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An Unknown Seal of the Convent of Cluj-Mănăștur

Andrei-Alexandru Ștefan*
Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
Email: alexstefan_ro@yahoo.com

Abstract: The present paper wishes to examine the possibility regarding the existence of an unknown seal of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, one of the two major places of authentication in Late Medieval Transylvania. Starting from original documents dating back to the first decades of the 14th century, preserved by the national archives systems of Hungary and Romania, after detailed analyses one could observe the presence of several sealing traces of an ogival form, in contrast to the two round seals known by the subject's historiography and used successively up to the mid-16th century. Therefore, the purpose of the present work is to bring several clarifications regarding these seal fragments, which in the end reveal themselves as one of the fundamental characteristic from the beginnings of this place of authentication.

Keywords: sealing practice, ogival seal, *loca credibilia*, diplomatics; abbot,

Rezumat: Un sigiliu necunoscut al conventului de la Cluj-Mănăștur. Lucrarea de față îşi propune să examineze posibilitatea existenței unui sigiliu rămas până în prezent necunoscut al conventului benedictin de la Cluj-Mănăştur, unul dintre cele două locuri de adeverire majore ale Transilvaniei Evului Mediu Târziu. Pornind de la documente originale datând din primele decenii ale secolului al XIV-lea, păstrate în sistemele arhivelor naționale din Ungaria și România, în urma unor analize detaliate, s-au putut observa conservarea unor fragmente sigilare de formă ogivală, spre deosebire de cele două sigilii rotunde cunoscute istoriografiei subiectului ca fiind utilizate succesiv până la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea. Prin urmare, scopul prezentului demers este de a aduce o serie de lămuriri cu referire la aceste resturi sigilare, care se dezvăluie drept una dintre caracteristicile fundamentale ale începuturilor acestui loc de adeverire.

Cuvinte-cheie: practică sigilară, sigiliu ogival, *loca credibilia*, diplomatică, abate,

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Specific institution of the Hungarian pre-modern legal system by means of literacy and writing experience in the sphere of private law and participation in various procedures of public law[1], the place of authentication from Cluj-Mănăștur[2] was the most important institution of such kind in Late Medieval Transylvania, a position highly challenged, especially in its early stages, by the competition and rivalry of the episcopal chapter in Alba Iulia[3]. The rich historiography of this Benedictine abbey dealt with aspects related to its institutional history and specific activities, or its social and cultural influence in the region, some of them referring just in part to details regarding the seals used in the diplomatic issuing practice. According to the custom of these offices, to integrate in their seals the representation of the holy patron of the church institution they were subordinated to[4], the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur used, during its long medieval existence, two consecutive round seals – with minimal differences – charged with the image of the Holy Virgin. The change of the first round seal occurred in the early 1380s due to the drafting of several false charters by *Stephanus*, the lay notary of the convent, who was eventually burned at the stake for his crimes[5]. The earliest evidences

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[1] The historiography of the places of authentication is extremely vast, among the most recent and comprehensive contributions are: Martyn Rady, *Customary Law in Hungary: Courts, Texts and the Tripartitum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 37-43; László Solymosi, 'Die glaubwürdigen Orte (*loca credibilia*) Ungarns im 14-15. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, 55 (2009): 175-190; Zsolt Hunyadi, 'Administering the Law: Hungary's *Loca Credibilia*', in Martyn Rady (ed.), *Custom and Law in Central Europe* (Cambridge: Center for European Legal Studies, University of Cambridge, 2003), pp. 25-35. The most extensive work on the subject remains: Franz Eckhart, 'Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 9 (supp.) (1914): 3[396]-166[558].

[2] Emőke Gálfi, 'Transylvanian Places of Authentication and Ecclesiastical Intellectuals in the Middle Ages', *Transylvanian Review*, 21/supp. 2 (2012): 139-153; *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei 1289–1556* [The Protocols of the Cluj-Mănăștur Convent] (henceforth: *KmJkv*), ed. Zsigmond Jakó (2 vols, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990); Gábor Sipos, 'A kolozsmonostori konvent hiteleshelyi működése' [The Activity of Cluj-Mănăștur Convent as a place of authentication], in Elek Csetri et al (eds), *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies in the History of Culture] (București: Kriterion, 1979), pp. 33-50.

[3] *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1222-1599* [The protocols of the Transylvanian Chapter, 1222-1559], eds Zsolt Bogdándi, Emőke Gálfi (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006); Károly Vekov, *Locul de adeverire din Alba-Iulia (secolele XIII-XVI)* [The Place of Authentication from Alba Iulia (13th – 15th Centuries)], (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003).

[4] Imre Takács, *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei* [The Medieval Seals of the Hungarian Chapters and Convents] (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet, 1992), pp. 20-22.

[5] Susana Andea, 'Considerații referitoare la practica falsificărilor de acte în Transilvania (sec. XIII-XVII)' [Considerations regarding the practice of falsifying documents in Transylvania (13th – 17th Centuries)], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca*, 54 (2015): 339-348,

of this first essential instrument were found on a charter issued on November 11th 1336[6].

However, the beginnings of specific activities at Cluj-Mănăștur were placed by historians – Francisc Pall[7], Sipos Gábor[8] or Jakó Zsigmond[9] – at the turn of the 14th century, relatively late compared to other places of authentication that functioned in Benedictine establishments[10]. The earliest surviving original charter was issued in September 8th 1308[11] and it referred to the cession of a mill place on Someș river, done by the abbey in exchange for 1.5 marks of silver received from two Cluj burghers, *Otthon Gilnicer* and *Theodericus Sliger*. As a result, the first known documents of the place of authentication from Cluj-Mănăștur preceded with about three decades the oldest information regarding the use of a round shaped seal.

Therefore, the purpose of the present inquiry is to explore the features of the sealing practice from Cluj-Mănăștur in the period prior to the use of the first round seal, a time interval from which survived four original charters (issued on: September 8th 1308; October 8th 1310[12]; August 13th 1311[13]; November 13th 1315[14]), four confirmations in *inspeximus* form (issued on:

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especially 341; Zsigmond Jakó, 'A kolozsmonostori apátság hamis oklevelei' [False Charters of the Cluj-Mănăștur Abbey], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 55 (1984): 111-139, especially 136-137.

[6] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives] (archives.hungaricana.hu/ hu/charters) (henceforth MNL), DF 281031; *Documente privind Istoria României. Seria C, Transilvania. Veac XIV* [Documents Regarding the History of Romania. C Series, Transylvania. 14th Century] (henceforth *DIR. C-XIV*), eds Ion Ionașcu et al. (București: Editura Academiei RPR, 1954), vol. 3, nr. 307 p. 398; *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* (henceforth *Ub*), eds Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner (Sibiu: W. Krafft, 1892), vol. 1, nr. 529, p. 481; *Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Erdélyi Okmánytár* (henceforth *CDTrans*), ed. Zsigmond Jakó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004), vol. 2, nr. 915, p. 332.

[7] Francisc Pall, 'Contribuții la problema locurilor de adeverire din Transilvania medievală (sec. XIII-XV)' [Contributions Regarding the Problem of the Places of Authentication from Medieval Transylvania (13th – 15th Centuries)], *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 2 (1957): 398-399.

[8] Sipos, 'A kolozsmonostori konvent', pp. 37-38.

[9] *KmJkv*, vol. 1, pp. 23-25.

[10] Kornél Szovák, '*…sub testimonio literali eiusdem conventus…* Benedictine Places of Authentication (*Loca Credibilia*) in Medieval Hungary', in Imre Takács (ed.) *Paradisum plantavit. Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyaroszágon* [*Paradisum plantavit*. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary], (Pannonhalma, Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátságban, 2001), pp. 601-613, especially p. 604.

[11] MNL, DL 29067; *DIR. C-XIV*, eds Ion Ionașcu et al. (București: Editura Academiei RPR, 1953) vol. 1, nr. 96, p. 68; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 84, p. 60.

[12] MNL, DL 73633; *DIR. C-XIV*, vol. 1, nr. 126, p.177 and pp. 392-393; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 171, p. 89.

[13] MNL, DL 40336; *DIR. C-XIV*, vol. 1, nr. 154, pp. 195-195, *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 189, p. 94.

[14] Arhivele Naționale ale României – Sistemul Informatic Integrat al Arhivelor Naționale [National Archives of Romania – Integrated Information System of the National Archives]

November 9th 1315[15]; May 6th 1321[16]; July 6th 1329[17]; October 28th 1334[18]) within documents belonging to several different issuers and even a false document drafted in the 16th century[19]. The research method targeted not only the physical sealing traces on surviving original charters, but also took in consideration several aspects of chancery formulary, especially the title, the corroboration clauses or the critical survey referring to the *inspeximi*, which served as sources for better understanding and contextualization of the early diplomatic issuing practice. Starting from these eight authentic documents and from the considered criteria, the detection of the early sealing profile of the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur revealed itself to be extremely complicated. In order to avoid the sterility of various interpolations necessary to deconstruct the entire phenomenon, during this examination they will be reduced to essential, while the synoptic table at the end will condense all the information obtained as a result of applying the proposed research strategy.

The most interesting sealing traces come from the original documents issued in 1310 and 1315, both of them preserving on their back residues of brown wax from an ogival seal, quite different from the one considered to be the oldest seal of the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur (1336). Thus, the central issue of the present inquiry is the question to whom belonged these seals, since in their early stages several places of authentication used to authenticate their documents with two seals in the same time, one belonging to the abbot and one to the convent[20]. It seems that this phenomenon was not entirely unknown at Cluj-Mănăștur, all the more since the privileged document issued in 1308 preserves the cords of two pendant seals. On the other hand, the corroboration clause does not clarify this situation at all, claiming its authentication with only one seal and without any further comment. The same charter is mentioned in a 1427 inventory with the assets of the abbey, stating this time the authentication with two seals, but without any details regarding their contents[21]. Therefore, the presence of the two pendant seals is a contemporary one, dating back to the

(www.arhivamedievala.ro) (henceforth ANR – SIIAN), CJ-F-00457-1-4; MNL, DF 252695; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 257, pp. 116-117.

15 MNL, DL 28717; *DIR. C-XIV*, vol. 1, nr. 234, pp. 242-243 and pp. 411-412, *CDTrans.*, vol. 2, nr. 255, pp. 115-116.

16 MNL, DF 277255; *DIR. C-XIV*, eds Ion Ionascșu et al. (București: Editura Academiei RPR, 1953), vol. 2, nr. 30, pp. 8-9; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 396, p. 159.

17 MNL, DL 41296; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 655, pp. 244-255.

18 MNL, DL 73800; *DIR. C-XIV*, vol. 3, nr. 218, pp. 339-340; *Ub*, vol. 1, nr. 510, pp. 463-464; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 830, pp. 302.

19 MNL, DL 31074; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, nr. 812, p. 296.

20 Szovák, '*…sub testimonio literali*', p. 604; MNL, DL 181.

21 *Item littera Haydenrici abbatis … factis sub duobus sigillis pendentibus in filis sericeis unius coloris scilicet brunatici …*; according to *KmJkv*, vol. 1, nr. 24, p. 192.

period when the document was drafted, and not a later addition, most probably one of them belonging to the abbot and the other to the convent. Moreover, the privileged document issued in 1311 preserves only the parchment tag of a single pendant seal, a detail also indicated by the corroboration clause, but without any wax residues that could suggest its exact form.

Coming back to the original documents issued in 1310 and 1315, the sealing traces on the back are not identical only in shape, but their sizes are more than similar, their measurement on a digital support generating a difference of maximum 2 mm. With approximately 45 mm in height and 30 mm in width, it is very likely that the two imprints were produced with the same seal matrix, whose owner – the abbot or the convent – remained essentially unknown, both assumptions needing further examinations.

A first suggestion in assigning this seal to the abbot in office would actually be the presence of his name in the titles of the first five known documents, preceding each time the mentioning of the convent. It was also appreciated the importance of the abbatial office in the early phases of the place of authentication from Cluj-Mănăștur[22]. In other words, the first five documents were firstly issued in name of the abbot and only second in the one of the convent, thus arguing the (co)presence of his seal as it might had happened in the case of the 1308 charter. Although there were two holders of this office in the period up to 1315, *Haydenricus* (1308?-1315?) and *Nicolaus* (1315-1327?)[23], the two original document even naming each one of them, it was possible that both of the abbots used the same seal matrix if they were not nominally included in the seal legend. For example, the charter issued on June 2nd 1342[24] by the provincial chapter of the Benedictine order preserves eight of the nine pendent seals belonging to the abbots who participated at the reunion. At least two of their seals do not contain in the legend the names of their owners - *Sigillum abbatis de Zvbvrio* (seal no. 4; Zobor, today part of Nitra, Slovakia) and *Sigillum abbatis de Clvs*[25] (seal no. 5; Veľký Klíž, Slovakia). Considering the two seals as a feasible practice of the era, it was not excluded

[22] *KmJkv*, vol. 1, pp. 23-29.
[23] Ibid., pp. 94-95.
[24] MNL, DL 3492; *DIR. C-XIV*, eds Ion Ionașcu et al. (București: Editura Academiei RPR, 1955), vol. 4, nr. 90, pp. 94-95; *CDTrans*, ed. † Zsigmond Jakó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008), vol. 3, nr. 97, p. 67.
[25] This seal was incorrectly related to the abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur by the authors of the Transylvanian history treaty edited by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, claiming that it had actually belonged to an abbot named *Johannes*; according to Lászlo Makkai et al., *Erdély Története. Első kötet. A kezdetektől 1606-ig* [History of Transylvania. First Volume. From the Beginning until 1606], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), vol. 1, plates 81.5 and 82.1. The error is to some extent justified since an abbot with the same name had been indeed in charge here between 1338 and 1345. See *KmJkv*, vol. 1, p. 95.

that the abbatial office seal of Cluj-Mănăștur could had a similar structure and function, while the nominal absence of its owner could allow its use by several holders of this office. It was therefore possible that the two seal impressions on the two surviving original documents could had been produced by a single seal matrix, which belonged subsequently to both *Haydenricus* and *Nicolaus*.

Regarding the assigning of the seal to the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur, the existing evidences in this direction denote a slightly lower presumptive level. One of the documents known in its *inspeximus* form intercalated chronologically the two original documents from 1310 and 1315, even preceding the later with only a few days. Its critical diplomatic survey from the main document noted that the authentication was done with the old seal of the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur, but without providing any further information. Therefore, it was unlikely that the seal attached to the charter issued on November 9th 1315 would had been different than the one whose wax residues are still kept on the document issued only four days later. In other words, the old (or the oldest) seal of the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur seems to have an ogival shape.

Several innovations in the activity of this place of authentication are suggested by a document issued in 1321, also kept in an *inspeximus* form. Although the critical survey done by the main document noticed its authentication with the seal of the convent, the title did not contain anymore the name of the abbot in office, but the one of the prior, *Johannes*. In fact, the situation of nominating this office in the title was singular among the documents issued by the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur, most probably marking a phase in series of more extensive changes regarding the activity of this place of authentication. The same *Johannes* is considered to be the first known member of the convent, other than the abbot in office[26]. Unfortunately, in the absence of any other sources, it is quite difficult to follow the entire range of these changes. It is a certain fact that, starting with this decade, the frequency of diplomatic issuing at Cluj-Mănăștur had increased and the title of documents had been standardized even before 1336, subsequently maintaining itself and making reference only to the convent in different forms and formulas. Therefore, the full scale debut of specific activities within this place of authentication, placed by Sipos Gábor in the 1330s[27], had its first impulses a decade earlier. It is not excluded that the first round seal of the convent could had been introduced in this period, while the development of a more complex activity would argue in fact the necessity of replacing the ogival shaped seal.

Both theories are in fact assumptions based on the merging together of several variables and ideal scenarios. As a result, any additional information,

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[26] *KmJkv*, vol. 1, p. 96.
[27] Sipos, 'A kolozsmonostori konvent', p. 38.

trustworthy and based on valid historical sources could tip the scale in favour of any party. However, until the discovery of new details in this matter, it should be admitted that less speculative is the second theory. An important argument of this scenario is the intercalation of the two original documents containing the residues of an ogival seal by the *inspeximus* issued on November 9th 1315, about which the main document stated it had been authenticated with the old seal. Regarding this situation, it should be stressed out that the main document was issued by the king of Hungary in 1418, thus more than a century later than the document it transcribed. The royal chancery had been for sure aware of the sealing practice within this place of authentication, but is difficult to estimate how far it went back in time and how accurate it was. The absence of any further sealing details from the critical survey referring to the *inspeximus* suggests its acknowledgment without any problem, being most likely identical to the ogival seal attached to the two original documents. In other words, assuming that the document issued on November 9th 1315 was authenticated with the first round seal of the convent – its critical survey by the main document, correctly observing the presence of the old seal, since the royal chancery knew without any doubt in 1418 about the succession of the two round seals in the early 1380s – it arises the question why the two documents issued on October 8th 1310 and November 13th 1315 were authenticated with the seal of the abbot and not with the seal of the convent, since the existence of the latter was already attested in 1308? Obviously, it is difficult to justify the answer to such a question, the simplest solution and, in fact, the same pointed out by the existing evidence better suggests that the ogival seal belonged to the convent and not to the abbot in office.

To conclude, the absence of richer historical sources makes it difficult to fully establish the assigning of this seal to the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur, but does not close the possibility of making several assumptions. An ogival seal was for surely used in 1310 and 1315. With the same seal matrix had been probably authenticated documents in 1308, this time together with the seal of *Haydenricus*, in 1311 and again in 1315. On the other hand, the development of the activity of this place of authentication, starting with the third decade of the 14th century and the existence of the first round seal already in 1336, had determined for sure its annulment. In other words, the ogival seal of the Convent of Cluj-Mănăștur was used for approximately 30 years, a period of time overlapping the early phase of the diplomatic issuing practice, thus revealing itself as one of its main but previously unknown feature.

Nr. crt.	Document	Surviving form	Document type	Title clause	Corroboration clause	Sealing traces / Critical survey
1.	1308, September 8th	original	*litterae privilegiales*	*Nos Haydenricus miseracione divina abbas totusque conventus monasteri beate Marie de Clus…*	*In cuius rei testimonium et robur perpetue firmitatis sigillum nostrum duximus presentibus appendendum*	cords of two pendant seals
2.	1310, October 8th	original	*litterae clausas*	*Nos H. divina miseratione abbas in Clusmonasterio totusque conventus eiusdem loci…*	—	wax residues of an ogival seal on the back of the document
3.	1311, August 13th	original	*litterae privilegiales*	*Nos frater H. abbas de Clusmonustra et conventus eiusdem loci…*	*Nos itaque communis iuris devito provocati predictum libellum appellationis de verbo ad verbum presentibus inseri facientes in tesimonium facte appelationis sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus eidem*	parchment tag of a pendant seal
4.	1315, November 9th	*inspeximus* 1418, March 13th Sigismund, king of Hungary	*litterae patentes?*	*Nos Nicolaus frater divina miseratione abbas de Kolusmonostra totusque conventus loci eiusdem…*	—	*…quasdam litteras religiosi conventus de Clusmonstra sub eorum aniquo sigillo…*
5.	1315, November 13th	original	*litterae patentes*	*Nos frater Nycolaus divina miseracione abbas de monasterio Clus totusque conventus eiusdem loci…*	—	wax residues of an ogival seal on the back of the document
6.	1321, May 6th	*inspeximus* 1321, July 13th Benedict, bishop of Cenad	*litterae patentes?*	*Nos frater Iohannes prior de Clusmonostora totusque conventus loci eiusdem…*	—	*…sub sigillo conventus de Clusmonostora confectis…*
7.	1329, July 6th	*inspeximus* 1357, February 26th Chapter of Alba Iulia	*litterae privilegiales*	*Nos conventus monasteri beate Marie virginis de Clus…*	*In cuius rei testimonium ac robur perpetue firmitatis sigillum nostrum ad peticionem parcium utrarumque duximus presentibus appendendum*	*…quoddam privilegium conventus ecclesie de Culusmunustra…*
8.	1334, October 28th	*inspeximus* 1392, November 12th Convent of Cluj-Mănăștur	*litterae privilegiales*	*Conventus ecclesie beate Marie virginis de Clusmonostra…*	*In quorum premissorum testimonium litteras nostras privilegiales eidem Iwanka duximus concedendas*	*…in nostra sacristia seu conservatorio dicte ecclesie nostre in registris diligenter requirentes…*

Table 1. Synoptic overview of the documents issued by the Convent of Cluj-Mănăștur between 1308 and 1334.

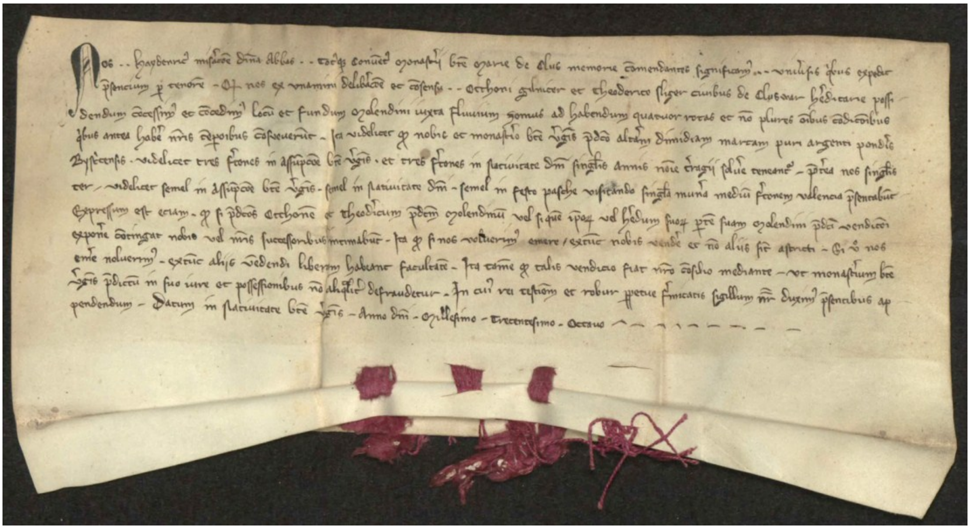

Figure 1. The earliest original preserved charter of the Convent of Cluj-Mănăștur issued on September 8th 1308. Source: MNL, DL 29067;

Figure 2. Detail with the seal attached to the document issued on October 8th 1310. Source: MNL, DL 73633;

Figure 3. Detail with the seal attached to the document issued on November 13th 1315.
Source: ANR – SIIAN, CJ-F-00457-1-4;

Sermon Collections of Johannes Eck in Transylvanian Libraries

Paula Cotoi
Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
e-mail: paulacotoi@yahoo.com

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 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 catalogued[1] 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 region[2].

[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 Siculorum*, 2 vols, (Târgu-Mureş : Lyra, 2001); Meda-Diana Hotea – Maria Kovács – Emilia-Mariana Soporan, *Catalogul cărții rare din colecțiile 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 Șerbănescu, *Catalogul Cărții 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 contexts[3]. 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 direction[4]. In the context of Reformation, this channel of communication and

[3] Works concearning 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 Lipzieg 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 Liurgiewissenschaft*, 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 Symposion 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 persuasion[5]. 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 church[7], 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 Latin[8].

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 German[9]. As a

1998), especially Appendix A 'Manuals for parish priests: Printing and Reception History', pp. 303-313, accesed 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 years[10]. 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 1532[11]. Previously, a sermon for the third Sunday of Advent was printed in Latin[12] and another one delivered in the Sunday before St. Martin appeared in German[13]. 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 adversus 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 problems[14].

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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 extemporarivs Eckii de. III. dominica adventvs*, [Rome, 1520?], [8]f., VD16 E 426.

[13] *Ein predig zu Minchen gethan in vnnser 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 Zwingli[15](6), and two short texts also bounded together within another composite volume[16](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 forth 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, this 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 Sighișoara, 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) –

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[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 find 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 Czynawereß 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 teachings[18]. 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 book[20]. 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 books[22], from which other works written by Catholic authors and even sermons are

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[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 Sachsengrafen 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 Mureş; 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, Csíksomlyó)[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 Catholicism[25]. 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 assamble 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) seens 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 şi 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 Ştiințifice Studențeşti*, 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 extend 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 Transylvania[26]. 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 Scentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 453 – 471.

APPENDIX
Works of Johannes Eck preserved in Transylvanian libraries

<u>Teleki-Bolyai Library, Târgu Mureş</u>

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 IIII, 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 quoscumque haereticorum insultus columnae, Tomus IIII. 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 zů Baden im Augsten versamlet überschickt. Vber solchs embieten Huldrichen Zwinglis so vyl er darinn angerürt Christenlich vnnd 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. <u>Positiones Ioannis Eckij, scholasticae</u>. 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. <u>Expurgatio Ioan. Eckij Theologi Ingolstadiensis aduersus criminationes F. Martini Lutter Vuittenbergensis ordinis heremitarum</u>***, 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.

<u>Library of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu</u>

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 adversus Lutherum et caeteros haereticos, de septem Ecclesiae Sacramentis, Tomus Quartus***, Paris, Jacques Du Puys, 1549 - 8°; Shelf mark: V. I. 562.

<u>Municipal Library of Sighișoara</u>

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.

<u>'Lucian Blaga' Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca</u>

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.

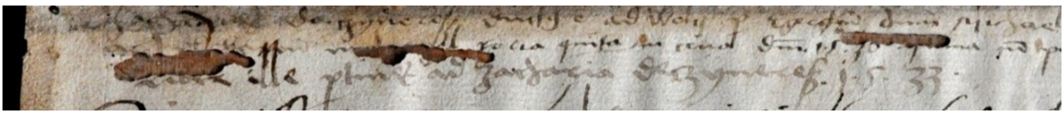

Fig.1. Sighișoara, 'Zaharia Boiu' Municipal Library, F. 90 – detail of an ownership mark: *Liber ille pertinet ad Zacharia de Czyuereß 1533*

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

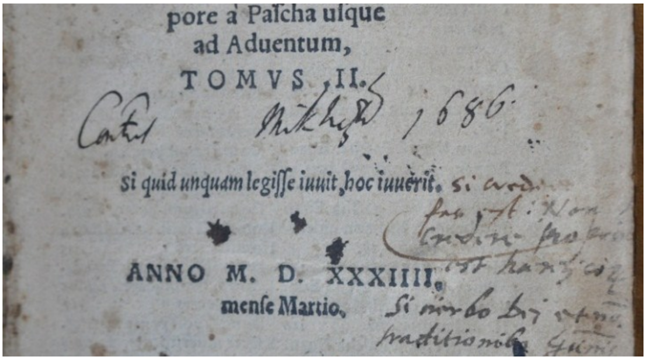

Fig. 3. Teleki-Bolyai Library, Târgu Mureș, 0703/2, f.1r – detail of an ownership mark: *Conventus Mikhaziensis 1686*

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

The Medieval Book in Early Modern Transylvania Preliminary Assessments

Adinel Dincă
Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
E-mail: adinel.dinca@gmail.com

Abstract: The present paper aims to resume, after an intermission of more than 100 years, a generous research subject, well represented on the international and regional scene, but completely out of the spotlight of Romanian historians: the history of the medieval book from Transylvania and its post-medieval destiny. The research perspectives focus on two major directions: on the one hand, the analysis of the historical contexts that favoured the keeping and uninterrupted use of medieval books during the 16th-17th Centuries, on the other hand the study of fragments detached from medieval manuscripts and re-used as materials for the covers and bindings of modern volumes. The destiny of the books, *fata libelli*, in the interval between their pragmatic use and their transformation into cultural heritage objects during the 19th century, comes forth as a distinct research theme at a national level. The preliminary assessments on this research topic in Romania concern the circumscription of the topic, the review of sources at the disposal of researchers, and also a scrutiny of international research and results.

Keywords: Transylvania, medieval and early modern period, manuscript, printed book, fragmentology

Rezumat: Cartea medievală în Transilvania premodernă. Preliminarii la o cercetare. Articolul de față își propune să reia, după o întrerupere de mai bine de 100 de ani, un subiect de cercetare generos, bine reprezentat pe scena internațională și regională, dar cu totul ieșit din atenția cercetătorilor din România: istoria cărții medievale din Transilvania din perspectiva destinului post-medieval al acesteia. Perspectivele de cercetare se axează pe două direcții majore: pe de o parte, analiza circumstanțelor istorice în care cartea medievală a fost păstrată și eventual folosită continuu în secolele XVI-XVII, pe de altă parte, este vorba de studiul fragmentelor desprinse din manuscrisele și tipăriturile medievale aflate în circulație locală, refolosite în secolele XVI-XVII drept materiale în legarea coperților volumelor moderne. Destinul cărților, *fata libelli*, în perioada intermediară dintre folosirea lor pragmatică și transformarea lor în obiecte de patrimoniu cultural în decursul secolului al XIX-lea, se desprinde astfel ca o temă de cercetare distinctă pe plan național. Considerațiile preliminare privind aceasă temă de cercetare în România privesc circumscrierea subiectului și o privire generală asupra surselor aflate la dispoziția cercetătorilor, în paralel cu o primă evaluare a progreselor în domeniu pe plan internațional.

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Cuvinte-cheie: Transilvania medievală și modern-timpurie, manuscris, carte tipărită, studiul fragmentelor.

"Whereas, in former Ages, it ha's been customary, in Binding of books, to affix a Leaf or Leaves of some other old books, at the beginning and end of them; as also sometimes to Past a Leaf upon the inside of the cover of a book newly bound up [...]. Which Fragments having no Relation to the Subject or Matter of the books they belong to; nor contributing in the least to their Value; nor having been ever thought worth taking notice of in any Catalogue whatsoever; nor being of any manner of use in the Library to any man, as they now lie, hid, dispersed and unknown."[1]

These are the words of Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726), the first keeper of the Harleian Library[2] and "a great palaeographer"[3], famous for his *Catalogus historico-criticus* of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, printed 1703-1705, as he accurately described what *fragmenta codicum* are. With these phrases he was drafting a memorandum meant to persuade the curators of the Bodleian Library to allow him to detach such fragments of earlier texts, "without damage to the books", and to form with them a separate collection. He carries on describing the utility of his proposal: "Which Collection [...] will also furnish [...] with other Observations, of the different kinds of Parchment, Paper & Ink, different manners of Colouring & Illumination, Different ways of spelling, writing or abbreviating such words [...]"[4]. Wanley composed his plan probably in 1689, while he was working on a palaeographical album inspired by the prestigious work *De re diplomatica* (1681) of the French Benedictine monk Jean Mabillon, who is now seen as the founder of the academic disciplines of palaeography and diplomatic. Maybe precisely because the afore-mentioned project was disallowed, Wanley decided to concentrate his attention on the catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, an *opus* of capital importance, in which he omitted to include descriptions of

The investigation concluded with the present paper was supported by the UEFISCDI research project PN-II- RU-TE- 2014-4- 2293: *"În căutarea unui patron". Preoții sașilor ca promotori ai artelor în Transilvania evului mediu târziu (cca. 1350-1550) / "The Search for a Patron". Parish Priests of the Saxons as Promoters of the Arts in Late Medieval Transylvania (ca. 1350-1550)*, http://artesetfasti.ro/.

[1] Milton McC. Gatch, *Humfrey Wanley's proposal to the curators of the Bodleian Library on the usefulness of manuscript fragments from bindings*, in "Bodleian Library record", 11(1983): 94-98, here p. 94.

[2] Michael Murphy, *Humfrey Wanley on How to Run a Scholarly Library*, in "The Library Quarterly", 52 (2) (1982): 145-155.

[3] Neil Ripley Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1957), p. xiii.

[4] Milton McC. Gatch, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

fragments he had surely seen in the books he worked with. However, the librarian's observations reflect a well-known historical reality. Since late antiquity, covers for books and other components in bindings were often made by pasting together pieces of aged, worn or outdated papyrus or parchment manuscripts. Even fragments with decoration or important texts were recycled randomly[5].

What is relevant now from this very early attempt to start collecting and organizing reused parchment and paper fragments is the clear scientific perspective over the entire activity and its usefulness. Thus, academic involvment with such remnants of medieval literate communication transmitted through later medieval and (early) modern intermediaries is by no means a newly-discovered discipline, as it is sometimes stated. Rather recent is only its naming and perhaps the intense attention directed to the subject, especially because of the internet exposure and the involvement of many non-European institutions, which only possess medieval books starting with modern times.[6] From a different perspective, this significant increase of preoccupations with "relics" of books, has reopened the interest towards the post-medieval history of medieval librarian collections[7], a topic of particular relevance for the cultural history of Transylvania[8], too.

Each collection or every single book of medieval origin reached the present times bearing the obvious marks of the events experienced in the interval between the end of their pragmatic use and their rediscovery and appreciation as objects of cultural patrimony in the last 150 years. Some of them were just trimmed on the margins and rebound according to the fashion of specific periods of time; others were divided or deprived of their most valuable constitutive elements, such as decorations or covers, and reached us today mutilated. Some were forgotten and left to decay, not a few were

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[5] Nicholas Pickwoad, Rosamond McKitterick, *A Carolingian Manuscript Fragment from the Ninth Century in Amsterdam University Library, used as the Binding for 'Band 1 E 22'*, in "Quærendo" 43 (2013): 185-213, here p. 186.

[6] For instance, Carol Steyn, "Fragmentology, the new manuscript study – with reference to manuscript fragments in South Africa" 2016, http://www.litnet.co.za/fragmentology-new-manuscript-study-reference-manuscript-fragments-south-africa/ (27.09.2017) mentions 150 web-sites containing fragments of medieval books.

[7] Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 106-107.

[8] Adrian Papahagi, *Lost Libraries and Surviving Manuscripts: The Case of Medieval Transylvania*, in "Library & Information History", 31 (2015), 1, 35-53; Adinel Dincă, *The Lost Libraries of Transylvania: Some Examples from the 15th and 16th Centuries / Les bibliothèques perdues de Transylvanie: quelques exemples des 15è et 16è siècles*, on line edition: www.ifla.org/past-wlic/2009/78-dinca-fr.pdf; www.ifla.org/past-wlic/2009/78-dinca-en.pdf, IFLA World Library and Information Congress Milan, Italy 23rd-27th August 2009 (3.10.2017).

publically and symbolically destroyed, and many were practically reused as wrappers and binding material for prints or instruments of evidence commissioned by public authorities or for private avail. By comparison, a rather small number of collections were blessed and remained undisturbed, *in situ*, in the very place of their making and/or medieval use, suffering only minor interventions related to their modern librarian inventorying, such as labels or short annotations.

Oversimplifying, one can say that that there are two main categories of events that determined in a drastic manner the fate of medieval books.[9] In the first place, there is the random and catastrophic event of a violent nature, such as a war or a rebellion. Either medieval or modern, it caused physical destruction of volumes and dismemberment of library collections.[10] On the other hand, there are the radical cultural and political mutations. The latter rather ambiguous category may include circumscribed processes, like the introduction of the printing press or liturgical renewals, but also far-reaching events, like the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century or the secularisation of the late 1700's and early 1800's, triggered by the confrontation of ideas between the Catholic conservatives and "Aufklärung" or Liberalism. The second category of events usually didn't lead directly to a violent end of books, but – identifying them as *libri inutiles* – forced their "retirement" and/or relocation. The loss of prestige and utility opened the door for various practical solutions, which allowed the reuse of the writing material (paper, parchment), either to write on (palimpsests) or as binding materials.[11]

Transylvania – the only large province of present-day Romania that evolved in the Middle Ages within the cultural landscape of Latin Christianity – experienced a wide variety of factors that shaped the present stock of medieval books still to be found in the libraries of the country. While a significant phenomenon, the bibliophilic mania of the Enlightenment and the 19th century, responsible for as much as three-quarters of the medieval

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[9] Regarding survival factors of medieval books, either manuscript or printed, see Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998); Eltjo Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Explorations with a Global Database*, (BRILL, 2011).

[10] The famous *Bibliotheca Corviniana* was such a victim in 1541, when Ottoman Turks pillaged the Hungarian Kingdom's capital Buda, see Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), pp. 91-92; Martyn Rady, *The Corvina Library and the Lost Royal Hungarian Archive*, in James Raven (ed.), *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections Since Antiquity*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 91-105.

[11] Gerhardt Powitz, *Libri inutiles in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken: Bemerkungen über Alienation, Palimpsestierung und Makulierung*, in "Scriptorium" 50 (1996): 288-304; Frank-Joachim Stewing, *Bibliothek und Buchbesitz einer spätmittelalterlichen Pfarrkirche im mitteldeutschen Raum: Das Beispiel Rudolstadt*, in Enno Bünz (ed.), *Bücher, Drucker, Bibliotheken in Mitteldeutschland: neue Forschungen zur Kommunikations- und Mediengeschichte um 1500*, (Leipzig, 2006), pp. 207-303, especially p. 297.

manuscripts available now in Romania[12], plays no part in the present paper.[13] This essay is rather concerned with some thoughts about the fortune of medieval manuscripts and printed books of Transylvania roughly in the first half of the century after 1556, when the Catholic Diocese of Alba Iulia[14], after three decades of regress that followed the battle of Mohács, was disestablished.

The eroded faith in, and eventually the rejection of the authority of the Pope, accompanied by the fundamentally different view on several theological and doctrinal positions of the Catholic Church caused violent reactions in many parts of Europe that led collaterally to massive destruction of books. Between 1536 and 1540, in a formal process entitled the *Dissolution of the Monasteries*, King Henry VIII suppressed monastic communities in England, Wales and Ireland (over 800 monasteries, abbeys, nunneries and friaries), leading to the destruction and loss of thousands of books[15]. A similar development occurred in 16th century Sweden, where King Gustav began in 1527 the disbanding of Catholic monasteries. As a result, most service-books were re-used during the following 100 years to cover the account registers of several royal administrations.[16] The Transylvanian Catholic libraries suffered a

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[12] According to the results made available on-line by "CODEX. Centre for the History of the Book": *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România: Census* - http://codex.centre.ubbcluj.ro/ro/categorie/proiecte/(15.09.2017). As far as the early printed books are concerned, the proportion of surviving volumes that existed in Transylvanian libraries since the Middle Ages is considerably higher.

[13] Jeffrey Garrett, *Aufhebung im doppelten Wortsinn: The Fate of Monastic Libraries in Central Europe, 1780–1810*, in "Verbum Analecta Neolatina", 2 (1999): 15-27 still represents a solid overview on the subject.

[14] Marton József, Jakabffy Tamás, *Az erdélyi katolicizmus századai*, (Alba Iulia, 1999), p. 49; János KARÁCSONYI, *Die konfessionellen Verhältnisse in Siebenbürgen und den angeschlossenen Gebieten (1526–1571)*, in Joachim Bahlcke, Krista Zach (eds.), *Kirche - Staat - Nation: Eine Geschichte der katholischen Kirche Siebenbürgens vom Mittelalter bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, (Institut für deutsche Kultur u. Geschichte Südosteuropas, 2008), pp. 41-52.

[15] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, (Yale University Press, 1992), p. 469. For instance, the library of the convent of the Augustinian Friars at York, comprising 646 volumes, was destroyed, leaving only 8 known survivors, see David Michael Palliser, *The Reformation in York, 1534-1553*, Borthwick Publications, 40 (1971): 16.

[16] Jan Brunius, *The recycling of manuscripts in sixteenth-century Sweden*, in Åslaug Ommundsen, Tuomas Heikkilä (eds.), *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments: The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, (Taylor & Francis, 2017), p. 66. The author cites about 23000 manuscript fragments, currently preserved and catalogued by the National Archives in Stockholm, "Medeltida Pergamentomslag" (MPO) https://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo (1.10.2017); see also Jan Brunius, *Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the National Archives - a Survey*, in Jan Brunius (ed.), *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden: An International Seminar in Stockholm, 13-16 November 2003*, (Almqvist & Wiksell, 2005), pp. 9-17 and Jan Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers: Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives*, (Swedish National Archives, 2013), pp. 11, 24.

similar fate.[17] It must be underlined though that in Transylvania, as in other areas of Catholic Europe, the religious change was not the decisive element for the disuse of old manuscript books.[18] The spreading of printing was primarly responsible for discarding older texts with liturgical or legal function.

Nevertheless, the dissolution of libraries, experienced vastly for instance in England, was not an inseparable detail of the Reformation in every part of the continent. A conference on the topic of how the secularization of religious houses transformed the libraries of Europe during the 16th-19th centuries, organized in 2012 in Oxford by Richard Sharpe, Cristina Dondi (both Oxford) and Dorit Raines (Venice), offered a much welcomed overview on different circumstances in which various regions of Europe from the 16th to the mid-19th century experienced the dissolution of historical libraries of learned monastic or religious orders.[19] While the political transformations in Central Europe from the 1780's onwards influenced rather positively the number of medieval books existing now in Transylvania, allowing selected collectors to buy individual pieces or entire libraries from secularized religious institutions, the original inventory of texts that circulated in the most eastern province of the Hungarian Kingdom was profoundly altered in an earlier period.

Exceptionally, some of the medieval libraries in Transylvania remained after the middle of the 16th century in the place of their initial use, like those of the Franciscans from Șumuleu-Ciuc[20] or that of the Lutheran Church in Cisnădie; the former church dedicated to Saint Walpurga[21]; and others were relocated carefully quite close to their earlier storage site. For the latter situation the case of Sibiu serves as an illustrative example, pre-Reformation stocks – of Saint Mary's parish church, respectively, of the Dominican Convent

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[17] Sigismund Jakó, Radu Manolescu, *Scrierea latină în evul mediu*, (București: Ed. Științifică, 1970), pp. 84-85 and p. 96, mentioning the mandate issued in 1603, that "all service-books must be destroyed, and other large volumes must be handed over to schools, for the pupils to bind their own books".

[18] Michael Perkin, *A Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales*, (Bibliographical Society, London, 2004), p. 31.

[19] "Secularization and the libraries of Europe" Conference, 22-24 March 2012, Bodleian Library and St Anne's College, Oxford, www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/csb/courses/projects/how-the-secularization-of-religious-houses-transformed-the-libraries-of-europe; www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/ 0003/122187/2012_MonasticABSTRACTS.pdf (27.09.2017). See also Jeffrey Garrett, *Klostersturm and Secularization in Central Europe: What Happened to the Libraries?*, in "Theological Librarianship", 8/1(2015): 61-69.

[20] Fodor Sándor, *A csíksomlyói ferences könyvtár kincseiről*, Csíkszereda, 1991; Muckenhaupt Erzsébet, *A csíksomlyói ferences könyvtár kincsei*, (Budapest-Kolozsvár, 1999).

[21] Balázs J. Nemes, Cora Dietl, Adinel Dincă, *Heltau*, in Cora Dietl, Anna-Lena Liebermann (eds.), *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Literatur in Ungarn und Rumänien*, (De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015), pp. 182-185.

of the Holy Cross – being kept and continuously inventoried in a nearby location, in the chapel of Saint Jacob (*Kapellenbibliothek*).[22] A swift transfer must have happened in Brașov, too, as medieval books – no longer relevant at that time, like the liturgical texts of the local Dominicans – can still be traced in the library catalogue of the Lutheran Gymnasium[23] copied in 1575. Were in not for the Great Fire of 1689, we might still have had today the chance to actually study those manuscripts and prints. Other books were used after the Protestant Reformation, at least for some decades, with some modifications required by the changed religious context. An excellent example for such a situation is the legal compilation with "constitutional" value from Sibiu, known as *Codex Altemberger*, kept in use until the 1580s.[24]

If for Sibiu or Brașov we are still in possession either of original medieval books or substantial information about their post-medieval fate, in northern Transylvania, in the case of urban settlements such as Cluj or Bistrița, the state of affairs is radically different. The assumption that such towns, home of important ecclesiastical institutions, entirely comparable with those mentioned above, must have had their librarian collections, extremely relevant under local circumstances, is not supported by too much evidence. The nine incunabula allegedly preserved in the archive of the Saint Michael's parish church in Cluj are poorly described[25] and virtually inaccessible. But regarding the library of the Dominicans from Cluj, who used to have a large hall for storing books[26], practically nothing is transmitted to us. In Bistrița, in the county library, one can still find ten printed works: one *incunabulum*[27] together with other nine volumes printed before 1541[28]. A small number of books,

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22 Friedrich Teutsch, *Der älteste Katalog der Hermannstädter Kapellenbibliothek*, in "Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde", 3 (1880): 93-94; Friedrich Müller, *Die Incunabeln der Hermannstädter "Capellenbibliothek"*, in "Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde", Neue Folge, 14 (1877): 293-358 and 489-543.

23 Julius Gross, *Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek*, in "Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde", 21 (1887): 591-708, especially 592 sq., 620-625.

24 *Masterpieces from the Collection of the National History Museum of Romania,* (Bukarest, 2014), pp. 33-47 (with additional bibliography). See also Carmen Florea, *Identitate urbană și patronaj marian în evul mediu târziu*, in "Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica", 5 (2008): 59-80, especially 59-60.

25 Elena-Maria Schatz, Robertina Stoica, *Catalogul colectiv al incunabulelor din România*, (CIMEC - Institutul de Memorie Culturală, București, 2007), pp. 25-26.

26 Sigismund Jakó, Radu Manolescu, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Mária Lupescu Makó, *The Book Culture of The Dominican Order in Transylvania*, in "Philobiblon: Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities", 22 (2017) 1, 187-204.

27 Elena-Maria Schatz, Robertina Stoica, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

28 Elena Dorobonț, *Carte veche în Biblioteca Județeană Bistrița-Năsăud: secolele XV-XVII*, vol. I, (Eikon, Cluj, 2005), p. 15-24; Horst Göbbel, Michael Weihrauch, "Ein wahrer Schatz: die alten Bücher des Evangelischen Gymnasiums in der Kreisbibliothek Bistritz-Nasod", in *Wir Nösner: Beiträge zur*

printed around 1500, have survived in the parish church of the Lutheran community.[29] And this although even a small village church like that from Jelna, situated only three kilometres away from the town, had a dozen books, according to a list from 1489.[30] Two collections of incunabula linked to Mendicants from the northern regions of Transylvania resurfaced recently: respectively 11 volumes from the Bistrița Dominicans[31], and 20 books from the Franciscans in Dej.[32] One may still hope for pleasant surprises of this kind, especially considering that the printed book from the first three decades of the 16th century is entirely unstudied. Isolated manuscripts and early-printed books can also be connected to other religious communities from medieval Transylvania: Sebeș, Mediaș, Sighișoara etc., none of them exceeding three to five volumes.

The attitude of the Reformation period towards the book from the Catholic past – at least among Lutherans – was that of moderation.[33] The surviving books or the extensive library catalogues from Sibiu and Brașov are proof enough in this case. But such an attitude may be exemplified in some other ways, too. Liturgical vestments and other cultic objects were carefully preserved and, if necessary, modified according to the new requirements.[34] The practical aspect and functionality, together with a certain sense of personal and familial attachment were preferred over a destructive approach. Even medieval papal letters were preserved. An early piece of evidence of this sort, of a papal document deposited in a local archive of an already Lutheran Church, comes from a short memorandum, written in 1544[35] by a Transylvanian Saxon named Michael, as he entered office as a priest in

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Geschichte und Kultur der Stadt Bistritz und des Nösnerlandes, (Haus der Heimat, Nürnberg, 2010), pp. 97-100.

29 These books have not yet attracted the attention of modern scholars.

30 SJAN SB, *Colecția Brukenthal*, B 268, f. 19r.

31 I would like to thank my colleague, Adrian Papahagi, for the manuscript of his paper, *The Incunabula of the Dominicans from Bistrița at the Central Piarist Library in Budapest*, to be published shortly in "Philobiblon: Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities".

32 The author's research, in progress.

33 See, for instance, two papers published recently in Andrew Spicer (ed.), *Parish Churches in the Early Modern World*, (Ashgate, 2016): Evelin Wetter, *Staging the Eucharist Adiaphora and Shaping Lutheran Identities in the Transylvanian parish church*, pp. 19-146 and Maria Crăciun, *Unitarian Parish Churches in Early Modern Transylvania*, p. 199-242.

34 See, for instance, Evelin Wetter, *Liturgische Gewänder der Schwarzen Kirche zu Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, 2 Vols.,(Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, 2015).

35 SJAN BV, *Primăria orașului Brașov. Colecția socoteli și impozite ale satelor din Țara Bârsei*, shelf mark "Pachet XXX/1" fol. 1 recto: *Eyne Vermerkunk aller czu stand des pfarhoffs czwr weydenbach wo ychs Michael pfarrer bey der Warheyth hab yn meinnen beruffen eyngang entfangen* ("A note about the status of everything that I, priest Michael, truly received in the parish house of Weidenbach upon entry in my profession").

Ghimbav. Among the items from the parish house, he records *Item, des Bapst decret myth den decretalen der ablas in das erst, das ander, das dryth, in das 4, 5, 6 decretalen bucher, auch die Clementina und dy Silvestrina*. So, a papal document and a small collection of very useful legal texts. Another 16th century source is the inventory of Sibiu's urban archive, compiled by Christian Pomarius (Baumgartner, 1500-1565). During the first year as notary of the Sibiu province (1546), Pomarius drew up the inventory of existing privileges from the provincial archive under the title *Regestum literarum in cellas ordinantarum*[36], written entirely in Latin. Among the first ten entries of this inventory, significant details are recorded: *littere papales*, or *donacio a papa data*, or a *transsumptum bulle super donatione prepositurae*. Similar transcriptions were executed by Emericus Amicinus (Emerich Lieb) for the Bistrița Chapter[37] towards the end of the 16th century, sometimes indicating even the location of the original document: *huius originale in ladula universitatis est, in pergameno cum pendente sigillo.*[38] Naturally, one may argue that such examples from the very early phase of the Protestant Reformation (like the Ghimbav inventory from 1544) are less relevant and must be understood as a phenomenon of continuity. However, similar information mentioning works of the Catholic canon law can be traced in the parochial inventories even later, as proven by an example from Dumitra dated February 11th 1596: *Decretorum volumina tria*.[39] The texts of the Catholic time are mixed with the new Lutheran ones, in German, in the inventory of the Jelna parish, already mentioned. The three examples selected above underline the relevance of the hundreds of unedited registers and inventories of the Lutheran parochial churches from

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[36] SJAN SB, *Colecția de documente medievale, U IV*, no. 542; see also Agnes Flora, «*Laborem circumspecti domini notarii*». *Town notaries in early modern Transylvania*, in *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy I.* edited by Marco Mostert, Anna Adamska, Turnhout 2014, p. 322-323; Gernot Nussbächer, *Din activitatea arhivistică a lui Christian Pomarius*, in "Revista. Arhivelor", VIII/2 (1965): 169-180; Gernot Nussbächer, *Pionier der Archivarbeit: Christian Pomarius, ein siebenbürgischer Humanist*, in «Volkszeitung», Braşov, no. 566, IX(1965). His professional career has taken him, over 20 years, from Bistrița, where he was *notarius* from 1534 to 1541, to Cluj, 1541-1543, as town clerk, and later to Sibiu, 1546-1547 and Braşov, 1552-1553, where he secured the office of town notary.

[37] Emericus Amicinus (Lieb) was born in Bistrița in 1522 and was parish priest from 1562 to 1602 (the year of his death) in Minarken (Monariu, currently in Bistrița-Năsăud County). He was dean of the Bistrița Chapter and notary of the "geistliche Universität". Most of his writings have been lost, only 3 of them are still preserved in manuscript form. See Joseph Trausch, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon der biographisch-litärerische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*, (Kronstadt 1870), II, pp. 355-356.

[38] SJAN SB, *Capitlul evanghelic C.A. Bistrița*, no. 712 (1-59), p. 15r.

[39] SJAN SB, *Capitlul evanghelic C.A. Bistrița*, no. 720.

Transylvania[40] for the study of the modern fate of medieval books in the province.

There is also a different way to retrace the history of the medieval book in Transylvania, and that is leading the discussion back to the introduction of this essay: the fragments. As already mentioned briefly, the interest concerning such *membra disiecta* is newly rediscovered, an incredibly prolific direction, described by the renowned specialist Christopher De Hamel as "the next generation" in medieval manuscript studies.[41] This "new" wave already produced a considerable number of on-line academic research projects[42], symposiums and publications[43], analysing from a multitude of perspectives the nature, provenance, possibilities of identification, inventorizing, digitising, restoration etc. of books' remnants. Not an usual place for the history of the medieval book, the archive plays a crucial role in this "hunt" for fragments, because obsolete volumes regularly furnished parchment wrappers needed by administrative instruments of evidence, such as account or tax registers. It must be also underlined that this research of medieval fragments places a special emphasis on recuperating remaining parts of early-printed books[44], too, not only from manuscripts.

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40 Although discussing different sources, see Attila Verók, *Zur Lesekultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen im 16.-18. Jahrhundert anhand der Bücherverzeichnisse*, in István Monok, Péter Ötvös, Attila Verók (eds.), *Lesestoffe der Siebenbürger Sachsen 1575-1750*, (Budapest, 2004), pp. X-XV.

41 50th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, 2015: *Manuscript "Fragmentology": Perspectives on the Scholarly and Pedagogical Value of Medieval Manuscript Fragments*, http://scholarworks.wmich.edu/medieval_icms/2015/Schedule/546/ (27.09.2017).

42 Some examples: "Research Group on Manuscript Evidence", New Jersey, USA, www.manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/ tag/fragmentology/ (2.10.2017); The *Fragmenta membranea* collection at the National library of Finland, fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/ (1.10.2017); "From Manuscript Fragments To Book History" Project, University of Bergen, Norway, www.uib.no/en/rg/manuscript_fragments (28.09.2017).

43 To name but a few: Linda L. Brownrigg, Margaret M. Smith (eds.), *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books (Proceedings of The Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500)*, (Los Altos Hills, CA & London: Anderson-Lovelace & The Red Gull Press, 2000); Perani, Mauro & Ruini, Cesarino (eds.), «*Fragmenta ne Pereant», Recupero e Studio dei Frammenti di Manoscritti Medievali e Rinascimentali Riutilizzati in Legature*, (Longi Editore, Ravenna, 2002); Christian Gastgeber, Christine Glaßner, Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, Renate Spreitzer, (eds.), *Fragmente: der Umgang mit lückenhafter Quellenüberlieferung in der Mittelalterforschung: Akten des internationalen Symposiums des Zentrums Mittelalterforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 19.-21. März 2009*, (Wien, 2010).

44 Oliver Duntze, Falk Eisermann, *Fortschritt oder Fidibus? Zur Bestimmung, Bewahrung und Bedeutung von Inkunabelfragmenten*, in Hanns Peter Neuheuser, Wolfgang Schmitz, (eds.), *Fragment und Makulatur. Überlieferungsstörungen und Forschungsbedarf bei Kulturgut in Fragment und Makulatur: Überlieferungsstörungen und Forschungsbedarf bei Kulturgut in Archiven und Bibliotheken*, (Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 281-308.

However, there are two distinctive projects of particular relevance for Romania. On the one hand, the Hungarian national project of *Fragmenta Codicum* has produced a wonderful series of publications[45] and it is definitely a model to be followed. On the other hand, there is the impressive activity in the Scandinavian lands[46]. The latter is operating in similar historical circumstances as in Transylvania: a rather late formation of a medieval literate mentality, then the Protestant Reformation that transformed the medieval books into recycling materials.

The conclusions of the "Nordic Conference on Medieval Book Fragments", hosted by the Swedish National Archives in May 2013, stressed the need to move beyond the isolated and segregated study of sources within a given national archive, and to begin promoting the scholarly field of medieval Nordic fragment studies homogeneously. A similar input might be relevant to Romania, and especially in the case of Transylvanian libraries, archives and scholarly institutions, influenced only marginally so far by this generalized interest in the subject. Although local researchers have tried at a very early date to call the attention of the academic circles to such unusual documents[47], a future Romanian initiative to collect, organize and study fragments of medieval books will need to restart the investigation. An approach of this kind will contribute to the reconstruction of the medieval book culture in Transylvania, and will also stimulate the struggle to redefine the regional intellectual and cultural identity.

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[45] A survey of the topic in Edit Madas, *Trente ans de recherches en Hongrie sur les fragments des manuscrits médiévaux*, in "Cultura Neolatina. Rivista di filologia Romanza fondata da Giulio Bertoni", 65 (2002): 233-243 and András Vizkelety, Fragmentenforschung: Ein Beitrag zur regionalen Rezeptionsgeschichte mittelalterlichen Schrifttums, in Christian Gastgeber, Christine Glaßner, Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, Renate Spreitzer, (eds.), *Fragmente: der Umgang mit lückenhafter Quellenüberlieferung in der Mittelalterforschung: Akten des internationalen Symposiums des Zentrums Mittelalterforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 19.-21. März 2009*, (Wien, 2010), pp. 71-75.

[46] In addition to the works cited above, see the overview of the Scandinavian sources regarding fragmentology in Marie Lennersand, Åsa Karlsson and Henrik Klackenberg (eds.), *Fragment ur arkiven. Festskrift till Jan Brunius* (Skrifter utgivna av Riksarkivet 37), (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, 2013).

[47] Franz Zimmermann, *Aus alten Einbänden von Rechnungen aus den Jahren 1506 bis 1691*, in "Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde" 19 (1884): 78-98; Fr. W. Seraphin, *Ein Kronstädter lateinisch-deutsches Glossar aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*, in "Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde" 26 (1894): 60-132; Idem, *Eine Kronstädter Handschrift des Jacobus de Voragine*, in "Programm des evangelischen Gymnasiums A. B. zu Kronstadt und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten" 1900/1901, pp. 1-14; Idem, *Zwei lateinische Passionslieder des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in "Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde" 26 (1903): 96-98 and 138-139.

Serviciului Județean Sibiu al Arhivelor Naționale Române,
„Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu”,
U. V. (*Nova collectio posterior*), no. 1926, f. 1v-2r: Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, book xxv (*Tempora Henrici Quarti*), chapters xxxiv (fragment) – xli (fragment), re-used as a wrapper for a local tax register in 1618.

In the Homes of Townsmen from the Olden Time. An Introduction to the Study of Town Houses in Eighteenth-Century Timişoara

Sandra Hirsch
PhD, Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
sandra27hirsch@gmail.com

Abstract: Research on urban habitation can reflect various and sundry aspects. This study aims to undertake an analysis of the houses of Timişoara's eighteenth-century residents from a micro-historical perspective. Using methods of cultural and social history and examining archival documents such as inventories and wills, we shall try to find out what a house looked like inside, what decorations or furniture garnished the rooms, what activities the household members fancied, which kind of food or clothing was available for them, etc. The article starts by presenting a general frame of the living conditions in this Habsburg fortress, followed by details of the townspeople's private life. In order to do that, we highlight the association of several types of sources, but also the way information about assets appears in documents. From poorer inventories to the most complex wills, the sources cover a wide range of subdomains of the so-called "*la petite histoire*". Through the three case studies presented here, we shall attempt to understand if living in the town by the Bega resembled habitation conditions in Early Modern Europe, and whether Timişoara's dwellers were aware of what was in fashion on the rest of the continent. The analysis of the three examples starts by exploring the location of the house and continues with considerations on its internal structure, its landlords/ tenants and the description of the goods. The images resulting here provide an unexpected and vivid introspection into the domestic sphere three hundred years ago.

Keywords: Timișoara, eighteenth century, urban housing, domestic sphere, inventories.

Rezumat: În casele orășenilor din alte vremuri. O introducere în studiul locuințelor din Timișoara secolului al XVIII-lea. Cercetarea locuirii urbane poate îmbrăca diverse și numeroase fețe. Studiul acesta își propune analiza din perspectivă microistorică a locuințelor timișorenilor din secolul XVIII. Folosind metodele istoriei culturale și sociale și valorificând documente inedite precum inventarele și testamentele, încercăm să descoperim cum anume arata un interior de casă, ce obiecte de decor sau de mobilier înfrumusețau camerele, cum își împărțeau timpul membrii unei gospodării, ce hrană sau ce îmbrăcăminte aveau la dispoziție etc. Articolul pornește de la condițiile generale de trai în cetatea habsburgică, pentru a intra apoi in detaliile vieții private a orășenilor. Pentru asta, scoatem în evidență

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alăturarea mai multor tipuri de surse, dar și modul în care informațiile legate de posesiunile oamenilor sunt dispuse în documente. De la inventare mai sărace la cele mai complexe testamente, sursele acoperă o arie largă de subdomenii ale ”istoriei mărunte”. Prin cele trei studii de caz prezentate am căutat să arătăm dacă locuirea în orașul de pe Bega se aseamănă cu cea din Europa premodernă și dacă timișorenii sunt la curent cu ”moda” de pe continent. Analiza celor trei exemple a urmărit amplasarea locuinței, structura internă, locatarii săi și descrierea bunurilor posedate. Imaginile rezultate oferă o introspecție neașteptată și vie a sferei domestice de altădată.

Cuvinte-cheie: Timișoara, secolul al XVIII-lea, locuire urbană, sfera domestică, inventare.

In decrypting a town's past, the most challenging aims are describing the atmosphere, recreating the colours of buildings, the street noise, the life of its various neighbourhoods, and the daily activities of town dwellers.We can often refer to the houses' exterior appearance, to the public sphere and to everything that happens in the public eye. However, this time we shall try to open a few doors, to get inside the houses of yore, and get a glimpse of the most intimate spaces of eighteenth-century citizens. Town life three hundred years ago was completely different from nowadays. Reenactments of political and military events that shaped urban spaces hundreds of years ago are not enough to depict that world in great detail. Therefore, a series of research domains known, until recently, as "*la petite histoire*" can now complete the picture. Our goal is to find out, for instance, what ordinary things were defining for everyday life in eighteenth-century towns: what people ate, how they lived, how they dressed, if they read, what their favorite leisure activities were, etc. The attempt to depict the daily life of citizens in the Banat region starts with the documents we have at our disposal.

We found the inspiration that led us to embark on this study in several archival documents. Noticing that a series of documents preserved in Timişoara's regional archive include inventories, we decided to focus our attention on them. Regarding this kind of documents, one can ask the following questions: what are these inventories called and on what ocassion were they written (marriages, deaths, inheritances, sale-purchase or lease agreements). Another curiosity concerns what these inventories tell us about the deceased and their families. This is the starting point of a long line of questions that will guide us in our future research. Sometimes the documents include information regarding the bequeather, such as that person's time of death, occupation, sometimes the name of the inheritor and his or her kinship to the deceased. Still, the most precious type of information, from our point of view, is the list of assets itself, including house objects (from the smallest items of jewellery to books, tableware and furniture) and possessions like animals or means of transportation (waggons, carriages), as well as real estate (the house, the pub, the stable, or the garden). The inventories also include details relating to the amount of cash owned by that individual and the debt balance. This data can reveal interesting aspects concerning inter-human relationships among the town dwellers, the structure of domestic staff and the value of goods and services at that time.

Although we are only at the beginning of a more complex research, some points of interest and purposes of our study could be highlighted here.The main aim is to discover some benchmarks of urban material culture and everyday life, with emphasis on town houses. The time frame we have chosen is the period of Habsburg administration in Banat (1716-1778) and the area of our research is limited to urban dwellings in this province, but mostly Timişoara. The raw information extracted from documents will help us answer some interesting questions: what a house looked like inside, how many rooms there were and what purpose they served, what household annexes it had, what kind of movable properties and real estate a family owned, what the structure of a household was, how distinct the furniture was, what kind of tableware existed in the household, what luxury objects there were to be found, what books the houseowners had, if any, what clothes they wore, what perishable goods the inventories included, etc. Another type of analysis, after taking into accoung several more sources (other archival documents or secondary sources), will unveil further cultural aspects: eating customs, fashion, dominant colours and fabrics, hygiene habits, the places and objects associated with leisure activities, the relationship between public and private space inside a household, the particular types of objects that were not mentioned in the inventories. Moreover, this approach can shed light on the house owners' social status, on the "tastes" of that time, as well as on consumerist modes and cultural transfers. We shall be able to draw conclusions based on comparisons between the possessions of individuals from different social strata. The economic perspective (product pricing, asset value) is only relevant insofar as it allows us to understand the cost of living three hundred years ago. Furthermore, it would be useful to discover the origins of the goods found in the houses we shall be examining: were they from weekly markets, local manufactories, local craftsmen or were these products imported? And the list of questions could go on...

For a rigorous research approach, it is necessary to mention the domains covered in this study and the methods we shall resort to. The history of everyday life is by default an area of interdisciplinary research. Part of broader areas such as social and cultural history, the concept of everyday life leads us immediatly to think of the history of mentalities, the history of nutrition, leisure, clothing, and furniture. The concern for these "material" aspects of habitation has led to the emergence of another domain: the history of material culture or *Wohnkultur*. Furthermore, while we choose to study town life, we also take into account urban history, architecture, the latest archeological discoveries and economic history. The documentary analysis we shall undertake will highlight the details, the particular, our research being conceived from a micro-historical perspective. From a socio-historical standpoint, some of the inventories outline not only the social-religious status of the owners/tenants, the family or the household structure, but also the entourage, the nature of the services they needed or the activities they fancied. In any case, our research focuses on exploiting original archival documents. In addition, we shall try to identify complementary sources: church books that can provide us with details about the owners and their families, archival documents regarding the city (rules and regulations, citizens' petitions to the local adminstration, guidelines for the mayors), travelers' and clerks' accounts, or cook books from that era. Visual sources – in particular, engravings, paintings, blueprints that show urban landscapes, interiors or portraits are an important advantage. The published results of archaeological excavations conducted in Timişoara in recent years, including descriptions and plates representing objects, are also an appropriate research instrument. The maps of Habsburg Timişoara published by architect Mihai Opriş can be very helpful for understanding the changing layout of the city. Marionela Wolf's study[1] regarding the use of wills as historical sources has served to us as an example of a research method, offering also useful translations of archaic German words. The script and the language in which eighteenth-century German documents were drafted pose a serious challenge, so for an accurate translation and understanding of the terms we have used several dictionaries and lexicons of archaisms in German[2], as well as the specialized literature in this field.

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[1] M. Wolf, *Chirurg-maior şi înalt temnicer în Timişoara carolină. Studiu de caz asupra recursului metodic la testamente şi acte notariale din prima jumătate a veacului al XVIII-lea* (*Major-Surgeon and High Jailor in Carol's Timişoara. Research on Methodic Recourse to Testament and Legal Papers in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*), in Studia UBB Historia, 51(2006),2.

[2] J. G. Krünitz, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie, oder allgemeines System der Staats-Stadt-Haus u. Landwirtschaft*, Berlin, 1812, http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de; J. Grimm, W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB; W. Haas (Hrsg.), *Provinzialwörter: deutsche Idiotismensammlungen aus dem 18. Jahrhunderts* (De Gruyter Verlag, Berlin/New York, 1994).

Our present article is envisaged as a plea for this kind of history, for exploring unpublished archival documents and for tapping the resources of several interconnected fields of research. The following pages are a brief introduction into the fascinating world of daily town life in the eighteenth century, mostly focusing on habitation or the *domestic sphere*[3] (a concept that includes the diversity of early modern houses). The structure of our study has four main parts: an introduction to living conditions in post-Ottoman Timişoara, a short description of the sources, the case studies – which form the core of the present article - and some concluding observations at the end.

<u>Habitation in Habsburg Timişoara</u>

Eighteenth-century Timişoara was a city built upon the ruins of the former Ottoman fortress or, rather, a city that was rebuilt and reconfigured to become the residency of the Austrian province of Banat. The effort to build new houses, to erect a different defense system, to create churches and military and administrative headquarters was completed by the end of the century. Over the first few decades, the old Turkish establishments were restored and used. Characteristic for the Habsburgs, the new rulers gathered information regarding the province they had conquered. For Timişoara, the authorities ordered a conscription of the buildings there. Carried out on 15 December 1717, the conscription certified the existence of: 401 houses, of which 243 had been ceded to the garrison (179 inside the Fortress walls, 61 in the *Große Pallanka* and 3 in the *Kleine Pallanka* – the two suburbs), 17 houses had been assigned to clerks or officials (Fortress), 32 to German citizens (24 inside the Fortress, 7 in the *Große Pallanka*, 1 in the *Kleine Pallanka*), 98 houses belonged to Orthodox Romanians and Serbs (3 in the Fortress, 95 in the *Große Pallanka*), 9 houses to Catholic Romanians and Serbs (3 inside the walls, 6 in the suburbs), and 2 houses to Jews. Besides these, there were 91 stores in the city, 3 in the *Große Pallanka*, 8 in the *Kleine Pallanka,* and 7 mosques.[4] In order to cover the basic needs of this recently conquered town, some of the first measures undertaken by the authorities targeted housing. Therefore, in 1718 the mayor and his councillors received instructions to ensure public safety and sanitation by making it mandatory for citizens to keep barrels with water and ladders at home (in case of fire), and to have a wooden or stone pavement in front of

[3] J. Eibach, I. Schmidt-Voges (Hrsg.), *Das Haus in der Geschichte Europas. Ein Handbuch* (De Gruyter Verlag, Berlin/Boston, 2015), p. 25.

[4] A. Țintă, *Situația Banatului la cucerirea lui de către habsburgi* (*Situation of Banat at the Habsburg Conquest*), in *Studii de Istorie a Banatului*, I(1969): 104.

every house.[5] A certain land plot outside the city walls (in the south) was organised for agriculture and a vegetable garden was created there – just enough to cover the citizens' basic food requirements. This was a 500 *Joch* lot, and the gardens were 1000 *Klafter* broad and at least 40 fathoms long.[6] One of the most urgent needs was to acquire building materials. Besides wood, bricks were a necesity, so they were produced and burned in special kilns near the city walls.[7]

The plans and expectations of the Austrian administration are visible in the "*Building Regulation for the City and Fortress of Timişoara*" (1728), written under Governor Mercy's direction, and in other guidelines for the clerks called *Instructions-Verordnung* (1721). The former required the demolishion of old wooden buildings and the erection of new ones, exclusivly made out of brick, placed within a rectangular chessboard-patterned network of streets; the chimneys were no longer to be built of wood or clay bricks and the ground floor needed to be designed with an arch. An annex to this Regulation (1730) added further specifications; the Constructions Comitee had the following members: Eyersperg (Major of Paradeplatz), Deschan von Hansen (councilor of the Banat Administration), the two head architects Kunle and La Cass, cashier Reisenbüchler and accountant keeper Kempf. The citizens who wanted to build houses had to address themselves to this comitee for purchasing materials.[8] All over Europe, these kinds of Regulations were intended to ensure harmonious and homogenous characteristics inside urban dwellings.[9] The second document we mentioned, *Instructions-Verordnung*, brings a clear image of the living conditions in Banat to light: "the subjects in the province live mostly in disheveled homes, in hovels, in the woods, being, here and there, always on the move; that is why it would be better if they lived in permanent houses, as this minor change could bring only advantages; they should build tidy homes, with rooms, pantries, stables and gardens."[10]

It was not only Timişoara's physical appearance that had to suffer during the siege and the post-1716 reconstruction works, but also its social structures. For an ideal understanding of townspeople and how their social status was

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[5] *Instruction*, SJAN Timiş (Archives of Timiş County), fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara* (*Timişoara's Town Hall*), 2/1718, f. 4 v.-f. 5.

[6] *Grundbrief des bürgerlichen Terrens*, SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 2/1718, f. 10 v., f. 11; J. N. Preyer, *Monographie der königlichen Freistadt Temesvár,* Ed. Amarcord, Timişoara, 1995, p. 189; 1 Klafter=1,896 m; 1 Joch=0,57 ha, J. Jakob, *Masse, Gewichte und Währungen im Banat 1718-1990* (Mainz, 2000), p. 7.

[7] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 5/1718, f. 4 - f. 4 v, 9/1718, f. 1, f. 2 v.

[8] SJAN Timiş, fund *Comandamentul General Bănăţean* (*Banat General Headquarters*), batch V, 1/1730.

[9] J. Eibach, I. Schmidt-Voges (Hrsg.), *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[10] *Instructions-Verordnung*, legalized copy from 1789, SJAN Timiş, fund *Colecţia de documente Muzeul Banatului* (*Documentary Collection of Museum of Banat*), 111/1721.

reflected by their living conditions, a description of the general framework is required. Habsburg Timişoara did not reflect perfectly the traditional division of early modern urban societies. The traditional upper class – the patricians or the older inhabitants, the economic and political elite, sometimes part of the nobility – was missing in post-Ottoman Timişoara. The few nobles to be found in eighteenth century Banat were an imported element. The oldest inhabitants of the city were the Romanians, Serbians and Jews who had chosen to stay after the Austrian conquest; according to the plans of the new authorities, however, the representatives of these ethnicities were to be part of the city's elite only to a lesser extent. Therefore we propose the following conventional classification: the upper layer consisted of the provincial governor, the fortress and garrison commander, the head councilors of the Administration, the garrison's high ranking officers, the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox bishops, people bestowed upon sometimes with noble titles and appropriate incomes; we would add the mayor and town councilors, on account of their position, and the wealthy merchants. The middle class consisted of all the skilled labourers working in construction, manufactories, the Administration, the garrison and court clerks or officials, members of religious orders (Jesuits, Salvatorian and Bosnian Franciscans, Misericordians), soldiers, craftsmen and merchants. The bottom layer of society comprised domestic servants, helpers or apprentices of various craftsmen, unskilled workers from manufactories, carriers, day-laborers, executioners, torturers, beggars, fugitives, and convicts. With the huge help of colonists, the authorities succeded in creating this diverse urban society. In the following pages we shall try to reflect on the housing and living conditions of those times.

Sources: typology and classification of content

The main sources for our research on early modern towns are inventories. The names of these documents from Timişoara's Archive are typical for the time in question: *Inventarium* or *Specification*, followed by "über [...] rückgelassene Verlassenschaft/ Verlassenschaftsvermögen" (inventory/ specification on the estate/ legacy left behind).

Most of the documents we have chosen are wills, with lists of goods or just an inventory of objects possessed, written after someone's death. Also useful are some sale–purchase or lease contracts (of houses and/or pubs), the inventory of a café, one of the local brewery and brandy distilery. To these we can add some other interesting sources such as church books, food price tables, regulations and guidelines for townspeople (regarding hygiene and public safety, rules for the production and sale of alcohol, bread, construction regulations, etc.).

Going back to our inventories, we should first remark their proportions and complexity. At this point we believe that when it comes to humble citizens with few assets, the inventories are short and the goods are listed on only a few pages of the will. Let us take the example of Sebastian Neuer – master blacksmith, who died in 1747. In the four pages of the will, one can first read his debts and then his possessions. The modest blacksmith owned two sets of clothes (men's jackets and trousers), five shirts, a silver brimmed hat, two pairs of silk stockings and a pair of shoes, most of them old and worn-out. As part of the trousseau, the Neuer family owned a set of bed linens with 11 pillows, to be inherited by his widow. As for the dishes used in the household, the inventory included tin bowls, plates and mugs, copper pots and trays and a laundry cauldron. The furniture consisted of an oval table, an old chest for clothes, two beds (all made of wood) and three leather armchairs. From the tools used for his craft, Sebastian Neuer kept (probably in his workshop or in the room reserved for work) various nails, horseshoes, hammers, some bellows used to stoke the fire, a shackle, etc. The house itself was an old Turkish establishment valued at only 20 fl.[11]

Long and detailed inventories were drawn up for the elites, who had a more prominent position within the old society and boasted considerable wealth. These inventories offer the most surprising and exciting forays into the past. In wills of the wealthy, the objects were grouped more clearly. The following categories appear in the inventories we have studied: money, real estate (usually at the beginning or at the end), precious metal objects (gold, silver), porcelain objects, books, clothes, linen, tableware, weapons, harnesses, copper, tin, brass and iron objects, furniture and decorations, animals, products such as wine or certain foods, followed by chariots and waggons. In some cases, the goods were not grouped by fabrics or the materials they were made of, but depending on where they were located (kitchen, bedroom, stable, cellar), giving the researcher a more viable insight from three hundred years ago, as will be shown further. To give an example, here is the inventory of the Arad fortress commander, Count of Bourg, the most comprehensive document yet analyzed. We shall avoid presenting too many details now because these will be the subject of another study. The document does not only offer a look at household items, fine clothes, fashionable furniture, wines, but also at other movable and immovable possessions (2 houses in Arad, 1 mill, 1 house in Belgrade, waggons, chariots, horses, cattle, sheep) that diversify the typologies of known objects from other inventories.[12] In any case, regardless of the form or size of the inventory, the greatest challenges of research are the

[11] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 1/1719.
[12] SJAN Timiş, fund *Comandamentul General Bănățean*, batch II, 6/1728.

discovery of what lies behind words (often old words, vanished from the basic vocabulary), then understanding their functionality and how they fit into the context of habitation.

A glimpse inside old houses from Timişoara

Houses in Austrian Timişoara followed, as far as we know, the pattern of early modern habitation on the continent. The typlology includes lodgings/rental flats (*Mietwohnungen*), houses of the bourgeoisie and villas of the nobility. The first category consists of residential complexes composed of several flats (each divided into one room - and a kitchen, at the same time, next to a pantry). The houses of townspeople with considerable income could be built with 1-2 levels, and in this case the lucrative activities (workshop, store, pub) were to be found on the ground floor, the owners living on the first floor (where the room, the pantry and the kitchen were located), while the servants lived on the second floor or in the attic. The patricians lived in larger houses, equipped with annexes, cellars and courtyards, whose ground floor was intended for the family business.[13]

The examples of two types that we will present in-depth are buildings from eighteenth-century Timişoara, for which we were able to find their exact location on the map. Firstly, we have a private home, owned by the Klang family in the 1750s, which also included the pub *Zum weißen Engel* (*At the White Angel*). The second case study is about a larger town house divided into lodgings, known among old (and contemporary) citizens of Timişoara under the name Solderer House or *Zur den drei Kronen* (*At the Three Crowns*). Although the original exterior appearance of these buildings remains unknown, it is possible to depict their structure, their interior and also to describe their furniture and other domestic objects.

At the White Angel. Researching Joseph Klang's house brings information regarding the owner's social status, possessions, fashion, interior design and gastronomic habits.

By a sale-purchase contract dating back to November 12, 1757, Joseph Kulterer sold the pub *At the White Angel* and the house to Joseph Klang, innkeeper, at a price of 7500 fl, to be paid in installments. Among the contract's signatories, we find that of the mayor back then, Anton Klang, and of the counselor Pietro Antonio Del Pondio, future mayor. The seller himself – Kulterer – was mayor of the town in the 1760s. The pub seems to have older roots if we are to trust the secondary sources. Its first known innkeeper was Adam Rohmleithner and the establishment was to be found inside the fortress.

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[13] R. van Dülmen, *Kultur und Alltag in der frühen Neuzeit*, Bd. 1: *Das Haus und seine Menschen 16. - 18. Jahrhundert* (Verlag C.H. Beck, München, 1990), p. 60-63.

Later, on a list of confirmed public houses from 1743, the publican here was Eusebius Rauch. According to a Memorandum of innkeepers from 1754, the owner of the *White Angel* was Maria Anna Hetzin.[14] The last name is certified also by our archival document,[15] because the sale contract reveals the fact that Joseph Kulterer was the guardian and trustee of one child of the Hetz family. Assuming that the husband of Maria Anna Hetzin was Jacob Hetz, as the church books attest (deceased in 1753), one notices that he appears to have been the owner of house no. 43 on a map from 1752.[16] Thus we have the location for the building we are about to research: the establishment with an interior courtyard on the corner of the streets *Eugenygasse* (today *Eugeniu de Savoya* Street) and *Präsidentengasse* (*Mercy* Street today).

Joseph Klang was counselor at the city hall and publican *At the White Angel*. According to Timişoara's "Bürgerbuch", he was born not far away, in Raab/Győr and became a citizen in Octomber 1753 at the age of 26,[17] but we believe that he arrived in town one year earlier, when his first marriage took place. His marriages were unlucky, as both his first and second wives (Barbara Schmidt and Anna Maria Walter) died young and he remarried shortly afterwards. With his third wife, Margareta Seiler, he had two daughters: Clara and Anna Maria. It seems that the first child, born in 1760, did not live to the age of 7 (she is not mentioned among the succesors in her father's will of 1767). Her sister also had a short life and died on September 15, 1772.[18] According to our calculations, Klang lived 40 years. In the following pages details about his family's way of living in the 15 years he spent in Timişoara will be revealed.

Getting back to our primary source, the heirs of Klang's estate were his wife Margareta and his daughter Anna Maria. Just a quick look at the inventory suggests the Klang family was a wealthy one. Nothing could be more true.Their house had 6 rooms (mostly named by their dominant color: yellow, green, blue, red, then the penultimate room and bedroom), besides the pub. Also, Klang had cash and owned firearms, silverware, carts and horses, wine barrels with hundreds of liters in the house and other cellars. With a

[14] S. Hirsch, *The Colorful World of Public Houses. Ownership, Clientele and Leisure Time Activities in 18th Century Timişoara,* in *Journal of Education, Culture and Society*, Wroclaw, 2(2015): 339, 342.

[15] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 8/1773; documents from this file are: a sale-purchase contract between Joseph Kulterer and Joseph Klang, dated November 12, 1757 and estate inventory of the deceased Joseph Klang, dated June 16, 1767.

[16] E. Aldag, *Ortsfamilienbuch Temeschburg Stadt 1718-1861*, Band 2 (Cardamina Verlag, Buxtehude, 2014), p.1096; M. Opriş, *Timişoara. Monografie urbanistică* (*Timişoara. Urban Monpgraphy*), vol. I (Ed. Brumar, Timişoara, 2007), pp. 65-66.

[17] Bürgerbuch – Catastrum Civium, Muzeul Banatului Timişoara, p. 987.

[18] E. Aldag, *op.cit.*, Band 2, pp. 1452-1453.

fortune estimated at almost 20,000 fl, this family was definitely part of Timişoara's upper class.

We shall begin with a central place in any bourgeois house. The Klang family's dining room was called the Yellow Room, due to the window curtains' color. It contained 3 small tables and an oak table, 12 armchairs and a rush sofa. The room also had a bar-buffet, or *kredenz*, of high quality, having been handmade by a sculptor. The walls were embellished with two mirrors and various stucco paintings with: hunting, agricultural, and maritime scenes, fruit images, alongside a portrait of "the Imperial Prince" (likely Eugene of Savoy[19]). Of course, the family also owned various types of dishware. The guests of the Klangs were served coffee and tea in some of the 12 porcelain cups, or enjoyed hot chocolate from cups or specially made glasses for this particular drink. In addition to other cups and kettles, we also find a set of 18 Bohemian glass tumblers, with gilded trims and 6 tumblers for Rosoglio[20] liqueur, another 6 glasses of Tokay wine, also with gilded trims and 6 simple glasses. They seemed to have had all necessities available for the meal ritual, especially since within this social class it had remained a lengthy activity.

The Green Room served as a place of prayer, as evidenced by the objects in this room, but also by its name - "Capelle oder grüne Zimmer". Being more modest than the one described above, the simplicity of space is given by a solid wood table, a carpet, a wardrobe, a small box for writing instruments, two green and two yellow armchairs. Piety is helped by the crucifix and the painting of the Virgin Mary, alongside which there are 15 smaller paintings

We shift to another room, called the Blue Room, which could very well have served as a relaxation space for the Klang family, as it contained a table, 6 blue-lined armchairs, two folding chairs and a sofa. On one wall there was a solid wood cabinet with drawers and shelves. The room was decorated by a mirror with 4 candlesticks, a crucifix and several paintings (one representing the seasons, a copper engraving) and, last but not least, the windows were covered with blue curtains.The following two rooms (the Red Room and the penultimate room) were similarly furnished: one or more tables, armchairs and a sofa, two mirrors and paintings. The Red Room had portraits of the

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[19] Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736), commander of the imperial armies during the Turkish wars, the conqueror of Timişoara in 1716, a figure with an impressive military and political carrier.

[20] Rosoglio (Rossoli) liqueur is a sweet alcoholic beverage of Italian origin, whose name can be used to indicate the Ros Solis plant (Tau der Sonne/Drosera) made from various spices and herbs: cinnamon, coriander, anise, cloves, nutmeg , together with fruits (lemons, oranges) and sugar, depending on the recipe; see the explanations and various recipes in the Encyclopedia of J. G. Krünitz.

Imperial couple Charles and Elizabeth,[21] while in the other room were the portraits of Francis and Maria Theresa.[22]

Finally, we reach the space meant for resting. The furnishing of the family bedroom consisted of a wardrobe with 3 drawers, four armchairs in yellow, assorted with curtains and, of course, a bed for which they had 8 quality linen and 5 normal bed linen. In this space, a pendulum rang every quarter of an hour.[23]

Of course, the fine dishes and cups listed in the living room are not the only ones. They are joined by silverware, made up largely of 12 or 24 piece cutlery sets, as well as a sugar bowl with 6 coffee teaspoons, a glass or a kettle. Also worth seeing are the Klang-owned weapons: Damascus style pistols and muskets (two of each), two pistols and brass slings, two normal muskets, two pocket pistols, and two other firearms.The Klang spouses' wealth included several special coins: 16 Souverain d'Or coins (valued at 198 fl), 3 Kremnitz ducats and 4 talers.[24] The house itself was valued at 7,000 fl (including the pub license), 10 years after its purchase, when it was priced at 7,500 fl. For the trips, they used the four-seat cart drawn by two horses, which, together with the harness gear, was valued at 200 fl.

From the inventory of the deceased, we can also establish what garments he wore. Being part of the wealthy bourgeoisie of Timișoara, Joseph Klang dressed in fine clothes made from materials that were trendy in Western Europe. Tunics of various colors and materials (one of French cloth in Pompadour style, one of red camgarn[25]), white, blue, black, red, silk plush vests, with gold buttons or silver trims, plush pants, numerous shirts of Swiss cloth, silk stockings, night caps, a hat, a wolf fur and three pairs of new shoes.[26] What a difference to the wardrobe described above, belonging to the blacksmith Neuer, made up of few clothes, and even those shabby!

The private living space of the Klang family was at the same time - as was typical for the era – used for their trade. The head of the family was a bartender and he owned *At the White Angel*. Besides the initial data, we can also deduce that the pub functioned in one of the rooms of the building. Guests crossing the threshold of that pub could take a seat at one of the 16

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[21] Carol VI of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria (Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire: 1711-1740) and his wife Elisabeth of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.

[22] Francis Stefan, Duke of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany (Emperor: 1745-1765) and his wife Maria Theresa of Habsburg, Archducess of Austria (Queen of Hungary and Bohemia: 1740-1780).

[23] Inventory of all rooms, SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 8/1773, f. 6v-9.

[24] Inventory of precious objects, 8/1773, f. 5-6v.

[25] camgarn (das Kammgarn/der Kamelott) = high quality fabric, made of fine wool, with a special weave.

[26] Wardrobe inventory, 8/1773, f. 5v-6.

tables, with 12 leather armchairs, 18 rush chairs and 19 chairs with backrests. The pub also had benches and sofas. Drinks were held in a buffet and served at the bar counter. Of course, the glasses for customers were not as valuable as those in the family's living room, but they were suited for such a place: 44 0.3 liter bottles, 34 0.5 liter bottles, 50 glasses, 5 mugs, 5 tin kettles, 2 wine funnels, one set of graded pots. The publicans served both types of wine that were once popular in Banat, namely Buda wine and a local variant. The inventory also gives us details about the total quantity of wine, as follows: in the house itself there were 10 barrels of Buda wine (1 Eimer at the price of 5 fl) and 37 barrels of Banat wine (1 Eimer at 3 fl 30 kr), totaling more than 400 Eimer. It seems that the same family took care of the town hospital eatery, while they owned 67 barrels of provincial wine in its cellar, and the guest-room furniture also belonged to them (7 tables, 5 benches and 24 chairs). We know that the civil hospital's eatery was part of those *Bierhäuser* attested in 1756, which had received the right to serve beer and wine.[27] The amount of wine preserved by the Klang family already seems impressive, but that is not all: Joseph Klang still kept 875 Eimer of wine from Buda in the Jesuit cellar and 461 Eimer in the new supply chamber's cellar.[28] According to our calculations, multiplying the amount gathered by 60 (1 Eimer = approx. 60 liters) results in a huge number of nearly 140,000 liters of wine. So Klang was not just an inkeeper but also a wine trader, this assumption being supported by the inventory, because among his debts we find one of 631 fl and 33 kr, owed to the customs office, with the mention "for the delivered wines". He also owed various parties over 2,000 fl. for procuring the same beverage from all around the province. This wine was served at the bar, but was also sold in Timișoara, as shown by an example from the same inventory: Bartolomeu Lederer bought 90 Eimer of wine from Klang. Of course, the success of Klang's business, his family's wealth and, implicitly, the complex inventory is partly due to his choosing to participate in the wine trade, given the poor quality of drinking water, as well as to oversee a public establishment. If we imagine the interiors of these people's house, they certainly reflect the owners' social status, which tallies with the position of town counselor that the head of the family eventually held.

At the Three Crowns. The second location chosen as an example was located near *The White Angel*. One of the most imposing of the city's buildings could be found at the intersection of *V. Alecsandri* and *E. Savoya* Streets, called *Zu den drei Kronen* or *Solderisches Haus*, valued at approximately 24,000 fl at the middle of the century. This palace is linked to the personality of Mayor Peter

[27] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 2/1756.
[28] Pub and wine inventory, 8/1773, f. 9-14.

Solderer[29] (who held office from 1722 to 1741), remembered for the inauguration of the new Town Hall in 1735, for his business and offices (he was a merchant, an innkeeper, chief of a horse exchange station – *Landvorspannsbeförderer*, a leaseholder of beer and brandy production). Solderer was one of the first citizens of Timişoara (in 1717), settling there when he was 27 years old.

This building is important not only for its size, but because it gives us a close look inside it. Since construction was only financed through loans, even after Solderer's death, its income was intended to pay these debts. What better way to make a profit out of a palace if not by dividing it into several homes for rent and also allocating space for an ever present pub. The documents provide accurate information regarding the building's income and expenditure; therefore we can find the tenants' names, their jobs and the rooms they occupied. The palace's layout is square, with an internal courtyard, with a cellar and a stable. Two sides faced the perpendicular streets formerly called *Eugenygasse* and *Wienergasse*. The building consists of a ground floor and two storeys, dominating the quarter. Thus, in regards to types of premodern buildings, this is an example of *Zinspalais* divided into several accommodation spaces for rent (*Mietwohnungen* or *Wohngelegenheiten* – as they appear in documents).

Let us take a look inside the building. First of all, the inhabitants of Timişoara frequented the ground floor pub. We have confirmed its activity for June-August 1745, when publican Frantz Zwirner was paying 16 fl rent for 1 large room, 1 small room, pantry and cellar, followed by Rudolph Krauthann (master binder) who paid 48 fl for the months between August 1745 and February 1746; for the months of January-December of 1748, Franz Gumberth paid 83 fl 32 kr as rent. Later, the Solderer House was leased to innkeeper Gregor Taffner for 1,300 fl per year (we have proof of payment for 1754-1757).[30] Still, we believe Taffner was not the only one tending to the pub, but also a certain Michael Constantin. An inventory written after his death (1755) shows that he dealt with a *Zins-Gaststube* called "*drey Cronen*", sub-leased from Taffner,[31] about which we shall return with more details.

Outside this leisure space, there were 24 other apartments of different sizes and compartments for all pockets and requirements, available for rent.[32] Tenants could opt for one or more rooms, with or without a kitchen and a

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[29] Details on Solderer's life and his palace in B. Schiff, *Eine alte Hauschronik. Aus dem Lebensroman des Stadtrichters Solderer*, in *Temesvarer Zeitung*, nr. 76(1934) and A. P. Petri, *Biographisches Lexikon des Banater Deutschtums* (Th. Breit Druck, Marquarstein, 1992), pp. 1826-1827.

[30] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 6/1745, f. 64, 68, 74, 80, 86, 94.

[31] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 6/1745, f. 99.

[32] All the details regarding partitions, tenants and price rates, 6/1745, f. 80-81v, 86-88v.

pantry, with a cellar, a fireplace, near the stairs or in the corner. If the tenants had horses or carriages, they could rent lodging in the stable. The ground floor was divided into 10 dwellings (including the pub) in the form of shops and another room with or without a kitchen; the first storey contained 9 apartments and the second one only 5. As was the practice at the time (and it still is to the present day), the ground floor of the town buildings often accommodated workshops, offices, shops, stalls for merchants or craftsmen, and our example is no exception. The building hosted Armenians and Jews dealing with small trade, a tailor, a furrier, but also the so-called coffee makers, who either had a small stall or simply prepared and sold the coffee at the counter to all customers. The first storey provided accommodation to several other Jews, including Rabbi Abraham Mayer. The apartment at number 12 (3 rooms, 1 pantry with a kitchen) was inhabited for a few years by Menas Barum, none other than the Armenian abbot who had arrived in town to help develop the leather goods trade. He laid the foundations for the city's morocco manufacturing,[33] for which he brought families of Armenian and Turkish specialists. The second floor hosted, for a while, an Administration clerk, a salt office inspector, a musician, another rabbi, an Armenian merchant and the building administrator, who lived there for free due to his job. We may notice that among the tenants there were many Jews, many of them among the oldest inhabitants of Timișoara: Menachem Salomon, Moyses Coronel, Nisim Tebet, and Baruch Isac - who remained in the city after the siege of 1716. Additionally, some Jews settled here in the following decades: Abraham Mayer came from Belgrade in 1740, Lazar Besanze/Peschanze from Alba-Iulia in 1723, Joseph Juda and Samuel Ledidy settled here after fleeing the war in 1737 precisely from the capitals of the neighboring provinces that would be lost by the Austrians: Craiova and Belgrade respectively.[34] The fact that Jews were present in the *intra muros* area of Habsburg Timișoara, and even in one of its hallmark buildings, should come as no surprise. Although officialy the authorities tried to limit their numbers, they admitted their partial failure to do so, as the cited document attests. Of course, on the first and second floors there were also flats of simple craftsmen, such as a bookmaker, a turner, a shoemaker, a cooper, a coach driver, or a grave digger.

Getting back to the Solderer House partitions, it is documented that some rooms remained empty for some periods, while others stored commodities. Those who afforded to pay 60 fl annually could stay in 3 rooms with a kitchen; the price for 1 room with a kitchen was 24 fl, while renting a

[33] morocco = fine goat/sheep leather, made for luxury shoes.

[34] Conscription of Spanish and German Jews from Timişoara, SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 1/1743, f. 1-13.

shop on the ground floor with another 2 rooms and a kitchen would cost over 100 fl per year. A place for a horse in the stable costs just over 1 fl. At one point, two apartments were rented by the same person, which consisted of three large rooms, two small ones, two kitchens, a stable lodging and a cellar, for 13 fl and 20 kr per month. This *Zinspalais* had about 18 kitchens in total, and 3 rooms out of a total of 40 had a fireplace. The number of each type of room and apartment should be considered as an approximation, since the configuration and functionality of some of them could change from year to year.

As we proposed above, we will now look more carefully inside the pub *At the Three Crowns*, situated on the building's ground floor. In the 1750s it was already famous among Timișoara's inhabitants, because it was among the places where "there are many balls, the citizens are invited by tickets, using a box at the entrance, where they pay 30 kr." In order to avoid bothering the neighborhood because of party noise, the owners were warned by the authorities that they would have to pay an extra fee if the music continued after 10 pm.[35] But what did this pub look like during the day and what services did it offer? According to the inventory of Rascian Michael Constantin, there were tables, benches and chairs (6 in total). Although it does not appear to have been large, the pub provided not only alcoholic beverages but also food. Being a sausage manufacturer and vender, we consider that the host offered this specialty to customers, as well as other dishes, such as coiled baked bread, pies, or green beans. As evidence of his main occupation, the inventory shows that he also owned a tent used as a market stall. In fact, it seems that these *Wursthändler* were once often seen in German and Italian cities.[36] The Rascian publican, similar to those mentioned before, lived near the eatery, together with his wife, Stana, in a rented apartment on the ground floor of the Solderer House. Theirs was a modest home, fitted with an old closet, a table, three chairs and a bed. The walls were decorated with some paintings and two small mirrors, and lighting was provided by the two brass candlesticks.[37] Obviously, we can only imagine that this was just one type of home, and in other "apartments" in the same house there was more diverse furniture, richer inventories, because the tenants had other social and economic statuses, hence, different standards of living.

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[35] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 6/1756, f. 1.

[36] F. Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th – 18th Century*, Vol.I *The Structures of Everyday Life* (University of California Press, 1992), p. 198; our inventory uses the archaic term *Bratl Brater*.

[37] According to the inventory, the eatery also contained: 190 okka of green beens, 100 okka of bread flour, 8 pints of brandy, Rascian coiled baked bread, 2 copper kettles, 2 copper pie trays, one weight, 3 dough kneading bowls, 2 flour sieves, 3 graded pots and funnels, SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 6/1745, f. 98-99.

The Solderer House is an ideal case and has given us the possibility of an example inside an example, that is, it has enabled us to shift our gaze from the general partition of the palace to the particular case of the *At the Three Crowns* pub and to the bartender's home. Throughout the eighteenth century, this imposing palace was home for many of Timişoara's inhabitants, from public servants, church officials, businessmen or craftsmen. The examples of 1745-1746, 1748 and 1755 allowed us to find the living conditions inside it, but they also highlighted the social mobility – typical for that time in such an urban dwelling place. The colonists would come, seek a livelihood, set up homes and families, and when the challenges were too great, they would leave for other destinations.

At the end of our journey through the homes of Timișoara's inhabitants from almost three hundred years ago, some observations are required. Following the examples given in this study, we first notice the different forms of dwellings in the eighteenth century. Speaking strictly of houses, they were either old Turkish ones, still standing for a while, or were made of brick, as demanded by the new regulations, of various sizes, from single-family homes to those *Zinspalais* (themselves a habitation microcosm). It is difficult to showcase the complexity of the society that appeared in Banat after the Austrian conquest with just a few examples.

The Klang family house allowed us a virtual walk through the daily life of Timișoara's well-off bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the inventory mentioned at the start of this study (that of the blacksmith Neuer) and of the publican Constantin show the characteristics of another social layer, which we may call the lower middle class. In order to get closer to viewing the domestic sphere and to answering some of the initial questions, here we are going back to the details of these researched cases.

We will begin with the benchmarks offered by the general studies on habitation in the early modern age. It was found that on the inside, the rooms were usually painted white, and in the case of the wealthiest owners, the walls could be covered with wood pannelling or wallpaper. The floor had originally been just compacted earth, and from the fourteenth century on there are attested ceramic tiles or parquet flooring, quite widespread by the time our research focuses on. The old ceiling had exposed wooden beams, in richer houses the beams were decorated by painting or engraving, and the eighteenth century brought along the trend of having the ceilings painted entirely in white, which was why the beams were covered with gypsum.[38] For the moment we can imagine that the interiors of Timişoara's dwellings looked similar, because we have not found any details on this matter yet; in any case,

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[38] R. van Dülmen, *op. cit.*, p. 67; F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, p. 294-296.

what is known is that some rooms had carpets covering the floors. In addition, using painting for wall decorations is often attested in our documents.

A house's structure was influenced by the economic status of the owners/tenants. The basic partitions of a dwelling were the kitchen and the room – sometimes that was all some townspeople had at their disposal during that time. Examining our chosen examples, we discovered that typical dwelling types of the European premodern era could be found in Timişoara: *Mietwohnungen* (the "apartments" in the Solderer House), homes of craftsmen or wealthy citizens (the Klang house) and patrician palaces (we could count the commander's new house in this category - located on the southern side of the Parade Square, or the Deschan palace of the Administration councillor Johann Anton Deschan von Hannsen, which still exists on the *Proclamația de la Timişoara* Street).

Returning to a dwellings' chambers, in the modest ones the family spent most of the time in the kitchen, due to the presence of the stove there - a source of heat. Concerning heating, we have documented the fireplace as the rooms' source of warmth. Terracotta stoves had spread into towns already in the sixteenth century. Although the upper class homes had at least one room with a fireplace, this "object", as other studies have observed,[39] was usually excluded from the inventory. For Timișoara, the fireplace appears in the description of rented flats *At the Three Crowns*, and the kitchen was also attested there. In the case of the Klang family, the inventory does not include the cooking space or a fireplace in any room, but we know they existed. In fact, the variety of dishware and cutlery implies activities such as cooking main courses or desserts, preparing and serving tea, coffee, hot chocolate and alcoholic beverages. In addition, the "tinware" category includes "kitchen utensils". For Michael Constantin these activities were part of his trade, so he had pots for kneading dough, bowls for pies, or graded pots for drinks. His inventory is also important because it includes perishable products (rarely mentioned in documents) such as green beans, flour or coiled bread.The Klang family dower is also proof of a rich meal ritual, using silver cutlery (knives, forks, spoons), tablecloths and napkins. Also, several drinks typical for the time found their way inside the glasses, cups, tea kettles in the family's buffet: beer, wine, liqueur, coffee, tea, hot chocolate. Other studied inventories also mention soup bowls, bowls, ladles, salad bowls, bowls for sweets or pralines, sugar bowls, various other plates and cups made of copper, tin, porcelain or silver. The Commander of Arad owned even bottles of olive oil and a

[39] C. Heß, *Danziger Wohnkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit. Untersuchungen zu Nachlassinventaren des 17. und 18. Jhs.* (LIT Verlag, Berlin, 2007), p. 31.

Gugelhopf cake tray. We can say without doubt that a variety of dishes graced the tables of townsmen from Timişoara three hundred years ago.

We can, therefore, establish that Timişoara was in line with the trend regarding meal rituals, because elements that have long been ignored – the fork or the napkin –were found in almost all the houses studied. Generally, there were certain elements that caused changes in the meal serving culture, but they were also specific only to certain social classes: tablecloths, napkins or damask napkins, porcelain dishes, etc. If cutlery such as the spoon and knife have an older history, it seems that the fork is a special case. Its older relative – the fork used to handle or serve food – has older origins, but the use of a fork was to spread very slowly from the sixteenth century on.[40] Of course, eating solid food using fingers seemed natural back then. As an example of the previous statement, the Klang family had 100 "fine and normal" napkins and 3 tablecloths, a porcelain cup set and a 36-piece silver cuttlery set, which included forks.

Two types of indispensable pieces of furniture – tables and chairs – were needed to serve the meals – we might say at first glance. Still, the epoch we are dealing with complicated things a little. Firstly, at the dawn of modernity, people used benches more. The chair, used since the sixteenth century, was initially intended for a person with a special status, such as the head of the family – to emphasize his patriarchal position. Because in some social strata habitation had begun to limit the room's initial space, luxury moved towards the furniture, with all sorts of tables: gaming tables, card tables, "mute waiter" (a table with shelves), desks.[41] These are also attested in Timișoara's inventories, some used as storage spaces for backup cutlery or dishes and for food before serving. In addition, all the Klang family's furniture is of considerable variety, considering the tables in each room (10 in total), sofas, armchairs and cupboards.

We shall now go to another type of room that had become essential in time: the bedroom. As we might have already noticed, day or night household activities did not necessarily have a correspondent in one room or another. It is true, however, that the eighteenth century gradually changed this mentality and the trend was towards intimacy and comfort. The bedroom became a separate space during this period. The central furniture of the bedroom was the bed. A first question has put our imagination to the test: why did the bed (*das Bett*) appear in the form of *Bettstatt* and what lay behind this term mentioned by the sources? In the past, the bed was made of cloth covered

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[40] R. van Dülmen, *op. cit.*, p. 65; F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, p. 205; B. Bryson, *At Home: A Short History of Private Life* (Doubleday, 2010), pp. 205-206.

[41] F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, p. 309-310; B. Bryson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

straw, like a mattress, nothing more; as comfort increased, the rest of the elements – the wooden frame made up of the frame, the legs, and the perch came to be called *Bettstatt* (the skeleton of the bed).[42] Thus, "*Bett mit Bettstatt*" attests that the owners were already sleeping in a bed similar to present day ones. The blacksmith Neuer, in our first example, had two old beds with a finished wooden frame in his house. The house owners of *At the White Angel* were sleeping in a "high" bed, and the Constantin family did the same. Sometimes, the bed linen including the pillows were mentioned alongside the bed; otherwise, they appeared in the "whites" category (along with shirts, handkerchiefs, curtains, tablecloths, napkins). The sausage merchant Constantin's dower included 15 cotton sheets, that of the Neuer family 1 change of bedding with blankets and 11 pillows, and Klang and his wife had 8 fine and 5 normal changes of bedding. In the wealthier houses the bed could be an expensive piece of furniture, as exemplified by that previously mentioned, which was worth 50 fl.

There are a few other elements that show the domestic sphere's degree of comfort. One of the most important daily problems brought by sunset was lack of light. Interior lighting was for a long time provided by wax candles, placed in candlesticks, or by oil lamps. The candlestick was an indispensable object in inventories, whether made of silver, brass or tin. Such a type of illumination greatly increased the cost of living. What was the price of wax candles in eighteenth century Timișoara? To answer, we have tables with the prices of the various consumables from 1773 and 1775, according to which 10 candles made up 1 pound, which cost 11 cr.[43] In terms of diversity, the documents attest a particular type of candlestick – the one with a mirror, which we have to imagine attached to the mirrors in the rooms exactly like today's lightbulbs or bathroom mirror lights function.

Other benchmarks of comfort in the old houses were related to hygiene. Physical hygiene left a lot to be desired, there was no bathing ritual, and clothes were not washed too often. Public baths had fallen out of use as a custom in the Middle Ages and premodern times because of the danger of illness. The streets or courtyards were enough for physiological needs, while chamber pots were emptied out the window. Closely connected with low living standards, the lack of cleanliness and modern hygiene left its mark on habitation. However, the bourgeois houses did not enjoy more comfort. For example, only in the sixteenth century were toilets introduced into town dwellings, but the bath itself remained a luxury and a rarity until the eighteenth century. People used a bowl to wash their face and hands, pouring

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[42]F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, p. 308; B. Bryson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
[43] SJAN Timiş, fund *Primăria Municipiului Timişoara*, 29/1773 and 1/1775.

water from a carafe, and barrels or large basins were used for bathing. So far we have discovered only one chamber pot in the Klang family inventory and one "bowl" used for hand washing. In the case of the Neuer family, we have a laundry boiling pot, and the commander of Arad owned 10 glass washing basins and a small silver *lavoir*. Towels were found in almost all houses and the use of soap was documented by the same above-mentioned price tables.

From this short journey we can conclude that the eighteenth century was still a world of simplicity, of satisfying basic needs, of dark interiors without much comfort or cleanliness, regardless of furniture variety, the dishes or the wardrobe. Hence, a world of contrasts, in which we have looked in detail only through these few examples. We have been able to answer some questions and curiosities about the possessions of Timișoara's inhabitants, we have shown that wealthier townspeople were aware of trends popular on the rest of the continent and that there were some homes with a rich dower. Of course, the case studies could have given us the possibility to write about more subjects like the origins of objects, clothes and fashion, interior design, nutrition and gastronomy, entourage and the favourite activities of the house owners, etc. However, to all of them we will dedicate some other pages, at another time. Also, the researched inventories and those reserved for future studies will demonstrate in time how close we can get to the daily life of Timișoara in the past. We consider this incipient study to be an exercise of imagination and interpretation, by which we can anchor the benchmarks of the domestic sphere in Timișoara within the European framework, while emphasizing their originality and distinctiveness. For now, we have just opened a few doors but have found countless curiosities from the everyday life of an eighteenth-century city.

Setting up Confessional Borders: The Uniates and the Orthodox in Hunedoara County in a Time of "Temptation" (1759-1761)

Greta-Monica Miron
Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
E-mail: gretamiron@yahoo.com

Abstract

In this study, I aim to reconstruct the distribution of religious denominations in the county of Hunedoara and to present the dynamics of conversion from the Uniate to the Orthodox faith and vice versa in the first half of the 18th century, with particular emphasis on the Orthodox movement led by the monk Sofronie from Cioara (1759-1761). The case study reveals the balance of power between the episcopacy and the local clergy, the centralizing tendencies of the former and the centrifugal tendencies of the latter (as evinced by the ordinations that took place outside the diocese and by several priests' attempts to operate in the parish without the consent of the bishop). The presence of Orthodox priests, alongside Uniate clerics, in the parishes of this county throughout the first half of the century showed that they had become accustomed to one another, so much so that, following the movements of conversion to the Orthodox faith, just their proportions changed, in favour of Orthodoxy. The time of the Sofronian conflict was a time of harsher delineations between the Orthodox and the Uniates, primarily as an effect of Sofronie's anti-Union discourse, which took over some of the themes of the Orthodox propaganda from the past, more precisely, from the time of Visarion, and resumed the allegations that had been made against the Uniate priests, reactivating or strengthening thus some older fears instilled in the faithful. Moreover, the Uniate bishop was facing now a new crisis of Union with the Church of Rome after that triggered by Visarion. This time he found himself in a more delicate position: on the one hand, he established lines of demarcation between the Uniates and the Orthodox through the confessions of allegiance to the Union that he elaborated; on the other hand, he needed to fluidize the denominational borders and to encourage a comeback to the Union in order to recover the lost territory. The apostate priests' return to the Uniate Church was a negotiated phenomenon, which had to take into account the local context and the local resistances.

Keywords: Transylvania, Hunedoara County, Uniate Church, Orthodox, confessional conflict, confessional boundary, apostasy, conversion

Rezumat: Crearea de frontiere confesionale: uniți și ortodocși într-un timp al „ispitei" în comitatul Hunedoarei (1759-1761). Mi-am propus să reconstitui tabloul confesional din comitatul Hunedoara, dinamica alunecărilor dinspre unire înspre ortodoxie și invers din prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea, cu insistență asupra mișcării ortodoxe a călugărului Sofronie din Cioara (1759-1761). Studiul de caz dezvăluie raportul de putere dintre episcopie și clerul local, tendințele centralizatoare ale celei dintâi și tendințele centrifuge ale clerului (sesizabile îndeosebi prin hirotonirile în afara diecezei, prin funcționarea în parohie fără acordul episcopal). Prezența în parohii a preoților ortodocși alături de cei uniți pe tot parcursul primei jumătăți a secolului arată că s-au obișnuit unii cu ceilalți, astfel că în urma mișcărilor ortodoxe s-au schimbat doar proporțiile, în favoarea ortodoxiei.

Confruntat cu noua configurație ecleziastică, episcopul unit s-a aflat într-o poziție delicată: pe de o parte, prin mărturisirile de unire elaborate a stabilit linii de demarcație între uniți și neuniți, pe de altă parte, avea nevoie să fluidizeze frontierele confesionale, să încurajeze revenirile la unire pentru a recupera teritoriul pierdut. Reintrarea în rândul Bisericii unite a fost o acțiune negociată în funcție de contextul local, de rezistențele locale.

Cuvinte-cheie: Transilvania, comitatul Hunedoarei, Biserica unită, Biserica ortodoxă, conflict confesional, frontieră confesională, apostazile, convertire

Hunedoara was a frontier zone, a safe haven for refugees from and into Banat, a county in which several religious confessions had co-existed even before the Union with the Church of Rome, due to the influences of Calvinism. It was the first area exposed to the Orthodox propaganda carried out by the monks Visarion Sarai (1744) and Sofronie of Cioara (1759-1761). In other words, it was an outpost of the movements that were directed against the Union and that fuelled or, in some cases, deepened the denominational divisions in the villages. The fact that confessional borders[1] were therefore erected by way of collective conversions, in a time of interfaith conflict, betrays the reaction of the majority of the community to the anti-Union discourse. As such, it is difficult to see what the reasons underlying the parishioners' personal options were, particularly given the lack of sources such as diaries, memoirs, reports or statements made by the individuals in question. In the attempt to reconstruct the confessional picture from the time of the Sofronian movement, the dynamics and the proportions of conversions from Orthodoxy to Greek-Catholicism and vice versa, the reasons for these conversions and the

[1] As regards the concept of denominational borders, my theoretical reference points are the forms that Keith Luria identifies and defines in his analysis of the relations between Catholics and Protestants in 16th-century France, in *Sacred Boundaries. Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France*, (Washington, The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), pp. XXVIII-XXXI.

discourses the mobilized such phenomena, we have resorted, in our analysis, to the oaths/confessions of faith drawn up by the Uniate Church, as well as to statistical sources (censuses). So what do the statistics tell us about the Uniates and the Orthodox?

Confessional diversity in figures

Although, from a legal-institutional point of view, all the Romanians belonged to the Uniate Church in the first half of the 18th century, Orthodoxy had subsisted throughout this period, as attested by several priests who, in 1733, at the time of the census undertaken by Bishop Inochentie Micu Klein, declared that they were non-Uniates.[2] They represented 8.56% of all the priests who were active in the three archdeaneries which comprised the parishes in the county (Hunedoara, Dobra and Vinț). The largest number of Orthodox priests (non-Uniates, as they were called at that time) was in the archdeanery of Vinț (the future Bobâlna): 14% (10 out of 71 priests).[3] There were parishes in which only Orthodox priests were active (4)[4] and others in which both Uniate and Orthodox priests served at the altar (11).[5]

As such, the existence of clerics belonging to a different religious confession in the communities was not a novelty caused by the anti-Union movements. The priests felt a sense of belonging to Orthodoxy, enhanced by the ordinations outside the diocese. The Uniate and the Orthodox priests had coexisted in the diocese even before, so what changed during the pro-Orthodox movements were just the proportions between them. According to the census undertaken by the officials of Hunedoara County in 115 parishes in 1747, following the movement led by Visarion Sarai, the number of Orthodox, "schismatic" priests accounted for 61% (as the census revealed, there were 140 Uniate priests and 85 "schismatics").[6] Who were the ones who swelled the

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2 Nicolae Togan, *Romînii din Transilvania la 1733. Conscripția episcopului Ioan In. Klein de Sadu* [The Romanians of Transylvania in 1733. Bishop Ioan In. Klein de Sadu's Census], (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecesane, 1898), pp. 20-21, 36-39.

3 In the archdeanery of Dobra, the number of Orthodox priests represented 10% of the total number of clergy (there were 6 Orthodox priests out of a total number of 58), while in the archdeanery of Hunedoara the percentage was 4.6% (6 priests out of 128), *Ibidem*.

4 Only Orthodox priests were active in the parishes of Lăpuşnic and Fintoag (the archdeanery of Dobra), Costești (the archdeanery of Hunedoara) and Bobâlna (the archdeanery of Vinț), *Ibidem*.

5 In the parishes of Mănerău, Valea Sângeorgiului, Dâncu Mare and Ocolișu Mic, in the archdeanery of Hunedoara, and in eight other parishes from the archdeanery of Vinț (Almașu Mare, Nădăștia, Glod, Balșa, Băcăinți, Bulbuc, Acmariu and Cârnești), *Ibidem*.

6 Magyar Orszagos Leveltár, *F 71. Commissio Aulica*, reel no. 30382, pp. 138-160; Greta Monica Miron, "Acțiune ortodoxă-acțiune catolică. Efectele mișcării lui Visarion Sarai în Hunedoara, Hațeg, Zarand și Alba," ["Orthodox Action-Catholic Action. The effects of Visarion Sarai's

ranks of the already existing Orthodox priests? Some had come from other areas (from Wallachia, Banat or Crisia).[7] Others, who were "unstable," according to the census, took refuge, after Visarion's movement, in Banat and in other areas they considered safe. Yet others officiated clandestinely, in secret. Some Orthodox priests, registered in the censuses, did not officiate (the one in Bățălar, for instance) or were not recognised as regular, ordinary priests (even though there were two Orthodox priests in Bretea Română, the data collectors noted that "*ecclesia sine ordinario popa est*"). Some Orthodox priests functioned with the consent of the local Uniate archpriest, either in vacant parishes (Simu from Ardeu), or in others in which Uniate priests officiated (Tămășasa), revealing the fluidity and flexibility of confessional borders.

As regards the Uniate priests, in the years immediately following the movement of Visarion, their situation was also very diverse. Some were no longer allowed in their parishes and were forced to find a place elsewhere and to be accepted by other parishioners. While some solidarities were broken, others were about to be formed. It was not easy, however. Fr. Ianos, banished ("*turbatus*") from Hunedoara, settled in Bârcea Mică but did not officiate in the church ("*ibidem sine ecclesia moratur*"), while Fr. Petru, banished from Cristur, could barely make ends meet in his new parish, Archia. Fr. Ianos was luckier: having been expelled from Leșnic, he settled in a vacant parish (Mintia), where the villagers, who had no other priest, handed him over the keys to the church ("*siquidem hi ordinarium popam non habeant, huic datae sunt claves templi*").[8] Settling into a new parish was also not easy from a legal point of view: without the consent of the archpriest and of the parishioners, the priests who had newly arrived in the parishes could not be appointed ordinaries (this was the case of Fr. Gheorghe, who had taken refuge from Săcămaș in Lăpușnic).[9] Some of the Uniate priests were prohibited from entering the churches by the parishioners who had left the Union three years after the movement led by the monk Visarion Sarai. They were allowed in the parishes and permitted to use the parish assets, but had remained without churches. Or, even if, thanks to the intervention of the lay officials, their churches were restored to them, the parishioners refused to enter those places of worship. The situation brought to the awareness to the Uniate Church by this survey was rather worrisome. The Uniate priests who had been driven out of churches during the time of

Movement in Hunedoara, Zarand and Alba"], in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, 50(2005), 2: 4.

[7] The priests Bagiu from Roșcani, Mihai from Șoimuș, and Narb and Chezan from Bozeș had come from Wallachia, Petru from Brâznic and Gavrilă from Rapolt had come from Banat, and Todor from Vălișoara and Ion from Mada had come from Crisia, *Ibidem*, p. 9.

[8] M.O.L, *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel no. 30382, pp. 153-154.

[9] Miron, "Acțiune ortodoxă-acțiune catolică," p. 7.

Visarion's movement and who were now reinstated in their possession were shunned by the parishioners. What they had regained were churches that were to remain empty (at least for a while). They witnessed the insertion of further Orthodox priests in the parishes. The composite picture of the confessional situation in the parishes across the county, different from one parish to another, had nonetheless a common denominator: the priests and the faithful, Uniates and Orthodox, had continued to live side by side. The degree of acceptance of people with a different confessional background and of communication with them was also not the same in each and every parish. Orthodoxy had been continuously present in the parishes. Moreover, it had gained ground in some of the parishes that were to turn entirely Orthodox from 1733 to 1750. Resorting again to figures, namely the data provided by the Uniate archpriest Samoilă from Ciugud (the archdeanery of Bobâlna), we can see that in the census dated 26 July 1750,[10] 25.65% of the priests who were active in the archdeanery were Orthodox. In 3 of the 16 recorded parishes there were only Orthodox priests "with people" (Almașu Mare, Techereu and Băcăința),[11] which suggests the fact that these were Orthodox parishes. In two other parishes there were both Uniate and Orthodox priests, each with his parishioners (in Bobâlna – "a leading village," according to the archpriest – there were a Uniate priest and a Orthodox priest, while in Cib, the Orthodox community must have been much larger than the Uniate one because here a Uniate priest and four other Orthodox were active). The overall picture that was provided more than half a year later by Bishop Petru Pavel Aaron, in a communication addressed to the Gubernium on 18 February 1751, was optimistic about the state of the Union in the county.[12] The bishop showed that, after almost the whole county had defected, from 1749 on, the people were now slowly returning to the Union, at first in the district of Hațeg, which was brought back entirely into submission; the legitimate Uniate priests were being readmitted into the parishes, while the "schismatics" were making a

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[10] National Archives, Alba County Directorate (further A.N.D.J.A.), *Fond Mitropolia Română unită Blaj* [*The Romanian Uniate Metropolitan See Fund*], no. 4/1750. The first three headings of this census, which include data relating to the number of churches and of active (*fungenşi*) and inactive Uniate priests, can also be found in the census published by Costin Feneşan, *Izvoare de demografie istorică* [Sources for Historical Demography], vol. I, Secolul al XVIII-lea. Transilvania [volume I, The 18th Century. Transylvania], (București, 1986), p. 275. National Archives, Cluj County Directorate (A.N.D.J.C.), *The Blaj Collection of Documents Fund*,

[11] In 1733, three Uniate priests were registered in Almașu Mare; in Băcăința, there were two Uniate and two Orthodox priests, while in Techereu there was only one Uniate priest, Togan, *Românii din Transilvania*, pp. 38-39.

[12] Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII* [The History of Religious Liberation of the Romanians from Transylvania in the 18th Century], (Sibiu: Editura și tiparul Tipografiei arhidiecezane, 1920), vol. I, Annexes, p. 104; vol. II, (Sibiu, 1930), pp. 5-6.

profession of faith in the Union. The only village that had remained Orthodox ("*qui adhucdum in defectione perseverat*") was the village of Jiu, situated on the border with Wallachia. The villages located to the left and right of the river Mureş were also returned to obedience to the bishop: even the fiercest, Binținți, came to serve as a good example for the return to Greek-Catholic Church for other village communities. The district of Dobra had mostly been quiet, the "schismatic" priests here making a profession of faith in the union; only those of a humble condition were still Orthodox in the town of Dobra.[13] The bishop stated the terms of "return," of conversion from Orthodoxy to Union: "everlasting" submission to the diocesan see of Făgăraş, the attendance at the Uniate churches by the faithful, receiving the sacraments and the sacramentals according to the rite of the Greek Church and the doctrine of the Holy Fathers, the promotion by the priests, in church and outside it, of the teachings of the "Holy Union," according to the books printed recently in Blaj.[14] In formulating these terms, the Uniate bishop had in mind the behaviour of the faithful and of the priests during the Orthodox movement led by Visarion Sarai. He wanted the clergy to be well-disciplined, active in the parish and trained so as to be able to explain the Union and to gain the loyalty of the parishioners. The requirement that the sacraments should be administered/received according to the rite of the "Greek church" was meant to remove any suspicion of Latinization. Subsequent events showed that those commitments were not to remain in place forever, and that the promise of "everlasting" loyalty was often perceived as being devoid of binding connotations. The explanations provided by the priests regarding the significance of the religious union, if they ever went to so much trouble, were not convincing. The possibility of crossing the confessional border remained open, despite the efforts of the Uniate high prelate and the support offered to the Uniate Church by the Court in Vienna. After the movement led by Visarion, the Viennese Court took a series of measures for boosting loyalty to the union, ranging from material incentives (the increase of the canonical portion) to social (ennobling some of the priests devoted to the union) and strategic measures, such as the protection of the Uniates in relation to the local officials (the appointment, for example, of protectors of the Union).

Orthodoxy was continuously present in the diocese and, implicitly, in the county also because of the ordinations celebrated outside the diocese, especially in Wallachia and Banat.[15] As seen above, priests ordained by

[13] *Ibidem.*

[14] *Ibidem*, I, p. 105.

[15] According to a statistic from 1767, compiled by Uniate bishop, most of the priests who were active in the archdeanery of Ilia had been consecrated in Arad, Vidin, Timișoara, Bucharest and

Orthodox bishops, continued to officiate in parishes with the permission of the Uniate archpriests. This seemed to be a world that had been shaped by its own rules and had some degree of autonomy from the diocesan authorities. This impression is reinforced by the request that "a sum of priests" from the archdeanery of Hunedoara submitted to the new Bishop Petru Pavel Aaron in March 1755, demanding the preservation of the *status quo*, of the *de facto* situation, so as to enable those ordained outside the diocese to be active without having to go to Blaj to receive the bishop's blessing.[16] They showed that after "the removal from the hierarchical see of His Excellency Bishop Baro Clain," the diocese was left without a bishop for so long that they had lost hope of ever having another one; they had been conferred holy orders by foreign bishops, and then they pastored their communities, some having acquired "permission" to do so either from the archbishops, or from P. P. Aaron himself, when he was a vicar, yet others "remaining on standby, awaiting patiently until His Excellency occupied the see"[17]. The problem was that, after the appointment as bishop of P. P. Aaron, the archpriest - "who was somewhat well-disposed until the arrival of Your Excellency," in other words, who had been lenient towards them - "stopped" them, because he had been pressured by the high prelate, and sent them, repeatedly, to receive the Uniate blessing. But it was difficult, they said, for them to go all the way to Blaj, as they lacked the necessary means, so the solution they proposed was to be allowed to operate until the bishop came to them or until he issued another ordinance (where they hoping that he would change his mind?).[18] The impression is that the bishop was at their disposal, and not the other way around. He replied with some degree of irony, showing that all he did was comply with the canons, and those who had been able to go away, to foreign countries, to become ordained "would now find it more easy to travel to the bishop, in their own country, towards the end of the harsh winter..."[19] This episode reveals a world of Orthodox priests who were rather reluctant to accept a change in the routine that suited them and were determined to protect their comfort against any interference of the Uniate bishop. And yet, some answered the bishop's call. Thus, in 1755-1756, 36 priests from the county, who had been ordained in Wallachia, set off for Blaj to receive

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Râmnic, Greta-Monica Miron, *"…scoale-te, du-te, propovedueşte..." Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania. Cler şi enoriaşi (1697-1782)*, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004) ["…rise, go, and preach…" *The Greek-Catholic Church from Transylvania. Clergy and Parishioners. 1697-1780*], p. 206, note 205.

16 The Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca Branch (B.A.F.C.N.), *Ms. lat. 278*, f. 26r.

17 *Ibidem.*

18 *Ibidem.*

19 *Ibidem*, f. 27r.

the blessing of P. P. Aaron.[20] The bishop proved to be very lenient towards them, probably out of a desire to draw them closer to him and to ensure that they would stay loyal to him. The blessing, whereby the priests ordained in the other dioceses placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Uniate bishop was, therefore, a means of assisting the priests to definitively cross the border from Orthodoxy to Union.

The sources known to us so far do not detail the ways in which the Uniate priests sought to secure the allegiance of the parishioners who had been persuaded by Visarion Sarai's speech to leave the union, to declare themselves Orthodox, or the attempts to forge a dialogue between the Uniate and the Orthodox priests. What we do know is that the movement of the monk Sofronie from Cioara took place, in some parishes, amidst fragile relations between the Uniate priests and their parishioners, but also that Uniate and Orthodox priests alike could continue to live and serve God in the same village, being therefore accustomed with one another's presence. By the time the movement led by the monk Sofronie started, denominational difference had been a reality for several decades, albeit one that was not recognized in institutional and legal terms. The Court in Vienna paid ever greater attention to this reality in the fifth and sixth decades of the century, when Orthodox agitations had become the order of the day in the south of the Uniate diocese. The discussions occasioned by the ministerial conferences with reference to the religious situation of the Romanians and the possible measures to stop the Uniates' conversion to Orthodoxy revealed the concern of the Viennese circles about the state of Greek-Catholicism in the principality and about the emergence of a new attitude towards the Orthodox. Minister Bartenstein and Chancellor Kaunitz advocated the commencement of a peaceful cohabitation between the Uniates and the Orthodox through the granting of fair treatment to both parties and the relinquishment of any constraints in attracting the Orthodox to the Greek-Catholic Church. The solution was not to be one of coercion, but one of providing the faithful with religious training so that they would maintain their Uniate faith.[21] Such positions strongly anticipated the decree of tolerance. Issued on 13 July 1759,[22]

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[20] *Ibidem*, f. 1-14.

[21] Mihai Săsăujan, "Conceptul de unire bisericească în dezbaterile conferinţelor ministeriale din Viena la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea," [The Concept of Ecclesiastical Union in the Debates of the Ministerial Conferences from Vienna in the Mid-18th Century] in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, 9/II, (2005): 63-74.

[22] Augustin Bunea, *Episcopii Petru Pavel Aaron şi Dionise Novacovici sau istoria românilor transilvăneni de la 1751 pînă la 1764* [The Bishops Petru Pavel Aaron and Dionisie Novacovici or the History of the Transylvanian Romanians from 1751 to 1764], (Blaş: Tipografia seminarului arhidiecesan, 1902), pp. 162-164.

in order to put an end to the tensions between the Uniate and the Orthodox and to strengthen the Union with the Roman Church by stopping further conversions and annihilating the Orthodox propagators, who were to be arrested, this document was far from reaching its goal. While the alarm signal sent by Maria Theresa in the parishes was that of accepting the Orthodox (who were granted the free exercise of their religion and the right to have a bishop) and of protecting the Uniates, the propagators of Orthodoxy had a different interpretation of the decree. They used it as a legal argument in their actions against the Greek-Catholic Church and that is why it fell short of bringing forth the desired peace. The anti-Union movements gained in intensity and were better coordinated over the following months thanks to the propaganda waged by the monk Sofronie and his followers.

A native of this area who made an appearance in the parishes of the county, Sofronie delivered his speech directly, not through intermediaries (unlike in the northern parts of the diocese), and the solidarity created around him was visible and, therefore, more difficult to break down. Sofronie entered the county in 1759, on his way back from Karlowitz, from where he had brought antidoron that had been blessed by the Serbian metropolitan and that he distributed to the believers as a holy object, without hesitating to denigrate the Uniate priests, whose sacraments, in particular marriage and baptism, which marked such important moments in the life of the faithful, were not valid, he said.[23] These accusations were not new, but had been levied throughout the county, more than ten years before, by the monk Visarion Sarai. It was supposed to remind people of their fears and distrust of the Uniate faith and priests from that time. To discredit the Uniate priests even further, a rumour was spread that they prepared the Holy Communion with eggs and butter. This rumour had several possible implications: non-compliance with the canons, seduction by offering the parishioners the pleasure of taste, so that the antidoron was invested with a worldly, mundane gustatory satisfaction. The same rumour had circulated in the diocese in the immediate aftermath of Visarion Sarai's movement, a sign that part of the Sofronian discourse of accusations against the Uniates included ideas and themes from the discourse of Visarion Sarai.[24]

In his arguments, Sofronie showed that in order to attract new followers to Orthodoxy, it was necessary to establish a very clear distinction

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[23] Bunea, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.

[24] Greta-Monica Miron, *Viață parohială și diversitate confesională în Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea. Studiu de caz: uniți și ortodocși din comitatul Dăbâca* [Parish Life and Confessional Diversity in 18th-Century Transylvania. A Case Study: Uniates and Orthodox in Dăbâca County], (Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Mega, 2015), p. 110.

between the Uniates and the Orthodox. His example was taken up by his followers, by local leaders such as those who convened the synod of Rapoltu Mare, on 22 August 1759.[25] In one of the invitations to the synod, the line was drawn between being on the side of God and being on the side of the devil.[26] The villagers of Homorod, Văleni, Mermezeni and Bulbuc were called to the synod together with all their neighbours if they wanted to take care of their wretched souls and if their goal was to be on God's side ("...si finem habetis in Deum"), maintaining their Orthodox faith forever. A similar message was addressed to the inhabitants of Mada, Geoagiu, and the surrounding areas. Those who wanted to take care of their souls and knew not what they ought to do for this were called to the assembly in Rapoltu Mare to be taught how. They were warned that if they did not show up, they would be removed from the Orthodox faith and would be doomed to live in the proximity of the Uniate priests; although presented in a rather veiled form, the distinction between Orthodoxy and Union was the possibility of breaking out of darkness into light, gaining the kingdom of heaven versus being doomed to eternal death.[27]

The distinction between Union and Orthodoxy became stronger as the pro-Orthodox actions gained momentum. Sofronie's presence in the county ensured the loyally of the believers. He was a charismatic presence, which is attested by the fact that after he was put into custody by the officials of Hunedoara County and incarcerated at Bobâlna, he was released by a few hundreds of people, led by a Orthodox archpriest from Sălişte. Having been freed from prison by the power of the masses in February 1760, he fled to Zarand.[28] The laity who helped him must have considered him a victim of the secular authorities, and this probably increased his popularity among the faithful in the county. This was, moreover, a very active county during the Sofronian movement, gathering together and coordinating the Orthodox believers from several counties. The meeting held in Deva in the spring of 1760, during Lent, rallied the presence of the Orthodox from Alba, Zarand and the Saxon seats, who protested against the restoration to the Uniates of the churches that had been taken over by the priests who had switched to Orthodoxy.[29]

The effects of the Sofronian movement were quantified by the Uniate archpriests in the statistics compiled during the confessional conflict: for instance, in the statistics drawn up by the archpriest of Bobâlna, Anghel Pop,

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[25] Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase*, Anexe, p. 189.

[26] "*quia Deus reliquit duas partes, unam Deo, alteram diabolo, siquis serviet Deo ad Deum perveniet, qui autem serviet diabolo ad diabolum ibit*", *Ibidem*.

[27] *Ibidem*, p. 190.

[28] Bunea, *op. cit*, p. 172; Dragomir, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155-156.

[29] *Ibidem*, p. 178.

on 23 May 1761 and 28 June 1762. The archpriest concealed most of the tumult of those years and the inter-faith conflicts. He limited himself to recording the number of the Uniates and the Orthodox, their ownership over the churches and the parish lands, without highlighting the disruptive people or actions. His surveys reveal that the first conversions in the archdeanery occurred in January 1759 and the last in the autumn of next year,[30] many of them happening on religious holidays (the Epiphany, the Dormition, the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, or the feast of St. Dumitru). The time of religious feasts was also the time of confessional delimitations, simply because, perhaps, the parishioners went to church in greater numbers at those times and seized the opportunity to dissociate themselves from the Uniate priests. They did that by taking by force ("violenter") the churches that had "always peacefully" belonged to the Uniates until then. Unlike in other areas of the diocese, in the upper parts of the counties Dăbâca and Cluj, for example, there were no communal conversions of the villagers and the priests alike. Uniate priests had remained in every parish, either alone, or together with a few parishioners. Sometimes the Uniate priests witnessed the apostasy of those who had officiated with them in the same village: in Homorod, the priest who served in the church at one end of the village remained Uniate, while the one who officiated in the church from the other end had committed religious apostasy; by contrast, in Bulbuc, a village with three churches, all the five priests remained Uniate, but were left without believers. Sometimes those who stood by the Uniate priests included members of the auxiliary personnel (cantors, janitors, deacons), former priests, who no longer served at the altar, certain families in the villages (the repetition of the same family names suggests that it was the members of the same family – fathers, sons and brothers – that remained Uniate).[31] The fact is that most of the priests here refused to let themselves be pressured or "seduced" by the parishioners, as it had happened, as shown above, in other parts of the diocese. Returning to the figures, in 1761 18 of the 27 parishes in the archdeanery (69%) had no Uniate parishioner; in all of them, however, Uniate priests were active (46 Uniate priests and 8

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[30] According to the information provided by the Uniate archpriest, the calendar of defections from Union in the archdeanery of Bobâlna was the following: 6 January 1759-Almașu Mic de Munte, 11 January 1759-Techereu, Almașu Mare, Nădăștia; 4 April 1759-Bobâlna, Rapoltu Mare, Rapolțel, 23 April 1759-Homorod; 15 August -Mada, 18 August 1759-Ardeu, 29 August 1759-Băcăinți; 26 October 1759-Balsa; 6 December 1759-Voia, Almașu de Mijloc; 10 August 1760-Geoagiu, 7 September 1760-Cigmău, M.O.L, *F71. Commissio Aulica*, reel no. 30381, pp. 295-304. (The census is dated Cigmău, 23 May 1761 and is signed by Anghel Pop, archpriest of Bobâlna).

[31] In Balșa, for example, those who stood by the three Uniate priests in the village were the family of the sacristan (*aedituus*) and that of his son, along with two others, while in Bozes, there was the family of the priest Constandin, who was a bigamist, *Ibidem*, p. 296, 301.

apostates). The parishes with the largest number of Uniate families were: Geoagiu (16 families) (a parish in which the church was occupied only in the summer of 1760), Cigmău (13 families) and Mada (11 families). The census administered by the archpriest one year later recorded an almost similar situation, with one or two more (or less) families in some of the parishes; the biggest difference was recorded in the parish of Balșa (where the number of Uniate families increased from 4 to 11).[32]

While in the archdeanery of Bobâlna, there were no major defections among the Uniate clergy, in the archdeanery of Hunedoara, the Uniate archpriest had committed apostasy in the summer of 1761. Because his behaviour raised doubts among the officials of the Aulic Commission, they entrusted the bishop with clarifying the issue. Therefore, the bishop summoned the archpriest before him, on 18 August, at eight o'clock in the morning, to "answer and give full assurances as to the Rt. Rev. Fr.'s faith."[33] We do not know whether this measure worked or not. The fact is, however, that the archpriest had apostatized, sending a worrisome signal for the Uniate Church in the parishes of his archdeanery. The bishop tried to defuse the "squabble" in the archdeanery, as he called it, as quickly as possible, by sending the vicar general, Gherontie Cotore, into the area, by ensuring the interim management of the archdeanery through the notary (of the archdeanery's synod), the priest Nicolae from Leles, and, finally, by appointing a new archpriest in the summer of the following year, namely Iosif from Hunedoara. One of the reasons why the latter proved to be an eligible candidate was his perseverance in the union, which was far from negligible in those troubled years. The bishop highlighted this in the appointment document: "... you have done your utmost to reverently manage clerical affairs, and even in these times of temptations you have unwaveringly kept the faith and endeavoured to draw others to it as well...."[34]

In 1762, according to the Buccowian census, the number of Orthodox priests throughout the county came to represent 20%. The increase in their number in the communities was not as spectacular as was the decrease in the number of Uniate believers, who represented, according to the same assessments, only 20% of the total population.[35] There was a proportionate

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[32] National Archives, Cluj County Directorate (A.N.D.J.C.), *Fond Colecția de documente Blaj* [*The Blaj Collection of Documents Fund*], no. 382.
[33] B.A.F.C.N., *Ms. Lat. 279*, f. 28-29.
[34] *Ibidem*, f. 127, 131.
[35] In the county there were registered 233 Uniate priests, with 3,973 families of believers, and 58 non-Uniate priests, with 14,895 families of believers, according to Virgil Ciobanu, "Statistica românilor ardeleni din anii 1760-1762", [The Statistic of Transylvanian Romanians from 1761-1762] in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională*, Cluj, III(1924-1925): 699.

decrease in the number of churches belonging to the Uniate believers: 71 (25%) compared to 213 churches in the non-Uniates' possession. Summing up, the situation of the Uniate Church in the county looked like this in 1762: 80% of the priests in the county shepherded 20% of the believers, owning 25% of the churches. This was the statistical outcome of the Sofronian movement.

How and why this situation was reached, how the new majorities gained shape in the villages, what were the inner motivations that prompted the priests and the parishioners to choose one denomination over the other – these are the questions that arise from the statistics and that must largely remain unanswered. The voice of the priests who had left the union does not come through directly from the documents, nor do their personal motivations. Much less so, do the voices of the parishioners. The known sources are the declarations of return to greek-catholicism drawn up by the Uniate higher clergy, expressing their point of view on religious conversion. Their structure indicates their purpose, as they lay emphasis on two stages: the moment of "straying" or falling into "schism" and the moment of returning to the union, of awakening, of finding the right path again. Some of the priests in the county subscribed to this declaration in the autumn of 1761, having been persuaded by the vicar general of the Uniate diocese, who had been sent in the area by Bishop P. P. Aaron, worried, as seen above, about the effects that the defection of the archpriest of Hunedoara might have.[36] Those present at the synod of the archdeanery of Hunedoara, organized in the presence of the vicar, showed in the statement they sent the Uniate bishop that, much like children who did not know what they needed, they had trusted that "their mercenary" (hinting at Sofronie) had good intentions, but now they had woken up and were asking that the bishop, like a sweet and merciful father, should forgive their error and take them back among the Uniate clergy, whose ranks they had never truly wanted to leave, and that he should absolve them from the heresy into which they had fallen and allow them to continue to be loyal and good Uniates; they also stated that they would willingly receive and comply, until death, with the four points of Union presented by the vicar, and that they would strive to preach them to others, too. What they also requested, in fact, was to retain all their ecclesiastical prerogatives, to be protected from all the "invasions" and "calumnies" of the schismatic priests, who had been ceaselessly travelling from village to village and deceiving the people with their slanders. The tone of this confession betrayed a stance of self-victimization, for those who had left the Union described themselves as victims of the Orthodox offensive, of the Orthodox priests' power of persuasion and of the pressure they had exerted. On

36 The letter the bishop sent to General Buccow, in Sibiu, on 18 October 1761, B.A.F.C.N., *Ms. Lat. 279*, f. 37v.

the other hand, the signatories appear to have negotiated their return, making it conditional on the preservation of their prerogatives and on their protection. Did the text (which was probably composed according to the vicar's suggestions) express the reality in the parishes of those years and the sincere regret of those who had been "seduced" by the monk Sofronie? The atmosphere in the parishes must have been oppressive, considering that the Uniate archpriests had repeatedly alluded to the confusion and tensions sparked in the villages by the speeches delivered by the propagators of Orthodoxy. At the same time, however, remembering the experience of Visarion's movement, the Uniate Bishop Petru Pavel Aaron was sceptical about the sincerity with which these priests claimed to be returning to Union. He thought that submitting a collective confession was insufficient and demanded that "for reinforcing the truth each and every one should sign their name in the confession of faith, stating that they believe in and confess to the legitimacy of the four points of the Holy Union, on more than one occasion, in printed form, with our approval..."[37] These priests' individual acknowledgment, reinforced by their signature, of the confession of allegiance to Union was, in the bishop's view, a condition and a guarantee of the sincerity of their return to this faith, as well as a clear sign, as he insisted repeatedly in this text, that they were renouncing "hypocrisy" and false, disingenuous statements. He honestly wanted the return to Union to be made in such a way as to "avoid the hypocrisy that many are still enmeshed in to this day."[38] Thus, he sought to avoid casting into derision this decision of the priests, made in a troubled time, in which conversions from one denomination to the other, from Union to Orthodoxy and vice versa, were not exceptional or scarce occurrences. Whereas the episcopal vicar adapted himself to the situation that prevailed at the time of his presence in the archdeanery and tried to bring back to the Union, through a collective confession, at least some of the priests who had defected, what the bishop wanted was to determine the priests to assume responsibility for their gestures.

A collective confession in which the personal will was diluted was not, therefore, sufficient, according to the bishop. In his opinion, the return to Union was to be the result of an individual decision. What does an individual declaration of return to the Union tell us? On 1 February 1762, in Blaj, the priest Ion from Deva submitted an oath of allegiance to the Union, with his hand on the Gospel, before the vicar general and three consistorial monks.[39] His conversion was all the more significant since, unlike the priests who had

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37 The letter of 19 September 1761, addressed to the vicar general, following the visit he had undertaken in Hunedoara, *Ibidem*, f. 33-34.

38 *Ibidem*.

39 A.N.D.J.C., *Fond Colecția de documente Blaj*, no. 364.

signed the confession mentioned above and who considered themselves to have been the "seduced" ones, Fr. Ion admitted to having been the seducer, an active and successful propagator of Orthodoxy, as he stated. A few days before taking this oath, on 25 January 1762, he had been "investigated" and questioned by the bishop himself. He had acknowledged before the high prelate "the truth of the Holy Union" and confessed his adherence to Union through a profession of faith.[40] The conversion was carried out, thus, in two stages: an examination and a confession of faith before the hierarch and an oath of allegiance to the Union before some representatives of the consistory.

Fr. Ion showed in his confession of allegiance to Union that he had been ordained as a priest "in the past years" at Karlowitz, by Bishop Partenie and that, as "an ignorant man, without knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, driven solely by worldly temptations, I started chasing away the Church of God and the people from the villages around Deva, at first, together with Sofronie, diverting and alienating them from the truth of faith and of the Holy Union..."[41] He was repenting now, "from the bottom of my heart," and swore that he would fix what he had broken, resisting any other temptations or threats, even the one of imprisonment. He was now confessing, "with boldness and without fear," his adherence to the four points of Union, pledged to defend them against anyone who would blaspheme them and recognized that he was the "son of the mother Church of the east" and an obedient subject of the episcopal see in Blaj.[42] He was therefore committed to changing himself radically, to becoming a different person: from a blasphemer of the Union into its brave and steadfast defender and propagator.

The analysis of these confessions shows the recurrence of common themes. This indicates, I think, a scheme for the conversion of the priests proposed by the Uniate Church on the basis of the experiences encountered up to that point. This scheme comprised the following stages: the fall into "schism," as a result of ignorance ("*tamquam infantes qui non sciunt sua necessaria*" or as "an ignorant man, without knowledge of the Holy Scriptures"), with the purpose of obtaining mundane advantages ("driven solely by worldly temptations"), and the return to Union as a voluntary act, of free will, outside any pressures, based on the recognition of the four Florentine points and the promise to further disseminate them. Like in other models of conversion, the goal was polemical, predicated on the construction of barriers

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40 "…idem ante meum adhuc adventu, iuxta praevia mea directionem huc advenerat, libros scrutatus est, veritatem S. Unionis agnovit, fidem suscepit et professionem desuper solemniter fecit.," B.A.F.C.N., *Ms. lat. 279*, f. 42r, 79v., the letter the bishop sent to General Diettrich.

41 A.N.D.J.C., *Fond Colecția de documente Blaj*, nr. 364.

42 *Ibidem*.

and lines of demarcation such as the one between the camp that was the sole preserver of the truth and the one that was in the wrong.[43] The return to Union meant overcoming error, giving up heresy and returning to the true faith. The reference to the fact that this return was a consensual act and not a coerced one was required by the conflictual context of that time, a time of pressures and intimidations (various Uniate priests had been constrained by the parishioners to leave the Union and Orthodox agitators had been imprisoned as disturbers of the public order, this experience leading some of them to declare that they wished to reconvert to the Uniate denomination). What was established thus, in certain cases, was yet another line of demarcation between the moment of straying – a gesture made under pressure – and the moment of returning – a gesture made willingly. The core of the confession of allegiance to Union and the dogmatic foundation of the faith confessed by those reconverted priests consisted in the four Florentine points. Yet again, it was not enough for the priests who had been brought back into the folds of Union to recognise those points: they were supposed to propagate, as well, to make them public, to defend and to uphold them. Given that the subjects who made those confessions were priests, their return to Union also entailed their commitment to spread the faith among their parishioners and, therefore, to become involved in the confessional polemics.

The time of the Sofronian conflict was a time of harsher delineations between the Orthodox and the Uniates, primarily as an effect of Sofronie's anti-Union discourse, which took over some of the themes of the Orthodox propaganda from the past, more precisely, from the time of Visarion, and resumed the allegations that had been made against the Uniate priests, reactivating or strengthening thus some older fears instilled in the faithful. Moreover, the Uniate bishop was facing now a new crisis of Union with the Church of Rome after that triggered by Visarion. This time he found himself in a more delicate position: on the one hand, he established lines of demarcation between the Uniates and the Orthodox through the confessions of allegiance to the Union that he elaborated; on the other hand, he needed to fluidize the denominational borders and to encourage a comeback to the Union in order to recover the lost territory. The apostate priests' return to the Uniate Church was a negotiated phenomenon, which had to take into account the local context and the local resistances.

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43 Luria, *op. cit*, p. 251.

Medical Anthropology – New Paradigms, New Limits

Elena Bărbulescu
Romanian Academy, Institute "Folklore Archive of Romanian Academy"
Cluj-Napoca, Romania
E-mail: elena_barbulescu@yahoo.com

Abstract: This study provides a short review of a new field emerging in Romanian anthropology research – medical anthropology. After presenting a short description of the influences in the history of this field during the past seven decades in the western academic field, the author describes the origins and the trajectory this field has taken in Romania in the period after 1989, when the political regime changed. The paper shows that even if the concerns in medical anthropology are not entirely new, the emerging shape of the field--especially in terms of the interdisciplinary topics approached—demonstrates the continuing contemporary social implications of the work. The result has been a new and evolving discipline in Romanian social anthropology. In addition to describing the modern terrain of this new field, the author also mentions some of recent medical anthropology studies and the heterogeneity that lies at the core of their approaches.

Keywords: medical anthropology, anthropology, biomedicine, medical pluralism, ethnomedicine

Rezumat: Antropologie medicală – noi paradigme, noi limite. Articolul face o scurtă prezentare a unui nou câmp disciplinar apărut în cercetarea antropologică - antropologia medicală. După o scurtă descriere a influențelor din istoria acestui domeniu pentru ultimele şapte decade în câmpul academic occidental, autoarea analizează originea şi traiectoria pe care această disciplină o are în România de după 1989. Articolul arată că deşi preocupările de antropologie medicală nu sunt cu totul noi, forma emergentă a disciplinei - în special în ceea ce priveşte subiectele interdisciplinare abordate - demonstrează continuitatea cu implicațiile sociale contemporane. Rezultatul este în fapt apariția unei noi discipline în antropologia socială românească. Autoarea mai analizează, în afara terenului modern al acestui câmp disciplinar, câteva dintre studiile recente de antropologie medicală, precum şi eterogenitatea care stă la baza acestor abordări.

Cuvinte-cheie: antropologie medicală, antropologie, biomedicină, pluralism medical, etnomedicină

Medical anthropology is a "baby boomer" of sorts. It came into being alongside the unprecedented interest in the health and well-being of Third World peoples in the aftermath of WWII, when the world was full of the hope and possibility that science--in this case, biomedicine--could alleviate human suffering from infectious disease and *malnutrition, and then help eliminate or control many of the world's major health problems.* (Merill Singer and Pamela I. Erickson)[1]

There are many definitions for medical anthropology[2] as if each of the authors that were concerned with topics in this field started their approaches by offering a definition to it. None of them is global but rather pushes the field in one direction or another function due to the scientific interests of the researchers. This is one of the reason I will not start by giving a definition to this field but only remark about a general misunderstanding regarding the classification of several articles and books designated as belonging to the field of medical anthropology: the way the topics were tackled was very much medical (biomedical) and less anthropological, resulting in an „anthropological" medical study and rarely medical anthropology. To this day, this situation is constantly generating debates at meetings and conferences organised on topics of medical anthropology. We have on the one side a linguistic shortcircuit that refers to semantics, where the division between the words and what they design is obvious, but also another one that refers to the approach itself of the subject. One of the arguments I wish to invoke in supporting the above mentioned dilemma is the constant referral of the majority of the authors to biomedicine as an *authoritative knowledge*[3], an approach that does not sit well with an anthropological study.

According to many researchers in the field the two world wars have had an overwhelming contribution in propagating biomedicine as *the* representative medical system in the societies belonging to the Euro-Atlantic space. The road of biomedicine in the 20th century is a prominently ascendent one, at least until the end of the 1960s, when the first failures appeared. The success of biomedicine was indebted to the convergence of multiple factors: industrialisation; the betterment of working conditions, which led to a rise of social, economic and even medical expectations; and especially to the implementation of a public system of medical services. The most flourishing period for biomedicine was the one after the Second World War and in close connection with the discovery of cures for many health issues that appeared during the war, especially with the discovery of penicillin, which had a huge

[1] Merill Singer și Pamela I. Erikson, *A Companion to Medical Anthropology*, (Blackwell Publishing, 2011), p.1.
[2] For more definitions and trends in medical anthropology see Ionela Florina Iacob, *Sănătate, boală, vindecare. O perspectivă socio-culturală*, (Cluj-napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013), and Valentin-Veron Toma, "Câmpul disciplinar al antropologiei medicale – Definiția și obiectul de studiu", in *Revista Medicală Română*, LIV(2007), 1: 6-8.
[3] See Brigitte Jordan, *Birth in Four Cultures: A Crosscultural Investigation of Childbirth in Yucatan, Holland, Sweden and the United States*, (Waveland Press, 1993).

impact, both physically and psychologically. Mass media contributed largely to this positive image as did the rising degree of literacy, both of which led to a change of how biomedicine and medical profession were perceived.[4]

The pedestal of biomedicine started to tremble after the first medical failures (such as the tragedy of thalidomide - induced birth effects)[5] in the 1960s but also from the re-appearance of some infectious diseases and the recurrence of chronic illnesses, despite economic development. These factors contributed systematically to the creation of an image of the inefficiency of biomedicine despite the technological progress for some medical fields. Thus if at the end of 19th century the cause for many illnesses was undernourishment and precarious hygiene, it resulted at the end of 20th century that the cause of many illnesses was either over nutrition or malnutrition, a contradiction that biomedicine seemed unable to resolve. On the other hand, despite the bettering of hygiene standards in many places, especially in the Euro-Atlantic space, with the status of health unequalled in the world today, this biomedical development remained extremely unequal both between states (developed or developing) and also within countries as the population of one state did not have the same level of sanitary assistance as its neighbour. Again, there was no biomedical explanation for these differences.

As symbol of modern scientific biomedicine, because of the massive trend towards specialisation, the hospital reached its peak semantic meaning in the western countries during the decade after 1950. It was the period when hospitals seemed to be built everywhere (even in Romania); even after the advent of ambulatory treatment in western countries by the end of the century, Eastern Europe remained an exception, having "after 1990 20% more hospital beds than in Western Europe"[6]. Under these circumstances, inevitably, we have witnessed a return of the negative image of the hospital from the 19th century, when it was then seen as an antechamber of death because of the impossibility of creating an aseptic space. And now, in the 20th century, the image has been modified to reflect the incidence of infections caused in hospitals. It has even included a concern about overspecialisation – the new face of medical practice – that has transformed nurses into technicians and medical assistance itself into a mechanical and powerfully technologized type of care.

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[4] Anne Hardy, E. M. Tansey, „ Medical Enterprise and Global Response, 1945 – 2000" in W.F. Bynum, Anne Hardy, Stephen Jaczna, Cristopher Lawrence, E. M. Tansey(eds.), *The Western Medical Tradition. 1800 to 2000*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.406.

[5] *Ibidem*, p.407.

[6] *Ibidem*, p.441.

By way of contrast, "in 1990 traditional healers offered health basic services to 90% of rural populations in Africa and South Asia and directly or indirectly to 80% of the global population"[7]. Let us take for example home birth, which before 1970 were the norm in Europe. Today, despite the positive results in countries like Holland, the *preferred* birth (in Romania, it is the one imposed by the national healthcare system) is the one done at a maternity ward or in another specialised hospital unit, a fact that brings profound social, economical and political implications by transforming a natural process into a medical problem. In other words, it is about a transition of "humanising" maternal care by transforming the birth spaces into "more friendly" environment--still as response to the critique of the biomedical system and transformation of birth into a health problem--but never fully acknowledging the transformation of birth as a natural act, leaving medical interventions only for the extreme cases. In this arena, the standardised space continues to see the female body as "a baby machine".

Another example is the fight against pain and the delay (elimination) of death from the medical arena. The 20th century has transformed this natural process into a panacea from pain and into pleasure, through a biomedicine that promises the absence or significant diminution of pain that also states the obligation to live, here and now. Is it here, metaphorically speaking, that biomedicine presents a denial of the most constant aspect of our life – *the change* -- a body that from birth to death is modifying at all levels. (Is it also a refusal of the afterlife?) In this sense, we have a mechanical body and we praise the technology that helps us remain the same; we have the same youth and the same health. We have a fixation on the idea of youth, as if individuals are no longer to grow old, to get sick or to die. We are all products of the context of our living, or how else could I explain my astonishment (felt most intensively) when in recent field research an interviewee (a widow), told with undiminished pride how her husband refused many years ago a biomedical cure being aware that the alternative was death. What amazed me was if fact the reminiscence of a different system where the individuals had a different way of looking at and accepting death: a whole cultural construct where the individuals learnt to know how to die.

The changes of the second half of the past century formed a closed circuit where this entire ascendant biomedical trend created a media obsession for modern medicine that in its turn offered a central role to the medical field in western society and culture. On this background, or better said, following this advance of the biomedical field as also due to the political and ideological support offered to this field in western countries, plus the trial to transfer this

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 520.

type of medicine in extra-European areas, medical anthropology appeared as a subsection of the larger frame of cultural anthropology.

Another problem was created by the transfer of biomedicine towards the countries in the third world, where the concrete manner of implementation was through excluding and disadvantaging the local medical practices, which led to great discrepancies in medical outcomes. It also generated an attitude marked by distrust and even resistance towards biomedicine by the local populations. Nevertheless at popular level, the almost universal rise in life expectancy and the eradication of child infectious diseases continued to be ascribed to biomedicine.

In the western cultural space, medical anthropology is already seven decades old if we take as starting point the moment when the term of *medical anthropology*[8] was used for the first time as defining a subfield of cultural anthropology. This resulted in its acknowledged professionalisation; but the works that can be included in this category were published long before the epistemological definition. Authors belonging to different research directions were linked to this starting moment of the discipline – sociology, anthropology, biomedicine, psychology -- a fact that produced right from the beginning a pronounced interdisciplinary characteristic. I would mention here names like George Foster, Cecil Helman, Arthur Kleinman, Mark Nichter, and Pamela I. Erickson. In all this period of time, the field knew a real theoretical and practical effervescence with multiple social, political and economic implications, reaching to transform the medical anthropology network into the second important section in American Anthropological Association. A position of same importance it holds in EASA(European Association of Social Anthropologists).

Elisa J. Sobo asserts that the greatest part of the theory used initially by medical anthropology was that of general anthropology; thus, without generating a theory of its own, medical anthropology itself moved from periphery towards the center in the general field of anthropology[9]. The object of study itself--health, illness, medical systems--led to *interdisciplinarity*, a fact that defines another valuable concept in medical anthropology, the surpassing of disciplinary limits. This factor contributes to the present prestige of medical anthropology, as George Marcus has pointed out(2005): ”New topics and theoretical concerns are developed through interdisciplinary discussions and

[8] It seems that the term was a translation of the Dutch term"medische anthropologie" in the first place, used in the 19th century, //en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medical_anthropology, consulted în 12.10.2015.

[9] Elisa J. Sobo, ”Medical Anthropology in Disciplinary Context: Definitional Struggles and Key Debates(or Answering the Cri Du Coeur), în Merrill Singer și Pamela I. Erickson (eds.), *A Companion to Medical Anthropology*, (Chichester, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2011), pp. 9-29.

not through debates and discussions around the products of anthropological research inside the community of anthropologists", an idea that Marcia Inhorn (2007) endorses as well: "the edges of our disciplinary field (medical anthropology) are to be found today at the intersection of many other disciplines"[10]. All these factors combine to make medical anthropology one of the most dynamic disciplines to infiltrate contemporary power systems in order to better describe health regimes and incorporate, *de facto,* all the other fields--political, economical, social and cultural—as well as responding to the challenges coming from globalization and political and economical systems.

Considered as the "trans-cultural study of medical systems and of the bio-ecological and social-cultural factors that influence the incidence of health and of illness now and along human history/evolution"[11], medical anthropology reconsiders constantly its position towards the object of study. This position comprises both the relationship at individual level with the theoretical and practical systems of medical knowledge as well as the one at macro-social level, of interactions of social, political, and economical nature, and of the cultural constructs regarding health and illness. It also includes the ethnomedical systems in spatial and temporal frames. In the larger frame of medical anthropology, there is also the paradigm of *critical medical anthropology*,which takes the responsibility to contribute through its own researches to influencing the policies of public health by acknowledging the importance that social injustice has in the process of healing but also through a commitment in the field of clinical or educational applications[12]. The basic idea of this paradigm is the bettering of public health by the most diverse means, as Pamela I. Erickson points out: "our greatest force (i.e. of critical medical anthropology) consists in the theoretical and methodological diversity, the holistical approach, the wish to cross over the disciplinary border and the insistence on social justice"[13]. In this case, the way biomedicine is implemented at inter- and intra-statal levels offers an extremely generous range for significant approaches of critical medical anthropology.

At a detailed reviewing of the way the medical anthropology subjects are chosen and researched (for example, papers at the EASA Conference), the field seems to be more and more tributaries of biomedicine and philosophy. Both fields have a stressed and grasping tendency toward scientific interests, the former through a rationalisation of technological type and reference of

[10] *Ibidem.*

[11] George Foster şi Barbara Gallatin Anderson, *Medical Anthropology,* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), p.1 apud. Merill Singer și Pamela I. Erikson, o*p.cit.,* p.3

[12] Merill Singer și Pamela I. Erikson, o*p.cit.,* p.3

[13] Pamela I. Erickson, „Medical Anthropology and Global Health" în *Medical Anthropology Quarterly,. 17, p.3*-4,apud. Merill Singer și Pamela I. Erikson, *op.cit.,* p. 3.

health problems unto *themselves*, and the latter through an excessive rationalisation of moral and ethical types. Both rationalisations sin by losing the experiential, of what the individual abides in a situation of illness. In other words, the golden dream of humankind--*youth without an old and endless life*--becomes almost compulsory, put in practice by a high-tech biomedicine field supported ethically by philosophy (at least by a part of it).

Critical medical anthropology starts from the use of ethnographical data with the purpose of proving the weaknesses of biomedical system and its application. The anthropological research intervenes with a critical approach of the involuntary (or not) negative effect of the health policies[14]. Critical medical anthropology asserts that health is a political matter and brings a pertinent critique to the colonial inheritance of anthropology but also to the research in anthropology that supports biomedicine. As well, it points out the importance of the categories of gender, class and race in the healing process: in an illness situation the social status, or gender of the individual matters, quite a lot. The critical medical anthropology perspective is one based on a social and political reality through which power relations are shown to reflect dominant cultural constructions. Hence, it is essentially a critique of the way power is exercised. With this meaning the center of discourse is moved towards the dynamic of the relations between central power and localism, but also towards the influence of the macro contexts upon the micro-contexts. One of the central ideas of critical medical anthropology is that ”practices and medical theory enhance and sometimes contribute to the creation of social inequalities”[15].

As discipline, medical anthropology is tightly connected to the position of authority, of biomedicine assumed at a social level in the detriment – at least for the Euro-Atlantic space – to other types of medicine. Its position was put into difficulty starting with Arthur Kleinman's works that consecrated the term *medical pluralism*, following the comparative studies he completed regarding the North-American and Chinese medical systems. This concept became one of the most important ones in medical anthropology if we relate it to practical reality regarding the medical knowledge used in a given society – be it developed or in course of developing – as noticed in the analysis David le Breton[16] made in the fourth chapter of his book upon the history of the body: in an illness situation, therapeutic means are applied in turns, even simultaneously, until one of them proves efficient.

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[14] Arachu Castro, Merrill Singer, *Unhealthy Health Policy. A Critical Anthropological Examination*, (Walnut Creek, Altamira Press, 2004), p. xiii.

[15] *Ibidem*, p.xiv.

[16] David Le Breton, *Antropologia corpului si modernitatea*, (Chișinău: Editura Cartier, 2009), pp. 136-192.

Starting with the communist period (1948-1989) of great social, political and economic changes, biomedicine became practically the only medical system accepted and imposed by the Romanian state, offering thus the status of authoritative medical knowledge. The imposing of this system was a combination of fortuity and persuasion. An example of the second variant came with the state program of the 1960s that had in view the schooling of a great number of young people in rural areas with the obligation of returning in their native place in a medical institution, be it hospital, dispensary or maternity. Recent field researches done in Cluj county[17] probe the success this educational program has had.

This authoritative idea, according to which the peasant culture was retrograde and action was needed in the direction of its emancipation, showed the success of biomedicine in general, and was legitimised by the very successful cases of vaccines against polio and smallpox. There was no question either about weighing the benefits or minuses of the biomedical system or obviously, under these circumstances of a medical anthropology as long as the authority of the biomedical system was supported and uncontested ideologically. On the contrary, it was tried by all means – a short review of the mass media before 1989 can confirm it – first the disavowal and then even the forbidding of any other forms of healing, or of other healing characters except for physicians. This remained a constant during the communist state period even while when the authority of biomedicine started to decrease in the western cultural space following the proven failure of some treatments (the tragedy of thalidomide was only the beginning of the fall)[18].

In this context, for Romania in the period post 1989, and especially during the past ten years, the paradigm of medical anthropology in the larger frame of cultural anthropology has witnessed a multitude of directions and sub-disciplines. The seven- decades old paradigm of western medical anthropology with a heterogeneous condition became a new paradigm in Romanian cultural and social anthropology, not only here but also in the biomedical field (as witnessed by the existence of a course entitled "Medical Anthropology" at the University of Medicine in Bucharest). From the start, then, the preoccupations of Romanian researchers have been heterogeneous and even if they are all under the broad umbrella of medical anthropology they remain singular and in a certain manner "isolated" approaches of the

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[17] Elena Bărbulescu, *Țărani, boli și vindecători. Mărturii orale,* I, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2010), p. 393.

[18] W.F. Bynum, Anne Hardy, Stephen Jaczna, Cristopher Lawrence, E. M. Tansey(eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 531.

different theoretical or practical aspects in medical anthropology as a general direction of research.

Regardless of the sub-fields of research: informal payments; macro-medical system (Sabina Stan); identity and illness narratives (Ionela Florina Iacob); medical history, psychiatry and asthma (Valentin Veron Toma); organ transplants, ethno medicine (Elena Bărbulescu); private medical systems (Mircea Ciuhuța); doctor-patient relations (Ana Borlescu, Marius Wamsiedel); folk healers (Agota Abram); and daily stress (Gerard Weber), the field of medical anthropology is still in the pioneer stage in Romania. Under these circumstances, the biomedical field has made a major advances, and an overwhelming impact has been made by anthropology from "abroad", including articles regarding physician-patient relations and studies of the research done in western countries (a kind of studies of anthropology in medicine, according to Elisa J. Sobo's definition[19]) on populations that obviously have a different social-cultural background compared to the one in our country.

Most of the interests in medical anthropology mentioned above were already concretized in Ph.D. dissertations at universities in Bucharest or Cluj-Napoca. This pattern of introducing the results of the studies done on western patients have contributed to an accelerated acculturation from the medical point of view, to the detriment of the "local worlds". Specifically, these studies have ignored of the context of the illness or health situation from the individual's point of view but also of the phenomenology of the experiences linked to the illness situation. As Kleinman has mentioned, the local world's action is an intermediary between the individual vulnerabilities and the political pressure of the macro-social[20]. And the context is everything!

On the other hand there is also the tendency of simplifying medical anthropology research in the paradigm of ethnomedicine, seen as a *Cinderella* of the field, or as a fundamental characteristic of Eastern Europe as described by outsiders[21], an inaccurate perception if we think of David le Breton's work[22]; ethnomedicine understood as the study of traditional, folkloric medicine, a fact that a simple confrontation with at least one of the manuscripts in the archive[23]--that of Doctor Gheorghe Crăiniceanu, but also of the foreign travellers writings mentioned in the same manuscript--raises few questions.

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[19] Elisa J. Sobo, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

[20] Arthur Kleinman, o*p. cit.*, p.12.

[21] Sabina Stan, Valentin-Veron Toma, "Medical Anthropology in Romania – Medical Anthropology on Romania?", in *Cargo. Journal for Cultural/Social Anthropology,* 9(1-2)(2013): 118-123.

[22] David Le Breton, *op.cit.*

[23] Mss. Nr. 369, AFAR(Arhiva de Folclor a Academiei Române).

A century ago and even earlier, those who practiced medicine were of foreign origin (Greece, Germany, France), and implicitly their practical methods and also a part of their medicines were of import origin. It is hard to believe that all this knowledge did not permeate the autochthonous level. Though Doctor Crăiniceanu is constantly talking in the manuscript of the national medicine, undoubtedly under the impulse of the moment (forming of the national states) that involved political and ideological implication of all intellectuals, the examples in the manuscript show clearly a *cosmopolite* ″traditional″ medicine. Another argument in this direction is the existence of older manuscripts, from the 17th century that refer to traditional medicines, and that are translations from other languages[24] of recipes. On the other hand, medical anthropology is new only in the present variant, as the works of personalities such as I. A. Candrea or Emilian Novacoviciu[25] have answered at their time to the same mapping requests of an autochthonous *medical pluralism*.

To these might be added, obviously, the researches done by the Sociological School in Bucharest, and those at the Social Institute Banat-Crişana, founded in 1932 after the model taken from Bucharest, organised in seven sections of research with one on medical-social aspects. Certainly, according to the moment, they were included in the fields corresponding to the ideology of those times, folklore or sociology just as today the preferred denomination is that of medical anthropology. It is true that even the macro-social reality, when the present world becomes smaller through globalisation, the process of acculturation with the direction west towards east including the biomedical acculturation one demands the use of a more comprising term. It remains to delineate the field in Romanian academic space, through the coagulation of the works/efforts of its researchers that have already pioneered the field and the accumulation of new contributions.

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[24] Presentation of paper by Lia Brad Chisacof, *Copiii lungului secol al XVIII-lea românesc*, at Conferința ″Copilăria românească între familie şi societate (secolele XVII–XX)″, 4–5 octombrie 2012, Institutul de Istorie "Nicolae Iorga", Bucureşti.

[25] I. A. Candrea, *Folklor medical român comparat,(* București:Casa Școalelor, 1944); Emilian Novacoviciu, *Folcloristica română din Răcășdia și jur*, (Oravița: Tipografia Carol Wunder, 1902); Emilian și Ecătărina, Cărălina Novacoviciu, *Comoara Banatului. Folclor. Partea II,. Maiche Sfinte, halele nopții etc.*, (Oravița: Tipografia E. Desits, 1926).

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Harald Heppner - A Historian of Southeastern Europe[1]

Rudolf Gräf
Babeş-Bolyai University,
Cluj-Napoca, Romania
rudolf.graf@ubbcluj.ro

Harald Heppner is a renowned and beloved personality in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. From Prešov to Chernivtsi and from Iași to Sofia, as well as from Bucharest to Cluj-Napoca and then again from Timișoara to Zagreb, Harald Heppner is well known and he has many friends.

Teachers and students, younger and older scholars, they all see Professor Heppner as a friend. How can this be explained? And, above all, why does he enjoy this great popularity across such a vast space? I have not yet mentioned his relations and activity in Central and Western Europe, where Harald Heppner – as Chairman of the Committee for the Study of the Culture and History of the Germans in Southeast Europe / Kommission für Geschichte und Kultur der Deutschen im Südosten Europas (2011-2012) or as a member of the Consultative Council of IKGS (Institut für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im Südosten Europas in Munich) and of many other bodies – has played and continues to play a very important role.

Harald Heppner's science has also found its applicability in the various academic positions he has occupied throughout his life: President (1994-2001), then Vice-President of the Austrian Society for Eighteenth Century Studies (2008-2012) Director of the Department of History at the University of Graz (2011-2013), Chairman of the History Committee of the Austrian Defence Ministry (2005), General Coordinator of the Thirteenth International Congress of Eighteenth Century Studies. He is an honorary member of the historical department of the Romanian Academy (Iași Branch).

Harald Heppner was the initiator of the MA programme in Southeast European History, which he organized together with the University of Ljubljana and the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. The students of the university in Cluj have been the beneficiaries of mobilities that have allowed them to complete their training during the semesters they spent in Graz under the supervision of Harald Heppner.

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[1] This material contains the modified text of the speech delivered by the author on the retirement of Prof. Harald Heppner / Graz, September 24, 2015, also published in the *Banatica* Magazine.

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He has recently established the Southeast European Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, in which he is trying to bring together specialists in eighteenth-century history from Southeast Europe.

He is a highly praised scientist who belongs to a category of people that are always happy to share their knowledge and are generous by definition. It is not easy to know and to pass on what you know.

On a first glance at his scientific work, we can realize that Professor Harald Heppner has approached extremely vast research areas. At a more detailed look, we can notice that he has carried out very serious research, without losing sight of a sense of community, as he has brought together numerous authors from different countries and regions in several volumes he has edited, constantly pursuing new research ideas. Harald Heppner's work is somewhat similar to the history of the Monarchy, which, to this day, has been one of his goals: it is a fortunate blend of differences and complexities. However, this work of the mature historian, which relies on specialized knowledge, methodological approaches, historical philosophy and a keen knowledge of people, as well as on a sense of organization and order, can be successful only when it is built on a solid scientific basis. Professor Heppner acquired this strong knowledge foundation when he studied history at the University of Graz, but also when he learned the Russian language, which opened his door to the study of Slavic languages from Southeast Europe. His interest in studying Romanian appeared after a research stage he conducted in Bucharest (in 1978, before the Historians' World Congress in Bucharest), followed by other research stages in Moscow (1980), Sofia (1985) and Paris (1992).

Once the foundation – namely the study of history – was laid, his linguistic knowledge and his genuine interest in Southeast Europe, together with his willingness to understand a world that is not always positively perceived in Western Europe, have steadily enriched his experience through the people he met, or through the intelligence, insightfulness and emotion he acquired. After obtaining his PhD and Habilitation, Harald Heppner focused his research on several major themes. I will name only a few, because, judging by his list of publications, we can see that his attention is indeed concentrated on Southeast Europe. The complexity of the topics approached by Harald Heppner is impressive:

From *Das Rußlandbild in der öffentlichen Meinung Österreichs 1848–1856*. Graz 1975. (Zur Kunde Südosteuropas II/4) to *Österreich und die Donaufürstentümer 1774–1812. Ein Beitrag zur habsburgischen Südosteuropapolitik*, Graz 1984. (Zur Kunde Südosteuropas II/13/ translated into Romanian), Harald Heppner addressed two important themes, which lie on the fringes of a broader theme, the history of Austria, and which are directly related to it.

Then he examined the relations with Turkey ("Der lange Türkenkrieg (1593–1606) ein Wendepunkt im habsburgisch-osmanischen Gegensatz." In: *Journal of Ottoman Studies* II, Istanbul 1981 S.133–146). The nobility and the defence against the Turks and postal services with Turkey, even the economic relations with the Moldovan Principality and Wallachia were tackled in this context ("Joseph Freiherr von HammerPurgstall." In: *Steiermark-Brücke und Bollwerk. Landesausstellungskatalog* Graz 1986 S. 419-423. "Die habsburgisch-moldauischen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen um 1800." In: *Festschrift Othmar Pickl zum 60.Geburtstag*. Graz 1987 S.229– 236. "Relațiile economice habsburgo-moldave în jurul anului 1800." In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie* XXV/2, Iaşi 1988 S.451–458).

Over the next decade, Harald Heppner also approached topics of Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian history in connection with Austria's development policy in Southeast Europe, focusing on social categories that even today are regarded, on the one hand, as an element of the Austrian development policy and, on the other hand, as individuals who took over and assumed the function of liaising between different countries and regions: the students from Croatia, Romania and Turkey who studied at the University of Graz or at other universities in Austria, to whom Harald Heppner has dedicated numerous articles. In this context, we should mention the studies in which Harald Heppner has researched and analysed the formation of elites in Southeast Europe and in the Balkans ("Die galizischen Studenten in Graz 1848–1918." In: *Österreichische Osthefte* 29, Wien 1987, in: *Les étudiants – liens sociaux, culture, moeurs du Moyen-Âge jusqu'au XIXe siècle*. Cracovie 1991, "'Türkische' Studenten an der Universität Graz 1863–1914." In: *Blätter für Heimatkunde* 61, Graz 1987). This was the starting point for a research interest in the issue of the national identity of the peoples from Southeast Europe and in the formation of nations and national states (*Contribuții la istoria României şi a Românilor* [*Contributions to the history of Romania and the Romanians*]. Cluj 2002), in the role that universities played in this process, in the history of cities, and in cultural history and historiography. Virtually no field of historical research has remained uninvestigated by Harald Heppner.

At around the time of commemorating one hundred years since the outbreak of World War I, Harald Heppner made a remarkable contribution to the *International Online Encyclopaedia of the First World War 1914-1918*, published by Freie Universität Berlin and other partners. Moreover, the volume edited by Harald Heppner: *Umbruch mit Schlachtenlärm: Siebenbürgen und der Erste Weltkrieg*, Böhlau Verlag, Köln Weimar Wien, 2017, is dedicated to World War I, to Transylvania and the Transylvanians.

Harald Heppner is a historian of our times who knows all the nuances and subtleties of historical research and writing, and yet the basic object of his research is man in his environment. The role of the province as part of a whole (*Provinz als Denk- und Lebensform. Der Donau Karpatenraum im 19. Jh.*, edited together with Mira Miladinovic Zalaznik, Peter Lang, 2015) or the Habsburgs' journeys (*Habsburger unterwegs. Vom Barocken Pomp bis zur smarten Businesstour*, Leykam, Graz 2017), edited together with Renate Zedinger and Marlies Raffler, are further volumes that analyse different facets of the history of these people.

In 2015 Professor Heppner retired. He has remained active in a series of projects, in various committees, and he continues to do research and to guide students and young researchers. At the festivity organized on the occasion of his retirement, Professor Heppner mentioned that he had worked 16,219 days and 64 semesters and, most importantly, he thanked the university for allowing him to work freely and for supporting him at all times.

The countries in this part of the world have honoured him with three Honorary Doctorates, in Timișoara (2001), Cluj-Napoca (2007) and Sofia (2015). We hope that we will continue to enjoy his studies and that he will continue to share his knowledge and experience with his students and fellow professors, or get involved in projects that will explore the history of "our Europe", as the chronicler Nicolae Stoica of Hațeg once stated. This is also the principle that has guided Harald Heppner – uniting what is different and varied.

”I am convinced that history looks different from each point of the world”

Interview with Harald Heppner
Iniated by Greta-Monica Miron

What triggered your interest in history? Why did you choose history as a profession?
Beginning my studies, I intended to become a diplomat and not an historian. But as a preliminary need for the entrance at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna, the discipline ”History” seemed to be more attractive than ”Law Studies” or ”Economic Studies”.
Since my adolescence my interest in history has always been based on a philosophical and theoretical approach. Therefore, I finally dedicated myself to pursuing knowledge deep beyond the ”normal” historiographic horizon.

Did you have models in your formative/student years, are there historians who influenced you?
My main academic teacher, Ferdinand Hauptmann, influenced my own profile deeply, and I learned what I should do and what not. He was born in Styria (the same region as myself), and he had collected a lot of experience in Communist Yugoslavia where he was first collaborator in several archives and then professor of Modern History at University of Sarajevo. In 1970 he came back to Austria.

Why did you choose South-Eastern Europe as a research area?
It was not my intention, but a coincidence. While I was studying at the University of Graz, the discipline ”South Eastern European History” was established, and I found it interesting and started with a half-day job at the department. Then I remained there for more than 44 years – from an assistant status until I obtained a professor position.

You approached from different perspectives the history of this area at different times. What concepts did you use?

South Eastern Europe represents a quite interesting area based on the following factors: 1. Older and newer domestic elements, 2. A lot of influences coming from outside (all directions) and 3. A confluence of these two categories throughout the centuries. Therefore, I am in favor of studying, reflecting and teaching the main phenomena which allow us to understand the complex situations, in all countries, all periods from the late antiquity up to the present.

My approach consists in getting experiences with several periods, topics and kinds of public, i.e. I do not like to remain at one fixed area of interest and activity. Nevertheless, my favorite period is the long 18th century because in this period we are able to detect the most important roots for the phenomena and problems in the present – both in South Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

What about the reasearch method?

Without including the geographic background you cannot seriously work in the discipline "History". Thus, you must get some emotional contact to the area, i.e. know the countryside, the mentality of the inhabitants and their life style in the present. Then you must estimate the human dimension as the highest category not only in history, but also for historiography. What are the reasons for studying some more or less abstract aspects (dates, facts, processes, sources etc.) when you do not consider that all individuals in the past and present could – virtually – be our contemporaries, our neighbours?! In addition, my research practice relies as much as possible on approaching the subject from outside, not only for the work itself, but also for the performance, i.e. the question: what is the relevance of my research and to what kind of public is it destined and how should I manage the information so as to facilitate understanding?

I know you are aquainted with Romanian historiography. In your view, how is Romanian historiography positioned with regard to other historiographies in the area?

I think, the category "National historiography" is a construct, not a reality, because each of the nationally organized horizons consists of different traditions and varieties, depending on the affiliation to a generation, specific social strata, ideologic backgrounds and other factors. Historians are a professional collective, but also particular individuals themselves. Therefore, I would prefer to answer in another way.

Most of the books and articles in Romania contain some historical data referring to the Romanian territory or the Romanian nation. We may observe this pratice in all the other countries too. For reconstructing, understanding and explaining history, the focus on national aspects is without any doubt insufficient – you must look at the relations between regions, periods, social strata, concepts and problems. Only then may you get deeper knowledge

about the secrets of our world which is changing every day, from yesterday, to today, till tomorrow.
Looking at the regional dimension of Romanian history, there is a large plurality because Romania as a state consists of several territories with different profiles; you may not find anything similar in the other countries of East Central and South Eastern Europe.

How about in the broader context of European historiography?

I do not think there is any European historiography, because the diversities between – for instance – British, French, German or Russian Studies are evident. The topics are not all the same, the methods differ, and also the kind of writing (and reading) cannot be compared. Therefore, it depends on each person and on each particular country's profile.
In Western countries you can get more titles with innovative questions and alternative methods, but you must have a lot of patience in finding information on "Eastern" subjects in "Western" studies.

Do you think that the history of South-Eastern Europe looks different from Graz, Sofia or Ljubljana?

Yes, I am convinced that history looks different from each point of the world. On the one hand, we can focus on the diversities; on the other hand, we might prefer the similarities. For Graz "National History" has no comparable function to Sofia or Ljubljana because the Austrian nation started to grow only after the Second World War. In addition, we have to consider the relevance of geostrategy: Ljubljana is quite nearer to the Mediterranean area, but has no contact to the Carpathians. Graz and Ljubljana are part of a specific European area, where Slavic, Romanic and Germanic elements come together. In Sofia we can find the weight of traditions of the long Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

How do you view the involvement of the historian in the public debates of his time?

This is a fundamental question because it refers to the menu of functions of historians in front of the society. Most of the activities done by historians concern only themselves and their world (studies, researches, academic programs). In addition, the wider public may be interested in historical information offering some orientation in favour of regional or national identity. When historians produce not only reconstructions of the past, but

also interpretations for understanding the present, providing some help for predicting the near future, they should be involved in public debates! I am convinced that historians would principally be able to make some aspects visible in this context. But they are not educated for this ambitious goal and, normally, they are not asked to participate in debates.
In my opinion, some special study programs should focus on this need, but it is absolutely necessary to be aware of the danger that the messages may legitimize political agendas or actions. Science has the job of enlightening and not of collaborating with political systems. Therefore, science must always keep a critical distance from all kinds of ideology.

What is it that makes the study of history relevant to this day and age?

Without knowing the past, you cannot understand and explain the present and find reasonable ways to shape the future. I am optimistic and would like to emphasize that: the world with the actual profile cannot survive without history and without historians.

You have taught at Graz University for decades. What changes do you think have occured in teaching history during the years?

We may notice a lot of changes: the influences of the electronic media, the process of European integration, the economisation of the academic world and the profile of the actual young generation. The interest in history does exist, but the knowlegde level of the students has become quite moderate. The reestablishment of a higher human education must be the most important precondition for the human life of the next generations.

You have been a PhD supervisor for Romanian candidates working on topics regarding Romanian history. Could you please comment on the dynamics of this interaction?

Romanian students are well educated, accurate in their work, and quite polite as well. Therefore, they must not be led but only guided.

What could you say about the Austrian students interest in Romanian historical topics?

The interest of Austrian students' concerning Romanian history depends on their knowledge and memory: if they don't have any idea of Romania and the Romanians and their very interesting history and beautiful country, there is no remarkable interest. After getting some knowledge and perhaps some personal impressions of the country and its inhabitants, they develop another relation to the subject. Therefore, several of my students researched Romanian history and frequented Romanian archives and libraries.

In 2011 you organised in Graz the 13th International Congress for 18th Century Studies. How would you describe this experience?

This experience was very useful. It was my own decision (in the name of the Austrian Society for 18^{th} Century Studies) to bring the congress to Graz, and I knew in advance how much work it would involve.
From the beginning, I found resonance with and help from the rector of the university, from the mayor and from the regional government. On the whole, we worked for three years on the preparation of the congress. Three languages were admitted (English, French and German). The hardest time was in the last months, as the final details had to be fixed. Around 1,000 people from 40 countries came, and the majority remained for the whole duration of the congress. We did not only have to manage the academic program, but also a large cultural program. During this time I used a special calendar: all was scheduled either before or after the congress.
Afterwards, we got a very satisfying evaluation from more than 500 contributors, and the organizing team saw that our ambitious goal had been achieved. But the congress experience also emphasized a trivial fact: all people cook with water.

Last year you founded SOG18. Which was the concept behind it, the aims you followed?

With some colleagues from five different countries, we founded in 2016 the Society for Eighteenth Century Studies on South Eastern Europe at the University of Graz and we are interested in atracting further members. The aims of this initiative are to produce more international and interdisciplinary results, to focus on new and attractive subjects, to stimulate the collaboration with specialists in the area and with specialists in other periods. Although the 18th century seems to be far in the past, in this period there started the modernization of the world, with all its consequences for today and tomorrow.

Do you think that in recent years the interest in the study of history in general and of East and Southeast European History in particular has increased or declined?

We have to distinguish between several aspects. The quick rhythm of our post-modern life more or less forces all individuals to concentrate on the ”Here and Now”; therefore, people do not have enough time to reflect on which history knowledge could be useful for understanding better the actual development. In this context, ”History” functions as nothing more than a marginal field which could sometimes be used as a source of entertainment without any committment (See a lot of TV series). On the other hand, people show interest in history for looking behind the scene, for understanding what is real and what is only show. In my opinion, we are taking part in an accelerating process, and the importance of history is growing slowly, step by step.
Concerning East and South East European History, we can observe the following: in the perspective of the general public, this topic got more attention as the former political systems had broken down. In the academic public of the Western countries, (except for the people working within the subject area), the persistence in conserving traditional horizons has been evident for generations (partly as one of the knowledge organisation effects in the 18th century) – Eastern and South Eastern Europe represents something outside of the western sphere – for me in the era of European integration an expression of a provincial and anachronistic view! The solution for this unsplendid isolation resides in focusing on the similarities and not on the diversities between ”East” and ”West”. Such a step requires the historians of this part of the continent to leave behind their dominating national focus in favour of something larger and more relevant for all of us.

Book Reviews

Martyn Rady, ***Customary Law in Hungary: Courts, Texts and the Tripartitum,*** Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, 266 p, ISBN: 9780198743910

This new study authored by Martyn Rady brings a topical theme to our attention: common law in the Kingdom of Hungary. Due to the novelty of its approach, it is worthy of being signalled in Romanian historiography. The volume proposes a successful combination between elements of social and legal history.

The author is a close friend of the Hungarian and Romanian scientific environment. Currently, he holds the position of professor at University College London, where he teaches History of Central Europe at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. His research focuses on the area of the Kingdom of Hungary, and implicitly on Transylvania, whose destiny was tightly linked to Hungary until late in the Modern Age. Martyn Rady`s preoccupation for legal history also manifested by collaborating with Hungarian scholars on republishing the Kingdom of Hungary decrees *(Decreta Regni Medievalis Hungariae)*. The last of this series, volume five, includes the bilingual (English and Latin) version of the *Tripartitum*. The time span which comprises the studies of the historian is a generous one. The lower limit is represented by the Middle Ages, and the upper one ends with the twentieth century. Analyzing the customary law (from the above-mentioned era), the work under scrutiny continues the author`s preoccupations for the customary and legal history of the Kingdom of Hungary.

In *Customary Law in Hungary: Courts, Texts and the Tripartitum* the focus is upon the private, public, constitutional and procedural law in Hungary. The nature of the book is analytical and informative; by analyzing different sources, the author explains the interaction between written norms and their practical application, namely the function of this interaction in the case of Hungarian customs. The main source is the 16th century customary law code: The *Tripartitum*, written in 1514 by Ștefan Werbőczy (1458-1541). Other sources successfully used in a comparative way are as follows: attempts to codify the customary law posterior to the work of Werbőczy, as well as documents from the archives of Hungary and Romania.

The book is structured into twelve chapters. The first chapter represents the introduction and the following seven chapters contain information regarding the *Tripartitum*: genesis and content of its apparition, and the last four chapters deal with the customary laws of Hungary until the Modern Age. At the end we can find the conclusions, the bibliography and the index that includes the important subjects to be considered, the historical figures and also names of places used in the text of the present study.

Although the convergent point of the paper is the constant reference to the *Tripartitum*, the chapters can create the impression of autonomous studies. Some of the directions of study approached in the work will be signalled as follows. The author discusses the appearance of a set of customs as a result of repetitive practices or actions. It is reported that in the first years of the Hungarian Kingdom these customs were initially transmitted orally. It is argued that local practices are the first to be recorded since the 12th century, but the places of their occurrences are not mentioned. An important point is the role played by the canonical tradition as a landmark for the custom. The church stimulated the laity, due to the custom of the canonicals to enact documents. The author has a good knowledge of the royal decrees and of the court documents issued by the county authorities. This assertion is verified by assessing the role played by the clergy as a witness and an instrument that records (through testimony or report) legal events in the Kingdom of Hungary after the 13th century.

The reviewed paper manages to relate to the image of the relation between the nobility and the king, as evidenced by the *Tripartitum* data. Rady proposes two directions for this relationship, pointing out that this link is based, first of all, on land ownership and, secondly, on the legal protection provided by the king for the nobles.

Another issue present in the *Tripartitum* is that of the courts of justice and the cases they judged; the author clarifies the issues related to the procedure, the assembly and the sentences. At the same time, criminal cases are analyzed, especially those concerning the fine of the head or *nota infidelitatis* (crimes committed against the king or the kingdom).

Furthermore, there is an interesting point in the ample analysis of the Hungarian legislative situation in the Modern Age. The Hungarian legislative point of reference was the *Corpus Iuris Hungarici,* and it contains the *Tripartitum* alongside other decrees. By this statement one can see how the customary code of the 16th century remains a reference point. It is characteristic for Transylvania to contribute to the legal life by drafting the Approved and Compilated Constitutions (from 1653 respectively 1669). It is also noted that the 18th century Enlightenment was a negative element that tended to reduce the noble privileges.

The endeavour to follow the source of the Hungarian customary law was completed with the work *Customary Law in Hungary: Courts, Texts and the*

Tripartitum. Martyn Rady's original study approaches the creation, reception and continuation of the customary tradition until the emergence of the 20th century codes of law for Hungarian space. Thus, the *Tripartitum*, the 16th century customary code, remains a landmark for the research conducted by any researchers who are interested in the history of Hungary, both in the medieval and in the modern era.

Ioana-Terezia Pop
Phd, Babeș-Bolyai University

Alexandru Ciocîltan, *Comunitățile germane de la sud de Carpați în Evul Mediu (secolele XIII-XVIII)* [The German Communities from South of the Carpathians in the Middle Ages (13th-18th Centuries)], Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, 2015, 517 p., ISBN: 978-606-654-121-3.

The result of a daring doctoral research, Alexandru Ciocîltan's volume contributes to the historiographical debate through a subject less familiar to the Romanian historical writing, though very rich in first-hand sources – the history of an ethno-confessional community surveyed throughout its entire existence, which had lasted for about five centuries. Put under the sign of several paradigms of historical research – covering local, minority or urban perspectives – the present work is a genuine milestone in this historian's career, more and more specialized in decrypting the medieval and early-modern history of the German communities in Wallachia.

The particularity of the subject allowed the author to undertake a rather exponential approach throughout the seven chapters of his book, which resulted in a linear yet convincing historical monograph, sometimes strongly polemic and demanding when confronting historiographical blunders. In this regard, Ciocîltan resorted to the latest contributions of present-day historians, without ignoring the previous and more or less valuable works, to the results of older or newer archaeological excavations, but also to a multitude of written sources of diplomatic and epigraphic nature, chronicles or reports of Catholic missionaries. From this point of view, perhaps the biggest problem faced by the less-initiated reader in the space, the periods and the themes under scrutiny, is the absence of a critical and broad survey of the primary sources in a distinctive part of this work, afar from the few such aspects mentioned in the introduction.

The traditional and deductive approach of the subject, from general to the specifics, allowed Alexandru Ciocîltan to identify the context of the establishment, or the characteristics and the phenomena behind the evolution and involution of these four exclusively urban German settlements in Câmpulung, Târgoviște, Râmnic and Argeș, the first one benefiting from the most abundant and varied sources for the entire period challenged by the author. Understood as commercial outposts of the Saxons cities of Brașov and Sibiu in the region, the existence of the four aforementioned communities developed in a highly complex relationship involving both the peculiarities of the Transylvanian relations and the quite fluid local pressures, which manifested themselves especially in demographical, confessional, ecclesial and political terms. The great merit of the present work lies precisely in the scrutiny and the accurate description of all these events that had shaped, in the *longue durée*, these ethno-confessional communities.

However, the discrepancy regarding the accessibility of sources between the community of Câmpulung and the three other settlements determined a disjunctive approach, yet exemplary resolved by the author. If in the case of Câmpulung – where the most important south-Carpathian German community lived until the 18th century –, it was possible to approach issues regarding the urban specifics (such as political, administrative, economic, cultural and church peculiarities), or the relations with the Romanians, which in the second half of the 15th century became the majority, the parsimony of sources referring to the communities of Târgoviște, Râmnic and Argeș allowed only narrow surveys, but essentially with similar evolutions to those of the main settlement. The situation of the mendicant convents in Wallachia was investigated by the author in particular, emphasising their regional missionary role for more than two centuries. At the same time, understanding the scale of the phenomena, perhaps the most valuable part of this work is represented by the very good analysis of the impact of the Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation among the Germans of Wallachia, especially at Câmpulung. Alexandru Ciocîltan pointed out that, in fact, the later event broke their strong confessional ties with southern Transylvania, which lead to the loss of their group identity and the extinction of this historical community. I must also mention the two case studies dedicated to the biographies of two clergymen from the same family who acted as parish priests in Râmnic and Câmpulung in the 17th century, as well as the anthroponomical inquiry of a *Status animarum* of the later community, dating back to 1649-1650.

Besides the outstanding historical approach of the subject, the wide scope of the entire work is also given by the assembling of a large appendix organized in four distinctive parts. Containing both the texts of previously unedited historical sources and summaries of the already published ones, a valuable illustrative corpus consisting of historical maps, buildings, archaeological findings, seals and other documents was also included. Of the three parts of the appendix concerning the most important written sources investigated by the author, one of which addressed the epigraphic ones (gravestones, bells, various stone crosses) exclusively, two of them separately organize the Romanian documentary sources from the Latin and Italian ones. The decision to translate the Romanian conclusions into German and English instead of drafting separate summaries in order to better resume the theses and outcomes of each chapter separately is even more curious.

In the end, it is worth mentioning that the impeccable method used by the historian in the present work – combined with a minimal but desirable reorganization of two monolithic chapters and of several parts of the appendix (for example, the design of original maps with the most important points of interest mentioned by the author) – recommends without hesitation its complete translation into a more accessible language on an international scale. In a historiographical context in which the themes and sources that can be precisely circumscribed to a specific historical space and time can be more easily approached, Alexandru Ciocîltan's book overcomes these self-induced tendencies, contributing (as his doctoral supervisor, Professor Șerban Papacostea, also stated in the Preface) not only to the historical elucidation of an ethno-confessional community, but also to the one of the country that had previously hosted it.

Andrei-Alexandru Ștefan
PhD Candidate, Babeș-Bolyai University

Roberto Lambertini ed., ***Fonti normative francescane: Regola di frate Francesco, Lettere pontificie sulla Regola, Costituzioni narbonensi, Commenti alla Regola,*** Padova, Efr-Editrici Francescane, 2016, 568 p,
ISBN: 978-88-8135-099-5

Efr-Editrici francescane is a consortium that brings together four Italian Franciscan Publishing Houses: Biblioteca Francescana from Milan, Messagero from Padua, Porziuncola from Assisi and Libreria Internazionale Edizioni Francescane from Vicenza. The mission of this consortium since its foundation on 31 March 1995 is, among other things, to promote the Franciscan system of thought and spirituality through publications, conferences or study groups. This collaboration has lead to the publication of volumes in which various sources concerning both the masculine and feminine branches of the Minor Order were edited: *Fonti Francescane, Fonti Clariane, Fonti agiografiche* or *Fonti liturgiche francescane.*

Fonti normative francescane was published in 2016 and its purpose is to provide the main testimonies that normalize the life of the Order of the Friars Minor to three categories of readers: firstly to a non-specialized public, secondly to researchers interested in the history of the friars minor and thirdly, for the Franciscans themselves. All the texts are, directly or indirectly, concerned with the Rule that norms the life of the Order. Namely, the translations include texts related to the Rule (only two of the three known texts still exist today, respectively the unapproved rule from 1221 and the approved one from 1223) and sources that derive from it: papal documents, the Constitutions of Narbonne and commentaries on the Rule.

The chronological frame covers the first century of the existence of the Order of the Friars Minor. The limits are represented by the unapproved rule of 1221 and the papal document *Ad conditorem canonum* issued by the bishop of Rome, John XXII in 1322. The editors mention that, if possible, they will continue the project by editing texts that will exceed this chronological interval.

The editors are researchers specialized in medieval history with an insight into the Order of the Friars Minor, and they are also experienced in editing and working with medieval sources. Out of ten collaborators, one is of French origin (Damien Ruiz), while the others are Italians. They come from several Italian major humanities centres: Macerata (coordinated by Roberto Lambertini together with Francesca Bartolacci, Luca Marcelli and Letizia Pellegrini), Pisa (Francesco Mores), Venezia (Antonio Montefusco), and from Rome (Filippo Sedda, Chiara Melatini and Angelo Restaino).

The volume opens with a general introduction, a crucial part in the better understanding of the purpose, methodology, sources and the chronological frame of the editorial project. At the same time, it clarifies essential aspects regarding the importance of the selected sources for the history of the order: the role played by the Rule in the life of a religious order, the stages that lead to the formation of a normative text (from a form of life, *forma vitae*, to the norm), its individuality in relation with other similar texts (the Benedictine or the Augustinian rule), the peculiarity produced by the founder (Francis of Assisi) by drafting a new rule in comparison with other contemporary orders (the Preachers, the Augustinians) which adopted an already existing one (due to the Forth Council of the Lateran from 1215). Furthermore, the introduction continues by indicating the time when the constitutions were made, namely when the initial group, in which the lay element was predominant, switched to a primarily sacerdotal one. It can be noticed that this fundamental text of the Order contains a core, the rule, and elements which prove that the Order suffered changes, for there was a need to adapt to different situations from everyday life as time went on. Next, the editors also included the papal documents, as normative texts for the Order. These documents are crucial in the evolution of the Order, since they settle or explain situations that often aroused internal or external controversy. In the end, the commentaries on the Rule are also represented as an outcome of the sacerdotal predominance.

Further on, the work is divided into four sections, each of which follows the same structure: an introduction, notes and the translation of a Latin text, presented only in its Italian version. In general, each of these sections is entrusted to another historian. The first one belongs to Francesca Bartolacci, and it takes into account the two texts that are kept from the evolutionary course that led to the formation of the approved Rule. In fact, the editor translates the unapproved Rule of 1221 and the approved one by Honorius III in 1223; the attempt from 1209 to regulate the life of the initial community is not preserved. In the introduction one can find the elements that distinguish the two texts, the persons and the institution that influenced their form. The second part, under the mark of Francesco Mores, highlights five representative papal documents relative to the first century of the Order's existence: *Quo elongati* (1230), *Ordinem vestrum* (1245), *Exiit qui seminat* (1279), *Exivi de Paradiso* (1312) and *Ad conditorem canonum* (1322). Mores chooses to present each document in the context that generated it; this aspect helps to outline a proper understanding of the papacy's activity in the Order's evolution. The Constitutions of Narbona are the subject of the third section, a work done by Luca Marcelli. This Constitution was chosen because it serves as a reference text for the following constitutions. After a short introduction about the context in which the aforementioned texts were formed in general, the discussion moves to the case study, the constitution from 1260. The largest space in *Fonti normative francescane* is held by the last section containing the commentary on the Rule. In this respect the following scholars collaborated: Luca Marcelli, Damien Ruiz, Rebecca Ghisellini, Letizia Pellegrini, Antonio Montefusco, Angelo Restaino, Chiara Melatini and Filippo Sedda. Likewise, this part containsan appropriate selection of five of the most representative commentaries on the rule. These belong to the "Four Masters", to Ugo de Digne, John Peckham (Johannes Pecham), John of Wales (Johannes Galensis) and to Pierre de Jean Olieu (Petrus Johannis Olivi) respectively. The edited texts expose the transition from a community to an organized institutional order. In addition, their purpose is to explain the rule to the friars.

Ultimately, they confirm the presence of the friars in the disputes of the epoch, between the parochial clergy and the religious orders.

The last part from theis edition that is worth mentioning takes the form of two appendices. The first one includes abbreviations for the most consulted works (namely: The Holy Scripture, the writings and biographies of Francis of Assisi, texts translated into the present volume, constitutions of the friars, canonical works), while the second made by Filippo Sedda, contains indexes of the names of the persons and places. Of course, in the end, one can find the general index of the volume.

It is obvious that the purpose of the editors was certainly achieved, that is to make the sources related to the history of the friars minor available, through a faithful translation of the sources, preserving the meaning of the Latin originals. In this respect, manuscripts from Italy (Capestrano, Vatican, Roma, Florența, Pistoia, Ravena, Siena, Todi), and also from Austria (St. Florian, Graz), Germany (Wolfenbüttel), England (Oxford), France (Paris and Marseille) or Spain (Toledo) were used. However, the fact that the majority of the sources have critical editions (except for the commentary of Ugo di Digne and John Peckham) made by Carlo Paolazzi, Michael Bihl, Cesare Cenci, A. G. Little or David Flood was also taken into consideration. Thus, in making the translations, the editors have taken into account the existing transcripts, not just the original texts. The historiography used to build the context for the introductions to each text was often synthesized. In this respect, references are made to important studies led by Carlo Paolazzi, Giovanni Micoli, Grado Giovanni Merlo, Priamo Etzi, Jacques Dalarun, Cesare Cenci, Théophile Desbonets, or David Flood.

The volume *Fonti normative francescane* is a model on how to group a selection of sources on a particular theme. Even though the texts that the editors propose are already edited in various articles or editions (in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, *Fonti Francescane* or *Constitutiones generales ordinis fratrum minorum*), this work stands out in several aspects. It is innovative, because it groups a series of different sources, concerning the same normative reality of the Order of the Friars Minor (the rule, papal documents, the constitution and the commentaries). It presents a coherent structure that helps readers understand the dynamics and evolution of a religious order formed in the early 13th century.

To sum up, the volume coordinated by Roberto Lambertini, is important to be noted for at least two reasons. Firstly, it provides an important working tool that aids in the understading of the phenomena that stands out in the centre of the Order (Assisi) and propagates to the mission territories in the Middle Ages. Secondly, it is a well-developed, well structured edition that is accessible to a large number of social categories through various explanations that make it easier to understand the need to normalize the life of a religious order.

Ioana-Terezia Pop
Phd, Babeș-Bolyai University

Michael Weiss, Hassan Hassan, *Isis. Armata Jihadului (Isis: Inside the Army of Terror)*, București, Editura Corint, 2016, 346 p.

After 9/11, the book market was practically "invaded" by works concerning the Al-Qaeda, and the same is happening now in the case of ISIS. Some of these works were (and are) poorly written, sensation-seeking compilations, while others are based on serious documentation. Generally speaking, when a subject is "trending" the possibility to reach academic quality seriously decreases. Considering all of these aspects, the two authors of the present book did their best to create a work which is not only easy to read, but also a valuable source and a comprehensive synthesis of the history of ISIS. Although the book itself has some lacunae in its thematic approach - which can be improved in future editions – my general conclusion is that it represents a well-written analysis; it is well documented with original sources and can be very useful in getting to know the organization which shocked the world with its cruelty and efficiency.

Michael Weiss is, first of all, a specialist in the post-Soviet world, having published a series of high quality articles in press products like *Foreign Policy* and *Daily Beast.* Starting with 2011, he became a field correspondent transmitting the riots from Syria, getting acquainted with the depths of Middle Eastern politics. His co-author, Hassan Hassan, is a local intellectual, working as a journalist for the *National* from Abu Dhabi. Co-opted by Weiss, Hassan also has the quality of having been born in Abu Kamal, a town situated on the Iraqi border with Syria, part of the battlefield where, after the demise of Saddam's Baathist regime, different Arab and international forces are disputing the supremacy of their strategic interests.

The book is highly readable, due to the simplicity of its language, the complexity of the information and the continuous linear presentation of the processes described. The book is structured into 14 chapters, starting with the cultural and social roots for a jihadist insurgency – which will be materialized in the form of the IS – 101naly the moment of the terrorist attack performed by the Kouchi brothers in 2015. In the first chapters, the key figure – around whom the presentation of events is centred – is Abu Musaf el-Zarqawi, whom the authors consider to be the spiritual father of the Daesh. For a while Zarqawi was the second in charge in the structures of al-Qaeda, and hisviews concerning jihadist strategies were different than the ones shared by Osama bin Laden and his acolytes; in the authors' view, the current version of the Islamic State relies much on Zarqawi's system of thoughts. Some other key aspects of the book are present in the analysis of the responsibility for each part involved in the turmoil and the rise of the Daesh. In this respect, we cannot deny that the authors are slightly partial, but this seems to be beneficial in the end. Even if they are do not deny the mistakes made by the US strategies for pacifying post-Saddam Iraq – including the failure of the Sons of Iraq peacekeeping project and the mismanagement of the democratic elections in the midst of the Shiite-Sunni conflicts. It is correctly pointed out that through the victory of the majority Shiite forces in the elections, most of the Sunni perceived a threat to their existence and Sunni radicalism represented the lesser evil compared to the domination of the Shiites. On the one hand, one of the strongest points of the book consists of its depiction of how the US-backed Awakening Moment managed to drive out the jihadists from Iraq, but in 2013, when the government suppressed Sunni protesters with fire, they returned, in the new political climate. On the other hand, the book insists on the role played by Iran – and its secret services – and Assad's regime, through their temporary strategic cooperation with violent cells, which became the nucleus of the organization that became their mortal enemy. On the one hand, this might at first appear to be an exaggeration, since ISIS is one of the enemies of the Shiite-Alavite conglomerate of interests. On the other hand, no detail can be neglected in the case of such an analysis. And in that opportune moment, it was in the interest of Assad and his regime to support the turmoil in Iraq, because they were violently suppressing the anti-regime protests in Syria. Theslight involvement also represented a covert message that Syria – and Iran– should be left alone. The authors also make a good point in describing the oil – and artefact – smuggling of the IS through Turkey, even if the complete functioning mechanisms of the smuggling networks could not be entirely revealed. Such a quest could be very dangerous, and even if the information is obtained, it will have to be kept top secret due to reasons related to intelligence networks. The smuggling networks are shown to basically be the same ones from Saddam's era, and even if the political situation changed, the mechanisms which make this black market-activity to function basically remained the same.

One of the main strengths of the book is, first of all, its complex documentation that mostly consists of interviews conducted with western officials, people related to the ISIS and opponents of the ISIS from the Arab world. Another major strength is the large sum of comprehensive information: in this respect, a glossary of terms and an index for names and places, for the previously less informed readers should be included in future editions.

I must mention those subjects about which I would prefer to read about in the future editions of this present book – editions which will surely be published, considering the high level of interest in this subject – or even in separate volumes which will continue the ideas present in this volume. Such would be a geopolitical analysis regarding the interests of regional and global players in the region concerning the role of the IS or of its similar alternatives; Turkey, Israel, Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Russian Federation, China, the USA, the European Union and other actors all have their interests in this region. Another subject which could be developed regards the relationship between jihadist ideology and the cruelty shown by the ISIS fighters. In the last chapters, the authors approach the cruelty itself, but its motivation remains largely unrevealed and un-analyzed. A third aspect which could have been exploited is the system of relations within the organization lead by al-Baghdadi. For instance, there is no reference to the Boko Haram, an organization from Nigeria, which swore obedience to Al-Baghdadi, or to the presence of ISIS in Libya. A fourth aspect to be 103nalysed could be the archontology of the ISIS itself because the structure of the organization might seem chaotic, but every single – symbolic or practical – position has its own logic, understandable for the leadership of the ISIS. Compared to al-Zarqawi, the figure of al-Baghdadi was only tangentially approached in this book; perhaps the authors will at some point dedicate a separate volume to the ascension of this character. Even so, there is much original information to be explored on the book's pages.

If we check the Internet for reviews concerning this present work of Michael Weiss and Hassan Hassan, we will generally find positive ones. It is definitely an interesting read and can be counted among the top written works concerning the history of ISIS. It is unsurprising that it became a bestseller and the Romanian translation is a useful initiative of the Corint Publishers.

Arthur Lakatos
Phd, Babeș-Bolyai University