# 'Qui scripsit scripta, manus eius sit benedicta': Scribes and Colophons from the Medieval Dioceses of Oradea and Transylvania

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*'Qui scripsit scripta, manus eius sit benedicta':*
*Scribes and Colophons from Medieval Transylvania*

The present article identifies a series of book scribes from the medieval dioceses of Oradea and Transylvania, active at home or abroad between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth century. The study analyses the strategies of scribal identification, the geographical and chronological distribution of manuscripts, the types of texts copieds, as well as aspects related to palaeography and colophon formulas.

Keywords: Transylvania; Oradea; manuscripts; medieval; scribes; colophons.

The research towards compiling a census of Western medieval manuscripts preserved in Romanian libraries has pointed out the appallingly low survival rate of locally authored, copied or owned codices[1]. In a recent study, I offered a quick survey of lost libraries and surviving books from the Northern and Western regions of Romania, corresponding to the medieval Catholic dioceses of Transylvania, Cenad and Oradea[2]. The time has perhaps come to attempt a full-fledged history of the book in our part of the world, and the little team of the CODEX Centre at the University of Cluj has made it its task to compile this much needed work.

The main questions we aim to answer are: what libraries and scriptoria existed in the Middle Ages on the territory of Northern and Western Romania; where were books produced; what kinds of books were produced; who owned books; what kinds of books were owned; where did they come from; how much was lost, and what was preserved; where do locally produced manuscripts survive; how does the situation compare to that in neighbouring regions, and in Western Europe?[3] And, of course: who copied books? The present article attempts to answer the last question.

The period under scrutiny starts in the eleventh century, at the dawn of Latin book culture in the region. The Alba Iulia cathedral, established in 1009, the see of Cenad in the age of St Gerard (†1046), the Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur, founded most likely in the second half of the eleventh century, the Premostratensian abbey of Dealul Orăzii, established before 1131, or the Cistercian abbey of Igriș, founded by Pontigny monks in 1179 are the earliest witnesses to the use and production of books in the region[4]. The investigation covers the period up to the third decade of the sixteenth century, when the Reformation and the appearance of the first printing houses in Transylvania usher in the modern age. Around 1529 a printing house is mentioned in the Saxon city of Sibiu, but Transylvanian printers were already active in some of the major European workshops, and printed books had been circulating in the area since the age of incunabula[5]. The last Catholic mass in Brașov was celebrated in October 1542[6]. The swift changes intervening in the 1520s and 1530s due to the Reformation and the introduction of printing



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to Transylvania also draw a neat boundary between medieval and modern books in terms of production, ownership, circulation and contents. A study by Ádám Dankanits shows that only 17% of the texts read in Transylvania in the sixteenth century belong to the medieval tradition; the overwhelming majority of books have reformed (28%), humanistic (24%), classical (22%) or scientific (9%) content[7].

In addition to these chronological limitations, other reservations must be made. In the first place, our research is not a study of literacy in general, and therefore does not include pragmatic literacy. Other projects currently studying the diplomatic output of medieval Transylvania are adding evidence from the rich archival material to that supplied by the relatively few surviving books[8].

With these reservations in mind, I have established a preliminary list of manuscripts and early printed books produced or owned in our region in the period between 1000 and 1530. One of the most useful resources available, the *Bibliotheca Hungarica* (hereafter *BH*), lists about 3500-4000 books related to medieval Hungary[9]. Out of these, a preliminary count yields over 550 items linked to our provinces, which means between one eighth and one seventh of the total. However, this is and must remain an approximation, since the absence of specific scribal or ownership annotations often makes it impossible to determine whether a book was produced or owned in this region, or elsewhere in medieval Hungary. The data derived from *BH* is complemented through findings resulting from our census of Western medieval manuscripts in Romania and further field work, through information from better indices in more recent manuscript catalogues[10], and, of course, through the ever-growing resources available on the internet. However, what follows must be regarded as work in progress.

I am presenting here data concerning: a. scribes from our provinces active at home or abroad; b. foreign scribes at work in the dioceses of Oradea and Transylvania (none was identified for Cenad). A summary of the elicited data is also presented as a table in the appendix. Most of these names are recorded by the authors of *BH*, but some are new discoveries. In some cases, items deemed lost by Csapodi and Csapodiné-Gárdonyi have been identified in Transylvanian and foreign collections. Corrections concerning dating and localisation, as well as more accurate transcripts of colophons are provided where applicable.

Here is the list of the scribes identified so far:

1. Bartholomaeus from Cluj, active in Rimini – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. Z. 197 (1903); *Regula S. Benedicti-Formula confessionis S. Romualdi-Homiliae*, parchment, s. XV. Fol. 67r: 'Secundo nonas decembris frater Bartholomaeus de Koloswar partis transilvanae tempore Clari Abbatis sancti Juliani martyris de Arimino scripsit hoc memoriale et erat hungarus. Dum surgunt miseri nolunt miserere miseris'. (*BH* 2769)[11]

2. Briccius from Polanka, active in Oradea – Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter, MS A. VII. 39; Tertullianus, *Apologeticus*, parchment, 1455. Fol. 53r: 'Ex Waradino per Briccium presbiterum de Polanka anno d<omini> m<illesimo> etc. 55. Domino Iohanni de Zredna episcopo s<anctae> d<ioecesis> W<aradiensis>'. (not in *BH*)[12] – fig. 1.

3a. Clemens from Hunedoara – Miercurea Ciuc, Csíki Székely Múzeum, MS A IV 2/5261; *Graduale de tempore*, parchment, 1524. Fol. 181v: 'per fratrem Clementem de Hunyad'. (*BH* 3146)[13]

3b. Clemens from Hunedoara, active in Târgu Mureș – Miercurea Ciuc, Csíki Székely Múzeum, MS A IV 3/5266; *Nocturnale*, parchment, 1522. Fol. 123v: 'per manus fratris Clementis de hwniad tunc temporis in Wasarhel degentis'. (*BH* 3268)[14]

4. Cristiannus Medicus, active in Sibiu (?) – Sibiu, Biblioteca Brukenthal, MS 681; Rupertus Tuitiensis, *De victoria verbi Dei-Oculus animae*-Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Antithemenon*-Henricus de Oytha, *De contractibus*-Henricus de Hassia, *Speculum humanae salvationis* etc.-Augustinus, *De fide ad Petrum-Sermones* etc., parchment, 1417-1418. Fol. 89v: 'Deo gracias finitus est liber iste in vigilia beatorum apostolorum petri et pauli, Anno M$^{mo}$ cccc$^{mo}$ XVII$^{mo}$. Sit laus Deo. Icidem Innaitsirc rep sunam[15].' (*BH* 2055a)[16]

5. Georgius from Slovenia, active in Bistrița (?) – Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akademiá Könyvtára (Hungarian Academy Library), MS K 31; *Nominale*, paper, c. 1380-1410. Fol. 8v: 'Explicit nominal per manus Georgii De regno dicto Sclauonye. Qui nescit scribere nullum putat esse laborem. Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat. Quis te furetur tribus lignis associetur.' (*BH* 682) – fig. 2.[17]

6. Henricus Halbgebacsen from Regensburg, active in Cincu or in Sibiu – Sibiu, Biblioteca Brukenthal, MS 595; *Missale notatum*, parchment, 1430. Fol. 229v: 'Finito libro, sit laus et gloria Christo. Dentur pro pena scriptoris celica regna. Per manus Henrici Halbgebacsen de Ratispona oriundi, pro tunc temporis regentis in Grozschenk licet indigno. Sub anno Incarnationis domini M°cccc°xxx° in octavis Assumpcionis gloriose Marie uirginis.' (*BH* 2035a)[18] – fig. 3.

7. Johannes from Gordowa (Croatia?), active in Oradea – Güssing, Franciscan Convent, MS 18/19; S. Birgitta, *Revelationes*, paper, 1445. Fol. 178r: 'Explicit iste liber per manus Johannis de Gordowa Sub anno domini millesimo Quadringentesimo Quadragesimo quinto. In scola Waradiensi Sub disciplina venerabilis magistri Ladislai de Segedino etc. Item finiui Sabbato ante dominicam qua cantatur post Resurrectionem videlicet Cantate domino canticum nouum alleluya. Laudetur deus omnipotens et pya mater eius et tota celestis curia in secula seculorum. Amen' (*BH* 2259a)[19]



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– fig. 4.

8. Johannes from Râșnov, active in Transylvania (?) – Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS III.71; Conradus de Halberstadt, *Sermones*, *Concordantiae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, paper, s. XV[2]. Fol. 29v: 'Et sic est finis concordantiorum veteris ac Noue Legis Per manus Iohannis Rozenawer Jambor'. (*BH* 1696)[20] – fig. 5.

9. Matheus de Stara, active in Oradea (?) – Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár (University Library), MS 71; Guido de Columna, *Historia Troiana*, paper, 1475. Fol. 85v: 'Explicit Hoc Opus Octauo die Ascensionis domini. Quod fecit fieri Magnificus et Egregius dominus Ladislaus de Egerwara Gurbernator Episcopatus Waradiensis. Per me Matheum de Stara. Anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo Quinto. Anno et cetera' (*BH* 393)[21] – fig. 6.

10. Nicolaus from Turda, active in Northern Hungary (Slovakia) – Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, MS III.40; *Breviarium*, paper and parchment, 1461. Fol. 334v: 'per manus Nicolai scriptoris de transiluania de oppido Thorda vbi salifodium nominatur. Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo. Lauda scriptorem donec uidebis meliorem'. (*BH* 1694)[22] – fig. 7.

11. Nicolaus from Transylvania, active in Vienna – Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 3341; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctis*–Gualterus Burlaeus, *De vita et moribus philosophorum*–Ps.-Aristoteles, *Epistolae ad Alexandrum*–Johannes Hildesheimensis, *Historia trium regum*, paper, ca. 1405-1410. Fol. 81v: 'Nicolaus de Septem Castris de Subenpurgen scriptor...' (*BH* 152)[23]

12. Nicolaus from Brașov, active in Brașov – Brașov, Honterus Archive, two manuscript fragments in the bindings of books III.C.9 and III.A.7 (now lost?); Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones*, parchment, 1427. Olim fol. 292r: 'Explicit liber sermonum de tempore Jacobi de voragine terminatus per manus Nicolai de vetere ciuitate feria sexta ante palmarum Anno domini M°cccc°xxvii etc.' (*BH* 3175)[24] – fig. 8.

13. Paulus from Iwanich, active in Oradea – Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 431; Johannes Vitéz de Zredna, *Epistulae*, parchment, 1451. Fol. 56r: 'Data et finita Waradini die XVI Mensis decembris. Anno domini Millesimo quadingentesimoquinquagesimoprimo. Paulus de Jwanich diocesis Zagrabiensis Rector Altaris s. pauli apostoli in ecclesia waradiensi.' (*BH* 62)[25] – fig. 9.

14. Petrus from Brașov, active in Vienna – Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1153; *Miscellanea* (incl. Basilius, *Exhortatio ad uirtutes*, tr. Leonardus Aretinus, copied by this scribe), paper, 1466. Fol. 35v: 'scripta wienne ad quintum (!) kalendas augustas per (*added after erasure*[26]*, rubricated*:) Magister Petrus de Corona// 1466'. (*BH* 1984)[27] – fig. 10.

15. Petrus from Crasna, active in Northern Hungary (Slovakia) – Kremnica, Farská Knižnica (Parish Library), MS Cx IX; Thomas Ebendorfer, *Sermones*, paper, 1439. Fol. 281r: 'Anno milleno (!) quadringentesimo trigesimo nono. Lectoris quoque pii sic petitis veniam. Finitus per me Petrum de Croszna'. (*BH* 1887)[28]

16. Petrus from Transylvania, active in Italy[29] – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 4260; Johannes Andreae, *Additiones speculi*, paper, s. XV. Fol. 284v: 'Qui scripsit scripta manus eius sit benedicta. Petrus de Transiluana etc.' (not in *BH*) – fig. 11.

17. Simon from Sibiu – Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akademiá Könyvtára (Hungarian Academy Library), MS K 435; *Antiphonarium*, parchment, 1512. Fol. 36r: 'Hoc opus fecit fieri Reuerendus pater frater Jacobus grilli Jubilarius. oretis pro eo. Et est finitum per me fratrem Simonem de transsiluania. Anno humanitatis dei. 1512 die Junij. von der Hermestat Rotgyn.' (*BH* 697)[30] – fig. 12.

18. Theodericus, active in Șura Mică or in Sibiu – Sibiu, Biblioteca Brukenthal, MS 665; *Missale*, parchment, 1394. Fol. 13r: 'Incipit liber specialis missarum. Qui pertinet ad fraternitatem per cybinium. Quem compilauit dominus mychael plebanus in paruo horreo. Ad honorem dei omnipotentis et beate gloriose virginis Marie. Qui nituntur eum auferre de fraternitate descendant in infernum viuentes cum dathan et abyron. Anno domini m°ccc°xciii° Conpletus est septimo kalendarum nouembrium. Qui me scribebat nomen habebat. Nomen scriptoris si tu cognoscere queris. The tibi sit primo ode medio ricusque secundo.' (not in *BH*)[31] – fig. 13.

19. Valentinus Mathias from Sibiu, active in Sibiu – Sibiu, Biblioteca Brukenthal, MS 678; Gregory IX, *Decretales*, s. XV[2]. Fol. 286r: 'Laus tibi Christe, quia liber explicit iste, finis adest operis mercedem posco laboris etc. Laus filio virginis Marie, Valentini Mathie de Cibinio'. (*BH* 2054a)[32]

I have not included in this list scribes engaged in diplomatic production, as is the case of Franciscus from Biertan, bachelor of Canon Law, who copied the Statutes of the Mediaș deanery in 1397, even though he is listed under *BH* 2253 as a book scribe. The minister Anthonius, who served in Codlea, Mediaș and Moșna between 1429-1442, was not the scribe of the text of Albert from Padua's *Postilla* (Sibiu, Bibl. Brukenthal, MS 647), as Csapodi and Csapodiné-Gárdonyi believe (*BH* 2968).[33] Rather, as more recent studies show, he only wrote and signed the work's register, and a lawsuit interspersed with German terms using the *Postilla*.[34] Thus, the annotation 'per manus Anthonii sacerdotis de Medies, in Mueschna. Scripsi ex postillis Albertis de padwa' on fol. 337r refers to the suit he drafted using Albert's *Postilla*, rather than to the entire book, as the last sentence indicates. The sermon by Johannes Zekel,



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preached in Sibiu in 1502 (Sibiu, Bibl. Brukenthal MS 657, fols. 1-11, 212-16) need not have been transcribed by the preacher himself, as the phrase 'col<l>egi feci' suggests. Moreover, the book into which it was copied was produced several decades earlier, around 1469[35].

One or two other scribes inventoried in *BH* may be ghosts, and need to be checked against the manuscripts. For instance, the 'Siculus de Siculia' listed under *BH* 23 (Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. Lat. 305, a Scholastic miscellany copied in Esztergom between 1419 and 1423) is not mentioned in the more detailed Austrian catalogues among the several scribes of the manuscript, possibly because we are dealing with a mere marginal annotation.[36]

A few remarks can be made starting from this meagre harvest. In the first place, one may note that only one of these scribes – the Franciscan friar Clemens from Hunedoara (3a, 3b) – can certainly be connected with more than one book[37]. It is thus impossible to identify any person conducting a sustained scribal activity; we are dealing here with priests, friars, monks, students, and even a physician, turning occasionally into scribes, rather than with professionals.

The types of books and texts copied are mostly relevant for the needs of convents and parishes. Thus, most of the recorded books are those necessary for the celebration of mass and office (3a, 3b, 6, 10, 17, 18), *regulae* (1), or collections of sermons (8, 12, 15). Two books transmit patristic texts (2, 14), two have theological and spiritual contents (4, 7), two are concerned with canon law (16, 19), two contain historical, geographical and philosophical texts (9, 11), one is a Latin-Hungarian vocabulary (5), and one is a collection of the epistles written in 1451 by Johannes Vitéz, the famous bishop of Oradea and pioneer of humanism in Corvinian Hungary (13).

From a palaeographical perspective, the Gothic scripts of the late Middle Ages used in Central Europe are most commonly represented. The choice of script is, of course, imposed by the type of text copied, and therefore the liturgical manuscripts display different levels of Gothic *textualis*. A formal *quadrata* is used for the missals produced in the Sibiu region in 1394 and 1430 (6, fig. 3; 18, fig. 13), for the musical manuscripts copied in the first decades of the sixteenth century (3a, 3b), and, with the common late medieval manneristic developments, such as cadels and letter shading, in the Budapest antiphonary (17, fig. 12). For other types of texts, less formal degrees of *textualis*, as well as bastard and cursive Gothic scripts are used. The scribe of the vocabulary from Bistrița employs a good Central-European *bastarda* script (5, fig. 2), while the patristic manuscript from Melk (14, fig. 10) is copied in a loopless cursive script, with slightly slanted letters, or *hybrida* in the Lieftinck nomenclature. The *cursiva libraria* of Jacobus de Voragine's sermons is rather neat (12, fig. 8), and so is the *cursiva formata* employed by Matheus from Stara (9, fig. 6). Cristiannus Medicus also uses a *cursiva* for his theological miscellany (4), whereas the highly abbreviated *cursiva currens* employed by Johannes Rozenawer is the least formal script (8, fig. 5). The hand of Petrus from Transylvania (16, fig. 11), copying a legal text in an Italian environment, appears to have been versed in documentary scripts, as his long ascenders and descenders suggest. In Vitéz's Oradea, the humanistic fashion is quite visible: Paulus from Iwanich and Briccius' eyes were clearly influenced by humanistic books, but their *gothico-antiqua* is dominated by Gothic letter forms, as the Uncial *d*, the round final *s*, the long descenders of straight *s*, or the treatment of minims indicate (2, fig. 1, and 13, fig. 9)[38].

However, this is not the place to conduct a palaeographical study aimed at isolating specific scribal features. Such an enterprise would require a much broader corpus than just a few manuscripts bearing scribal identification; it could be conducted once we have identified all manuscripts produced with any degree of certainty in our provinces. Moreover, local scribes working abroad (1, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16), or foreign scribes working in Oradea and Transylvania (5, 6, 7, 9, 13, and possibly 2) complicate the picture. If we are to isolate palaeographical features of locally produced manuscripts, much fine tuning is necessary: one needs to exclude manuscripts copied by Transylvanian students abroad under local influence (16 is eloquent). Of course, imported books must be ignored as well. We would then most likely be left with parish priests, monks and friars, whose training and practice were divided between the production of documents and books. Moreover, palaeographical analysis would also have to focus on glosses and annotations, which are relevant for pragmatic literacy and general learning, rather than for actual book production.

If one turns to the dates of manuscripts, one will note that only one book was dated before the turn of the fifteenth century, and only narrowly so (18, dated 1394), while the vocabulary from Bistrița (6) may have been produced between 1380 and 1410. The overwhelming majority of manuscripts were produced in the fifteenth century, and three belong to the first decades of the sixteenth century. Most of the scribes who identify themselves also date their manuscripts. The expressed dates of the manuscripts are 1394 (18), 1417-18 (4), 1427 (12), 1430 (6), 1439 (15), 1445 (7), 1451 (13), 1455 (2), 1461 (10), 1466 (14), 1475 (9), 1512 (17), 1522 (3b), 1524 (3a). The picture we get is consistent with the general landscape of literacy in these provinces, and with the survival rate of manuscripts. To put it tersely, local book production seems to become more or less significant after 1400.

The reduced number of surviving manuscripts is due to the comparatively low levels of literacy in the



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region, but also to large-scale book destruction[39]. This is demonstrated by the fact that more books copied by Transylvanian scribes survive in foreign collections than locally. Thus, only five of the identified native scribes were certainly active locally. The Sermons copied by Nicolaus from Brașov in 1427 stayed in that city (12), and one can assume that Johannes Rozenawer (from Râșnov, Co. Brașov) also worked locally, since his manuscript (8) stayed in Transylvania. Two other scribes, Theodericus (18) and Valentinus Mathias (19), were active in or near Sibiu[40]. One cannot tell whether Cristiannus Medicus was a native of Transylvania, or active in Sibiu, as Schuller believes[41]. In the 1520s, Clemens from Hunedoara, was working in Târgu Mureș for the Franciscans in Șumuleu Ciuc; moreover, at least one of the two books he copied (3a) was bound by a certain Matthew from Satu Mare.

Oradea, and the two main Saxon cities in southern Transylvania, Sibiu and Brașov, were the most active centres of book production in the area. The relatively numerous locally produced manuscripts still in Sibiu libraries and archives, the surviving book lists from the two Saxon cities, and the early appearance of printing houses in both centres confirms the hypothesis that the main German towns in Transylvania were also the leading centres of literacy, book ownership and book production[42]. Their exchanges with the German cultural space also meant a more intense circulation and production of books, and the earlier development of literate mentalities and habits. The exceptional presence of a scribe of Bavarian origin, Henricus from Regensburg (6) in the small village of Cincu, near Făgăraș (Co. Brașov) tells us something about the circulation of books and scribes in German-speaking Europe. In contrast with Sibiu and Brașov, which generally employ local scribes, Oradea is a considerably more cosmopolitan centre. The four manuscripts discussed here were copied by scribes born in Croatia (13), or in unidentified cities with Slavic names – Polanka (2)[43], Gordowa (7) and Stara (9). A Slavic scribe was also responsible for copying the Latin-Hungarian vocabulary from Bistrița (5).

All in, most of the attested Transylvanian scribes worked outside the provincial borders. They were active in other provinces of medieval Hungary (10, 15), but also in Austria (11, 14) and in Italy (1, 16). We cannot know where Simon from Sibiu (17) was active, but one must note that the manuscript now in Budapest was bought in London in 1882, so that its current location is not relevant for the medieval provenance of the book[44]. The fact that Simon worked for one 'Pater frater Iacobus Grilli' is not in intself evidence that he was active in Italy, because many Italians occupied ecclesiastical offices in Central Europe; on the other hand, mentioning his provincial origin ('de transsiluania') is, to my mind, an indication that he was active outside the provincial borders.

Indeed, if they worked abroad, scribes tended to indicate the name of the province. Such is the case of 'Petrus de Transiluana (!)', working in Italy (16). Another scribe, working in Austria, identifies himself using both the German name of the province and its Latin equivalent 'Nicolaus de Septem Castris de Subenpurgen' (11). Other scribes add the name of their town to the Latin name of the province: 'frater Bartholomaeus de Koloswar partis transilvanae' (1), 'per manus Nicolai scriptoris de transiluania de oppido Thorda' (10), 'per me Simonem de transsiluania... von der Hermestat' (17). Only one of these scribes mentions his nation: Bartholomew from Cluj 'erat hungarus' (1). However, the way towns are cited may betray the nationality of the scribes: 'Thorda' and 'Koloswar' are the Hungarian town names, whereas 'Hermestat' is German. However, two of the scribes working abroad only mention their town, and omit the name of the province: this is the case of 'Petrus de Corona' (14) and 'Petrus de Croszna' (15). In order to identify further possible scribes of Transylvanian origin in foreign manuscripts, it is important to note that they identify themselves more readily by reference to the province (variants of *Transilvania, Septem Castris, Siebenbürgen*), rather than by invoking the Hungarian crown. In other words, one would expect natives to identify themselves as 'de Transilvania' rather than as 'de Hungaria'. This may prove useful when trying to identify Transylvanian scribes or owners in indices, although it cannot be excluded that natives from Transylvania may identify themselves as 'de Hungaria'.

Scribes working within the provincial borders never mention their Transylvanian identity, and limit themselves to the town name: Clemens 'de Hunyad' (3), Valentinus Mathias 'de Cibinio' (19) or, the German way, 'Johannes Rozenawer' (8). Nicolaus, a scribe working in his home town, does not even mention its name, but refers to the 'vetus ciuitas' (12), one of Brașov's three medieval divisions[45]. Theodericus, working for the priest Michael of Șura Mică ('Mychael de paruo horreo'), does not feel the need to indicate his place of activity or origin either (18).

Finally, one may note in passing the formulas used by the scribes. As the impressive catalogue of the Bénédictins du Bouveret, and Lucien Reynhout's recent studies demonstrate, the geographical and chronological circulation of certain formulas can provide useful information about scribes and manuscripts[46]. In our manuscripts, scribes generally identify themselves briefly, without resorting to a complex formula. They generally write simply 'per/ per manus/ per me' (2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17) or 'scripsit/ scripta per/ scriptor' (1, 11, 14). The following formulas are present: 'Deo gracias finitus est liber iste' and 'Sit laus Deo', by Cristiannus medicus, who also writes 'Medici Cristianni per manus' in reverse order: 'Icidem Innaitsirc rep sunam' (4); 'Qui nescit scribere nullum putat esse laborem. Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat' and the anathema 'Quis te



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furetur tribus lignis associetur' (5); 'Finito libro, sit laus et gloria Christo' and 'Dentur pro pena scriptoris celica regna' (6); 'Lauda scriptorem donec uidebis meliorem' (10); 'Lectoris quoque pii sic petitis veniam' (15); 'Qui scripsit scripta manus eius sit benedicta' (16); 'Laus tibi Christe, quia liber explicit iste' and 'finis adest operis mercedem posco laboris' (19). Thodericus presents his name as a riddle 'Qui me scribebat nomen habebat. Nomen scriptoris si tu cognoscere queris. The tibi sit primo ode medio ricusque secundo'), and also adds an anathema: 'Qui nituntur eum auferre de fraternitate descendant in infernum viuentes cum dathan et abyron' (18). In the same riddling taste, he adds two pious lines in Leonine rhyme and in *bfk*-cryptography: 'Sk mblf ffckstk txnc rfspkcf xelnfrb xpk. Flfctf gfnx plprb crxckfkxxm sfmpfr bdprb', which can be transliterated as 'Si male fecisti, tunc respice uulnera christi. Flecte genu, plora, crucifixum semper adora'[47]. Theodericus' learned playfulness reveals an educated taste; some authors believe that he can be identified as a former school teacher from Brașov recorded by documents[48]. The *versiculus* 'Dum surgunt miseri nolunt miserere miseris' (1) is not an actual colophon formula.

Five of the formulas identified above were studied by Lucien Reynhout. 'Qui nescit scribere nullum putat esse laborem. Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat' (5) is the variant of a distich of Italian origin, whose lines occur most frequently in the reverse order. In the fifteenth century, the distich was attested most frequently in Italy (24.56% of occurrences) and in Germanic Europe (16.67%)[49] – areas with which the Slovenian scribe was obviously familiar.

'Dentur pro pena scriptoris celica regna' (6) appears in six manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; four of these are German, and two were copied by Paris students[50]. We must not be surprised to encounter it in the Bavarian Henricus' colophon, then. Henricus' other formula, 'Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo' (6) is most frequent in Italy in the fifteenth century (42% of the occurrences studied by Reynhout)[51]. 'Qui me scribebat nomen habebat' (18), used by Theodericus from Sibiu is, according to Reynhout 'an essentially German' formula, used especially in the fourteenth century (48.28% of localised occurrences)[52]. This, of course, is in keeping with the colophon produced by a Saxon scribe in 1394. Finally, 'Finis adest operis mercedem posco laboris', used by Valentinus Mathias from Sibiu (19) is, according to Reynhout, one of the formulas used 'à l'aube de la Renaissance', although its Leonine rhyme connects it to the culture of medieval schools[53]. Such detailed analyses of colophon formulas, carried out using a large corpus, can be very informative; yet, in this case, they only confirm what the expressed dates and scribal identifications already tell us.

To conclude, the manuscripts bearing scribal identification do provide a few hard facts that can be used for further research, in an attempt to sketch the history of the book in the medieval dioceses of Oradea and Transylvania. Firstly, the identified scribes, active between 1392-1524, belong to the late Middle Ages. Most of the locally employed scribes are active in the Saxon regions of Sibiu and Brașov. Oradea is the most cosmopolitan centre of book production: all attested scribes happen to come from the Slavic areas of Hungary and of Central Europe. Incidentally, foreign scribes are employed in Transylvania as well. Transylvanian scribes can also work abroad, in Italy, Austria and in different parts of medieval Hungary, especially in the North (Slovakia). When working abroad, local scribes generally mention their origin as *de Transilvania* (with its variants *Septem Castris/ Siebenbürgen*), with or without adding the home town as well. When they work inside the provincial borders, they simply mention their town. Most attested scribes work for parishes and convents, and copy books relevant for these milieux: breviaries, missals, graduals, antiphonaries and collections of sermons. The production of Transylvanian scribes, and the survival rate of manuscripts is higher in Sibiu and Brașov than in the rest of Transylvania; all surviving manuscripts from Oradea are now in foreign collections. Most scribes who sign their manuscripts also date them. Although some scribes use colophon formulas of different degrees of sophistication, 'per/ per manus/ per me' are generally deemed sufficient.

**Figures:**

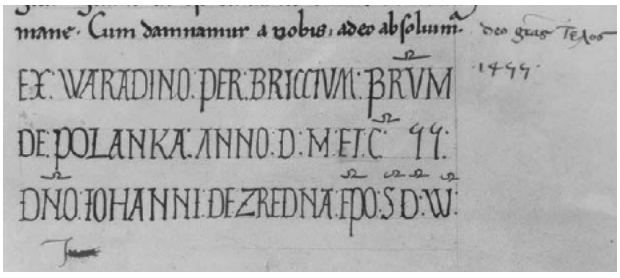


Fig. 1. Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter, MS A. VII. 39, 1455; fol. 53r: Briccius from Polanka, active in Oradea.

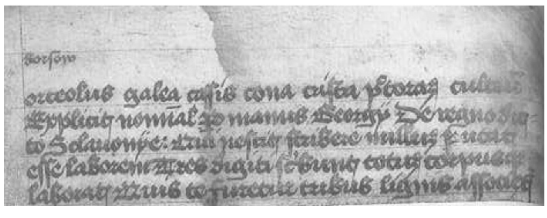

Fig. 2. Budapest, Academy Library, MS K. 31, c. 1380-1410; fol. 8v: Georgius from Slovenia, active in Bistrița.



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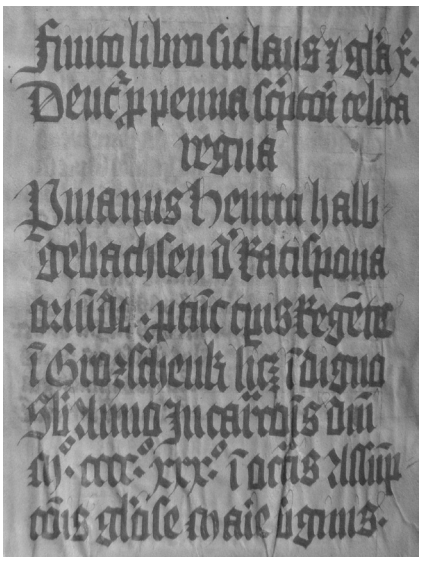

Fig. 3. Sibiu, Bibl. Brukenthal, MS 595, 1430; fol. 229v: Henricus Halbgebacsen from Regensburg, active in Cincu (Co. Brașov) or in Sibiu.

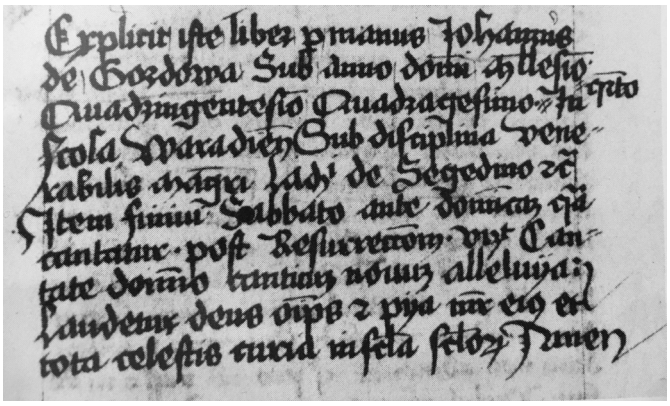

Fig. 4. Güssing, Franciscan Convent, MS 18/19, 1455; fol. 178v: Johannes from Gordowa, active in Oradea.

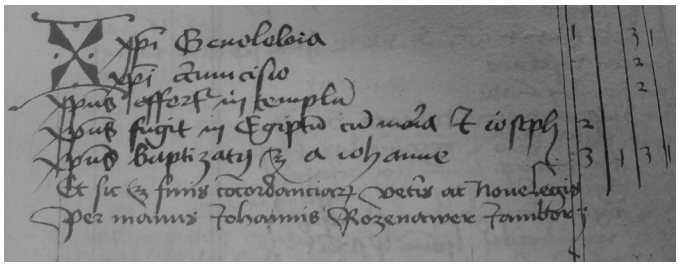

Fig. 5. Alba Iulia, Bib. Batthyaneum, MS III.71, s. XV2; fol. 29v: Johannes Jambor from Râșnov.

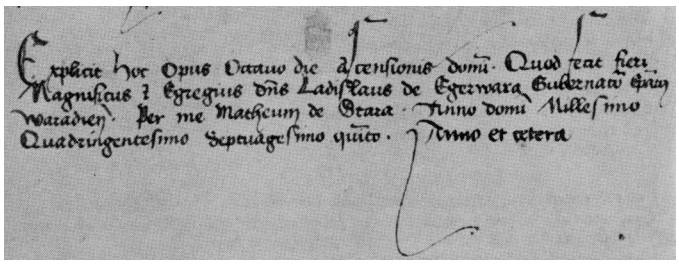

Fig. 6. Budapest, University Library, MS 71, 1475; fol. 85v: Matheus from Stara, active in Oradea (?).

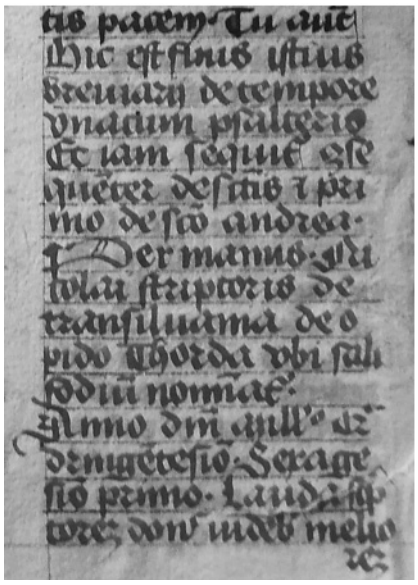

Fig. 7. Alba Iulia, Bibl. Batthyaneum, MS III.40, 1461; fol. 334v: Nicolaus from Turda, active in Northern Hungary (Slovakia).

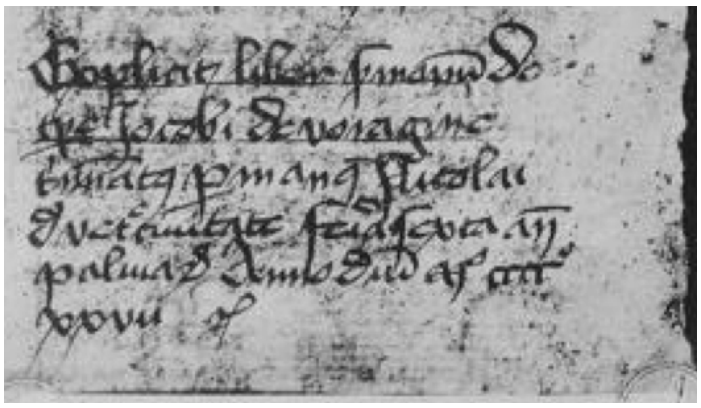

Fig. 8. Brașov, Honterus Archive, MS fragments in books III.C.9 and III.A.7, 1427: Nicolaus from Brașov, active in Brașov.



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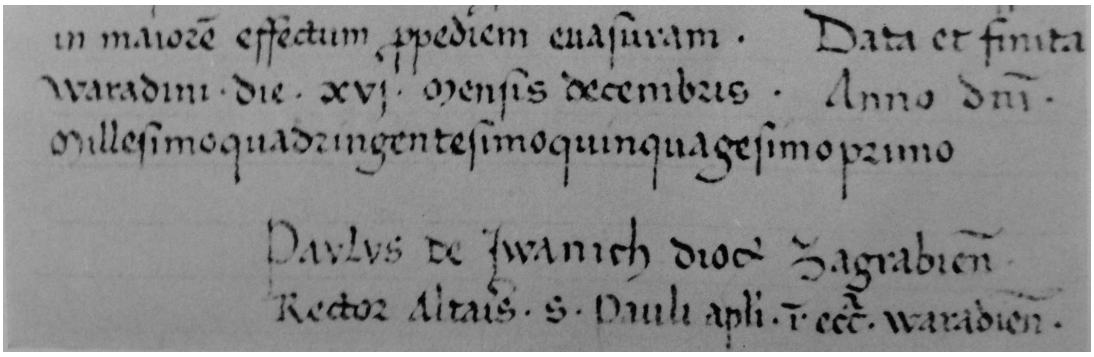

Fig. 9. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 431, 1451; fol. 56r: Paulus from Iwanich, active in Oradea.

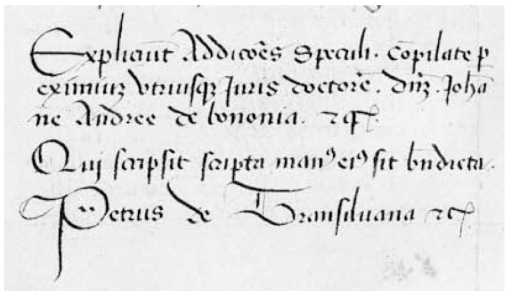

Fig. 11. Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 4260, s. XV; fol. 284v: Petrus from Transylvania, active in Italy.

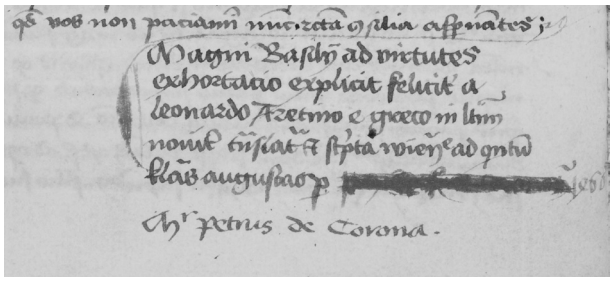

Fig. 10. Melk, Stiftsbibl., MS 1153, 1466; fol. 35v: Petrus from Brașov, active in Vienna.

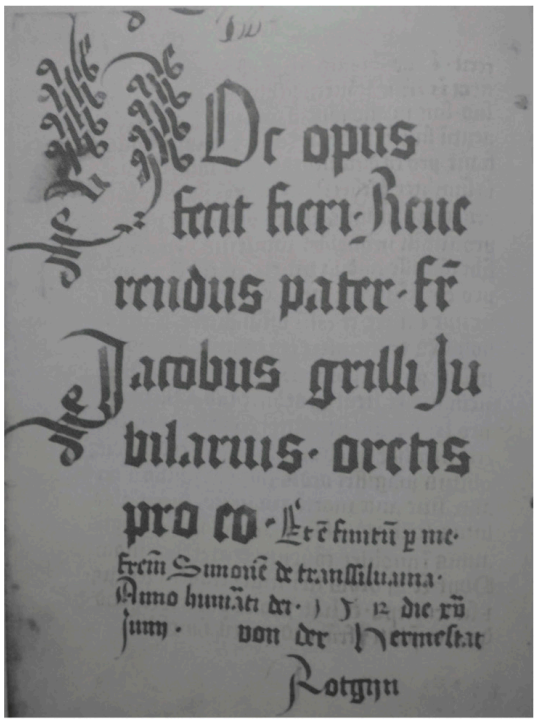

Fig. 12. Budapest, Academy Library, MS K 435, 1512; fol. 36r: Simon from Sibiu.

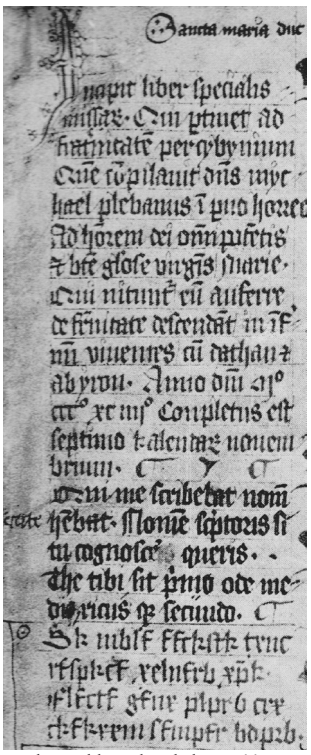

Fig. 13. Sibiu, Bibl. Brukenthal, MS 665, 1394; fol. 13r: Theodericus, active in Șura Mică or in Sibiu.



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Appendix.

| Nr. | Name of scribe | Origin | Active in | Date | Formula | Text | Present collection and provenance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bartholomaeus | Koloswar, partis transilvanae (Cluj, Transylvania) | Ariminum (Rimini, Italy) | (XV) | scripsit Dum surgunt miseri nolunt miserere miseris. | monastic | Venice, Italy (from Rimini) |
| 2 | Briccius | Polanka (in Hungary, Poland, Serbia, Moldavia?) | Waradinum (Oradea) | 1455 | per | patristic | Salzburg, Austria (from Oradea) |
| 3a | Clemens | Hunyad (Hunedoara, Transylvania) | (Transylvania) | 1524 | per | liturgical | Miercurea Ciuc, Romania (Şumuleu Ciuc Fransciscans) |
| 3b | Clemens | Hwniad (Hunedoara, Transylvania) | Wasarhel (Târgu Mureş, Transylvania) | 1522 | per manus | liturgical | Miercurea Ciuc, Romania (Şumuleu Ciuc Franciscans) |



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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Cristiannus Medicus | ? | (Sibiu?) | 1417-1418 | Deo gracias finitus est liber iste. Sit laus Deo. per manus (‘rep sunam’) | theological | Sibiu (local?) |
| 5 | Georgius | regnus Sclauonye (Slovenia) | (Bistrița?, Transylvania) | (c. 1380-1410) | per manus Qui nescit scribere nullum putat esse laborem. Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat. Quis te furetur tribus lignis associetur. | vocabulary | Budapest, Hungary (from Bistrița) |
| 6 | Henricus Halbgebacsen | Ratispona (Regensburg, Bavaria) | Grozschenk (Cincu, Transylvania) (or Sibiu?) | 1430 | per manus Finito libro, sit laus et gloria Christo. Dentur pro pena scriptoris celica regna. | liturgical | Sibiu, Romania (local) |
| 7 | Johannes | Gordowa (Croatia?) | in scola waradiensi (Oradea) | 1445 | per manus | spirituality | Güssing, Austria (from Oradea) |
| 8 | Johannes Rozenawer Jambor | Rozenaw (Râșnov, Transylvania) | (Transylvania?) | (XV$^{2}$) | per manus | sermons | Alba Iulia, Romania (from Levoča) |
| 9 | Matheus | Stara (?) | (Oradea?) | 1475 | per me | historical | Budapest, Hungary (from Oradea) |
| 10 | Nicolaus | Transilvania, Thorda (Turda, Transylvania) | (Northern Hungary/ Slovakia) | 1461 | per manus Lauda scriptorem donec uidebis meliorem. | liturgical | Alba Iulia, Romania (from Levoča) |
| 11 | Nicolaus | Septem Castra/ Subenpurgen (Transylvania) | (Vienna, Austria?) | (1405-1410) | scriptor | historical/ geographical/ philosophical | Vienna, Austria (local) |
| 12 | Nicolaus | Vetus ciuitas (Brașov, Transylvania) | (Brașov, Transylvania) | 1427 | per manus | sermons | Brașov, Romania (local) |
| 13 | Paulus | Iwanich (Ivanic Grad, Croatia) | in ecclesia waradiensi Oradea | 1451 | – | epistles | Vienna, Austria (from Oradea) |



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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | Petrus | Corona (Brașov, Transylvania) | Wienna (Vienna, Austria) | 1466 | scripta per | patristic | Melk, Austria (from Vienna) |
| 15 | Petrus | Croszna (Crasna?, Transylvania) | (Northern Hungary/ Slovakia?) | 1439 | finitus per me Lectoris quoque pii sic petitis veniam. | sermons | Kremnica, Slovakia (local?) |
| 16 | Petrus | Transiluana (!), (Transylvania) | (Italy) | (XV) | Qui scripsit scripta manus eius sit benedicta. | canon law | Paris, France (from Naples) |
| 17 | Simon | Transsiluania, Hermestat (Sibiu, Transylvania) | (Hungary?) | 1512 | finitum per me | liturgical | Budapest, Hungary (bought in London) |
| 18 | Theodericus | (Transylvania) | Parvum Horreum (Șura Mică, Transylvania) (or Sibiu?) | 1394 | Qui me scribebat nomen habebat. Nomen scriptoris si tu cognoscere queris. The tibi sit primo ode medio ricusque secundo. | liturgical | Sibiu, Romania (local) |
| 19 | Valentinus Mathias | Cibinium (Sibiu, Transylvania) | (Sibiu, Transylvania) | (XV$^2$) | Laus tibi Christe, quia liber explicit iste. Finis adest operis mercedem posco laboris. | canon law | Sibiu, Romania (local) |

Notes:

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1. A. Papahagi, A. C. Dincă, with A. Mârza, *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România: Census*, Iași, 2016 (forthcoming).
2. A. Papahagi, 'Lost Libraries and Surviving Manuscripts: The Case of Medieval Transylvania', *Library & Information History* 31 (2015), 35-57. See also C. Dima-Drăgan, 'Bibliothèques roumaines anciennes (XII$^e$-XVIII$^e$ siècles)', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 53 (1978), 347-57; G. Buluță, *Scurtă istorie a bibliotecilor din România*, Bucharest, 2000, 8-39; A. C. Dincă, 'The Lost Libraries of Transylvania: Some Examples from the 15$^{th}$ and 16$^{th}$ Centuries', paper presented at the 75$^{th}$ World Library and Information Congress, Milan, 23-27 August 2009, http://conference.ifla.org/past-wlic/2009/78-dinca-en.pdf.
3. For an example of a recent quantitative approach, see E. Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West. Explorations with a Global Database*, Leiden-Boston, 2011.
4. The most recent reference work on the places relevant for medieval book culture on the territory of Hungary and Romania is C. Dietl, A.-L. Liebermann (eds), *Lexikon der regionalen Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters: Ungarn und Rumänien*, Berlin, 2015.
5. C. Rother, *Siebenbürgen und der Buchdruck im 16. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2002, 28-30; I.-A. Pop, Th. Nägler (eds), *Istoria Transilvaniei. Vol. I (până la 1541)*, Cluj, 2003, 329-30.
6. Rother, 11.
7. A. Dankanits, *Lesestoffe des 16. Jahrhunderts in Siebenbürgen*, Bucharest, 1982, 31.
8. For a recent example, see A. C. Dincă, 'Medieval Literacy



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in Transylvania: Selective Evidence from Parish Churches', *Transylvanian Review* 24 (2015), 109-21.

9. C. Csapodi, K. Csapodiné-Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*, 3 vols., Budapest, 1988-1994. The work has 3419 entries, but some of these contain multiple items. Some appear to be lost books, or even ghosts.

10. To quote only one example, the catalogues of the Jagellonian University Library in Cracow used by *BH,* compiled by W. Wyslocki in 1877-1881, have been superseded by the publication of the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi latinorum qui in bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, Cracow, 10 vols., 1980-2012.

11. G. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum: Codices MSS. Latini*, Venice, vol. II, 1869, 347, nr. 165; G. E. Ferrari (with F. M. Colasanti, S. Rossi Minutelli), 'Esordio ad un contributo marciano sui manoscritti veneti d'interesse ungherese', in *Rapporti veneto-ungheresi all'epoca del Rinascimento*, ed. T. Klaniczay, Budapest, 1975, 411, nr. 7. Ferrari and *BH* are either incomplete or mistaken as compared to Valentinelli, which seems to offer the best transcript. I have not yet been able to inspect the manuscript *in situ*.

12. V. Fraknói, 'Vitéz János könyvtára', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 3 (1878), 89-91; V. Fraknói, 'Váradon írt Vitéz-kódex', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 5 (1880), 244-47; K. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz*, Budapest, 1984, 140-41, nr. 108, fig. 78; F. Földesi (ed.), *A Star in the Raven's Shadow. János Vitéz and the Beginnings of Humanism in Hungary*, Budapest, 2008, nr. 21, fig. 53.

13. P. Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*, ed. L. Mezey, Budapest, 1973, 176; J. Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, Budapest, 1981, C 21; E. Muckenhaupt, *A csíksomlyói ferences könyvtár kincsei*, Budapest/Cluj, 2000, nr. I.3, p. 96, fig. 64-65. *BH* ignores the present location of the manuscript. The book was bound in 1525 by friar 'Matheus de Zathmar' (fol. 181v). The medieval manuscripts now at the Museum of Miercurea Ciuc belonged to the Franciscan convent of Șumuleu Ciuc.

14. Radó, 123; Szendrei, C41; Muckenhaupt, 97, nr. I.4. *BH* ignores the present location of the manuscript.

15. 'Medici cristianni per manus' in reverse order.

16. G. A. Schuller, 'Die älteren Handschriftenbände des Baron-Brukenthalischen-Museums', *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron-Brukenthalischen-Museum* 4 (1934), 20-21, nr. 12. Manuscripts from Sibiu described by A. C. Dincă in Papahagi-Dincă, *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România: Census*. The date 1418 ('Anno Mill$^{mo}$ cccc$^{mo}$ 18$^{mo}$') appears on fol. 232r.

17. H. Finály, 'A Beszterczei Szószedet. Latin-magyar nyelvemlék z XV. századból' (1892), *Értekezések a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Nyelv- és Széptudományi osztálya köréből* XVI.1, Budapest, 1897, with full facsimile; C. Csapodi, *A 'Magyar Codexek' Elnevezésű Gyűjtemény (K 31 - K 114)* (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Kézirattárának Katalógusai/ Catalogi Collectionis Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 5), Budapest, 1973, 7-8. The manuscript was in Bistrița until 1895.

18. G. A. Schuller, 'Die älteren Handschriftenbände des Baron-Brukenthalischen-Museums', *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron-Brukenthalischen-Museum* 5 (1935), 47-49, nr. 29.

19. L. Fejérpataki, 'A német-újvári sz. ferenczrendi zárda könyvtára', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 8 (1883), 110-11; M. Mairold, *Die datierten Handschriften in der Steiermark außerhalb der Universitätsbibliothek Graz bis zum Jahre 1600* (*Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich* 7), Vienna, 1988, 101, nr. 158 and fig. 199. The date '1444' quoted by Fejérpataki and *BH* is mistaken.

20. R. Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Batthyányanae,* 4$^{th}$ edn., Szeged, 1958, nr. 379; J. Sopko, *Codices latini medii aevi qui olim in bibliothecis Slovaciae asservabantur et nunc in Hungaria et Romania asservantur-Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Mad'arsku a v Rumunsku*, Matica Slovenská, 1982, nr. 409. In the eighteenth century, the book belonged to Johannes Reych from Levoča, in Slovakia. Dietl, 242, suggests that the scribe may be identical with the painter of a fresco in the church of Sibiu.

21. L. Mezey, *Codices latini medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis*, Budapest, 1973, nr. 71 and fig. 35. Mezey believes that MS 25, bearing the annotation '1474 Varadiensis' (fol. 47r) was copied by the same scribe (nr. 25 and fig. 34). The hands of the two manuscripts are indeed very similar; if they are both Matheus' production, this proves that the scribe was active in Oradea in 1474-1475, rather than somewhere else in Hungary.

22. Szentiványi, nr. 352; Sopko, vol. II, nr. 407; Dietl, 258. The manuscript was made for use in Hungary. An inscription on fol. 1r ('Iste liber est testamentalis (1)486 ecclesie Omnium sanctorum in Budamer') shows that the manuscript was in Budimir, Slovakia in the decades following its production. Budimir is not far from the town of Levoča, whose library was bought by Ignatius Batthyány – this is how the manuscript ended up in Transylvania. Nothing supports C. Dima-Drăgan's statement that 'le fermier des salines transylvaines, Nicolas de Turda, possédait une riche bibliothèque' ('Bibliothèques roumaines anciennes (XII$^{e}$-XVIII$^{e}$ siècles)', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 53 (1978), 352).

23. A. Fingernagel, K. Hranitzky, V. Pirker-Aurenhammer, M. Roland, F. Simader, *Mitteleuropäische Schulen II (ca. 1350-1410): Österreich, Deutschland, Schweiz* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften* 305 = *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters* I, 11), Vienna, 2002, nr. 156, plate XLII.

24. F. W. Seraphin, 'Eine Kronstädter Handschrift des Jacobus de Voragine', *Programm des evangelischen Gymnasiums A. B. zu Kronstadt* 1901, 3-14 and MS facsimile (fig. 7); Dietl, 223 (entry by B. J. Nemes). *BH* ignores the current location and shelfmark of the manuscript fragment.



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25. F. Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1451 bis 1500 (Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich 3)*, Vienna, 1974, 21 and fig. 14.
26. The erasure seems to have contained the same name in the Accusative.
27. *BH* did not consult the manuscript, and thus ignored its date (1466). I would like to thank Mag. Bernadette Kalteis from the Stiftsbibliothek Melk, who was kind enough to send me a picture of the manuscript.
28. J. Sopko, *Codices Latini medii aevi bibliothecarum Slovaciae-Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*, Matica Slovenská, 1981, nr. 170.
29. The manuscript came to France from Naples, through the victories of Charles VIII (1470-98), or purchased by the Cardinal d'Amboise (1460-1510). See L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, vol. I, 1868, 238-240; T. de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona. Supplemento*, Verona, 1969, vol. I, 121 and vol. II, plate 101; G. Toscano, *Les Rois bibliophiles. Enlumineurs à la cour d'Aragon à Naples (1442-1495): les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, diss. Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1992, vol. II, 508.
30. C. Csapodi, *Catalogus collectionis codicum latinorum et graecorum K 393-K 500 (Catalogi collectionis manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16), Budapest, 1985, 125-26; Szendrei, C 131.
31. K. Reinerth, *Missale Cibiniense: Gestalt, Ursprung und Entwicklung des Meßritus der siebebürgisch-sächsischen Kirche im Mittelalter*, Cologne-Vienna, 1972, 10 (and illustration of fol. 12r on frontispiece); Dietl, 193-194 (entry by L. Gross, R. Windisch). Both references date the manuscript mistakenly to 1390; Reinerth does not quote a shelfmark, and Dietl considers the manuscript lost. The current shelfmark was identified by A. C. Dincă.
32. *BH* ignores the present location of the manuscript. It attributes two other books to this scribe: 'Summa Pisana' (*BH* 3362) and 'Tractatus canonistici' (*BH* 3377). While the latter cannot be identified, the former seems to point at Sibiu, Brukenthal Library, MS 649, containing Bartholomew of Pisa's *Summa de casibus conscientiae* and other canon law texts. However, this manuscript bears no identification of the scribe in the colophon on fol. 169v.
33. *BH* ignores the manuscript's shelfmark, and also lists it under 2045a, with conflicting indications about scribe, date and number of folios.
34. Dietl, 233 (entry by L. Gross, R. Windisch, C. Dietl).
35. *Cf.* A. C. Dincă's entry in Papahagi-Dincă, *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România: Census*.
36. A. Hübl, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii B.M.V. ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1899, nr. 225; F. Unterkircher, H. Horninger, F. Lackner, *Die datierten Handschriften in Wien außerhalb der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek bis zum Jahre 1600 (Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich 5)*, Vienna, 1981, nr. 286.
37. Mezey argues that Matheus from Stara copied two books at the University Library, Budapest, but the scribe identified himself only in one manuscript, so that this must remain a conjecture. *Cf. supra*, note 21.
38. Földesi is thus wrong to label the script 'Humanistic book script with Gothic features' (146); Csapodi-Gárdonyi's 'gothico-antiqua' is more adequate (*Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz*, 140).
39. Papahagi, 'Lost Libraries and Surviving Manuscripts...', 47-49.
40. A. Dincă, 'Formen und Funktionen der Schriftlichkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Hermannstadt. Zum Schriftgebrauch in einer vormodernen Rechtsgemeinschaft', *Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im Östlichen Europa* 19 (2011), 294.
41. Schuller, 20-21, nr. 12.
42. Papahagi, 'Lost Libraries and Surviving Manuscripts...', 39-41.
43. Csapodi-Gárdonyi believes Briccius from Polanka to be Hungarian, and affirms that places called Polanka exist 'in various counties of Hungary' (*Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz*, 141). Yet, this Turkish name meaning 'city' is also attested in Poland, near Cracow, in several parts of Serbia, and even in Moldavia (Co. Bacău); thus, Briccius could come from any of these areas. The *Briccius custos,* attested one decade later in Oradea (Földesi, 146), may be the same person or not.
44. Csapodi, *Catalogus,* 125.
45. The three boroughs of medieval Brașov were Bartholomä, Martinsberg (*Vetus Civitas*-Altstadt), and Corona (Innenstadt), cf. Dietl, 218.
46. Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI^e siècle,* Fribourg, 6 vols., 1965-1982; L. Reynhout, *Formules latines de colophons* (Bibliologia 25), Turnhout, 2006. See also *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa. Atti del seminario di Erice — X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23-28 ottobre 1993)*, ed. E. Condello, G. de Gregorio, Spoleto, 1995.
47. *Cf.* B. Bischoff, 'Übersicht über die nichtdiplomatischen Geheimschriften des Mittelalters', *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. III, Stuttgart, 1981, pp. 120-48. We are dealing here with Bischoff's type 11.a, p. 124 ('Ersetzung der Vokale durch den folgenden Konsonanten [...]. Wurde dem karolingischen (hrabanischen?) Traktat «De inventione linguarum» zufolge von Bonifatius gelehrt [...]. Anwendung äußerst häufig, besonders in Glossen, auch althochdeutschen...').
48. Dietl, 194.
49. Reynhout, vol. I, 97.
50. *ibid.*, 116.
51. *ibid.*, 166.
52. *ibid.*, 151.
53. *ibid.*, 144.



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