

Sermon Collections of Johannes Eck in Transylvanian Libraries

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Abstract: Several libraries from Transylvania hold in their historical collections works written by an important figure of the early modern Catholicism, Johannes Eck (1486-1543). The present paper looks at the volumes of this author, printed in the first half of the sixteenth century, paying special attention to sermon collections, prevalent among the books found in Transylvania. Their number is rather small, but the analysis of ownerships marks allows formulating some observations. Thus, the bibliographic component of the study, which identifies the preserved volumes, some of which have not been cataloged so far, is accompanied by a historical approach that questions the context of their reception. With a few exceptions, in which the clues about ownership and the use of books are either missing or very late, Eck's works seem to have been circulated both during the dissemination of the ideas of the Reformation and after the adoption of the new denominations.

Keywords: sermon collections, Reformation, Johannes Eck, Mediascher Predigtbuch, franciscan mission

Rezumat: *Colecții de predici ale lui Johannes Eck în bibliotecile din Transilvania.* Câteva biblioteci din Transilvania păstrează în cuprinsul colecțiilor lor istorice lucrări ale unui important reprezentant al catolicismului epocii moderne timpurii, Johannes Eck (1486-1543). Lucrarea de față are în vedere volumele acestui autor, tipărite în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea, acordând o atenție specială colecțiilor de predici, predominante în rândul cărților regăsite în Transilvania. Numărul acestora este destul de redus, dar analiza însemnărilor de proprietate permite formularea câtorva observații. Astfel, componenta bibliografică a studiului, prin care sunt identificate volumele păstrate, între care unele nu au fost catalogate până în prezent, este însoțită de o abordare istorică, ce chestionează contextul receptării lor. Cu câteva excepții, în care indiciile referitoare la proprietari și la utilizarea cărților fie lipsesc, fie sunt foarte târzii, lucrările lui Eck par a fi circulat atât în perioada răspândirii ideilor Reformei, cât și ulterior adoptării noilor confesiuni.

Cuvinte-cheie: colecții de predici, Reformă, Johannes Eck, *Mediascher Predigtbuch*, misiune franciscană

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Historical libraries of Transylvania hide in their collections books which, throughout their survival, are able to tell a story not written within their pages about the cultural past of this region. Among them are some volumes written by one of the major figures of early modern Catholicism, Johannes Maier von Eck (1486-1543), volumes which are to be questioned in the present paper, from both a bibliographic and an historical perspective. The first component is not only useful but also necessary since the Transylvanian collections of 16th century prints are not entirely catalogued¹ and some of the books analysed here fit in this category. Based on this inventory, further research questions arise and will be addressed here, especially in connection to a more specific category, namely the sermon collections, as will be explained further on. When and in what context did these works arrive in Transylvania? Who were their owners and what can be said about their use? And last but not least, can we talk about a Transylvanian reception of Eck's theology or combative ideas simultaneous with the advance of the Reformation?

This last question implies a chronological delimitation; subsequently, the volumes to be examined are printed in the first half of the 16th century, a period which corresponds to the insinuation of Reformation ideas, to reactions and disputes in this concern which ended up with the acceptance of the new confession. The year 1550 is conventionally fixed as terminus point, succeeding Eck's death (1543) and the first celebration of a Lutheran service in Transylvania (1542), but previous to the secularization of the assets of the Transylvanian Catholic bishopric (1556) which placed Catholicism on different positions in this region².

¹ There is no complete account of the books printed in 16th century currently preserved in Romania or in Transylvania. However, some libraries have published catalogues of their collections which partially fill the gap: Mihály Spielmann-Sebestyén - Lajos Balázs - Hedvig Ambrus - Ovidia Mesaroş, *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum Bibliothecae Teleki-Bolyai Novum Forum Sicularum*, 2 vols, (Târgu-Mureş : Lyra, 2001); Meda-Diana Hotea - Maria Kovács - Emilia-Mariana Soporan, *Catalogul cărţii rare din colecţiile Bibliotecii Centrale Universitare „Lucian Blaga” (sec. XVI-XVIII)* [The Catalogue of the Rare Books from the collections of „Lucian Blaga” Central University Library (16th - 18th centuries)], (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007); Olga Şerbănescu, *Catalogul Cărţii Străine din secolul al XVI-lea* [The Catalogue of 16th-century Foreign Books], (2 vols, letters A and B, Alba-Iulia: Altip, 2007). Only the first one proved to be helpful for the present survey, while the books coming from other libraries were identified through field research; further investigations might, therefore, complete the data provided here.

² István Keul, *Early modern religious communities in East-Central Europe : ethnic diversity, denominational plurality, and corporative politics in the principality of Transylvania (1526 - 1691)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 47 - 115.

As one of the most fervent opponents of Martin Luther in the very first days of Reformation's emergence, Johannes Eck was subject of many scientific works. Some biographies are dedicated to him, as well as other studies concerning more particular aspects of his activity, both from historical and theological perspective. The Leipzig Debate, Eck's contributions as controversialist, his main published works, including sermons, and his position as parish priest were approached especially by the German historiography and in commemoration contexts³. However, the general historiography concerning the complicated religious developments of the first half of 16th century and the Catholic response in this context have rarely brought his name into attention, usually only mentioning his opposition towards Luther or restating the most important moments of his activity. The present article intends to approach his contributions in terms of preaching and, as I have already mentioned, the focus will be on his sermon collections, as they represent the majority among his works preserved in Transylvania. For the Catholic world, sermons have always played an essential role and during the 15th century a special interest seems to have been orientated in this direction⁴. In the context of Reformation, this channel of communication and

³ Works concerning Eck's life and theology: Erwin Iserloh, *Johannes Eck (1486-1543). Scholastiker, Humanist, Kontroverstheologe*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1985); Max Ziegelbauer, *Johannes Eck. Mann der Kirche in Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, (Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1987); Christoph Dittrich, *Die vortridentinische Katholische Kontroverstheologie und die Täufer*, (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991), pp. 107-207; Jürgen Bärsch, Konstantin Maier (ed.), *Johannes Eck (1486 - 1543) : Scholastiker - Humanist - Kontroverstheologe*, (Regensburg: Pustet, 2014); The most recent contribution regarding the Leipzig Debate, focusing on Eck's figure is Johann Peter Wurm, 'Johannes Eck und die Disputation von Leipzig 1519. Vorgeschichte und unmittelbare Folgen', in Markus Hein - Armin Kohnle (eds), *Die Leipziger Disputation 1519. 1. Leipziger Arbeitsgespräch zur Reformation*, (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011), pp. 97 - 106. Eck as parish priest and preacher was subject of Marco Benini, *Johannes Eck - Kontroverstheologe und Pfarrer. Sein Pfarrbuch als Quelle für Liturgie und Frömmigkeit in der Reformationszeit*, (Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 2016); Idem, *Die Feier des Osterfestkreises im Ingolstädter Pfarrbuch des Johannes Ecks*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 2016); Idem, 'Johannes Eck als achtsamer Liturge. Sein Ingolstädter Pfarrbuch als liturgiehistorische Quelle unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der szenischen Liturgie des Osterfestkreises', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 57 (2015): 72-95. The 500 years commemoration of Eck's birth, in 1986, lead to the publication of some of the mentioned books and of a volume collecting the papers of a symposium dedicated to this celebration: Erwin Iserloh (ed), *Johannes Eck (1486 - 1543) im Streit der Jahrhunderte : Internationales Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum aus Anlaß des 500. Geburtstages des Johannes Eck vom 13. bis 16. November 1986 in Ingoldstadt und Eichstätt*, (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1988).

⁴ This is proven by their proportion among the books produced with the new technology of printing, by the many aids for preaching or handbooks for priests or by the popularity of some preachers and the establishment of special preaching offices in urban settlements, a characteristic of the German space. See Larissa Taylor, 'French Sermons, 1215-1535', in Beverly Mayne Kienzle (ed), *The Sermon*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 743-744; Peter Alan Dykema, *Conflicting expectations: Parish priests in late medieval Germany*, (PhD Dissertation, University of Arizona,

genre of religious literature received new and reinforced impulses, becoming one of the chief means in the propagation of ideas and probably the most effective instrument of persuasion⁵. Scholars have often analysed if Catholics were able to face the new challenge and benefit from the use of preaching in the same manner. It is not my purpose to answer such a question, but it offers the general frame for the more specific issue regarding Transylvania, as the sermon collections analysed here could tell something about an interest not only for Eck's ideas, but also for preaching aids able to fit the new context.

Well known for his long and active career as Professor at the University of Ingolstadt, Johannes Eck was also a parish priest in the same town. He occupied this position starting from May 1519 at the St. Moritz Church and from 1525 at the parish of Our Lady (*Unsere Liebe Frau*), where he activated until 1532 and then again from 1538 to 1540. The time spent in the second church is well documented, as Eck took care of it by himself. His involvement in the ministry and in the administration of the church is known due to his own detailed records in the parish register (*Pfarrbuch*)⁶. In addition to the data about masses celebrated on different altars in ordinary or special occasions, about the administration of the sacraments or his relationship with the staff of the church⁷, one is also informed about preaching, which seems to have been assumed as a main task. According to this valuable source, from 1525 to 1532 Eck's voice was heard from the pulpit not less than 456 times. Moreover, the structure of discourse and elements of content are also accessible thanks to sermon outlines or sketches recorded in Latin⁸.

Due to his intense involvement in the cure of souls, he was prepared to fulfil the wish of Wilhelm IV and Ludwig X, dukes of Bavaria, who commissioned the theology professors of the University of Ingolstadt to compose and print sermon collections for the whole liturgical year, as well as for explaining the sacraments, which were to be written in German⁹. As a

1998), especially Appendix A 'Manuals for parish priests: Printing and Reception History', pp. 303-313, accessed on-line <http://arizona.openrepository.com/arizona/handle/10150/282607>, 6. 04. 2017. Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 12-17.

⁵ Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture*, pp. 10-39; Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feelings. Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 72-78.

⁶ A recent edition of this source, with a German translation, is offered by Marco Benini, *Die Feier des Osterfestkreises*, pp. 453 - 613.

⁷ Benini, 'Johannes Eck als achtsamer Liturge', pp. 76-78; Max Ziegelbauer, *Johannes Eck. Mann der Kirche*, pp. 145-149.

⁸ Iserloh, *Johannes Eck*, p. 73; Benini, *Johannes Eck – Kontroverstheologe und Pfarrer*, pp.14-15.

⁹ This was a measure intended to instruct the local clergy and to equip the parishes and monasteries of the country with instruments which could provide both arguments for fighting

result, Johannes Eck published a massive work in five volumes (1530-1539), with a strong anti-Lutheran message. In what concerns the content, the first and the second part covered the pericopes for Sundays and Feasts of the year, the third one was dedicated to Saints, the fourth explained the Sacraments and the last one, the Ten Commandments, offering an important amount of models (more than one for each pericope) both of exegetical texts and of thematic sermons, able to suffice the needs of a priest for several years¹⁰. The first four volumes became soon available for a wider public as they were translated in Latin by Johannes Metzinger, a former student of Eck and preacher in Mainz from 1536. The translation was published in two versions: as the *Quinta Pars Operum Iohannis Ecki contra Lutherum et Alios Declamatoria* (1533-1535) and in a smaller format as a *Homiliarum* (1534-1536), being repeatedly reedited thereafter. However, these two works were similarly structured in four volumes, also including in the third volume sermons of Johannes Eck which were earlier printed and circulated separately. It is the case, for example, of a small collection of five sermons against the Turks, first published in 1532¹¹. Previously, a sermon for the third Sunday of Advent was printed in Latin¹² and another one delivered in the Sunday before St. Martin appeared in German¹³. Furthermore, among the other more than 50 works written by Eck – most of them pamphlets – some could serve as preaching aids. Many of them had theological content, approaching problematic doctrinal aspects and, therefore, offering solutions for issues of the moment. Probably the most complex and significant among these was *Enchiridion locorum communium aduersus Lutheranos* (1525), a compendium that aimed to help those who lacked the time to read voluminous books, who could not afford them or who were not sufficiently educated to be able to access complex theological works, by providing materials and arguments for all the topical problems¹⁴.

against 'heresies' and a uniform and orthodox discourse. The intentions are clarified in a detailed instruction from 1530; this initiative will be criticized by the episcopal authority, but the content of the sermons will not be contested. Wilbirgis Klaiber, *Ecclesia militans : Studien zu den Festtagspredigten des Johannes Eck*, (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1982), Chap. 2 'Die Postille Ecks: Ihre Entstehung im Interesse der Kirchenpolitik seiner Landesherren'.

¹⁰ John Frymire, *The primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 5-6, 56-58.

¹¹ *Sperandam esse in brevi victoriam aduersus Turcam, Iohan. Eckij Homiliae V. ex Byblia desumptae*, (Augsburg: Alexander I. Weißenhorn, 1532), [27] f., VD16 E 427.

¹² *Sermo extemporarius Eckii de. III. dominica adventus*, [Rome, 1520?], [8]f., VD16 E 426.

¹³ *Ein predig zu Minchen gethan in vnser Frawen kirchen am sonntag vor Martini durch D. Ecken. 1522*, (Ingolstadt: Andreas Lutz, 1522), 7f., VD16 E 410.

¹⁴ Dittrich, *Die vortridentinische katholische Kontroverstheologie*, p. 123; Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils*, p. 52.

In the Transylvanian libraries 12 works signed by Johannes Eck still exist. Given the fact that pamphlets were more predisposed to destruction and rarely survived the whims of history, these books are mostly copies of the larger works, Latin editions in the great majority, printed between 1519 and 1549. Most of them are kept in the Teleki-Bolyai Library in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely, Neumarkt), namely four volumes of sermons (See 1-4 in the Appendix), a copy of the work *De Sacrificio Misse libri tres* (5) which was bonded together with a polemical work directed against Zwingli¹⁵(6), and two short texts also bounded together within another composite volume¹⁶(7-8). Among the sermon collections there are a copy of the first volume and one of the second volume of the *Homiliarium*, both containing preaching materials *de tempore*, and two copies of the fourth volume, which instructs regarding the sacraments. In turn, the Library of the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) hosts two volumes of the *Homiliarium* (the first and the fourth, 9-10). A copy of the first volume of *Quinta pars Operum* (11) currently exists within the holdings of the Municipal Library of Sighisoara (Segesvár, Schäßburg). Last but not least, the special collections of "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) preserve a copy of the *Enchiridion*, printed in 1536 (12). As it can be easily observed, the homiletic texts are predominant and, as mentioned in the beginning, will represent the subject of a more detailed analysis. However, these numbers do not tell much about Eck's Transylvanian reception, especially since the historical holdings of the libraries from this region are the result of a mixture of fragments of the medieval or pre-modern local legacy and imports that entered through late bibliophile acquisitions. More details are provided by ownership marks and manuscript notes of any kind. It should be noted that one of the volumes of sermons held in Sibiu (9), as well as the other works that do not belong to the homiletic genre, do not show sufficient evidence of their use.

A first aspect of the Transylvanian use of Eck's works is revealed by the book preserved in Sighisoara, the first volume of *Quintae Partis Operum Iohannis Eckii*, from the first edition (1533). According to the ownership marks, it reached Transylvania in the very same year, belonging to a certain *Zacharia de Czyuereß* (Fig.1). The same *Zacharia* wrote several other notes which depict him as a parish priest in Velț (Wölz, Velc) – *plebanus Welczensis electus in parochum Anno 1533* – and later in Senereuș (Zendersch, Szénaverős) –

¹⁵ This volume also contains other works, among which some are signed by Martin Luther and Johannes Cochlaeus. See Spielmann-Sebestyén – Balázs – Ambrus – Mesaroş, *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, C 196, C 197, C 198, D 28, E 6, E 11, H 86, S 13.

¹⁶ The two short texts are to be found together with works signed by Erasmus de Rotterdam, Martin Luther, Andreas Karlsberg, Johannes Celarius and others. See *Ibidem*, A 50, A 51, A 125, A 126, B 78, C 108, E 24, E 25, E 26, E 27, E 90, E106, H 16, J 25, K 34, L 47, P 77, R 1, S 5, S 36.

*Zacharias in parochum electus in Czynaawereß Anno 1548 dominica ante omnium sanctorum*¹⁷. The volume was present, therefore, in the hands of a priest, active in the area inhabited by the Saxons, who were at that moment already in contact with the Lutheran teachings¹⁸. Such a situation suggests an interest in the debates and struggles of the time, and a possible attempt to fight the dangerous ideas spread among parishioners with the newest tools. The same concerns can be traced in another homiletic work, a locally produced Catholic collection of sermons and sermon sketches accompanied by texts of the pericopes, the so-called *Mediascher Predigtbuch*¹⁹. What makes it relevant for the purposes of this paper is the fact that Eck's homilies were identified among the sources of this book²⁰. This leads us to the question: Is it possible that the book preserved in Sighișoara is the one used by the author of *Mediascher Predigtbuch*²¹? Even if the chronology would allow a positive answer, as the Transylvanian work was written around 1536-1537, other clues of a connection between the two are completely absent. However, the local sermon collection stands as further evidence for the presence of Eck's works in this region and demonstrates that their use as aids for further preaching is not a simple supposition.

Turning to the preserved books, the collection of sermons on sacraments preserved in Sibiu, a copy printed in 1549, belonged to a certain *Antonius de Werbowcz*, but also holds the monograph of Albert Huet with the year 1565 (Fig. 2). The Saxon *comes* and royal judge of an already protestant Sibiu, Albert Huet (1537-1607), also owned a personal collection of books²², from which other works written by Catholic authors and even sermons are

¹⁷ The volume is intensively annotated, the notes ranging from mentions of historical events to testamentary dispositions and text-related *marginalia*. They are written by several hands, in both Latin and Hungarian, also attesting a later use of the book. Furthermore, two records indicate that the volume belonged in the 17th century to Gergius Herling, who donated it to the library of the gymnasium from Sighișoara in 1685 (*Librum hunc [LIXnum in ord.] Bibliothecae Scholae Schaesburgensis contulit Vir Honoratus Dominus Georgius Hirling Schaesburgensis Reipublicae eiusdem Centum Vir etc., Anno 1685 die 21 Aprilis*).

¹⁸ Keul, *Early modern religious communities*, p. 51 - 57.

¹⁹ Adolf Schullerus, 'Das Mediascher Predigtbuch', *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 41 (1923): 5-160; Balázs J. Nemes, 'Das „Mediascher Predigtbuch“. Miszelle zu einem Plenar mit Perikopen in deutsch-lateinischer Mischsprache aus Siebenbürgen am Vorabend der Reformation', *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 38 (2015): 31-36.

²⁰ Schullerus, 'Das Mediascher Predigtbuch', pp. 97-108.

²¹ I am grateful to Dr. Ulrich A. Wien for the suggestion of this question and for opening a discussion on this topic during the Conference *Kirche und Bevölkerung auf dem Dorf in Siebenbürgen - Rahmen- und Rezeptionsbedingungen sowie Einflüsse von Gesellschaft, Ethnie, Kirche und Politik im Reformationsjahrhundert*, Sibiu, 12-14 June 2017.

²² Gustav Gündisch, 'Die Bibliothek des Sachsen grafen Albert Huet: 1537 - 1607', *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 4, 68 (1974): 32-51.

known. However, in this case, Eck's work did not reach the purpose for which it was created, as Albert Huet was neither a church representative nor a Catholic, but an educated figure with intellectual concerns.

A different situation is encountered for the sermon collections from Târgu Mureș; the records written on their pages indicate their Transylvanian presence towards the end of 17th century among the books owned by the Franciscan convent in Călugăreni (Mikháza)²³. For two of them, together with the note *Conventus Mikhaziensis/Mikhaz* the year is also mentioned: 1686 (1, Fig. 3), 1700 respectively (4, Fig. 4). Founded during the fourth decade, this convent, along with the one from Șumuleu-Ciuc (Schomlenberg, Csíkсомlyó)²⁴, will be one of the pillars of Transylvanian Catholicism in the 17th century. Eck's works were used, therefore, in the milieu of the Franciscan mission within the Reformed Principality of Transylvania, a mission which only had the context and the resources to preserve and support, rather than reform the Catholicism²⁵. Thus, these homiletic volumes were part of the instruments at the disposal of the friars from Călugăreni, Eck's controversialist position being able to provide the necessary arguments for the defense in front of the many confessions present in Transylvania.

²³ Other notes are present on the two copies of the fourth volume, mentioning several names and years, but it is difficult to assemble them in a coherent story. Still, they are proof that these books were earlier used, passing from hand to hand during the long period between their printing and their use in the mentioned convent. The copy printed in 1538 (3) has the following property marks: *Petrus Gabor 1565, Ambrosius Varadi 1574, S. P. G. 1610 and Emericus Delnei 1631*, while the copy printed in 1549 (4) seems to have belonged to *Nicolaus Thelegdy, Michael Kapomaki and Georgius Szalatnay et amicorum*.

²⁴ While the convent from Șumuleu-Ciuc is the only one with an uninterrupted existence since the medieval times and the convent from Călugăreni is active along the 17th century hosting an important number of missionaries, a Franciscan presence is also attested for Albești, Teiuș and Lăzarea-Ciuc, but for shorter intervals. Lucian Periș, *Prezențe catolice în Transilvania, Moldova și Țara Românească: 1601-1698* [Catholic Presences in Transylvania, Moldavia and Valahia: 1601-1698], (Blaj: Buna Vestire, 2005), pp. 252 – 262. See also: Diana Maria Daian, 'Videat dominus et requirat. Mesajul franciscan în Transilvania secolului al XVII-lea' [*Videat Dominus et Requirat... The Franciscan Missionary Discourse in 17th century Transylvania*], *Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studențești*, 20, (2014): 143-157.

²⁵ Recently, Diana Maria Daian in her PhD Dissertation has outstandingly discussed the nature of the Transylvanian Catholicism and the impact of the mission in this region during the 17th century, showing that the sources reveal attempts to maintain and reinforce the medieval Catholicism, rather than to 'reform, discipline and regularize'. Diana Maria Daian, *Activitate misionară defensivă a ordinelor catolice în Transilvania secolului al XVII-lea în contextul Reconquistei catolice post-tridentine. Perspective asupra ordinului franciscan în Principatul calvin* [Defensive Missionary Activity of the Catholic Orders in 17th century Transylvania in the Context of the post-Tridentine Catholic Reconquista. Perspectives regarding the Franciscan Order in the Calvinist Principality], (PhD Dissertation, Cluj-Napoca, 2016), pp. 122 – 153, 182 – 250, 273 – 290, 398 – 402.

It is now the moment to return to the main question of this paper in order to formulate the conclusions. What can be finally said about the reception of the sermon collections of Johannes Eck in Transylvania? Firstly, all the books currently preserved are Latin translation of Eck's works. Their number shows a rather reduced circulation, but still permits some further observations. The annotations present in all these volumes reveal a double-faceted circulation of the books. On the one hand, there is evidence of the use of Eck's homiletic texts in the time span that corresponds to the spread of Lutheran ideas especially among the Saxon inhabitants. Even if only one volume attesting this fact still exists, according to the results obtained in the current stage of research, the so-called *Mediascher Predigtbuch* suggests that this was not the only work of Johannes Eck present in Transylvania prior to the Reformation. Since Eck was identified among the sources of this local collection of sermon sketches, it suggests that an interest for his books did exist and his message might have had an impact. The scarce evidence does not allow generalizations regarding the simultaneous reception of Reform and the Catholic responses towards it. Equally, it is difficult to appreciate if and to what extent the familiarization with these works could have played a role in the controversies around the new religious developments. However, this represents a piece added to the puzzle of pre-Reformation use of homiletic literature in Transylvania²⁶. On the other hand, all the other copies of Eck's sermon collections have been used several decades or even more than a century after their printing. In this context, they are not able to contribute to the understanding of Reformation's emergence in Transylvania. Nevertheless, their relevance is related to the Catholic response articulated afterwards, as some of them belonged in the 17th century to one of the convents with a great importance for the Franciscan mission. As my intention was to investigate the books printed before 1550, but editions of Eck's work continued to be published, the data concerning this late reception might not be complete. Further research of the historical holdings of libraries from Transylvania, examining later prints as well as the presence of works written by other Catholic authors of 16th century could lead to a more comprehensive image.

²⁶ This is the subject of an on-going research, but some observations have already been formulated, especially for the 15th century – See Adinel Dincă, 'Reading Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl in Medieval Transylvania: Surviving Texts and Historical Contexts', in Monica Brânzei (eds), *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 453 – 471.

APPENDIX

Works of Johannes Eck preserved in Transylvanian libraries

Teleki-Bolyai Library, Târgu Mureș

1. *Homiliarum Doctissimi Viri D. Iohannis Eckij, gnauissime fidem catholicam atque adeo ueritatem Euangelicam contra haereticos afferentis, super Euangelia de tempore a Pascha usque ad Aduentum, Tomus II*, Köln, Eucharius Cervicornus, 1534 - 8°; Shelf mark: 0703/2; *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, E9; VD16 E 292.
2. *Homiliarum Sive Sermonum doctissimi uiri Iohannis Eckij aduersum quoscunque nostri temporis haereticos, super Euangelia de tempore ab Aduentu usque ad Pascha, Tomus Primus*, Köln, Eucharius Cervicornus, 1537 - 8°; Shelf mark: 0703/1; *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, E8; VD16 E 295.
3. *Homiliarum Doctissimi Viri D. Iohannis Eckij, unicae hoc seculo Christianismi aduersum quoscunque haereticorum insultus columnae, Tomus III, peculiariter agens de septem catholicae ecclesiae Sacramentis*, Köln, Gottfried Hittorp, 1538 - 8°; Shelf mark: 0703/3; *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, E10; VD16 E 295.
4. *Homiliarum Doctissimi Viri D. Iohannis Eckij, unicae hoc seculo Christianismi aduersus quoscunque haereticorum insultus columnae, Tomus III. peculiariter agens de septem Catholicae Ecclesiae Sacramentis*, Köln, Jaspar von Gennep, 1549 - 8°; Shelf mark: 0703/4; *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, E12; VD16 E 296.
5. *As Invictissimus Poloniae Regem Sigismundum, de sacrificio Missae Contra Lutheranos, libri tres. Iohanne Eckio authore*, Köln, Johann Soter, 1526 - 4°; Shelf mark: T q-132 a/3 coll. 1 (Inv. 5015); *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, E6; VD16 E 255.
6. *Iohannis Ecken Missiue vnd embieten Den Frommen Vesten / Ersamen Wysen etc. gmeyner Eydgnossen botten zû Baden im Augsten versamlet überschickt. Vber solchs embieten Huldreichen Zwinglis so vyl er darinn angerürt Christenlich vnnnd zimlich verantwurt*, Basel, Andreas Cratander, 1524 - 4°; Shelf mark: T q-132 a/3 coll. 2 (Inv. 5015); *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, E 11; VD16 E 386.
7. *Contenta in hoc Libello Erasmi Roterodami Epistola, ad illustriss, Principem ac Ducem Saxoniae etc. Fridericu. Positiones Ioannis Eckij, scholasticae. Positiones Martini Lutherij theologicae. Conclusiones Andreae Carolostadij, theologicae*, Leipzig, Melchior Lotter, 1519 - 4°; Shelf mark: T q-132 a/1 coll. 3 (Inv. 6517); *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, E 90; VD16 E 2832.

8. *Ad Wolphangum Fabricium Capitonem theologiae doctorem et contionatorem Basiliensis. Ioan. Cellarii Gnostopolitani Lipsiae, hebraicae linguae professoris de vera et constanti serie theologicae disputationis Lipsicae epistola. Expurgatio Ioan. Eckij Theologi Ingolstadiensis aduersus criminationes F. Martini Lutter Vuittenbergensis ordinis heremitarum*, Augsburg, Sigmund Grimm, Marx Wirsung, 1519 - 4°; Shelf mark: T q-132 a/1 coll. 5 (Inv. 6517); *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum*, C 108; VD16 K 696.

Library of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu

9. *Homiliarum Sive Sermonum doctissimi uiri Ioh. Eckij aduersum quoscunq[ue] nostri temporis haereticos, super Euangelia de tempore ab Aduentu usque ad Pascha, Tomus I*, [Köln, Eucharius Cervicornus, 1534] - 8°; Shelf mark: V. I. 1038; VD16 E 292.

10. *Homiliarum doctissimi Viri Ioannis Eckii aduersus Lutherum et caeteros haereticos, de septem Ecclesiae Sacramentis, Tomus Quartus*, Paris, Jacques Du Puys, 1549 - 8°; Shelf mark: V. I. 562.

Municipal Library of Sighișoara

11. *Quinta Pars Operum Iohannis Eckii, contra Lutherum et alio declamatoria. Continet Homilias de Tempore, Sanctis ac Sacramentis. Tomus Primus de Tempore, ab Aduentu usque ad Pascha*, Augsburg, Alexander I. Weißenhorn, 1533 - 2°; Shelf mark: F90; VD16 E 391.

'Lucian Blaga' Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca

12. *Enchiridion Locorum communium aduersus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiae. Ioan. Eckio authore*, Augsburg, Alexander I. Weißenhorn, 1536 - 8°; Shelf mark: 02140; VD16 E 348.

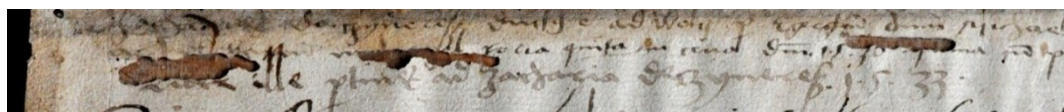


Fig.1. Sighișoara, 'Zacharia Boiu' Municipal Library, F. 90 – detail of an ownership mark: *Liber ille pertinet ad Zacharia de Czyuereß* 1533

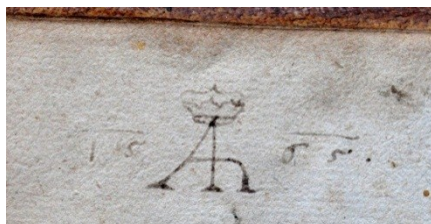


Fig. 2. Sibiu, Library of the Brukenthal Museum, V. I. 562 – Albert Huet's monogram

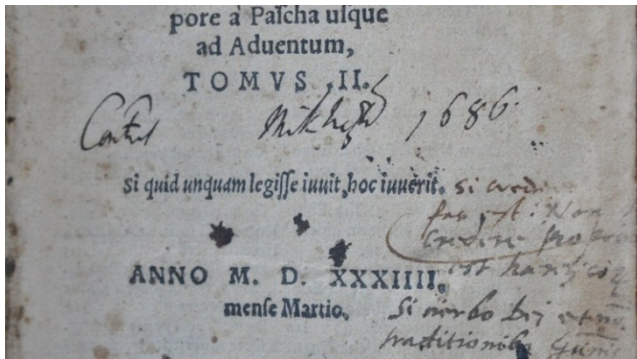


Fig. 3. Teleki-Bolyai Library, Târgu Mureş, 0703/2, f.1r – detail of an ownership mark:
Conuentus Mikhaziensis 1686



Fig. 4. Târgu Mureş, Teleki-Bolyai Library, 0703/4.