrena lucra sibi accumulare cupiebat. Scdo mo etia fm Remigii

quia deum in te laudas no te laudas. Nec in glosa ibides.

Tertio quida laudat deum interiori et exteriori? siml. s. corde et voce. vii in psal. Benedicam deum in omni tpe etc. In quo verbo ostendit qz laus dei debet esse mentalis: vocalis: penitus. Primo laus debet esse mentalis: ideo dicitur b. Benedicam deum. s. corde. Psal. Benedic anima mea domino. Glo. Llama ergo voce si est ho qui audiat hoc. s. qd audit deus benedicat. i. lauda anima mea deum. Ratio huius est: qz cu anima sit purior et nobilior corpore: ideo laus anime que spiritualis est: est nobilior qz laus corporis. Et id hoc exprimit dices: Et omnia que intra me sunt nemini sancto eius. Glo. i. omnes cogitationes: ocs vires: nulle discrepet a laude dei. nūqz eni deest qui audiat: et ideo nūqz interiora fileat. et dicit interiora no exteriora solum: ad ostendendum qz laus exterior sine interiori non sufficit. Scdo laus dei debet esse vocalis: ideo subdit: Laus eius in ore meo. Tertio laus dei debet esse penitus ideo subiungit: omni tpe et semper. In psal. Repleat os meum laude: vt bñdictio referat ad deum ratione sui inquam summe bonus est. laus vero referat ad deum ratione suorum effectuum qui ab ipso procedunt. et subiungit: Omni tpe et semper. vt ostendatur duplex bñdictio vel laudatio dei: vna vie: et alia patrie. Prima. s. bñdictio vie ascedit benedictione patrie. ideo dicit: Benedicam deum in omni tpe. s. in prosperitate et in aduersitate. Gregori? Dignus est semper deo gratias agere. qz nūqz cessat bñfacere. Scunda bñdictio dei est bñdictio patrie ideo subdit: sem

Cluj, B. A. R., Inc. 63

Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae*. Ed: Jacobus Florentinus, Venice: Hermannus Liechtenstein, 12 Sept. 1486, owned by Jacobus de Rupe O. P., ca. 1480-1500, Cluj.

Below: Ownership notes linking Cluj, B. A. R. Inc. 61, and Inc. 28 to the Dominican brother Jacobus (de Rupe) in Cluj.

Ad rom^om^o Colosuar^o
s^o f^o Jacobus
Ordinis p^ontif^o



recepta p m^om^o Jacobu d' Rupe v^odis p p^o ei glosam
i loco

INCUNABULA AND THEIR OWNERS

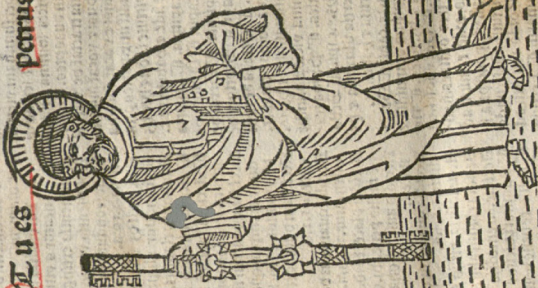
The incunabula we are presenting here had a more fortunate life than their fragmented contemporaries. The preservation of incunabula and of books printed in the 1500s and 1600s was favoured by the limited resources of the Jesuit, Reformed, and Unitarian schools of Cluj, which relied on donations from students, teachers and benefactors. The scarcity of teaching and preaching material, and limited finances, prompted libraries to keep their books instead of disposing of them.

Few books that were available in Cluj before the Reformation can still be identified in the city's collections. We know that the Dominicans of Cluj purchased incunabula from Venice in 1488 (Jakó & Manolescu 95) for their library, which an inventory from 1509 (Cluj, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, MS 1030) describes as a "large and beautiful library space for the conservation of books, which in time will be filled with books" – *domum librarie pulcrum et amplam pro librorum conseruationem cum tempore libris inplendam* (Papahagi 2023: 112-113). Unfortunately, the document does not list any books.

By some happy accident, three incunabula used by a Dominican from Cluj, Jacobus de Rupe, have survived in the Jesuit library. There is little information available on Jacobus' career other than his years of study abroad in Cologne, where he is attested in 1479 (Harsányi 257). His volumes include scholastic and Aristotelian works by Augustinian authors, such as Giles of Rome OSA, *In Aristotelis de anima commentum* (Venice, 1500; Inc. 61a); Paulus Venetus OSA, *Expositio in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis* (Venice, 1494; Inc. 61b); Thomas de Argentina OSA, *Scripta super quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* (Strasbourg, 1490; Inc. 28), and also Rainerius of Pisa's *Pantheologia* (Venice, 1486, Inc. C. 63). Jacobus from Rupea (Co. Braşov) was a man of some means: his copy of the *Pantheologia* is beautifully decorated.

Tues

parus



Summa aurea
de virtutibus
et vitijs.

MUNACENSIS





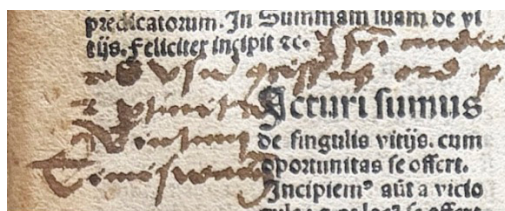
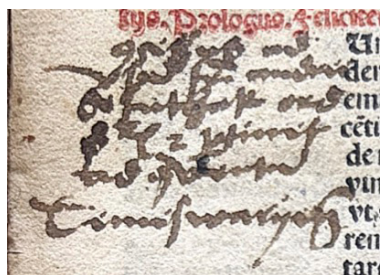
CLUJ, B. A. R., INC. 139 (FORMERLY C.84208)

In the binding: *Missale*, Central Europe, s. XV.

Opposite: The beginning of the prologue in Cluj, B. A. R., Inc. 139 with the note of Andreas de Futhak, Dominican friar in Timișoara, and the frontispiece in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc.c.a. 277 which is missing from our copy of the book .

In the course of our search for medieval manuscript fragments, we came across a hitherto unidentified incunabulum which belonged to another Dominican (cf. Oanea & Fenechiu). The book, bearing the shelfmark C.84208, has lost its first leaves and contains no colophon, and was thus not recognised as an incunabulum. It is actually a copy of William Perault's popular *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* (Venice: Paganinus de Paganinis, 1497). A copy in Munich displays the missing pages. The latest addition to the incunabula collection of the Academy Library has received a new shelfmark, and is now Inc. 139.

The book is wrapped in a fragment from a relatively banal fifteenth-century missal. The notes added in the spaces reserved for two initials by the book's earliest owner command more attention:



Concessus ad usum fratri Andree de Futhak ordinis predicatorum et pertinet ad conventum Temeswaryensem | fratri Andree ad usum concessus ordinis predicatorum et pertinet ad conventum Temeswaryensem.

Futhak, the birthplace of Andrew, may be Futog, now in Serbia. There is very little information about the Dominicans of Timișoara, so this note is an important medieval document in itself.

Not all owners are as obscure as the Dominicans Jacobus de Rupe, active in Cluj, and Andreas de Futhak, active in Timișoara. Péter Váradi (ca. 1450-1501) was one of the most famous Hungarian humanists. Váradi was probably born in Oradea, and integrated the circle of János Vitéz, the bibliophile humanist who was bishop of Oradea in 1445-1465, and became archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary in

Manuscriptale

ra. Hunc plogum p̄mittit hieronim⁹ tribo

[illegible]

ROYAL
LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO



~~A. 13.~~



Baldwinus De A. Ben.
scripsit hoc Anno 1624. Die 5.
Februarii.

**Sermones sancti Vincentij fra-
tris ordinis predicatorum de tempore.**

Pars hyemalis.

Hic libz opatf Sugismud de amvagus tactpid
in fuit. Inratytlame qd p. do pie pro
ymag. p. Georgio Sac. thes. cathedralis
de melle Speiosa Anno 1623
anno 1623. o. s. usus est in
Georg. iustit. de Nur. Balludica
rector. Ben.



Conuertus sub. hienpis.

Donatione hanc in Protestantos obtinuit,
Collegio Reformatoe Landiopolitano. donat
D. Georg. M. i. o. i. c. a. t. P. e. r. n. s. L. a. k. i. n. d.
S. J. J. J. J.



CLUJ, B. A. R., INC. 87

Vicentius Ferrerius, Sermones de tempore et de sanctis. Pars 1-3, Nürnberg: An-
ton Koberger, 1492.

1465. Váradi studied Law in Bologna, then functioned as royal secretary, and ended up as archbishop of Kalocsa.

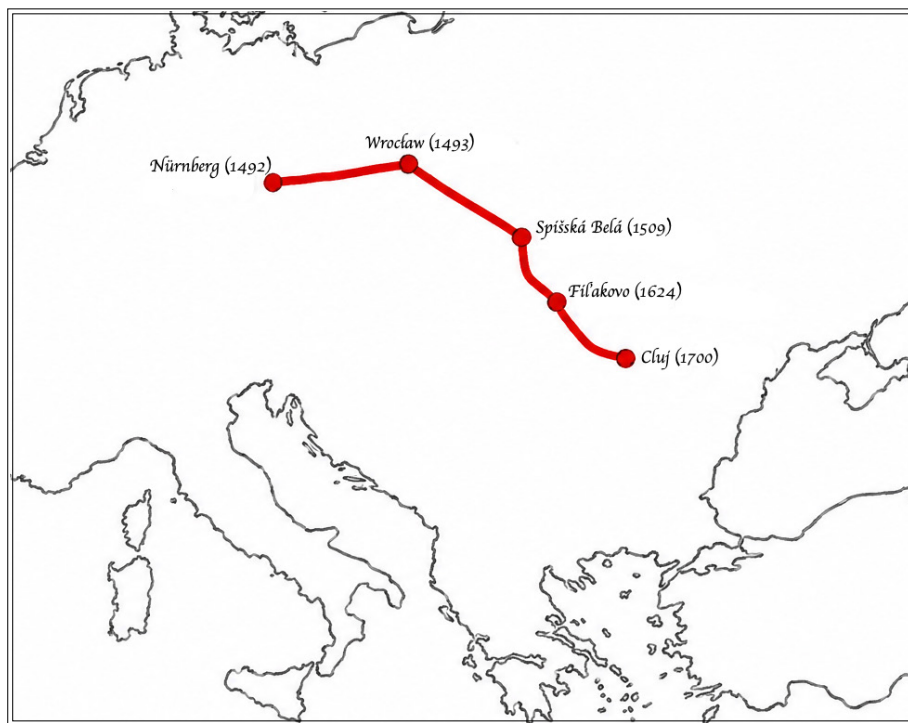
One of his extant books is our Inc. 9, a copy of Nicolaus de Lyra's *Postilla super totam Bibliam*. Similar to other items from his library (cf. Csapódy-Gárdonyi), the first leaf of the stately book is decorated in the typical humanistic fashion, with the owner's coat of arms, foliated margins and initials, and a portrait of King Solomon, whose wisdom Váradi probably wanted to emulate. The minor initials alternate between beautifully decorated *lettrines* and pen-flourished initials in red and blue. The body of each foliated initial varies in colour, including blue, pink, and yellow, with green accents on a blue background sprinkled with white dots. The initials are painted on a silver field, and contain various vegetal and floral motives.



The Dominican friars James and Andrew, and the bishop Peter read their books soon after they were published, but did not date their ownership notes. Also, the history of the books from around 1500 until they entered the Jesuit library in Cluj is not documented. Other books contain whole lists of owners, and allow us to reconstitute their journey across Europe and across centuries.

Inc. 87 (Vicentius Ferrerius, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1492), which used to belong to the Reformed college, is the most eloquent witness to book circulation. It preserves many owners' names, and gives details about places, dates, ways of acquisition, allowing us to draw a map and a chronology of its circulation.

In 1493, one year after its publication in Nürnberg, the book was purchased in Wrocław by “frater Sigismundus de Aywaczicz, tunc temporis qui fuit Vratislavie [Wrocław] cum Reverendo patre provinciali p. Gregorio Sacre theologie baccalario de Valle Speciosa [Schönthal in Bavaria]. Anno 1493”. Sigismundus comes from Ivančice, a town now in the Brno district of Czechia. In another ownership inscription left in Brno, University Library, A P 76-78, Sigismund identifies himself as prior of Saint Thomas’ Abbey in Brno (Dokoupil 34). Several of his books have survived.



Other notes attest the presence of the book in Spišská Belá in 1509, in Filákov in 1624, and finally in Cluj in 1700. The map is generated by AI and improved by the human authors of these pages – we must get used to this...

We have also included in this exhibition one incunabulum owned by the son of the famous translator and typographer of Cluj, Caspar

Helt, better known as Gáspár Heltai (1510-1574), who bore his father's name and continued his trade. Caspar Helt, Jr. (ca. 1560-ca. 1617) acquired Inc. 101 in 1601, and marked his name on the first page. The book is heavily annotated by many hands from various periods, including the early 1500s.

In 1729, the book was donated by *generosus* Paul Gyergyai to the Unitarian college of Cluj. Paul Gyergyai (1689-1751) was senior of the Unitarian college, then curator of the Unitarian Congregation of Cluj, senator and representative of Cluj to nine sessions of the Transylvanian Diet.

Inc. 101 consists of two books bound together. The first text, *Propositiones ex omnibus Aristotelis libris excerptae* was written by the Dominican friar Theophilus de Ferrariis, and was printed in Venice in 1493. The second title, *Auctoritates Aristotelis et aliorum philosophorum*, was printed in Bologna in 1488.

As a flyleaf, the binder used a fragment from a fourteenth-century copy of Eberhard of Béthune's *Graecismus*, a grammatical poem composed in 1212. Our text, copied in cursive Gothic script, contains chapter 20, *De adverbiiis*, lines 6-51, 55-104. In the margin of the fragment, someone calculated how old the 1488 Bolognese incunabulum was in 1616 (the year of Shakespeare's death). Of course, the answer is 128. The Bolognese *Auctoritates Aristotelis* is now 538 years old, Eberhard composed his poem about 814 years ago, Aristotle lived 2350 years ago, and even Caspar Helt Jr. has been dead for over four centuries. A book carrying their words is still around. ■

Catho. Instrue doctrinis animu ne discas resiles
Nā sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis imago

Varium est natus obitu & spem futuram
 ut ait Confluens dicitur. Et ut Augustinus
 apud Namque homo celsa subditi facit
 varium respectum quod ipse aduocare possit.

Auerois. Cator 3^o d'ia Coto 14 De Azile loque^{re} p^{er} eu in meda
 credo a et iste homo. fuerit regina d'nama. Et exemplar
 quod natura tuenti ad deosifand. vltima p^{er}fecto h^umana materis.
 qui oris inuero populo d'auo.

Et qui non tristi fronte parere cupis
 Si te perpetuo, nullis quæstis triumphis
 Pax inuat et pictas orbis et alma fides
 Accipe Aristotelis præclara volumina lectis
 Seu parcas, seu tu sceptra verenda teneas

Magnus Aristoteles hominum figurata perorans
Lyncea in ethereos attelles lumina tractis
vidit in hac una mundi testis. Ome nomen
Et coluit patris idem fuisse penates
Euboroque lares ferunt precibus diemq;
Calade suorum longa clausisse fenestra
Proclitiones exornat.

Propositiones ex omnibus Aristotelis libris philosophię. Moralis

• Naturalis. & prime. nec nō dialectice. Rhetorice. & poetica. diligētissime excerpte: & ad certa rerū capita pulcherimo ordine per tabellam additam redacte.

Casspar Helti Typogr.

Ex oblatione Frj: Pauli Ep:
qum est Scholasticus Vint. Canon.

Mallem cu Platone mori
q̃m cu Aristotele vivere
Ex Mera fland. li. 12. q. 3.
arti. 3. i fine

Aples. platonic. incy xx
andum. her frāstg
fulefne. li. 5. eplaz 28
kivam

Tabula sine Repertorio. alphabetum idem. For
nona libro Anglijs Theor valise. pteffo equotto folio d

Admirandis T natura
Anima ^{scrip. folio} 142
Animalibus ^{scrip. folio} 84

Bona fortuna regit fol. 107

Quia longitudo 4
breuitatis vite solatio
Causa impit folio 384.

Celo, 7 nundo

Economicorum imp. fol. 212.
 Ethicorum imp. fol. 208.
 Ethicorum imp. fol. 108.

Generatōe uulm folio 133.

γενεταρε + κορυφω fol. 64
 διτορυς αυλης fol. 65

machine & sententia folio 107.

Pignozzini fol. 192.
Nemoria 2^a m^a/r^a 102.

V. *Geographica* folio 1.
 N. *Geographica* caput 6.
 N. *Geographica* caput 6.

Harn 7. 10. 82.
 Harn 7. 10. 82.
 Harn 7. 10. 82.

Parnibz anclis folio. 128
De uermingis imp^r fol. 27

phisiocroru incip folio 28.
physionomia folio. 141

Poliniorz *in p. folio. 200.*
Posterior *in p. folio. 227.*
— *in p. folio. 227.*

Predicamentum capit. folio. 21.
 Predicamentorum folio. 219.
 Prior. folio. 239.

procuratoribus de 7. folio 83. r.

Respirare + iſpirare fol. 108
Respirare + iſpirare fol. 271

Ensu 7 / Caro folio. 98.
 Sep pñcipioz folio. 222.
 Comma 2 m. l. folio. 127.

Somno & vigilis folio. 103.
 & hopenoy iopet folio. 24.

Magirus A

REPUBLICI POPULI

BIBLIOTECA
POPOLARE

ROMANIAN ACADEMY

Ap'lo fere quida lib' de
Regiminib' celestib' et gr
Comet'ar An'ois p'p' 2^o
c'la. cam'ro. 83. huc nos no videt

Azules proprii libz de Sophist
vnde Tortellus i Empedocles

bischof von Hippo

Magirus Alles mitnahm, was er
In die Kiste quack in die Luft.



$$\begin{array}{r} 1616 \\ 1488 \\ \hline 128 \end{array}$$








CLUJ, B. A. R., MS C.₃₇₉

Host volume: *Logica R. P. Gotthardi Gelb è S. J.*, Trnava, c. 1696-1697. In the binding, fragments from a Latin missal and from a Hebrew Bible.

OTHER TRADITIONS: HEBREW AND SLAVIC FRAGMENTS

Irrespective of script, language, decoration or contents, medieval manuscripts – especially parchment ones – shared the same fate if they became *libri inutiles*. Bookbinders did not discriminate between Christian and Jewish books; they only cared for the parchment.

The binding of MS C.379 incorporates eight fragments stemming from a fourteenth-century Hebrew Bible, and from a fifteenth-century Latin missal.

Although the Latin fragments are small, the presence of *Secreta* indicates that they belonged to a missal. Short sequences, such as “[G]loria et honore coronasti eum [Domi]ne: et constituisti eum super [opera ma]nnum tuarum” (Ps. 8:6-7), suggest that the passage was read at the *Commune unius martyris*.

The Hebrew fragments on the cracked spine and in the tailband of MS C.379 contain passages from the Books of Joshua (16:5-17:2) arranged on three columns, and Isaiah (49:13, 55:12?).

The nine Hebrew fragments we have identified so far were catalogued by Dr Miruna Belea (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris) on Fragmentarium, and on the site of the project “Books within Books: Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries” (to which some QR codes are sending). Thus, all considerations on Hebrew fragments in this chapter are paraphrases of Dr Belea’s descriptions.

The note “Logica R. P. Gotthardi Gelb è S. J. Tyrnaviæ” allows us to date and localise the host manuscript, since Gotthard Gelb taught Logic at the already mentioned Jesuit university of Trnava in the academic year 1696/1697 (Fischer 162-163). The student who wrote the notebook identifies himself as Franciscus Kecskés, probably a young man from Cluj.

The book was probably bound in Trnava, using locally available recycled parchment. The Hebrew Bible from which the fragments were cropped may have belonged to the Jewish community in that area. Jewish populations are attested in several cities of medieval Hungary (Buda, Esztergom, Fehérvár, Nyitra, Bratislava, Trnava) by the end of the thirteenth century. The earliest surviving tombstone with Jewish inscriptions from Trnava dates to 1340 (Berend 62).

Conversely, the presence of Jews in medieval Transylvania is hardly attested (Szende 134). In Cluj, Jews are recorded in passing in 1481, and again in 1578. However, as a rule, they were not allowed to settle in Transylvanian cities other than Alba Iulia until the end of the eighteenth century (Gyemant).

Thus, the Hebrew fragments from the Academy Library in Cluj were probably imported with their host books, and indeed many of them are linked to Trnava. Such is the case of MSS C.178 and 194. MS C.178 contains a poster advertising the “Assertions from universal philosophy which Johannes Thauer will publicly defend at the... University of the Society of Jesus, in Tyrnavia, in the year of our Lord 1713”.

The two modern manuscripts are wrapped in fragments extracted from the same leaf, a large Hebrew Bible, with the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (an Aramaic translation and interpretation of the Bible), and with the *Masorah magna* and *Masorah parva* – marginal notes created by Jewish scholars (Masoretes) in the early Middle Ages.

The text from Jeremiah (51:7-17), disposed on three columns, was copied by one hand, in a calligraphic square Ashkenazi script, with complete, Tiberian vocalisation. This was an elegant large-format Bible, whose leaves probably measured around 500-520 x 350-360 mm.

Not all our Hebrew fragments come from Trnava, though. The printed book with the call number U.63230-31 belonged to “Laurentius Dalnaki”, or Dálnoki Nagy Lőrinc (Dalnic 1614 – Cluj 1661). Dálnoki studied in Cluj and Padua, taught at the Unitarian College in Cluj from 1639 until his death, and bequeathed his books to this institution. Most importantly, Dálnoki was a Hebrew philologist (*Magyar életrajzi*

ACADEMIA
REPUBLICI
ROMANIA
FILIALA CLUJ
BIBLIOTECA
Ma. C. 178
a. 6



לה נס ונתבבל מר
והיה משכרת כל הא
הארץ מינה שר
גים על מן והללו
גים ונאכל לא רחב
דהא נאג מכל מצא
מן עקלא ויהא רב
וכבר נכסו פור עתה
תקפא עתה אריות
לה מן קרם ונתרון
ריתרון מצה רחוב
מלך עמיא וימכר
פורעו ויטחון עם
עמיא על מן ויהא
עמיא פראם נפלה
בכל השנה הללו
עליה קחו ערו למכא
למכא ונה את יתפא
סתה נפלה בכל ואת
ואתברת ארלו עליה
סר שעה לתברח מא

יהוה אלהינו גאלי
יהוה אלהינו גאלי
והיה משכרת כל הא
הארץ מינה שר
גים על מן והללו
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סתה נפלה בכל ואת
ואתברת ארלו עליה
סר שעה לתברח מא

סערין בישתיר נשבע
יהוה נבאיה נפסר
כי אם מלא אתה ארם
מלקושו ערור הירד
היום ונבאיה במימ
במיתרה אליו אמן
אמלך משרת עם
עמיא סגאיו כחלא
ורביו על מלחיו
עשה
ארצו כחזו מכו תכל
חבמיו ונתנו
נשח שמים אמן
אליו רשע ארץ
בחוליה שכל תכל
בחיבמיה ובסמיה
ובסמיה תתה תלא
שמיא וקחל בתו הו
חמיו מים כשור יסח
והשל נשיאם קשה
הארץ נהרם מטר

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FILIALA CLUJ
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No. 6
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Ms. C.

ונשא שר שותקו
אסנא ויהבם ולא
מתא שבח ויהא
גבר לארעה אריות
קרב לשמיא אריות
תפסל שר שמיא
הינא ויהא את ער
ערקתו מא ונפלה

ונשא שר שותקו
אסנא ויהבם ולא
מתא שבח ויהא
גבר לארעה אריות
קרב לשמיא אריות
תפסל שר שמיא
הינא ויהא את ער
ערקתו מא ונפלה

מטרא עביר ונפסק
רוחו מבית גזוהיו
נבשר מל ארם ביד
הבשר מל ארם מפסל
כי שקל נסמו ודא רוח
בם אטפסו כל עממי
מלמדע חובמיה
בחת מל קיץ מלמד

והיה משכרת כל הארץ מינה שר גים על מן והללו גים ונאכל לא רחב דהא נאג מכל מצא מן עקלא ויהא רב וכבר נכסו פור עתה תקפא עתה אריות לה מן קרם ונתרון ריתרון מצה רחוב מלך עמיא וימכר פורעו ויטחון עם עמיא על מן ויהא עמיא פראם נפלה בכל השנה הללו עליה קחו ערו למכא למכא ונה את יתפא סתה נפלה בכל ואת ואתברת ארלו עליה סר שעה לתברח מא

64/5.

מחזור ושבעה עשר וטוהר לבית
לשטן באה. כי אלה כוחו לישראל מזה העול
ומחולן לשטן. וישוהו במחול ורד מבלי עין א
אין לנו מחול מלך מחול וסוף אלה ברוך
אלה יי מלך מחול לעולמות לעולמות עמך בית ישראל
ישוע ומעבד אשמתינו כל שנה ושנה מלך
על כל הארץ וקדש ישראל ויום הכיפורים
רנה יי אלהינו מעבד ישראל

ובתפלה וטוהר בננו עתה עמך ברוך
ואתה מחמדיה ויהי ויהי ויהי
ועד עתה ויהי ויהי ויהי
היום מחרת ויהי ויהי ויהי
בירושלים ויהי ויהי ויהי

523.1/64230
NICOLAI
TAURELLI
IN INCLYTANORIM
BERGENSIUM ACADEMIA
PHYSICÆ ET MEDICINÆ
professoris acutissimi.
ΚΟΣΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ. R. 56.
Hoc est
Physicarum & Metaphysicarum
Discussionum:
DE
MUNDO.
LIBRI II.
ADVERSUS FRANCISCUM
Piccolomineum philosophum celeber-
rimum, aliisq; Peripateticos.
Ecce Vnde  *Lausdorp*
AMBERGÆ
Excudebat Johannes Schönfeld,
Sampitibus & impensis Joh. Theod. Clauis
M. DC. III
Laus. Dalnaki



U₁ 64230
ἔστιν ἡ φύσις καὶ ὁ ὁρὸς τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντος
ἐν τῇ κακείᾳ. ἢ. ἔδ. c. v.
Ἡ φύσις ἐστὶν ἡ συνήθεια ἢ ἡ διάθεσις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὁ ὁρὸς ἡ ἰσχύς ἢ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ φύσις καὶ ὁ ὁρὸς ἔχοντες ἑκάστην τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχύος ἢ δύναμιν, καὶ ἡ φύσις καὶ ὁ ὁρὸς ἔχοντες ἑκάστην τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχύος ἢ δύναμιν, καὶ ἡ φύσις καὶ ὁ ὁρὸς ἔχοντες ἑκάστην τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχύος ἢ δύναμιν.

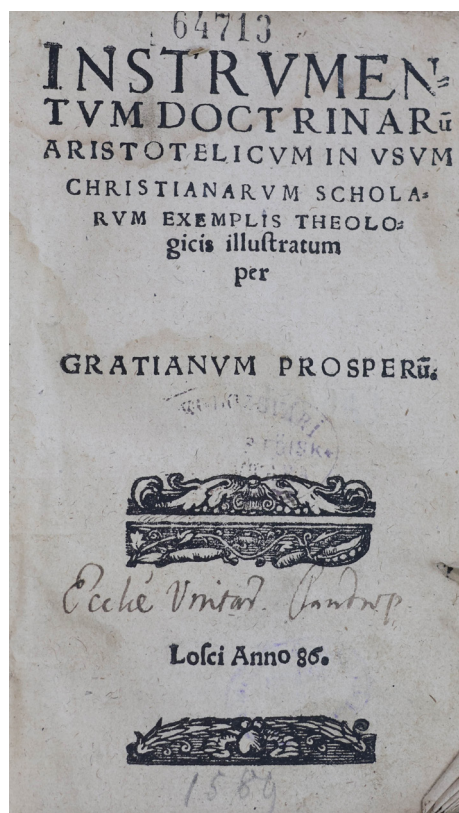
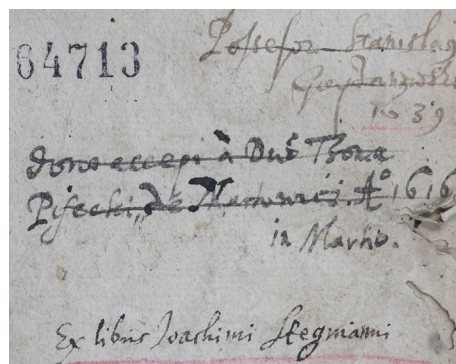
CLUJ, B. A. R., U.64230-31

In the binding: *Machzor* for Yom-ha-Kippurim, Central Europe (Ashkenazi), s. XV; title page of the host volume; annotations by 'Laurentius Dalnaki'.

lexikon). Thus, he may have had access to Hebrew codices in Cluj. However, one cannot prove that the book was bound in Cluj rather than in Bavaria, where the host volume was printed (Amberg, 1603).

The wrapper of U.63230-31 was cropped from a fifteenth-century *machzor*, a book of prayers and readings from the Bible for the major Jewish holidays, used by the cantor. Our fragment contains prayers for Yom ha-Kippurim, or the “Day of Atonement” – the holiest feast in the Jewish calendar. The text is copied by one hand, in a calligraphic square Ashkenazi script, with complete Tiberian vocalisation.

The liturgical language of the Orthodox Slavs and Romanians in the medieval and early modern period was Church Slavonic. It is represented here by only one fragment that we discovered recently in the binding of a book printed in 1586 in Losk – at that time in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, today in the region of Minsk, Belarus (U.64713).



CLUJ, B. A. R., U.64713

Instrumentum doctrinarum Aristotelicum in usum Christianarum scholarum exemplis theologicis illustratum per Gratianum Prosperum, Losk: s.n., 1586 (USTC 250067).

Until 1616, the book belonged to a certain “Thomas Pisecki de Martowicz”. Another owner of the book was Joachim Stegmann, a German theologian, Bible translator, mathematician, and rector of the Academy of Raków, in Poland – whom we have already met. He moved to Cluj in 1633, but died in the same year and left his books to the Unitarian College. However, this is not how the book entered the Unitarian library in Cluj. A third owner, “Stanislaus Geydanzwski”, who was probably also a teacher or a student at the Racovian Academy, wrote his name on the book in 1639. The Racovian Academy was closed in 1638, and many of its members moved to Transylvania. Perhaps this is how the book arrived at the Unitarian College in Cluj.

The book printed in Losk is extremely rare, and so far the only copy known to USTC is this one. The Slavonic fragment it carries is equally remarkable. Dr Anca Libidov, former librarian at the Academy Library in Cluj, who identified and transcribed the text, believes that the manuscript was copied in the fourteenth century, which makes it an early witness of this type of book – a *Menaion* (from Greek *Μηναιον*), the Orthodox liturgical book that contains the propers for the fixed dates of the liturgical year.

The fragment, copied by one hand in a calligraphic Cyrillic uncial, contains passages from the Canon of Saint Nicholas (5 May). Here is an excerpt from a beautiful prayer:

Грѣховныиѡмѡракомѣиискрѣплѣшиижитѣискиѡмѣвѣтромѣпорѣваемѣ, ѡкодрогоес(о)
ли(е)це, ѡ(т)ѣе/ подобьеобраза твоеговидаще, твоимѡ(о)л(и)тва/мида согрѣемѣся,
служителюх(ристо)вѣниколан.

Frozen in the darkness of sin and buffeted by the wind of worldly cares, I beheld the image of your face, Father, as though it were another sun; may we be warmed by your prayers, servant of Christ, Nicholas. ■

Academia R.P.R.
FILIALA CAJ
BIBLIOTECA

Plan 3. Hinkel, 3. 10.
 dieſen iten ſagte
 plus ex mullis, quia ex
 Sochts hupit
 Methodum 3. Herma
 3. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10.
 ma ſoda 10. 10. 10. 10.
 bernan ſeids.
 3.



[illegible][illegible]

[Faint, illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]

[illegible]

EPILOGUE: *HABENT SUA FATA LIBELLI...*

Books cross centuries and countries, changing owners and aspect in the process. They are rebound, annotated, decorated or mutilated, lost and found. They can incorporate parts from other books. Few objects are more versatile than old books.

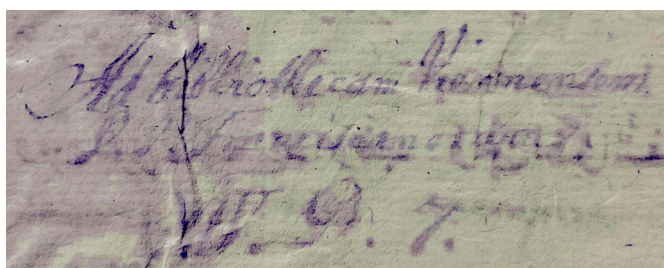
CLUJ, B. A. R.,
MS O.11

In the binding:
fragment of
Decretales, Italy,
c. 1300.

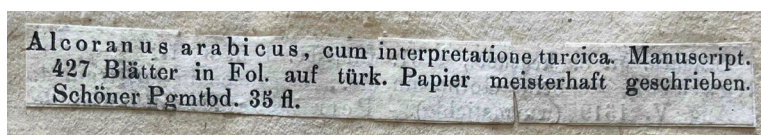


No item illustrates the fate of books better than our MS O.11 – an early modern Qur'an manuscript with Turkish glosses, bound in a fragment from a splendid manuscript of canon law produced in Italy, around 1300.

An erased and hardly visible note shows that the book belonged to the Franciscan convent of Vienna in the eighteenth century: "Ad Bibliothecam Viennensem R. P. Franciscanorum", where it had the shelfmark "XIV. D. 7" (the picture below is enhanced).



In the nineteenth century, the manuscript was sold by a (probably Viennese) antiquarian bookshop, whose catalogue entry is pasted to the volume's boards.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
ما شدم تفرغوا نك آوید
که روزی در جید رحمت اید

الم ذَلِكَ الْكِتَابُ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهِ هُدًى
لِّلرَّحِيمِينَ
بِإِذْنِ رَبِّهِمْ وَلِيُذَكِّرَ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَرْجِعُوا إِلَى الذِّكْرِ

الْمُتَّقِينَ الَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْغَيْبِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ

وَمَا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ ۚ وَالَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ
دعای بزرگوار و پر دودگی
صدقه ای در هر
اداکتیار می
ایمانداران را

مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ وَبِالْآخِرَةِ هُمْ
 أَهْلُهَا

یوقون اولئک علی هدم زیم ولئک هم
انظر فی ولاوسته در انظر فی بولاندره در
چیلیدین دی انظر فی

وَمَنْزِلُ الْمُفَاحِشِينَ نِيبَاتٌ

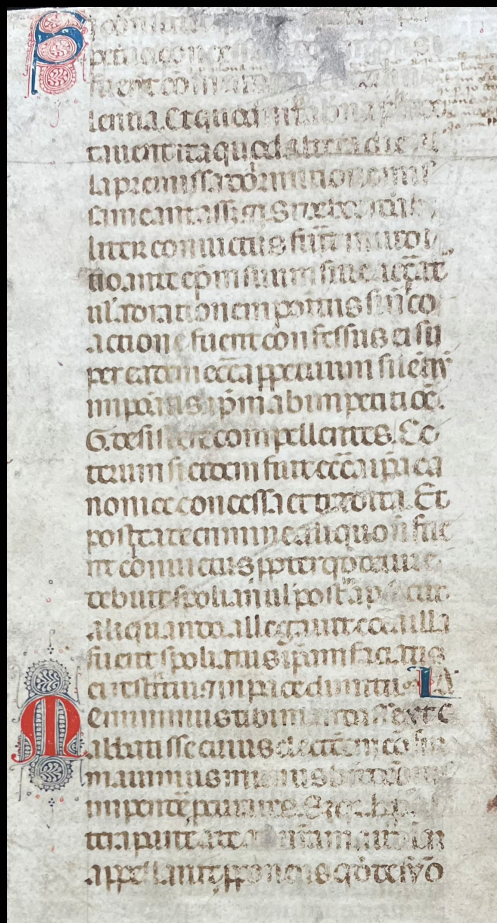
سُورَةُ الْفَاتِحَةِ الْكِتَابِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
 مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ
 إِيهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ
 صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ
 غَيْرِ الْغَضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ
 وَهِيَ سِتَّةٌ أَمِينَ آيَةٍ مُكَتَّمَةٍ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله رب العالمين
 مالك يوم الدين
 اهدنا الصراط المستقيم
 صراط الذين انعمت عليهم
 غير الغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين
 وهي ستة امين آية مكتمة

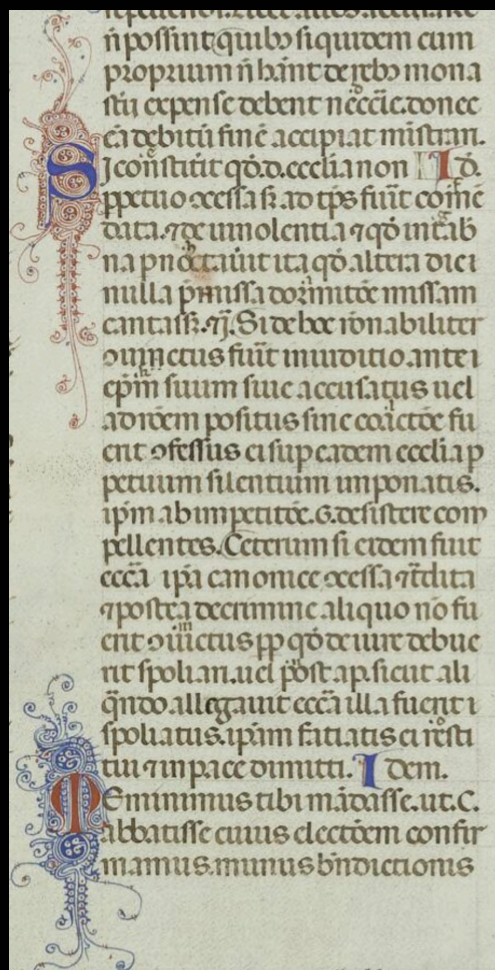
Text e Arabic
 Interposita, videri
 pretio e fusius.





CLUJ, B. A. R., MS O.11

Back cover: fragment of *Decretales*,
Italy, s. XIII/XIV.



VATICAN, B. A. V., PAL. LAT. MS 629

Fol. 208v: the same passage of the *Decretales*,
Bologna, s. XIII^{ex}.

We do not know how the volume arrived in Cluj, but all fingers point at Timotei Cipariu, the famous scholar from Blaj, whose books are now at the Academy Library. In addition to many talents and interests, the consummate polyglot was also an orientalist. He knew Arabic, and transcribed manuscripts in this language. Although MS O.11 does not bear the famous blue stamp with his name, it can be one of his purchases. Indeed, several of Cipariu's acquisitions from the Viennese bookshops Schratt and Wallishauser are documented (Botezan, Botezan & Cuibus 234-244).

The manuscript fragment which attracted our attention in the first place consists of two incomplete leaves (possibly a bifolium) from a copy of Pope Gregory IX's *Decretales* with the *glossa ordinaria*. The fragment contains parts from the first title of book V, *De accusationibus, inquisitionibus et denunciationibus*.

The splendid pen-flourished initials, and the highly calligraphic Southern Textualis demonstrate the Italian origin of the fragment. Our fragment is similar to well-studied copies of the *Decretales*, like Vatican, Pal. Lat. MS 629, a product of late thirteenth-century Bologna (Burkhardt). Compare the paragraphs starting "Meminimus tibi mandasse ut C. abbatisse cuius electionem confirmamus munus benedictionis...". That such a deluxe manuscript became a *liber inutilis* is a lesson on the simultaneous frailty and endurance of human endeavours.

The long and sinuous journey of MS O.11 includes many religious, national, chronological and geographical stations. An Italian manuscript made around 1300 in a Catholic environment met a Turkish Qur'an copied several centuries later, spent time in Vienna, and ended up in Cluj. *Habent sua fata libelli...* ■■

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