



MENDICANT ORDERS IN SIBIU/ HERMANNSTADT IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY

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Abstract: The 16th century life of a medieval Hungarian town differs from its previous history, being conditioned by circumstances unthought of before: the defeat of the Hungarians by the Ottomans in 1526, the death of the Hungarian king during the battle, the conflicts between his “rightful” successors and the rise of the Lutheran Reformation. Transylvania, namely Sibiu, as part of the Hungarian kingdom did not meet any different conditions during this century. Our analysis strives to emphasize the fate of the mendicant orders – Dominican and Franciscan – in Sibiu in these particular times by first showing what it meant for them to develop cloisters here, where they were located in relation to the fortified town and the events of the 16th century that eventually led to their dissolution and the banishment of the friars.

Keywords: Sibiu/Hermannstadt, 16th century, Lutheran Reformation, Dominican order, Franciscan order.

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In order to best shape the development of mendicant orders in Transylvania during the 16th century, to grasp their activity, the friars’ interaction with royal or ecclesiastic authorities, with members of their respective communities – urban or rural – one has managed to identify a common denominator, namely the Lutheran Reformation. Its impact in the eastern part of the Hungarian kingdom is to be related also with the political context: after the stability of king Matthias’ (1458-1490) reign, the passing of the last Jagellonian king, Louis II (1516-1526), during the harshest defeat of the Hungarians, namely the battle of Mohács, in the 16th century Transylvania witnessed a series of conflicts between John I Zápolya (1526-1540) and Ferdinand I of

Habsburg (king of Bohemia and part of Hungary between 1526-1564 and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire between 1558-1564) over the rule of what had remained of the former kingdom and Transylvania¹. These political upheavals unavoidably led to the decay of the bishopric institution as well of those subordinated to it². The battle of Mohács (1526) and the dissolution of the Hungarian kingdom eased the emergence of reformatory ideas in Transylvania favored by a weakened ecclesiastic authority³.

It seems that the reformatory ideas gained ground on a state of dissatisfaction, especially on the *Königsboden*, there where members of clerical institutions and religious orders were being accused of not keeping with

the moral demeanor of their social and religious position, as well as of turning their backs away from the learnings of the Holy Scripture. The German historiography considers that the self-determination right itself, gained by the seven seats, had prepared the 16th century society for embracing the change of religious rite. Furthermore, the papal authority did not represent a support system for the German population living in Transylvania, where its members were struggling to preserve their privilege of freely choosing their parish priest⁴.

At the same time, central authorities were starting to worry and had taken a series of measures to put a hold on the reformatory impetus. The harshening of punishments against those who embraced Lutheranism was decided in 1525 but the effect was not the desired one; the German community in Transylvania did not respect the royal authority and established confessional schools⁵. Nonetheless, the event with the most severe consequence was the civil war between the German community and John I Zápolya⁶.

By the next decade, there was an increase in abolishing and shutting down the Catholic monasteries, as well as driving away the members of the respective convents. The Saxon University had already decided upon this matter by 1525, thus we are not to be surprised by the rapid drop of incomes in respect to the mendicant establishments⁷. All efforts of institutionalizing the Reformation have come into effect after 1542, namely after the first Lutheran service in Braşov, after which the urban centers in Transylvania established themselves as Lutheran ones⁸. Just like elsewhere in the kingdom, the Transylvanian urban centers were the cores around which mendicant convents had revolved starting with the 1220s. That is why – more recently – the field literature has presented a different approach towards the history of medieval Hungarian towns, adapting the theory of central places to the circumstances which contributed to the development of towns, some of these being: the presence of local or central administrative elements, judicial elements (*loca credibilia* as well), monetary administration and the administrative ecclesiastic institutions, including also the mendicant orders⁹. During centuries, the urban development was not to be understood only as a typical Arpadian policy, heavily influenced by the need to rebuild the urban network after the Mongol invasion of 1241, but it became synonymous with the policies of the following rulers. While the members of the Arpadian dynasty had established this urban network, their successors, members of the Anjou house, tried to improve an inherited system. Mendicant establishments were approved in new county seats. These urban centers were mostly regained from the control of noblemen and landowners and were granted with privileges by the royal authority, starting with king Charles Robert¹⁰. Thus, these newly established central places became attraction points for mendicant

orders. The support of the Anjou house continued also during the reign of Louis the Great (1342-1382), one of the most influential patrons of the Pauline order, who also contributed to the process of the order's coming into being. The five decades long reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1433) continued with the support given to urban communities and also intensified the erection of fortified walls with an emphasis on strategical towns, in Transylvania such an example being Cluj. Nonetheless, it was during this time that a difference between higher ranked and lower ranked towns started to be noticed. The latter ones did not enjoy the same privileges, being mostly offered as rewards¹¹. This became visible also in the stagnating number of mendicant convents¹². A shift was registered during the reign of Matthias I (1458-1490), when – at least partially – the urban development and fortification policies went on, promoting those urban centers where important economic contributions were registered¹³. At the same time, the urban progress was visible also in lower ranked communities, even if the initiative was not always coming from the central authority¹⁴. The Transylvanian mendicant monasteries and their convents were part of the mendicant Hungarian province¹⁵. The first ones were established in the first half of the 13th century. New priories received their approval between the 14th-15th centuries, often in the same urban centers, a competition between the different mendicant orders bringing forth the need of regulations. By the turn of the 16th century there was a clear picture regarding the number of mendicant priories, in both urban and rural Transylvanian communities, consisting in at least 10 Dominican cloisters, 15 Franciscan ones and 3 Augustinian ones, without counting the ones that were dissolved in earlier centuries, the ones belonging to the female branches of these particular orders or the ones of the Pauline order, considered by some historians a mendicant one and by others a hybrid one¹⁶. The 16th century and the events leading to and following the Lutheran Reformation had changed the above-mentioned figures drastically. This was to become the century of the final period in the history of most mendicant Transylvanian cloisters. Despite a few ones that were established shortly before the turn of the century, for most of them it was then when they lived their final moments¹⁷. It is for this particular century that we are able to identify, decade-wise, the dissolution of the mendicant cloisters, namely between the years 1533-1543, during the 1550s and after 1560. The second period was the most intense one, the year 1556 marking a height, most likely as a consequence of the decay of the Transylvanian bishopric and its chapters¹⁸. After 1560 a relaxation is to be observed but only because most of the mendicant cloisters were already locked down. Furthermore, we were able to identify a territorial direction of spread of the reformatory ideas. As it was to be expected, these principles caught ground on the



Königsboden and the mendicant establishments that managed to survive until late during the 16th century were located in the eastern end of the Transylvanian voivodeship, namely principality, in communities such as Braşov, Odorheiu Secuiesc and Miercurea Ciuc.

In dealing with the 16th century mendicant establishments in Sibiu we need to grasp the town's historical context in this period. The town's history is intertwined with the history of the German settlers brought here by king Géza II (1141-1162). The first buildings were erected here around 1150¹⁹. A document issued in December 1191 was mentioning for the first time the ecclesiastical institution of the Germans, the so called provostship, approved by the Holy See and independent from the bishopric in Alba Iulia²⁰. In 1223, Sibiu was being referred to as *villa Hermanni* and in 1224 all German settlers in southern Transylvania were put under the command of the *comes* in Sibiu and received a series of privileges and freedoms on behalf of the Hungarian king Andrew II (1205-1235)²¹. In the 13th century, the town was among the first urban centers to receive mendicant friars. Their choice for Sibiu should not come as a surprise. Even though it was mentioned in documents as *civitas* only in 1326, it was already shaped as an urban attraction point, where mendicant friars could exercise the teachings of their rules, where they could preach to people from all social strata and also ensure for themselves at least some means for survival, which was not the case, the mendicant cloisters in Sibiu developing in time an estate-like domain, similar to the ones of the monastic orders before them. The first mendicants to arrive here were the *preacher friars*, namely the Dominicans. It seems that their first cloister was established before the Mongol invasion of 1241. The chronicles from Erfurt have named the Dominican cloister in Sibiu amongst those destroyed during the attacks but, on the other hand, the order's general chapter had decided in Bologna, in 1240, upon allowing two new Dominican cloisters in the mendicant province of Hungary, one of which in Transylvania²². Despite the destructions and regardless whether or not their first monastery in Sibiu was a wooden or a stone one, shortly after the invasion the Dominicans returned and began to rebuild the Hungarian cloisters, including the one in Sibiu²³. On the other hand, the arrival of the Franciscans to Sibiu should be placed sometime before the year 1302, when they were already mentioned in the testament of the noblewoman Elisabeth from Vinţu²⁴. The development of both cloisters was strictly related to their location within the urban matrix of Sibiu.

The first Dominican monastery was placed in front of the St. Elisabeth gate²⁵. Despite sources stating its existence prior to the Mongol invasions, certain news about its location date to 1417, when Peter Lantregen, an Austrian stone master, placed a stone crucifix in the monastery's church²⁶. Unfortunately, for the

Dominican friars the 15th century meant also a series of Ottoman attacks and frequent destructions. Under these circumstances they saw the need to move their cloister *intra muros*. This was not an easy task for them: despite having papal and royal support, for three decades they faced the rejection of local authorities. It was only in 1474 that an agreement was signed between the order's provincial chapter and the town's representatives²⁷. At that time, the cloister and church's remains were ceded to the town upon signing a contract where the authorities in turn gave the friars a Plot inside the town, in the so called *Salzgasse*²⁸. Subsequently, the order's former property in front of the St. Elisabeth gate is considered to have been turned into a leper house²⁹. The second Dominican cloister was built in the proximity of the eastern defense wall belonging to the third fortification precinct, between the Salt gate and one of the defense towers, breaking through the precinct's curtain wall³⁰.

The location of the Franciscan cloister is also subjected to debate but we adhere to the opinions that locate it at the crossroad between the former Ocnei and Elisabeth streets. This statement is emphasized also through archaeological results that have unearthed some elements of the church's gothic choir and from the cloister wall, as well as human remains³¹. When pope Eugen V. (1431-1447) urged the town to rebuild the mendicant cloisters after the Ottoman attacks, the Franciscans had immediately found support from the local authorities, as opposed to the Dominicans³². Furthermore, they were also granted a series of indulgences as reward for their cooperation³³. After the Dominicans succeeded into 'moving' *intra muros*, the two mendicant monasteries found themselves into close proximity, unlike most cases of urban mendicant clusters but there aren't any indications of competition between them or conflicts when dividing their areas of activity³⁴.

During the Middle Ages, the town of Sibiu also 'hosted' cloisters belonging to the female branches of the Dominican and Franciscan orders. Even though at present there aren't many information regarding their activity, archaeological and historiographic research undertaken in the last three decades has made it possible to identify their location within the medieval town. The Dominican nuns had a short-lived stay in Sibiu, and the beginning of their activity here is dated back to the late 15th century or the early 16th one. It shouldn't come as a surprise that it was the Lutheran Reformation that brought an end to their presence in Sibiu. The cloister is thought to have been located within the fortified walls, in the Şelarilor street. After its dissolution, the remains of the cloister were given to the observant Franciscans during the 18th century³⁵. A Franciscan nuns' monastery functioned in Sibiu starting at some point during the 13th century and being first mentioned in official documents during the late 15th one. Despite some contradictions, it

seems that their establishment was located at the corner of the former Elisabeta street and the Nasturelui street. Its last architectural elements were demolished in 1987 and the archaeological researches managed to confirm its early stages during the 13th century³⁶.

Despite some upheavals documented in the early 14th century³⁷, up until the 16th one both orders found their peace in Sibiu and were able to go on with their activity undisturbed. The Dominican friars in Sibiu enjoyed a good reputation and were widely accepted by both laymen and secular clergy³⁸. When these relationships seemed to be endangered, it was the observant reformation within the Dominican order that put them back on track. The order's observant movement began in 1429 in Basel and the Dominican convent in Sibiu is thought to have been the first to adopt it³⁹. On the other hand, the 1430s were especially difficult years in the history of Sibiu; it was then that the first Ottoman attacks occurred, the first one being in 1432, followed by a second one in 1437 and an eight-day siege in 1438⁴⁰. Both friars' monastery were partially put to flames and destroyed during the first and last attacks of the decade: in the case of the Dominicans, the cloister was never to be restored to its original demeanor and it was after these events that the endeavors of moving the cloister within the town walls had started⁴¹. The Franciscan cloister was also set on fire and the apostolic seat convinced the members of the community to support the reparation works⁴².

By the turn of the 16th century, the laymen and secular clergy's attitude towards the Catholic mendicant orders started to shift. The Transylvanian German historiography reflects this stance, especially in Teutsch's *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, where one is able to clearly recognize an accusatory position towards them. Despite their centuries' long presence in Sibiu, it seems that the town's population did not hurry to attend mass inside the mendicant churches⁴³. Nevertheless, the fact that the mendicants held their mass in German makes us wonder about Teutsch's statement regarding the lacking popularity of the mendicants among the people⁴⁴. It shouldn't come as a surprise, if we are to reflect on the town's history in this period. One last attempt on behalf of the Dominican general chapter and convent in Sibiu was undertaken in 1525, when, in order to fight against Martin Luther's reformatory ideas, it was decided upon the opening of a Dominican university in the town. The enforcement of this decision was unfortunately delayed and things took a different course⁴⁵. King Louis II was opposed to the Lutheran reformatory ideas and – by 1524 – he was forbidding the reading and spreading of Martin Luther's teachings that had already entered Transylvanian towns, such as Sibiu and Braşov, through a series of books⁴⁶. Nevertheless, in December 1525, the Saxon University in Sibiu decided against the Catholic establishments, stating that it was possible for one's successors to buy

back the properties and goods left to churches and monasteries through wills⁴⁷. After his death, the town was under siege for several years, between 1529–1536, rejecting the authority of John I Zápolya⁴⁸. In 1529, the Dominican prior together with the monks were shortly imprisoned⁴⁹. They were released only under the threat of the siege. The townspeople freed the monks and all members of the Catholic church⁵⁰.

The following decade had marked the first phase of mendicant monasteries' closures. Between 1533–1543, Sibiu, as well as other urban communities, such as Orăştie, Suseni, Sebeş and Braşov, were among the first urban communities where establishments were closed. In 1543, the members of the Dominican convent of Sibiu were banished by the local authorities and the members of the community and their properties were seized, some of them being sold. Moreover, it seems that the local decisions regarding the Dominican convent were in agreement with Martin Luther's wishes as it was stated through the correspondence between the town's authorities and the latter⁵¹. In Sibiu, the Lutheran Reformation was carried out by Petrus Haller, mayor starting with the same year. It is known that some of the Dominican friars from Sibiu found refuge in the Dominican convent in Sighişoara, thus suggesting that the friars in Sighişoara managed to withstand the Reformatory wave for a few more years until being confiscated and given to the town, while others were given money, including as a gift for getting married⁵².

On the other hand, it is reported that the Franciscan monastery was still in a prosperous state by 1526, but by 1529 things had started to change for them as well. It was on February 18th of the same year that the town council had ordered them to leave the community, fearing that the monks would side with John I Zápolya; whether this was the case or not, after the latter's power had strengthened, the friars returned to the town and their presence there was a certainty in 1531⁵³. It was not until 1556 that they left Sibiu for good⁵⁴.

Other information concerning the developments related to the mendicant friars of Sibiu in the first half of the 16th century reside from the proceedings of the townhall, where a series of decisions related to them have been documented. Unfortunately, most of them are in relation to the Dominicans, while details about the Franciscans are rather lacking. Nevertheless, we have used the edited collections of townhall proceedings and come across a series of information about the mendicant properties during this timeframe. It seems that their estate began to be divided even before the official enforcing of the Lutheran Reformation. Records are showing that the town's authorities decided in March 1541 upon selling a pond, property of the Dominican monks, which was located outside Sibiu to one Thomas Textor and his heirs⁵⁵. Another pond was sold in 1543 by both the town and its community to one Franz Bayer.



The pond, located in Gușterița / Hammersdorf was once the property of the Dominicans, sometime before 1543. For this pond, the buyer had payed 100 florins⁵⁶. Three years later, one Johannes Lang is forced to prove that he had rightfully bought a big and a small pond from the town, as well as a house that used to belong to the same monks⁵⁷. Another interesting aspect concerns the ponds – private property – that were located around the leper houses. As we have already argued, the remains of the first Dominican cloister was probably turned into a leper house. It is recorded that in 1548 all pond owners around these houses were to pay a certain sum of money to benefit the lepers and, in return, they were to be exempted from paying the yearly tax for owning this type of property⁵⁸. Thus, we might be inclined to think that the Dominicans could have had ponds also in the area located in front of the St. Elisabeth gate even after they had moved within the fortified walls. It is generally accepted that the Dominican friars were banished in 1543⁵⁹. Nonetheless, the townhall recordings reveal the use of their church in 1550, when a preacher called Johannes was holding mass

on Sunday, during summer and was also paid for this⁶⁰. Furthermore, it seems that in 1556 the monastery of the so called ‘black friars’ received various sums of money from the town treasury and once again two years later⁶¹. It is possible that the church of the former monastery was still referred to as that of the ‘black friars’ only as part of the community’s collective memory, even if the monks were already gone from the town. All around Europe and in Transylvania as well, the ‘interference’ of both political and religious events in the life of the mendicant orders re-shaped their history during the 16th century. The case of Sibiu was not a particular one, nor in the development of the final stage of mendicant presence, neither regarding the community’s attitude towards the members of the mendicant convents, namely orders, because the latter were seen as enemies of the Lutheran Reformation, symbols of a faith imposed and not chosen. Nonetheless, in the following decades and even centuries, the Lutherans would face countermeasures taken by the Holy See and the mendicant presence will return, even in Sibiu.

Notes:

1. Mária Pakucs–Willcocks, *Sibiul veacului al XVI-lea. Rânduirea unui oraș transilvan* (București: Humanitas, 2018), 19. The conflicts between John I Zápolya and Ferdinand I of Habsburg came to a temporary halt only through the peace treaty signed in Oradea, in 1540, through which Ferdinand had recognized the royal authority of Zápolya during the latter’s lifetime and, after his death, his possessions were to become property of the Habsburgs. Even though the peace treaty was not fully respected, the death of Zápolya in 1540 was to change the only the opponent but not the “game”, Ferdinand now facing Zápolya’s widow, Isabella, the support given to their infant son and the politics of bishop Martinuzzi. In this respect, see Octavian Tătar, “Pacea de la Oradea (februarie 1540) între Ferdinand de Habsburg și Ioan Zápolya și implicațiile ei în disputa pentru coroana Ungariei”, *Angustia* 4 (1999): 159–163.
2. Lidia Gross, *Confresiunile medievale în Transilvania (secolele XIV–XVI)* (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2009), 112.
3. Edit Szegedi, *Identități premoderne în Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, 2002), 32.
4. Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, vol. I (Sibiu: Druck und Verlag von W. Krafft, 1899), 213. In some cases, this privilege of freely choosing one’s parish priest had extended during the 16th century also in the case of mendicant convents. For example, the German communities were entitled to impose laymen within the Dominican community of Sighișoara.
5. Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 217.
6. The Transylvanian Germans refused to send Zápolya the requested help in 1527 and in the autumn of the same year they were declaring their loyalty to Ferdinand of Habsburg. See *ibid.*, 204.
7. Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 232.
8. Edit Szegedi, *Identități premoderne în Transilvania*, 35.
9. István Petrovics, “The cities and towns of medieval Hungary as economic and cultural centres and places of coexistence. The case of Pécs”, *Colloquia*, XVIII (2011): 10.
10. Katalin Szende, “Continuity and change in the urban network of Hungary in the early angevin period”, *Banatica*, 26-II (2016): 66.
11. András Kubinyi, “König Sigismund und das ungarische Städtewesen”, in *Das Zeitalter König Sigismunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*, eds. Tilmann Schmidt, Péter Gunst (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2000), 118.
12. Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szereteseik* (PhD diss., MTA BTK, 2013), 350.
13. Enikő Rűsz-Fogarasi, “Matthias Corvinus and the Development of the Transylvanian Towns and Cities in the second half of the 15th century”, in *Mélanges d’Histoire Générale. Nouvelle Série*, nr. I (2007): 189.
14. Rűsz-Fogarasi, “Matthias Corvinus”, 190. These smaller urban communities were Dej, Teiuș, Baia de Arieș, etc. that had asked to receive a series of privileges. If we are to look closely at the founding dates of some mendicant convents, in Dej and Teiuș, we are able to observe that king Matthias had supported the Augustinian priory in its conflict with the parish churches in Dej

- and also that the Franciscan priory had registered a significant growth during the reign of the same Hungarian king.
15. Viorel Achim, "Ordinul franciscan în țările române", *Revista istorică*, tomul VII, nr. 5-6 (1996): 396.
 16. Corina Hopârtean, *Ordine mendicante în Transilvania. Ordinul paulin și peisajul religios, sec. XIII-XV* (PhD diss., ULBS, 2019), 83-84, 97-98.
 17. Hopârtean, *Ordine mendicante în Transilvania*, 97-98. In this context, we are referring to the Franciscan monastery in Cluj (1486-1556), the Franciscan monastery in Medieșu Aurit (1492-1565) and the Franciscan one in Brașov (1507-1530), at the same time suggesting a decrease in the popularity of the Dominican order in Transylvania and the success of the observant reform within the Franciscan one.
 18. Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 270.
 19. Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiul veacului al XVI-lea. Rânduirea unui oraș transilvan*, 16.
 20. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner (ed.), *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* (Ub), vol. I (1191-1342) (1892): no. 1, 1-2 and Maria Crîngaci Țiplic, "Oaspeții germani" în sudul Transilvaniei. *Istorie, arheologie și arhitectură (secolele XII-XIII)* (București: Academia Română, 2011), 37.
 21. Ub, vol. I, no. 38, 26-28 and Maria Crîngaci Țiplic, *Oaspeții Germani în sudul Transilvaniei. Istorie, arheologie, arhitectură (secolele XII-XIII)*. (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2011), 39.
 22. Frühwirth, Andreae (ed.), *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis praedicatorum* (ACGOP), vol. I (1220-1303) (Roma: Typographia Polyglotta, 1898), 18 and Sanda Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane din Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Neremia Napocae, 2002), 209. In this regard, see also Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon. Katalógus* (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 46 and András Harsányi, *A domonkosrend magyarországon a reformáció előtt* (Debrecen: Nagy Károly Grafikai, 1938), 81.
 23. ACGOP, vol. I, 37, where it is stated that the *fratres de Hungaria in provinciam suam revertantur*.
 24. Ub, vol. I (1191-1342) (1892), nr. 287, 216.
 25. Maria Crîngaci Țiplic, Ioan Marian Țiplic, "Hermannstadt und die Stadtarchäologie", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 70 (2019): 351-396; Maria Crîngaci Țiplic, Ioan Marian Țiplic, "Sibiul și arheologia urbană", *Studii de istorie a orașelor. In honorem Paul Niedermaier*, Vasile Ciobanu, Dan Dumitru Iacob (eds), (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2017) 542-593.
 26. Emil Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt 1100-1929* (Hermannstadt: Honterus Buchdruckerei, 1930), 3 and Ferdinand von Ziegler, *Zur Geschichte der Kreuz-Kapelle in der Elisabeth-Vorstadt von Hermannstadt* (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft, 1875), 8. Ziegler emphasizes even in the title that the first Dominican location was outside the town's fortifications, in a suburb.
 27. In 1445, the mayor, judge and jurors of Sibiu had intervened so that the pope try to convince the parish priest to agree upon rebuilding the dominican cloister inside the fortification walls. The latter's objections were not a surprise anymore because they were directed against the mendicants' right to perform religious service within a church open to the community, having thus a double status. In this sense, see also UB, vol. V (1438-1457) (1975), no. 2523, 159 and Sanda Salontai, "Biserici medievale ale ordinelor cerșetoare din Transilvania", in *Artă românească. Artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătășianu*, coord. Marius Porumb (Oradea: Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, 2002), 51. In 1474 the agreement came into being under the condition that the Dominicans were to adopt the observant reformation of their order and to receive mostly German members within their convent in Sibiu. In this sense, see UB, vol. VII (1474-1486) (1991), no. 4022, 29. On the other hand, the Franciscans' popularity was also a consequence of their origin, most of the ones who came to Sibiu by the end of the 13th century originating in the Rhine area. This was also a reason why they did not meet any difficulties in receiving land inside the town's fortification walls. In this sense, see also Adrian Andrei Rusu (coord.), *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), 235.
 28. Ziegler, *Zur Geschichte der Kreuz-Kapelle in der Elisabeth-Vorstadt von Hermannstadt*, 12. It was through their one financial means that the Dominican friars erected a new cloister and a new church.
 29. Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt 1100-1929*, 5. Nevertheless, the issue of the leper house requires future clarifications, most likely with the help of archaeological research. There are opinions according to which the leper house was already functioning as such prior to the dissolution of the first Dominican monastery, namely its relocation inside the town's fortification and thus the need to look for this preacher friars' first establishment elsewhere. Ziegler doesn't mention anything about turning the Dominican cloister in front of the St. Elisabeth gate into a leper house, more so he is the one to argue that the church remained standing and the terrain surrounding it was cleared of all remains. In this sense, see Ziegler, *Zur Geschichte der Kreuz-Kapelle in der Elisabeth-Vorstadt von Hermannstadt*, 12 and Sanda Salontai, "Așezăminte monastice ale ordinelor cerșetoare din Cluj și Sibiu la sfârșitul Evului Mediu", in *Cluj – Kolozsvár – Klausenburg 700: vârostörténeti tanulmányok = studii de istorie urbană*, coord. Mária Lupescu Makó (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egysület, 2018), 284. In her research, Sanda Salontai suggests that we could identify the cloister's first location in the north-western area of the town, near the Cibin river's course.
 30. Rusu, *Dicționarul mănăstirilor*, 234. In this sense, see also Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane din Transilvania*, 21, where it is argued that the Dominican friars might have received from king Andrew II, sometime in 1219, a chapel that was to become the core of their first cloister. See also Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt 1100-1929*, 5.



31. Crîngaci Țiplic, Țiplic, "Sibiul și arheologia urbană", 550.
32. János Karácsony, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története magyarországon 1711-ig*, vol. I (Budapest: a Magyar Tud. Akadémia Kiadása, 1923), 206.
33. Rusu, *Dicționarul mănăstirilor*, 236.
34. Other mendicant convents belonging to these orders were on opposite ends of urban centers, for example in Cluj or Bistrița. However, proximity between mendicant convents belonging to different orders is not out of the ordinary in Transylvania, this being the case in the Alba Iulia as well, where – within the fortification – the Dominicans and the Augustinians were 'neighbors' and also shared the activity of certifying documents issued by the royalty or by other authorities.
35. Crîngaci Țiplic, Țiplic, "Sibiul și arheologia urbană", 549.
36. Crîngaci Țiplic, Țiplic, "Sibiul și arheologia urbană", 550. Other historians place the beginning of the Dominican nuns' monastery in Sibiu by the early 16th century; see Entz Géza, *Erdély építészete a 14.-16. században* (Cluj-Napoca: "Gróf Mikó Imre" and "Pro Professione" foundations, 1996), 407; Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane*, 225.
37. Ub, vol. I (1191-1342) (1892), no. 297, 225; Ion Ionașcu (red.), *Documente privind Istoria României. Veacul XIV. C. Transilvania* (DIR C), vol. 1 (1301-1320) (1953): no. 28, 21-22; János Karácsony, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története magyarországon 1711-ig*, vol. I (Budapest: a Magyar Tud. Akadémia Kiadása, 1923), 32. The documents are mentioning an incident between the Dominican prior and the guardian of the Franciscan friars in Sibiu on the one hand and *Vasmundus, comes* in Sighișoara, on the other hand. It seems that *Vasmundus*, together with his son and laymen from the Transylvanian diocese, had trespassed the premise of the cloisters and plundered them. After this incident, the convents were taken under the protection of the papal legate and those who had wronged them were summoned to pay for the damage.
38. DIR C, vol. 1 (1301-1320) (1953): no. 87.
39. Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane*, 213.
40. Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 3.
41. Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 211-212.
42. Karácsony, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története magyarországon*, 56.
43. Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 145. He goes on stating that it was mostly their folksy way of preaching that attracted people to mass. If this was the case, then the mendicants had thus fulfilled one of their most important objectives: to draw people of all conditions and to preach to members of all social strata within urban communities.
44. Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 145.
45. Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane*, 214. The historian motivates this decision through the importance of the convent in Sibiu; ACGOP, vol. IX, 200, the transcript of this meeting states the decision and the motivation quite clearly: "Item simili modo instituimus et ordinamus stadium generale Cibiniense provinciae Ungariae ... ut contra pestifera et virulenta Martini Lutheri dogmata".
46. Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiul veacului al XVI-lea. Rânduirea unui oraș transilvan*, 168.
47. Gheorghe Duzinchevici, Evdochia Buta, Herta Gündisch (eds.), *Inventarul Protoalelor Primăriei Sibiu 1521-1700* (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, 1958), 13; Käthe Hientz, Bernhard Heigl, Thomas Șindilariu (eds.), *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen. Die Protokolle des Hermannstädter Rates und der sächsischen Nationsuniversität 1391-1705* (Hermannstadt: Honterus, 2007), 100. However, Maria Pakucs-Willcocks states that this particular decision of the Saxon University forbade people to leave properties and goods to churches and monasteries through wills, not only giving their heirs the possibility to buy them back, see Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiul veacului al XVI-lea. Rânduirea unui oraș transilvan*, 169.
48. Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiul veacului al XVI-lea. Rânduirea unui oraș transilvan*, 19. Also, John I Zápolya exercised his authority over the townsmen by naming giving the position of *iudex regalis* to Georg Huet in 1533 and turning the mandate into a life-long one in 1539, this office representing the link between the Germans' local autonomy and the central authority.
49. Karl Fabritius, "Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schäßburg", in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, NF, 5. Bd. (1861), 28; Salontai, *Mănăstiri dominicane*, 214. Friar Vitalis was imprisoned together with the monks by the town's magistrate, as it was stated in a 34 page booklet about the history of the Dominican order found in the former Dominican convent in Sighișoara in 1859 and described in Karl Fabritius' study in 1861 ("...prior conuentus fr. Vitalis cum socio Cibiniensi incarcerates in loco tenebroso est per magistrum ciuium ciuitatis Cibiniensis"). According to the booklet, it seems that the people rose against the friars and demanded their imprisonment, the Dominicans being "sine ullo delictum".
50. Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk*, 220. The mayor Matthias Armbruster set them free and ordered them to leave the cloister and the town.
51. Sigerus, *Chronik der Stadt Hermannstadt*, 7-8. Sigerus' chronicle is mentioning the sale of a pond that used to belong to the Dominicans. In Teutsch's *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen* it is told that the Dominican estate began being sold by 1541 and that the revenues were given to the poor.
52. Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, 231-232. Petrus Haller's loyalty towards Ferdinand I of Habsburg shouldn't come as a surprise.
53. Karácsony, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története magyarországon*, 206.

54. Karácsony, Szt. Ferencz rendjének története magyarországon, 207.
55. Duzinchevici-Buta-Gündisch, *Inventarul Protocoalelor Primăriei Sibiu*, 28.
56. Duzinchevici-Buta-Gündisch, *Inventarul Protocoalelor Primăriei Sibiu*, 32.
57. Duzinchevici-Buta-Gündisch, *Inventarul Protocoalelor Primăriei Sibiu*, 36.
58. Duzinchevici-Buta-Gündisch, *Inventarul Protocoalelor Primăriei Sibiu*, 37.
59. Rusu, *Dicționarul mănăstirilor*, 234.
60. Käthe Hientz, Bernhard Heigl, Thomas Şindilariu (eds.), *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen. Die Protokolle des Hermannstädter Rates und der sächsischen Nationsuniversität 1391-1705*, 47. The recording does not state whether Johannes was a Catholic or a Lutheran preacher or if the term *preacher* refers to the Dominican monks who were known also as *preacher friars*. It is said also that he preached also for the sick of the town.
61. Hientz-Heigl-Şindilariu (eds.), *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen*, 72, 71.

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