

THE LATE MEDIEVAL CHURCHWARDEN'S ACCOUNTS OF SIBIU/HERMANNSTADT (1505-1511)*

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Abstract: *In the medieval Catholic towns the church fabric (fabrica ecclesie), the material fund dedicated to the construction, repair and maintain of the parish church building and all that belonged to it (churchyard, chapels, treasury, and so on), was separated from the funds dedicated to the parish priest (dos ecclesie), and was administrated and controlled by the churchwardens (vitricus), elected by the urban communities. In my paper I would like to present and analyze a churchwarden's account, which refers to Sibiu preserved between 1505 and 1511. As far as I know, this document is the one and only urban churchwarden account remained from medieval Transylvania. In my presentation I intend to investigate the historical source in se, the churchwardens' persons, their income and expenses, and finally I would like to compare the churchwardens' budget to that of the magistrate of Sibiu.*

Keywords: Transylvania, parish church, financial administration, churchwarden's account, towns

In the medieval Romano-Catholic towns of Europe the material fund dedicated to the construction, repair and maintain of the parish church building and of what belonged to it (churchyard, chapels, treasury, and so on), the so-called church fabric (*fabrica ecclesie*) was separated from the funds dedicated to the parish priest (*dos ecclesie*), and was administrated and controlled by the churchwardens (*vitricus*), elected by the urban communities¹.

* This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007-2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU/89/1.5/S/61104 with the title “*Social sciences and humanities in the context of global development - development and implementation of postdoctoral research*”.

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¹ For the medieval church fabric and churchwardens, see: Arnd Reitemeier, *Pfarrkirchen in der Stadt des späten Mittelalters. Politik, Wirtschaft und Verwaltung*, in “*Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*”, Beiheft 177, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005; Charles Drew, *Early Parochial Organisation: The Origins of the Office of Churchwarden*, London, St Anthony's Press, 1954; Clive Burgess, *Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol*, in „*English Historical Review*”, 471 (2002), p. 306-332; Beat Kümin, *Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking beyond London and Bristol*, in „*English Historical Review*”, 119 (2004), p. 87-99; Kubinyi András, *Plébánosválasztások és egyházközségi önkormányzat a középkori Magyarországon*, in idem, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*, in “*Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség könyvek*”, 22, Budapest, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999, p. 282-285. See

„Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «G. Barițiu». Series Historica”, Supplement 1, 2015,
”Literacy Experiences concerning Medieval and Early Modern Transylvania”, p. 67-87.

In this paper I present and analyze an urban churchwarden account, as far as I know the only source of this type remained from medieval Transylvania. I wish to mention that only one more medieval church account from Transylvania was preserved, but this refers to a village church, namely the one of Jelna (in German Senndorf, in Hungarian Kiszsolna); this covers the period between 1455 and 1564². The historical source subject of this study is untitled and refers to the years 1505-1511³. As I will explain later, it seems that the account refers to a period which did not cover the whole 1505 year and which ended sometime before the summer harvest of 1511. What it exactly is, can be known starting from its penultimate note, which tells that the account was made by Jakob Medwischer, and it “was finished/closed” on the 29th of December 1511, when it was observed that Medwischer had paid more than he had received, and so “the church” remained his debtor with the difference of his financial transactions⁴. Jakob Medwischer was a citizen of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), where he held some of the most important functions: in 1492 and 1494, respectively, he was the judge and the locumtenent judge, respectively, of Sibiu seat, between 1500 and 1503, in 1505, in 1510, between 1514 and 1515 and between 1522 and 1523 the mayor of Sibiu, and in 1507 and 1509 – for some shorter periods – the locumtenent of the mayor⁵.

also: idem, *Egyház és város a késő-középkori Magyarországon*, in idem, *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények*, 295. In Transylvania the first mention of a churchwarden dates from 1359 (regarding Şura Mare/Grossscheuern); in Sibiu the *vitricus* of the hospital is mentioned in 1386, the *vitricus* of the parish church was mentioned in 1457 and in 1485. *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, Seria C, *Transilvania*, vol. 11, Ştefan Pascu (ed.), Bucharest, Edit. Academiei, 1981, p. 347; *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 2, Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller (ed.), Sibiu, In Kommission bei Franz Michaelis, 1897, p. 604; Entz Géza, *Erdély építészete a 14-16. században*, Cluj-Napoca, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996, p. 408; *Urkundenbuch*, vol. 7, Gustav Gündisch et alii (ed.), Bucharest, Verlag der Rumänischen Akademie, 1991, p. 385.

² Some parts of this account are published in: *Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen. Aus schriftlichen Quellen des zwölften bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Friedrich Müller (ed.), Hermannstadt, Steinhausen, 1864, p. 120-122; G. A. Schuller, *Kleine kunstgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*, in „Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde”, 33 (1910), p. 70-76. A presentation of some parts of this source: Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, W. Krafft, 1921, p. 151-154, 157. Here I wish to mention that Mr. Adinel Dincă PhD plans to edit and analyze this historical source.

³ See Images 1-3, and the Annex at the end of this paper.

⁴ 1511. *Ad sancti Thome Canthwriensis conclusa est ista ratio domini Jacobi Medwischer et conpertum est eum percepisse fl. 1051 d. 23,5 et exposuisse flor. 1193 d. 72 et sic abstracta summa maiori a minori ecclesia manet eidem obligata fl. 142 d. 48,5.*

⁵ Franz Zimmermann, *Chronologische Tafel der Hermannstädter Plebane, Oberbeamten und Notare in den Jahren 1500 bis 1884*, in „Archiv des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde”, Neue Folge 19 (1884), p. 531-532; *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen Online*, vol. 8, nr. 5214*, 5226*, 5430*, 5426* (<http://urts81.uni-trier.de:8083/catalog/4994>, <http://urts81.uni-trier.de:8083/catalog/5206>, <http://urts81.uni-trier.de:8083/catalog/5114>, <http://urts81.uni-trier.de:8083/catalog/5110>). In 1492, 1494, mentioned as Jakob and Jakob Schneider/Zabo [=Schneider]/Sartor, respectively. The data for 1492 is also given, without naming the source, by: Emil Sigerus, *Nagyszeben város krónikája 1100-1929*, Sibiu, Honterus

On the basis of this piece of information, of the ecclesiastical history of Sibiu and of the fact that the source remained in the archive of the town, I assume that: 1. the source is an account of the parish church of Sibiu churchwarden; 2. during the period to which the account refers (1505-1511), Medwischer was who hold this office⁶, and during the periods immediately before and after these years he probably did not; 3. the town council controlled and therefore elected the person, who managed the goods and cash accounted there. Concerning the purpose of the production of this source, the account is obviously a byproduct or a tool of the auditing process of the churchwarden's financial activity, a general practice in the late Middle Ages⁷.

The account first lists the revenues in nature and in cash, than the expenses, the debts, and ends with the mentioned remark concerning the audit. The churchwarden's revenues in nature consisted mainly in wheat and oat, and the quantities of these cereals were noted on the left side of the columns designating the cash income. These cereals came from renting the plough lands and mills of the parish, as some notes made around 1370 of the register of the Sibiu parish suggests it. In that time the parish had in total 123 yokes of plough land and two and 1/3 mills, after which it should have a maximum income of circa 100-130 *cubuli* (8720-11336 l) of cereals⁸. Later on, after the list of these lands, there were noted 33 yokes more land (16 yokes in 1472, and four-four yokes each in 1473 and in 1533). Although it is possible that some of these lands were already listed in the 14th century, a part of them should be some new acquisitions, as it is almost sure

Kiadó, 2006, p. 118), *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der sächsischen Nation* in "Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus sächsischen Archiven", I/1, Hermannstadt, In Commission bei Franz Michaelis, 1880, p. 464, 488, 536.

⁶ In the other towns of the Hungarian Kingdom the churchwardens were elected from the most notable citizens, too. Kubinyi András, *Plébánosválasztások op. cit.*, p. 283-284.

⁷ Arnd Reitemeier, *op. cit.*, p. 44-45, 60-72. As the jurors of Sibiu were elected on the 6th of January, in 1511 the churchwarden accounted for his incomes and expenses at the end of the council's yearly cycle. It was also usual that urban councils audited the other financial officers of the municipality – e. g. in Sibiu the town chamberers, but also the churchwarden of the abbey of Cârța (Kerz, Kerc), donated in 1474 to the town of Sibiu. Cf. *Rechnungen op. cit.*, passim; *Urkundenbuch op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 17-18 (1474, Cârța).

⁸ Gustav Seivert, *Das älteste Hermannstädter Kirchenbuch*, in „Archiv des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde”, Neue Folge 11 (1874), p. 332-335. The *cubulus* (a unit of measure) mentioned in the account was naturally that of Sibiu, named also Saxon *cubulus*, mentioned first time as such in 1551, which was equal with 87.2 l. Bogdán István, *Magyarországi űr-, térfogat-, súly- és darabmértékek 1874-ig*, in "Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, IV, Levéltáran és történeti forrástudományok", 7, Budapest, Akadémiai Könyvkiadó, 1991, p. 320. According to Eduard Albert Bielz, *Beitrag zur Geschichte merkwürdiger Naturbegebenheiten in Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, Closius, 1862, p. 9, note **, 1 *cubulus* in Transylvania = 1,5 Metzen of Lower Austria, which was equal to 92,23023 l (as 1 Metzen of Lower Austria = 61.48682 l. <https://www.wien.gv.at/wiki/index.php/Metzen>), but as he gave no further sources or explanation, one can not be absolutely sure of this identification.

that from the end of the 14th century until the beginning of the 16th century the parish increased its landed property.

I calculated this c. 100-130 *cubuli* value using some information of the parish register, which tells that around 1370 the rental of one of the mills was two *cubuli* of wheat, and that in case of 19 yokes the rental of a yoke of plough land, when it was seeded with wheat, was one *cubulum* (but when oat or millet was raised on these lands, the parish did not receive anything); the same one cubulus/yoke rental was asked after four-four yokes in 1472 and in 1473 (in these cases the type of cereal was not specified)⁹. However, around 1370 in the case of nine yokes of wheat land, the rental differed from this value, namely it was $\frac{4}{3}$ *cubuli*, and in 1472 the income of four yokes arable was only 1,5 *cubuli*. Moreover, around 1370, from an unknown reason, the parish “from a long time ago” had no revenues after nine yokes arables¹⁰, and as the person who wrote the register did not know, who hold 12 more yokes (and in case of four yokes he did not know even where they were located)¹¹, and in the case of ten yokes he did not write the name of the rentners, it is possible that these ploughlands did neither bring any revenues to the church.

It is probable that in those cases, when the hirer did not have to pay anything after oat or millet, were rather exceptions. I base my assumption on the fact that in such situations the reason of exemption was explicitly mentioned (only once was noted that the rentner had to give one *cubulus* of grain when he cropped oat, too – in the case of a plot of two yokes). Therefore I suppose that in the case of the rest of 93 yokes, when it was not written anything about the revenues, the rent was probably one *cubulus* of any kind of grain/yoke¹².

In any case, at the beginning of the 16th century the churchwarden accounted significant oat income, which in some years even surpassed the wheat revenues (from the point of view of quantity; see Table 1). This imply that by that time one paid quite frequently (if not always) rental after oat as well. In the studied period the ratio of the quantity of wheat and oat income changed very much, which suggests that the surface of the lands seeded with these two kinds of corns varied significantly, too.

⁹ The Transylvanian Saxons named this rental *Meddem*. Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, W. Krafft, 1921, p. 165-166.

¹⁰ *de annis multis nihil inde dedit; magis quam 6 annis multis nihil dedit*. Gustav Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

¹¹ *quis nunc habeat nescitur/nescio*. Gustav Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 332-333.

¹² I can not decide whether the fallow was taken into account when the land surface, after which the rental was asked, was calculated: albeit it seems logical that one did not reckon with the unseeded lands (because they did not produce grain income), the way the text was composed states the contrary. In the first case – and in the situations when all the parish’s lands were farmed using a three-field crop rotation – the income would have been max. 85 *cubuli* cereals. The mention of the wheat and oat, i. e. a winter and a spring cereal, when speaking about the same land, shows the practice of the three-field crop rotation (which means that the third part of the land was left fallow).

	Income			Sale		Balance calculated for			
	wheat	oat	total	wheat	oat	the given year		the whole period	
						wheat	oat	wheat	oat
1506	56.5	16.0	72.5			56.5	16.0	56.5	16.0
1507	115.5	99.0	214.5	68.0		47.5	99.0	104.0	115.0
1508	18.0	69.0	87.0	66.0		-48.0	69.0	56.0	184.0
1509	31.5	33.5	65.0	87.0		-55.5	33.5	0.5	217.5
1510	95.0	53.0	148.0		270.5	95.0	-217.5	95.5	
1511				58.0		-58.0		37.5	
Total	316.5	270.5	587.0	279.0	270.5	37.5	0.0	350	532.5
Average	52.8	45.1	97.8	46.5	45.1	6.3	0.0	58.3	88.8

Table 1. The quantity of received and sold cereals by the churchwarden of Sibiu, 1506-1511
(in *cubuli*)

Regarding the quantity of the cereals, between 1506 and 1511 the income of oat/wheat oscillated significantly, between circa 20 and 100/120 *cubuli*. This suggests that either a significant part of the lands were not rented, either the rental was fixed in correlation with the crop quantity, or both. I also presume that the ups and downs of the cereal income reflects the variation of the yield of the lands cultivated by the church warden or/and by the hirers. This latter change is basically hypothetical, as for the studied period I only know that in 1508 in Hungary there was an “unspeakable large” expensiveness because of the “scarcity of bread”,¹³ caused obviously by a weak harvest. Almost sure, this negative event explains that in 1508 the churchwarden’s wheat income was the smallest, concerning the 1506-1511 period. Here I would like draw attention to the fact that this source does not list the cereal income of 1511; probably because the account covers a period which ended before the summer harvest of grains. Concerning the *terminus post quem* I can only say that on the basis of the relatively high values of the cash incomes and expenses I assume that the source accounted a good part of the financial transactions of the 1511 year, namely probably those made until summer, or at least until spring.

It is hard to say the exact value of the cereal income, as the medieval cereal prices fluctuated significantly, according the year (i. e. the yield), the season, the region and the quantity sold. In Sibiu the price of one *cubulus* of wheat in February 1501 was 28,5 denars, between June and November 25 d., in December 20 d., and the price of

¹³ 1504-1566. *Memoria rerum. A Magyarországon legutóbbi László király fiának legutóbbi Lajos királynak születése óta esett dolgok emlékezete. (Verancsics-évkönyv)*, Bessenyei József (ed.), *Bibliotheca Historica*, Budapest, Magyar Helikon, 1981, p. 7.

one *cubulus* of oat in April 1503 12 d. (when 3 *cubuli* were purchased).¹⁴ At Bran (Törzburg, Töröcsvár) the average price of one *cubulus* of oat in 1504 in April was circa 7 d. (8 *cub.*), in December 8 d. (8 *cub.*), in July 1505 10 d. (1 *cub.*), in June 1506 7 d. (8 *cub.*), in April 1507 6 d. (3 *cub.*), and in September 1511 5 d. (23 *cub.*)¹⁵. Counting with both the minimal and maximal prices, the value of the wheat income varied between circa 5-10 and 20-30 florins, that of the oat income between c. 2 and 5-10 florins, in total between approximately 7-13 and 25-45 florins (see Tables 2-3).

	Income			Sale			Balance
	wheat	oat	total	wheat	oat	total	
1506	11.30	0.80	12.10				12.10
1507	23.10	4.95	28.05	13.60		13.60	14.45
1508	3.60	3.45	7.05	13.20		13.20	-6.15
1509	6.30	1.68	7.98	17.40		17.40	-9.43
1510	19.00	2.65	21.65		13.53	13.53	8.13
1511				11.60		11.60	-11.60
Total	63.30	13.53	76.83	55.80	13.53	69.33	7.50
Average	10.55	2.25	12.80	9.30	2.25	11.55	1.25

Table nr. 2. The minimum value of received and sold cereals by the churchwarden of Sibiu, 1506-1511 (in florins)

	Income			Sale			Balance
	wheat	oat	total	wheat	oat	total	
1506	16.14	1.92	18.06				18.06
1507	33.00	11.88	44.88	19.43		19.43	25.45
1508	5.14	8.28	13.42	18.86		18.86	-5.43
1509	9.00	4.02	13.02	24.86		24.86	-11.84
1510	27.14	6.36	33.50		32.46	32.46	1.04
1511				16.57		16.57	-16.57
Total	90.43	32.46	122.89	79.71	32.46	112.17	10.71
Average	15.07	5.41	20.48	13.29	5.41	18.70	1.79

Table 3. The maximum value of received and sold cereals by the churchwarden of Sibiu, 1506-1511 (in florins)

¹⁴ *Rechnungen op. cit.*, p. 338-339, 377.

¹⁵ *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 1, Braşov, Albrecht and Zillich, 1888, p. 88, 92, 98, 108, 117, 156.

It is possible that the parish had some income in nature of wax (perhaps as a donation), because at the head of the first page, separated from the other income items, was written: “1 centner and 15 pounds wax”. As this note practically is incomplete, I can not be sure about its interpretation: perhaps the wax was bought earlier by the churchwarden (similarly to what happened e. g. in the 14th century, as it will presented below); in this case at the moment of the account’s redaction the wax was already a part of the church’s assets. (Naturally, the wax was used to make candles for the church).

The churchwarden’s cash income usually varied between c. 100 and 200 florins, with the exception of 1505 and 1507, when this sum was 60 and 725 florins, respectively (see Table 4 and Graph 1). I think that the account did not include all financial transactions of 1505, because the incomes and especially the expenses seems to be too small for a whole year. In the case one do not take into consideration the incomes of the incompletely accounted 1505 and 1511 (I presumed above that the account covered only the c. first half of 1511), the yearly average would be 264 florins, and c. 149 florins, if one disregard from the maximum of 1507. Otherwise, the average is 210 florins.

The total yearly incomes resulted of the sum of usually 10-15 income items (once 5 and once 8 items), which generally varied between 5-15 florins, but in each year there appeared also 1-3 bigger sums, between 20-40 florins. The maximum of 1507 is due to an extraordinarily high income of 435 florins, and partially to an item of 100 fl – without these two sources, in this year the income would have been circa 200 florins.

	Income	Expenses	Balance
1505	60.030	36.08	23.950
1506	167.035	326.10	-159.065
1507	725.330	260.18	465.150
1508	146.325	533.16	-386.835
1509	173.365	169.27	4.095
1510	109.740	115.56	-5.820
1511	91.590	129.56	-37.970
Total	1473.415	1569.91	-96.495
Average	210.488	224.27	-13.785

Table 4. The cash income and expenses of the churchwarden of Sibiu, 1505-1511 (in florins)



Graph 1. The income and expenses of the churchwarden of Sibiu, 1505-1511, in florins

The document tells only in some cases the sources of the income. It seems that in these cases the money most often came from selling wheat and oat, as some notes written on the right side of the columns of cash income mention it (*venditio tritici; avena vendita; triticum vendidit*, followed by the quantity sold; the sources of these cereals are discussed above). The comparison of the received and sold cereals shows that in most of the years 1505-1511 the church did not sell all his grain, but it accumulated some quite significant grain reserves, in average approximatively at least 60 *cubuli* wheat and 90 *cubuli* oat (see Tables 1-3). The last row of the account, written separately at the bottom of the last page, says that there rested wheat in value of 37 florins, that is minimum 130 *cubuli*, if one count with the maximal price of 1501. The weak corn crops (those similar to that of 1508, mentioned above) were one of the causes that made the churchwardens of Sibiu to accumulate such corn reserves, mentioned already in the 1470's, when the cereals were stored in some holes of 100-260 *cubuli*¹⁶.

According to the rows written after the list of the yearly incomes and expenses, two people were debtors with some unnoticed sums "from the funeral/burial": once it was written only that "Peter Hoch from the funeral/burial", once that "the heirs of Caspar Huetter", but it can be assumed that both lines refer to some debts related to funerals, like the former and latter rows: Andreas Lang "had to pay from the burial", another person, the widow of Peter Crwz, promised to

¹⁶ Gustav Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 362-364.

pay “after the death” – probably of hers? – 40 florins. These sums represented either funeral dues or more probably donations fixed in last wills¹⁷.

In any case, it is sure that three of the named persons belonged to the elite of Sibiu, as they were members of the town council: Peter Hoch in 1496, 1497, 1500-1501, 1504-1505, 1507 and 1509¹⁸, Andreas Lang between 1503 and 1506 and between 1508 and 1509¹⁹, Caspar Huetter in 1500, 1503, 1504 (probably), 1506, 1508 and 1509²⁰. Peter Hoch in 1507 (the datation is not sure), in 1508 and perhaps in 1509 also was an officer of the twentieth (customs of external trade) office (*vigesimator*) in Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó)²¹, Caspar Huetter in 1509 the churchwarden of the parish church²². According to the tax sum paid in 1478, 1480 and 1485 by the two persons holding the name Peter Crwz (as well in 1486 or 1487 by one of them), both of them belonged to the middle strata of the inhabitants of Sibiu (in the first two years one of them had four tenants, which is a sign of good financial situation). In 1507 already is mentioned one of these persons' widow, who probably was the woman mentioned in the churchwarden account. (It seems that in 1507 and 1509 she was not in a very good financial situation, as she did not pay the whole sum of her tax)²³.

It is probable that around 1500 the Sibiu parish had also those type of incomes, which appear on the pages written around 1370 of the frequently quoted *Kirchenbuch*. Then, the church received after each of the eight butcher selling desks a half or 3/16 centner tallow, after each of the seven butcher selling desks

¹⁷ *Andreas Lang tenetur de sepultura. Petrus Hoch de sepultura. Heredes(?) Caspar Huetter. Relicta Petri Crwz ratione sepulture promisit solvere post obitum fl. 40.*

¹⁸ *Rechnungen op. cit.*, p. 130 (1490), 205, 208 (1496), 214, 218, 234, 244, 245, 250, 252, 254, 255 (1497), 302, 310 (1500-1501), 417 (1504); *Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt und in den Sieben Stühlen 1224-1479*, Monica Vlaicu et alii (ed.), in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Hermannstadt, 2, Sibiu-Heidelberg*, hora Verlag-Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 2003, p. 239 (1505), *Rechnungen op. cit.*, p. 465, 467 (1507), 550, 551 (1507), 332, 509, 513, 514, 517, 524, 526-528, 537, 545, 555, 558 (1509).

¹⁹ *Rechnungen op. cit.*, p. 265, 267 (1500), 291 (1500, twentieth), 330, 331, 337 (1509, twentieth), 362, 378, 415, 430, 433, 531, 536, (1503, 1504, 1506, 1509), 548, 549, 552-558 (1506, 1508); *Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt*, p. 239 (1505).

²⁰ *Rechnungen op. cit.*, p. 302 (1500), 318 (1504), 383-384 (1503), 423, 426 (1506), 497, 498 (1508), 332, 514, 520, 523, 528, 541-542, 545 (1509), 556-559.

²¹ *Rechnungen op. cit.*, p. 329, 330 (1508), 484 (1507), 546 (1509). In those years Sibiu and Braşov rented the Transylvanian twentieth offices.

²² Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, *Diplomatikai Levéltár* [Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Archive], nr. 46904. Also quoted also by Entz, *Erdély építésze*, p. 404. In this charters he was mentioned as Gaspar Syweges – ‘Süveges’ is the Hungarian translation of the German word ‘Huter’.)

²³ *Rechnungen op. cit.*, p. 49, 51, 52, 79, 80, 83, 111, 126, 550, 555, 558. Peter Crauss in 1485 was mentioned the first of those five *sartor* masters who asked to write down the statutes of their guild. *Handel und Gewerbe in Hermannstadt op. cit.*, p. 168. Another mention in 1485 of Peter Craus: *Urkundenbuch op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 406.

situated among the shoemakers', furriers' or bakers' desk 1/8-3/4 marks silver. In that time the parish had a relatively large circle of debtors, of 31 persons, who owed it in total 2661 florins and circa 63 marks silver. The interpretation of these data is hard because one do not know when and on which basis were these debts realized, and when were they (re)paid (and if they were paid totally). However, I suspect that a big part of this sum represents some loans provided by the parish church, which would mean that it had a significant credit activity. It is questionable, whether the church administrator had some cash incomes from those five meadows (*fenetum*) and 6,41 houses/courts (more precisely $3+1/3+1/4$ houses and $2+1/2+1/3$ courts [*curia*]), mentioned in the 14th century source, as there is no indication to such incomes (it is possible that in the houses lived for free the personnel related to the parish, e. g. the chaplains, the organist, the bell ringer, and that the grass/hay of the meadows were consumed by the – supposed – horses of the church)²⁴.

Finally, I discuss the expenses listed in the account and the financial balance. With the exception of three years, the yearly expenses had approximatively the same value as the income, the average yearly difference being only -14 florins. However, in 1506-1508 the difference between the income and expenditures was quite big, namely circa -170, 470 and -390 florins, respectively. The used source does not give any clue on what were these sums spent exactly, but most probably for the same goals as in the European parishes, mentioned in the front of this study, namely on the construction, repair and/or maintenance of the parish church building and on what belonged to it.

This hypothesis is strengthened by the analysis of an account of the Sibiu parish, dated on the end of the 14th century²⁵. Then, the majority of the accounted 504 florins (416 fl., 83%) was spent on the church buildings: on constructions in total 128 fl. (25%), namely on three windows 108 fl. (21%), on the school 19,25 fl. (4%) and on wood 0,75 fl. (0,1%), whereas on church equipment 288,5 fl. (57%): on a bell 217,25 fl. (43%), on an organ 54 fl. (11%), on a monstrancy 4 fl. (1%), on wax (used to make candles) 13,25 fl. (3%), on the salary of the personal linked to the church, namely of the organist 51 fl. (10%), and on unclear purposes 36,5 fl. (7% – although seemingly the vast majority of this sum was spent on constructions, too)²⁶. Here I wish to mention that by c. 1500 the situation has changed in this regard, as the town

²⁴ Gustav Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 336, 339-346.

²⁵ Gustav Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 351-352.

²⁶ 14 fl. for *strinet/striuet das man hat beslan* (probably something which was ironed, shod, covered or adzed [man hat beschalegen], which suggests that these monies were spent on some constructions), 13 fl. for *flyte/flynte an dem turnee* (perhaps something which was destined to, probably joint to the parish church tower [an dem Turme]), 6 fl. for *chorgnech* (maybe Chorknecht, i. e. a servant of the church choir?), and 3,5 fl. for “those who worked treading *wllus*” (?) (*illis qui laboraverunt calcando wllus 2 florenos et dedi calcantibus 1,5 florenos pro uno* [!]). Gustav Seivert, *op. cit.*, p. 351-352.

council gave yearly to the organist and to the bell ringer 24 fl. and 32 fl., respectively, paid the costs of a new organ's construction, circa 226 fl., and some works linked to the church building, for example in 1506 12 florins for a sculpture representing the deposition of Christ, in 1509 three florins for "the perfection" of a church's gate (and in 1508 20 florins for the person who made the mentioned sculpture, but for an unspecified reason), and the costs of the goldening of the church tower's globes. This means that by the beginning of the 16th century the magistrate of Sibiu in some cases took over a part of the churchwarden's attributes and encroached directly in the material issues of the parish, although only in a small measure. This evolution was the manifestation of the more general communalization process that took place in the medieval towns, communalization meaning that the citizens wanted and basically did succeed to gain control above almost all cases what in the town could happen²⁷.

²⁷ Simon Zsolt, *Financing Culture in the Middle Ages: the Transylvanian Saxon Towns' Municipalities*, in „Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”, Târgu-Mureș”, 14 (2011), p. 261-269.

ANNEX

[Sibiu, 29 December? 1511.] Summary of the churchwarden account of the parish church of Sibiu for 1505-1511.

Arhivele Naționale, Serviciul Județean Sibiu, fond Magistratul orașului și scaunului Sibiu (II. Socotelile bisericii) ([Romanian] National Archives, County Service of Sibiu, Magistrate of the town and seat of Sibiu, [II. Church accounts]), nr. 136. The photographs of the first three pages: Images 1-3. A paper sheet folded in two. On the fol. 2v, written by two other hands: *1505* (noted in the 16th or 17th century), and underlined: *7* (taken down in the 16th century, perhaps contemporaneously with the account's redaction). The entries of the first two pages are written in two columns. The used abbreviations: fl.: *florenus/floreni*, d.: *denarius/denarii*.

Percepta anni 1505

	fl. ²⁸	6	d. 77
	fl.	2	d. 17
	fl.	2	d. 95,5
	fl.	13	d. 13,5
	fl.	35	d. 0
Summa	fl.	60	d. 56 ²⁹

Percepta anni 1506

	fl.	11	d. 48,5
	fl.	13	d. 64
	fl.	11	d. 74,5
	fl.	9	d. 75
	fl.	4	d. 88,5
Triticum	fl.	5	d. 48
cubuli 56,5	fl.	7	d. 55
	fl.	8	d. 30,5
Avena	fl.	17	d. 75
cubuli 16	fl.	8	d. 28,5
	fl.	13	d. 13
	fl.	7	d. 46
	fl.	4	d. 57

²⁸ Before it, written probably by error, *Summa*.

²⁹ The correct sum is 3 d.

	fl.	43	d.	0
Summa facit	fl. ³⁰	167 ³¹	d.	3,5

Percepta anni 1507

	fl.	2	d.	45	
	fl.	104	d.	48	
	fl.	4	d.	44,5	
	fl.	435	d.	44,5	
Triticum	fl.	11	d.	22,5	
cubuli 115,5	fl.	12	d.	30,5	
	fl.	9	d.	22,5	
	fl.	19	d.	78	Venditio tritici cubuli 68.
Avena cubuli	fl.	15	d.	93	
99	fl.	24	d.	48	
	fl.	4	d.	99,5	
	fl.	16	d.	60	
	fl.	12	d.	52	
	fl.	30	d.	0	
	fl.	21	d.	45	
Summa facit	fl.	725	d.	33	

Percepta anni 1508

	fl.	2	d.	51	
	fl.	8	d.	37	
	fl.	7	d.	62,5	
	fl.	7	d.	81	
	fl.	16	d.	54,5	
	fl.	5	d.	23	
	fl.	22	d.	34,5 ³²	
	fl.	28	d.	69	
Triticum	fl.	6	d.	21,5 ³³	
cubuli 18	fl.	3	d.	58,5	Venditio tritici cubuli 66.
Avena cubuli 69	fl.	5	d.	40	

³⁰ In the next row again, without any sum: *fl.*

³¹ The third number is unclear: originally it was written 6, of which upper part was crossed out and written on it 7, or – although less probably – 3.

³² The first number written on 4.

³³ The first number written on 4.

	fl.	26	d.	25	
	fl.	5	d.	75	
Summa facit	fl.	146	d.	32,5	

Percepta anni 1509

	fl.	24	d.	49	
	fl.	5		84,5	
	fl.	9	d.	47,5	
Triticum cubuli 31,5	fl.	23	d.	61	
	fl.	25	d.	9,5	Venditio tritici cubuli 87.
Avena cubuli 33,5	fl.	6	d.	54	
	fl.	3	d.	23,5	
	fl.	2	d.	2	
	fl.	3	d.	98	
	fl.	3	d.	7,5	
	fl.	24	d.	50	
	fl.	41	d.	50	
Summa facit	fl.	173	d.	36,5	

Percepta anni 1510

	fl.	4	d.	88,5	
	fl.	9	d.	74	
	fl.	7	d.	32	
Triticum cubuli 95	fl.	13	d.	54,5	
	fl.	8	d.	1	Avena vendita cubuli 270,5.
	fl.	4	d.	64	
Avena cubuli 53	fl.	3	d.	32,5	
	fl.	18	d.	53,5	
	fl.	21	d.	29	
	fl.	18	d.	45	
Summa facit	fl.	109	d.	74	

Percepta anni 1511

	fl.	5	d.	13,5	
	fl.	7	d.	5	
	fl.	5	d.	90	
	fl.	5	d.	46	Triticum vendidit cubuli 58.
	fl.	27	d.	6,5	

	fl.	8	d.	14,5
	fl.	20	d.	92,5
	fl.	11	d.	91
Summa facit	fl.	90	d.	88 ³⁴
Summa summarum	fl.	1473	d.	23,5

Cera centenarium 1 libra 15³⁵

[Fol. 1v] Extradata anni 1505

	fl.	0	d.	76
	fl.	4	d.	35
	fl.	2	d.	7
	fl.	4 ³⁶	d.	18
	fl.	16	d.	22
	fl.	8	d.	50
Summa facit	fl.	36	d.	8

Extradata anni 1506

	fl.	3	d.	68
	fl.	2	d.	70
	fl.	6	d.	75
	fl.	7	d.	35
	fl.	9	d.	43
	fl.	6	d.	42
	fl.	35	d.	68
	fl.	7	d.	26
	fl.	10	d.	71
	fl.	9	d.	61
	fl.	63	d.	65
	fl.	28	d.	90
	fl.	36	d.	9
	fl.	23	d.	24
	fl.	1	d.	94
	fl.	3	d.	9

³⁴ The correct sum is fl. 91 d. 59.

³⁵ Written at the top of the page, near the line *Percepta anni 1505*, but seemingly without any link to the entries regarding the cash income.

³⁶ Written on 5.

	fl.	23	d.	18
	fl.	28	d.	92
	fl.	17	d.	50
Summa	fl.	326	d.	0 ³⁷

Extradata anni 1507

	fl.	4	d.	50
	fl.	16	d.	44
	fl.	9	d.	96
	fl.	45	d.	17 ³⁸
	fl.	7	d.	88
	fl.	9	d.	40
	fl.	10	d.	80
	fl.	51	d.	90
	fl.	3	d.	60
	fl.	11	d.	32
	fl.	2	d.	81
	fl.	20	d.	95
	fl.	10	d.	70
	fl.	9	d.	80
	fl.	8	d.	70
	fl.	36	d.	25
Summa	fl.	260	d.	18

Extradata anni 1508

	fl.	37	d.	73
	fl.	39	d.	75
	fl.	8	d.	19
	fl.	13	d.	90
	fl.	14	d.	6
	fl.	128	d.	25
	fl.	148	d.	28
	fl.	2	d.	44
	fl.	12	d.	17
	fl.	20	d.	73
	fl.	42	d.	50

³⁷ The correct sum is 10.

³⁸ Written after a 7 crossed out.

	fl.	46	d. 66
	fl.	18	d. 50
Summa	fl.	533	d. 16

Extradata anni 1509

	fl.	7	d. 54
	fl.	12	d. 29
	fl.	16	d. 12
	fl.	18	d. 80 ³⁹
	fl.	23	d. 10
	fl.	9	d. 76
	fl.	10	d. 77
	fl.	16	d. 91
	fl.	43	d. 58
	fl.	10	d. 40
Summa	fl.	169	d. 27

Extradata anni 1510

	fl.	8	d. 45
	fl.	10	d. 72
	fl.	7 ⁴⁰	d. 16
	fl.	2	d. 97
	fl.	15 ⁴¹	d. 64
	fl.	5	d. 62
	fl.	6	d. 54
	fl.	44	d. 62
	fl.	13	d. 84
Summa facit	fl.	115	d. 56

Extradata anni 1511

	fl.	11	d. 10
	fl.	5 ⁴²	d. 66
	fl.	8	d. 65

³⁹ Written after a *l* crossed out.

⁴⁰ Written before a *8* crossed out.

⁴¹ The first number perhaps is crossed out, than written again thick.

⁴² Written thick, maybe on a *4* noted earlier.

	fl.	12	d.	0
	fl.	43	d.	22
	fl.	24	d.	5 ⁴³
	fl.	11	d.	78
	fl.	13	d.	10
Summa facit	fl.	129	d.	52 ⁴⁴
Summa summarum	fl.	1569	d.	72

[Fol. 2r] Andreas Lang tenetur de sepultura.

Petrus Hoch de sepultura

Heredes (?) Caspar Huetter

Relicta Petri Crwz ratione sepulture promisit solvere post obitum fl. 40.

1511.⁴⁵ Ad sancti Thome Canthwriensis⁴⁶ conclusa est ista ratio domini Jacobi Medwischer et conpertum est eum percepisse fl. 1051 d. 23,5 et exposuisse flor. 1193 d. 72 et sic abstracta summa maiori a minori ecclesia manet eidem obligata fl. 142 d. 48,5.

Triticum restat fl. 37.

⁴³ Written on a 0, after a 3 crossed out.

⁴⁴ The 5 written on a 4. The correct sum is 56.

⁴⁵ It seems that it was added later by the same hand: it was written thicker and before the beginning of the paragraph's rows.

⁴⁶ 29 December 1511.

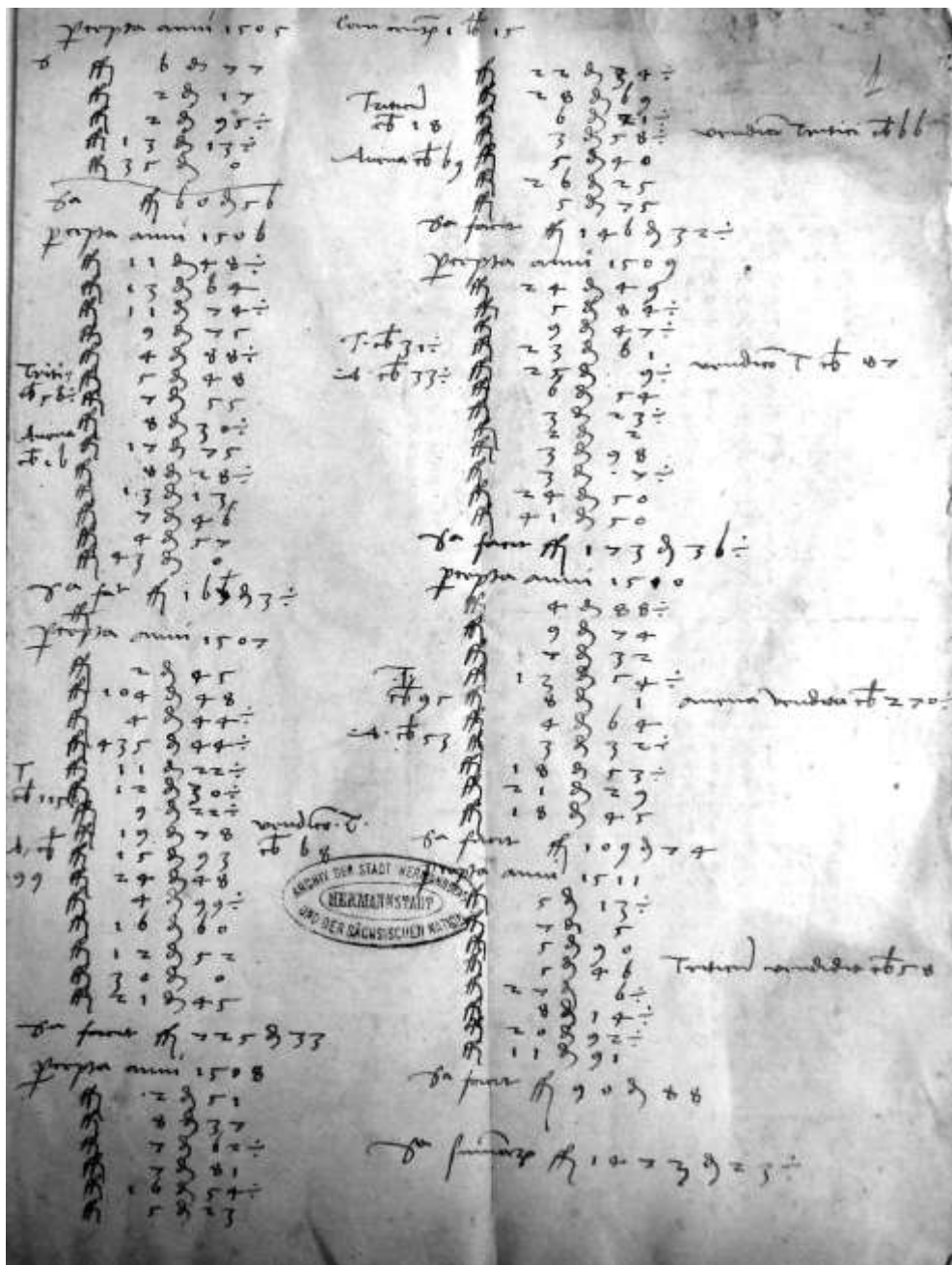


Image 1. The account of the churchwarden of Sibiu, 1506-1511. Fol. 1r.

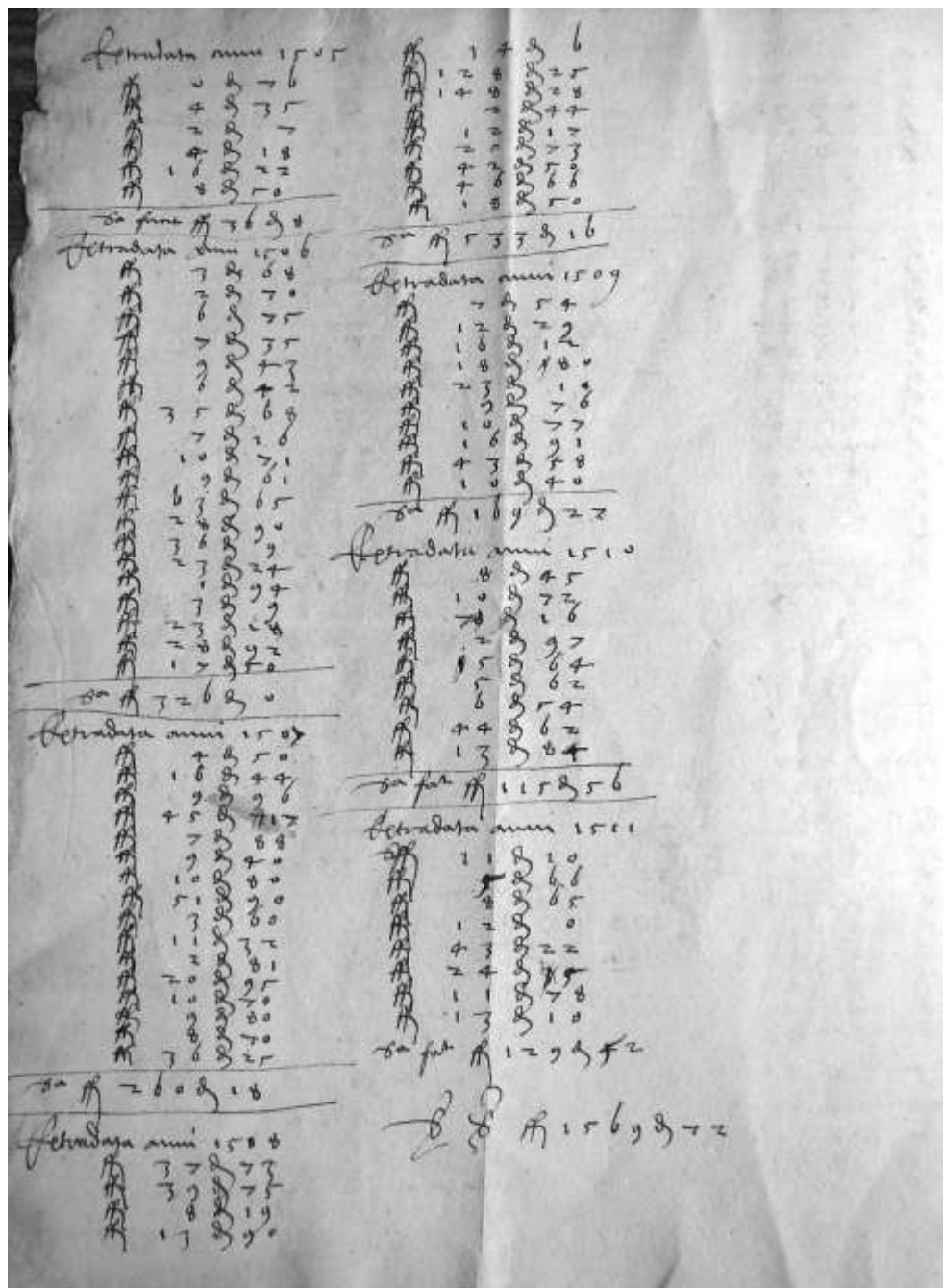


Image 2. The account of the churchwarden of Sibiu, 1506-1511. Fol. 1v.

