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THE *ROSARIUM* OF PELBARTUS OF THEMESWAR: NOTES ON ITS' SOURCES

Abstract

The present contribution interprets the results of the statistic of explicit sources employed in the first volume of Pelbartus of Themeswar's *Rosarium*. This author was a late 15th century Hungarian Observant Franciscan who wrote a number of texts that were real "bestsellers" in his time and in the century following his death. The *Rosarium* is his work of theoretic theology and the one closest to what might be called a medieval philosophical endeavor. By seeing who he quotes and in what way, we get to showcase his doctrinal preference for the Scotist school and, as a bonus, identify some of the works that the 15th century library of the "Saint John" Observant convent of Buda, where he worked during the last period of his life, owned.

Keywords: Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, encyclopedia, Scotism, Thomism, Library of the "Saint John" convent of Buda.

Judged following modern standards, a compilation, as are most medieval works (even some of those that have been deemed original by hasty scholars of the past), does not have much value. Modern culture has taught us to ask the following questions: "What's original in the thought of an author? What does he bring to the table in terms of novelty or innovation?". These are indeed interesting aspects to tackle, and in the eventuality that we do discover such a rare beast as "original thought" in the works that belong to medieval culture, that does constitute an interesting fact and the pretext for many scholarly articles. Still, the questions that best highlight the cultural value of a text pertaining to a medieval author are of the type: "What is repeated in his writings? Who did

he read? Who did he copy from and why?”. For those thinkers, originality was only a byproduct of the intentional quest to do justice to tradition.

From this perspective, the present contribution analyses how Pelbartus of Themeswar, a 15th century Observant Franciscan author, quotes his fellow theologians of the past in the first volume of the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*,¹ an alphabetically organized theological encyclopedia. Although such a study may not seem all that interesting at first glance, it achieves the great task of offering a glimpse into what higher education in 15th century Hungary looked like. We must keep in mind that this medieval kingdom did not have a university,² so the *studia*³ of different orders provided the highest level of learning that could have been achieved in that land. Thus, it is quite interesting to see what was taught during theology courses at the *studium* of the Franciscan convent of Buda, which authors were in vogue, how they were invoked, and whether their works were actually present in the library or their texts were known through intermediaries, *i.e.* citations found in books the library actually owned.

1. The intellectual context of the *Rosarium*

In the 15th century, during the reign of Mathias Corvinus (1459-1490), the Kingdom of Hungary was at its’ peak: humanist studies flourished at the court of the king,⁴ whilst in non-humanist milieus, such as the *studia* of various orders, scholastic theology was taught at a high level, comparable to other places in Europe. It is in this intellectual context that we must place Pelbartus of Themeswar. Having studied the arts at Cracow, where he was enrolled in 1458⁵ and finished the first part of the *curricula* in 1463,⁶ he went on to teach theology at the Franciscan *studium generale* that functioned by the “Saint John” convent of Buda. The fact that he taught theology without university theological instruction is not that unusual, since the *studia*, where he probably studied it, did offer a good level of higher theological education. The odd detail in his intellectual journey is that he studied the seven liberal arts at the university, but not theology, although he was a member of a mendicant order. The process was usually the other way around: members of mendicant orders would get initiated in the arts within the confines of their order’s educational system, and only the best endowed ones would go on to study theology at university.⁷ Not much is known about what he did in the period between 1463 and

1483,⁸ but it is certain that in 1483 he was teaching theology, following the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard in the afore mentioned *studium* of Buda, as is attested by the Chronicle of the Friars minor, attributed to Blasius of Zalka, which also registers his death, that occurred in 1504.⁹ These three primary sources are the only trustworthy elements that we can use in reconstructing the life of Pelbartus of Themeswar: any other assertion would only be mere conjecture.¹⁰

The *Rosarium* was most probably the result of his teachings. Two arguments can be brought in this respect. First, it was composed during the time that Pelbartus was a professor of theology in the Buda *studium*. Second, its structure and contents indicate that it was intended as a pedagogical tool: it begins with an *adhortatio studiorum* (encouragement towards studies), it focuses on brevity¹¹ and simplifies, at times even oversimplifies, complicated theological issues.¹²

The literary genre of this work is quite difficult to define, it is situated between a theological encyclopedia and a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. On the one hand, it can be called an “encyclopedia”, because it respects several conditions required for this kind of writing: it reunites, in a structured fashion, all the relevant aspects pertaining to a domain of human knowledge¹³ (in our case theology); it uses the technique of compilation and invokes authorities, but it also goes beyond authoritative sources and makes use of authors that do not have that status (given its totalizing nature, to only appeal to authorities would have been impossible); it is culturally circumscribed and depends on a set epistemological context, given that it was written for Pelbartus’ students and within the Franciscan framework; it reorganizes and restructures knowledge, more precisely it rearranges all the information following the alphabetical criterion; and, finally, there is an explicit intention of the author to widely disseminate it.¹⁴

On the other hand, it could be included in the literary genre of commentaries on the *Sentences*.¹⁵ It is, after all, divided into four volumes that thematically follow the four books of the Lombard: the first one discusses trinitarian issues, the second creation, the third Christology and the fourth the sacraments. Furthermore, the bulk of its citations belongs to commentaries on the *Sentences* written by other Franciscans, and the *Sentences* are explicitly invoked in the long title of the *Rosarium* in all four editions, as follows:

Hagenau 1503	Venice 1586	Venice 1589	Brescia 1590
<p>Aureum rosarium theologiae ad Sententiarum quattuor libros pariformiter quadripartitum, ex doctrina Doctoris Subtilis suorumque sequacium, sanctorum, etiam Thomae Aquinatis Bonaventuraeque ac multorum solidorum doctorum, per religiosum devotumque patrem, fratrem Pelbartum de Themeswar, ordinis minorum de observantia, medullitus adipem exugentem accuratissime alphabetico compilatum ordine, qui et Pomerium sermonum salutiferorum nunc temporis ubilibet cantatissimum suis lucubrationibus in medium christianitati obtulit.</p>	<p>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium, iuxta quattuor Sententiarum libros quadripartitum, ex doctrina Doctoris Subtilis, Divi Thomae, Divi Bonaventurae aliorumque sacrorum doctorum, a Reverendo Patre Pelbarto de Themeswar, ordinis minorum de observantia.</p> <p>[The Golden Rosary of Theology, divided into four like the four Books of <i>Sentences</i>, <compiled> from the teachings of the Subtle Doctor, Divine Thomas, Divine Bonaventure and other sacred doctors, by the worthy of reverence father Pelbartus of Themeswar, belonging to the order of the Friars minor of observance.]</p>	<p>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium, iuxta quattuor Sententiarum libros quadripartitum, ex doctrina Doctoris Subtilis, Divi Thomae, Divi Bonaventurae aliorumque sacrorum doctorum, a Reverendo Patre Pelbarto de Themeswar, ordinis minorum de observantia.</p> <p>[The Golden Rosary of Theology, divided into four like the four Books of <i>Sentences</i>, <compiled> from the teachings of the Subtle Doctor, Divine Thomas, Divine Bonaventure and other sacred doctors, by the worthy of reverence father Pelbartus of Themeswar, belonging to the order of the Friars minor of observance.]</p>	<p>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium, iuxta quattuor Sententiarum libros quadripartitum, ex doctrina Doctoris Subtilis, Divi Thomae, Divi Bonaventurae aliorumque sacrorum doctorum, a Reverendo Patre Pelbarto de Themeswar, ordinis minorum de observantia.</p> <p>[The Golden Rosary of Theology, divided into four like the four Books of <i>Sentences</i>, <compiled> from the teachings of the Subtle Doctor, Divine Thomas, Divine Bonaventure and other sacred doctors, by the worthy of reverence father Pelbartus of Themeswar, belonging to the order of the</p>

Haguenau 1503	Venice 1586	Venice 1589	Brescia 1590
<p>[The Golden Rosary of Theology, divided into four parts, in a parallel manner to the <i>Book of Sentences</i>, compiled in alphabetical order, by selecting that which is most valuable from the teachings of the Subtle Doctor and his followers, even from those of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure and from those of many reliable doctors, by the father, brother Pelbartus of Themeswar, from the order of the Friars minor of observance, who also rendered available to all Christians his <i>Pomerium</i> of sermons, the most recited everywhere, accompanied by his explanations.]</p>			<p>Friars minor of observance.]</p>

However, the arguments against integrating it within the genre of *Sentences* commentaries are also very strong. First of all, although the title does mention Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, it only states that the *Rosarium* follows its divisions, not that it is an actual commentary. Secondly, such works were usually produced within faculties of theology, as part of the compulsory conditions for someone to accede to the title of doctor in theology, and Pelbartus never followed theology courses in a university context. True as this might be, the connection of this work with what we might more broadly call literature surrounding the *Sentences* is undeniable. For these reasons, it is best to define the *Rosarium* as a theological encyclopedia inspired by the genre of commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, or, in other words, a guide to reading the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

Unlike most of Pelbartus' works, the *Rosarium* only knew four editions, being second in unpopularity only to his commentary on the Psalms. We do not dispose of exhaustive lists of the editions of his other two works, the *Stellarium* and the *Pomerium* (divided into three different collections of sermons, namely *De tempore*, *De sanctis* and *Quadragesimale*, that have been printed separately and have circulated independently of one another). Still, our findings up to this point allow for an approximation of the number of editions and state that they were published especially by German and Italian print houses, between 1483 and 1590.¹⁶ The great number of editions suggests that his works were bestsellers at the time, as the following table shows:

<p><i>Stellarium</i></p>	<p>23 (Basel 1497,¹⁷ Haguenau 1498, Haguenau-Augsburg 1501, Haguenau 1501, Haguenau-Augsburg 1502, Augsburg 1502, Haguenau-Augsburg 1504, Lyon 1505, Haguenau-Augsburg 1505, Strasbourg-Köln 1506, Haguenau-Augsburg 1508, Lyon-Nürnberg 1509, Haguenau 1509, Lyon 1509, Haguenau-Augsburg 1511, Lyon 1514, Lyon-Nürnberg 1514, Haguenau-Augsburg 1515, Paris 1517, Nürnberg 1518, Augsburg 1520, Paris 1521, Venice 1586)</p>
<p><i>Pomerium quadragesimale</i></p>	<p>23 (Haguenau 1499, Haguenau 1500, Haguenau-Augsburg 1501, Haguenau-Augsburg 1502, Augsburg 1502, Haguenau-Augsburg 1504, Haguenau-Augsburg 1505, Strasbourg-Köln 1505, Strasbourg-Köln 1506, Haguenau 1507, Haguenau-Augsburg 1507, Paris 1507, Haguenau-Augsburg 1509, Lyon 1509, Lyon-Nürnberg 1509, Haguenau-Augsburg 1511, Lyon 1514, Lyon-Nürnberg 1514, Haguenau-Augsburg 1515, Paris 1517, Nürnberg 1519, Haguenau-Augsburg 1520, Paris 1521)</p>

<i>Pomerium de sanctis</i>	22 (Haguenau 1499, Haguenau 1500, Lyon 1500, Haguenau 1501, Haguenau-Augsburg 1501, Augsburg 1502, Haguenau-Augsburg 1502, Haguenau-Augsburg 1504, Haguenau-Augsburg 1505, Strasbourg-Köln 1505, Haguenau-Augsburg 1507, Haguenau-Augsburg 1509, Lyon 1509, Lyon-Nürnberg 1509, Haguenau-Augsburg 1511, Lyon 1514, Lyon-Nürnberg 1514, Haguenau-Augsburg 1515, Paris 1517, Nürnberg 1519, Haguenau-Augsburg 1520, Rouen 1521)
<i>Pomerium de tempore</i>	18 (Haguenau 1498, Haguenau 1500, Lyon 1500, Haguenau-Augsburg 1501, Haguenau-Augsburg 1502, Haguenau-Augsburg 1503, Haguenau-Augsburg 1504, Strasbourg-Köln 1505, Haguenau-Augsburg 1507, Lyon 1509, Lyon-Nürnberg 1509, Haguenau-Augsburg 1509, Haguenau-Augsburg 1511, Lyon 1514, Lyon-Nürnberg 1514, Paris 1517, Nürnberg 1519, Paris 1522)
<i>Rosarium</i>	4 (Haguenau 1503-1508, Venice 1586, Venice 1589, Brescia 1590)
<i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>	3 (Strasbourg 1487, Haguenau-Augsburg 1504, Haguenau-Augsburg 1513)

Many of the early editions of his writings were published in Hagenau, at the printing house of Henricus Gran, on the expenses of John Rymann¹⁸ – this *officina* was generally the go to place for Observant Franciscans who wanted to have their works published.¹⁹ It should also be noted that the *Rosarium* is one of the works that was mostly edited towards the end of the 16th century, whereas his other writings seem to have enjoyed more popularity at the end of the 15th, beginning of the 16th.

2. A Witness of Libraries of the Past: Explicit Quotations in the *Rosarium*

There are many ways to reconstruct a library, such as medieval catalogues or other witnesses contemporary to the library itself. These are certainly safer and better-informed ones than those based on the explicit citations from the works of just one author. Still, such an approach could represent at least a starting point in our endeavor to reconstruct the intellectual context of the past and the roads taken by dissemination of knowledge.²⁰ In the *Stellarium*, his very first writing, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, who had supposedly saved him from the plague,²¹ Pelbartus writes:

Sed et pluribus miraculis aliis omissis libeat, si tamen placet, hic describere quoddam de confirmatione festi purificationis miraculum, quod quidem repperi in Budensi libraria et habetur etiam in Speculo exemplorum, distinctione 8, capitulo 58, quod videlicet temporibus Bonifacii papae quoddam templum erat Romae, quod dicebatur Romulus, consecratum Dianae, hoc templum ipse papa impetravit a Foca imperatore, ut in honorem Sanctae Mariae virginis consecraretur.²²

[But, other miracles being omitted, it would be agreeable, if it were nevertheless pleasing, to describe a miracle regarding the confirmation of the Feast of Purification that I have found even in the library of Buda, and that can also be found in the *Speculum exemplorum*, distinction 8, chapter 58, namely that during the time of Pope there was a certain temple in Rome that was called 'Romulus', dedicated to Diana, and the Pope himself obtained from the emperor Foca that it would be dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary.]

This is quite instructive, because it tells us where Pelbartus was studying: in the library of Buda. It is most probably the case that it actually

was the precise library of the *studium* of the “Saint John” convent, where he also taught. This means that, by establishing his sources and what books he had access to directly while writing the *Rosarium*, we can also tell what the contents of one of the most important scholastic institutions of higher learning that could be found in Buda held in its library, in terms of theoretical, and, in two specific cases, practical theology.²³ For now, we intend to only do this for the first volume of the *Rosarium*, showing what sources Pelbartus uses in this compilation, how many times he invokes them, and, in some cases, present the manner in which they are invoked. At the end of the article, we will be able to establish a list of the books it seems that he had direct access to and a separate one of the titles that he clearly only invokes indirectly.

Although the *Rosarium* follows the thematical division of the Book of *Sentences* into four volumes, each of which is dedicated to a certain aspect (I – Trinity; II – creation; III – Christology; IV – sacraments), it divagates by including much more than what could be easily ascribed to the general theme of the volume: the first one, for instance, has an entire chapter on what one should learn in order to be proficient in theology (the *Addiscere* chapter²⁴); the second treats “creation” in such a manner that it almost becomes an encyclopedia of nature, talking about fish,²⁵ minerals²⁶ and animals,²⁷ the third volume is dedicated to the history of Christ and our salvation; while the fourth one, already compiled by Pelbartus’ pupil, Oswaldus de Lasko,²⁸ talks about the sacraments of the church and some other juridical aspects. For this reason, I have considered that it would be most appropriate, in order to see what the library possessed and what the students and teachers of the *studium* of the Saint John convent were interested in, in terms of dogmatic theology, to establish a statistic of the sources for the first volume, by far the most philosophical and theoretical one. I will not present the entire statistic in this article, but rather the most representative instances grouped by types of authors.

(a) Aristotle and his commentators

Aristotle, whom Pelbartus sometimes names “The Philosopher” as was customary for medieval authors, is invoked 638 times, both with works that have actually been authored by him and with writings such as *De pomo*, which are pseudo epigraphs. This is not surprising, given that he was an authority and that all the authors that Pelbartus copied from also mentioned him. That being said, The Philosopher is not cited from his own

works, which Pelbartus probably never read (apart from some florilegia that circulated during the Middle Ages), but his name is always copied from the texts of other, rather more Franciscan, thinkers.

Averroes, The Commentator, is named 35 times, throughout this first volume, with his commentaries on Aristotle's *De anima*, *Physica*, *Metaphysica* and on the treatise *De substantia orbis*. He is also not directly quoted, but following Pelbartus' primary sources. Remaining in the realm of Arab commentators, he invokes Avicenna a total of 49 times. This is not surprising: our author's access to this literature was mediated especially through the works of Scotists and Avicenna was one of Duns Scotus' favorites. Albumasar (Abu Ma'Shar), with his *Introductorium super astrologiam*, is only named once and Alfarabi (*Alphorabius*, Al-Farabi) is invoked the same number of times, whereas Algazel (Al-Ghazali) is cited on eight different occasions.

Here are some tables summarizing the number of quotations from Aristotle and his Arab commentators:

Aristotle

Aristotle or The Philosopher, without any mention of a book	68
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<i>Metaphysica</i>	186
<i>Physica</i>	128
Logical works ²⁹	100
<i>Ethica</i>	63
<i>De anima</i>	52
<i>De caelo</i>	17
<i>De generatione</i>	7
<i>Liber Meteororum</i>	7
<i>De pomo</i>	2
<i>Rhetorica</i>	2
<i>Politica</i>	1
<i>De memoria et reminiscentia</i>	1
<i>De animalibus</i> (?)	1
<i>De sensu et sensato</i>	1
<i>De mundo</i>	1

<i>De somno et vigilia</i>	1
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Total number of mentions	638
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Averroes

Quoted as Averroes or The Commentator without any mention of a book	12
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<i>In Metaphysicam</i>	16
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<i>In Physicam</i>	4
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<i>In De anima</i>	2
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<i>In De substantia orbis</i>	1
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Total number of mentions	35
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Avicenna

Quoted as Avicenna, without the name of the book	15
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<i>Metaphysica</i>	33
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<i>Liber naturalium</i>	1
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Total number of mentions	49
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Albumasar (Abu Ma'shar)

<i>Introductorium super astrologiam</i>	1
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Alphorabius (Al-Farabi)

Quoted as Alphorabius, without the name of the book	1
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Algazel (Al-Ghazali)

Quoted as Algazel, without the name of the book	7
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<i>Metaphysica</i>	1
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Total	8
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It is worth emphasizing that probably none of these texts are quoted directly from the source, but are secondary influences, taken from the books that Pelbartus actually read. Still, he names them on purpose, given that there were no citation laws that he had to obey and that he could have very well copied from his primary sources without mentioning the authors that those sources were invoking. This type of situation is, in fact, not that rare: to give just one example, in his commentary on distinction three of book one of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the 14th century Cistercian author, James of Eltville, copied from John of Mirecourt's (another Cistercian writer) commentary on the *Sentences*, while intentionally omitting most of the direct mentions of Aristotle.³⁰

(b) Theologians and saints from before the university era

The next set of important quotations consists in mentions of authors that had almost a canonical status, that is to say authors who had definitely gained the status of authority in the eyes of the Church. I have considered noteworthy only those mentioned more than five times, among which we can count: Augustine, quoted 650 times, both with books that actually belonged to him and with titles that have only been attributed to him; Anselm, in the same situation as Augustine, is named 74 times; Bernard of Clairvaux, obviously an important theological figure of the high Middle Ages is only named 38 times; Saint Jerome is quoted 25 times, Hugh of Saint Victor 16, and Gregory the Great 41 times. All these citations of important theologians are not really that illustrative: these are all names

that had to be invoked. Here are the tables of quotations, useful in order to have a general image of how these quotes worked.

Augustine of Hippo

Quoted as Augustine, without the name of the book	226
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<i>De Trinitate</i>	191
<i>De civitate</i>	34
<i>Liber 83 quaestionum</i>	29
<i>Super genesim ad litteram</i>	23
<i>De doctrina christiana</i>	15
<i>Liber confessionum</i>	13
<i>Contra Maximinum</i>	12
<i>Super Iohannes</i>	11
<i>Enchiridion</i>	11
<i>De libero arbitrio</i>	8
<i>Liber de fide ad Petrum</i>	7
<i>De videndo Deum</i>	5
<i>De praedestinatione sanctorum</i>	4
<i>Ad Hosiosum</i>	4
<i>De spiritu et anima</i>	4
<i>Liber retractationum</i>	4
<i>Glossa in Psalmos</i>	3
<i>De vera religione</i>	3
<i>Liber Soliloquiorum</i>	3
<i>De natura et gratia</i>	3
<i>Quaestiones novae et veteris legis</i>	3
<i>Sermo de imagine</i>	2
<i>Liber de triplici habitaculo</i>	2
<i>Liber de natura boni</i>	2
<i>Contra Manicheos</i>	2
<i>Epistola ad Nembridium (?)</i>	2

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<i>Glossa ad Romanos</i>	2
<i>De verbo Dei</i>	2
<i>Ad Dardanum</i>	2
<i>De magistro</i>	1
<i>Contra Faustum</i>	1
<i>Epistolae af Volusianum</i>	1
<i>Liber de sancta virginitate</i>	1
<i>Liber de decem chordis</i>	1
<i>De vocatione sanctorum</i>	1
<i>Epistola ad Fortunatum</i>	1
<i>De moribus Ecclesiae</i>	1
<i>Ad Marcellinum</i>	1
<i>De quantitate animae</i>	1
<i>Sermo de adventu</i>	1
<i>Contra Donatistas</i>	1
<i>De origine animae</i>	1
<i>Contra haereses</i>	1
<i>Super Corinthios</i>	1
<i>De vera innocentia</i>	1
<i>De bono perseverantiae</i>	1
<i>Canon</i>	1

Total number of citations	650
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Augustine is quoted only a few more times than Aristotle, which tells us that Pelbartus must not have been all that influenced by the 14th century tradition, where one can witness a reborn passion for Augustine. If he had used the texts of 14th century authors, the number of times Augustine was invoked would have surely surpassed the number of mentions of The Philosopher.

Anselm of Canterbury

Quoted as Anselmus, without the name of the book	22
<i>Monologion</i>	29
<i>Liber de concordantia praescientiae et liberi arbitrii</i>	6
<i>Cur Deus homo</i>	4
<i>Liber orationum</i>	3
<i>Proslogion</i>	3
<i>De veritate</i>	2
<i>Liber contra insipientem</i>	1
<i>De lapsu mundi</i>	1
<i>De similitudinibus</i>	1
<i>De processione Spiritus Sancti</i>	1
<i>De casu diaboli</i>	1
Total	74

Bernard of Clairvaux

Quoted as Bernardus, without the name of the book	25
<i>Liber de amore Dei (= In Cantica Canticorum)</i>	6
<i>De consideratione</i>	3
<i>In Psalmos</i>	1
<i>Sermo ad fratres de monte Dei</i>	1
<i>Ad Evangelium</i>	1
<i>De dispensatione</i>	1
Total	38

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Jerome

Quoted as Hieronymus, without the name of the book	17
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<i>Ad Eustochium</i>	2
<i>Ad Paulam</i>	1
<i>Prologus Galeatus</i>	1
<i>Expositio catholicae fidei</i>	1
<i>Epistola 88</i>	1
<i>Super Abachuc</i>	1
<i>Ad Marcellam</i>	1

Total	25
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Gregory the Great

Quoted as Gregorius, without the name of the book	25
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<i>Homelia super Iob (Moralia in Iob)</i>	8
<i>Homelia super Ioh.</i>	3
<i>Dialogi</i>	2
<i>Homelia super Ezech.</i>	1
<i>Homelia super Cant.</i>	1
<i>Benedictio cerei pascali</i>	1

Total	41
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(c) The Bible

The next set of quotes that interest us are the biblical ones. These too are to be expected from a medieval theologian writing such a work. Pelbartus invokes both the New and Old Testament, giving more importance to

certain books in each of them, his favorites being The Book of Psalms for the Old Testament, and the Gospel of John for the New Testament. The Bible is often quoted by heart,³¹ given that it is such an important part of the liturgical ritual. The role that it plays in this ritual also explains why certain books are invoked a greater number of times than others (for instance, the Book of Psalms and Paul's epistles are real stars). For a clearer statistic of how they are distributed, we introduce the table of biblical citations. The titles of each book are abbreviated following the international standard for *Scripture*.

General quotations, without the name of a precise book	
Sacra scriptura	73
New Testament	3
Old Testament	8
Total	84

Books of the Old Testament	
Ps.	77
Isa.	25
Sap.	23
Gen.	22
Ecci.	16
Exod.	13
Prov.	13
Reg.	10
Ecces.	7
Deut.	6
Iob	6
Num.	5
Hier.	4
Iosua	2
Macab.	2
Malach.	2
Dan.	1

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Zach.	1
Ion.	1
Ioel	1
Ezech.	1
Total	238

Books of the New Testament	
Ioh.	68
Mentions of Paul's writings (quoted as 'Apostolus') without a precise indication of the epistle	34
Matth.	32
Rom.	31
Cor.	25
Heb.	13
Gal.	11
Ephes.	8
Apoc.	7
Luc.	7
1 Tim.	6
2 Tim.	6
Act.	6
Marc.	5
Iaco.	4
Fil.	3
1 Ioh.	3
1 Petr.	2
Col.	2
2 Petr.	1
Thes.	1
Tit.	1
Total	276

Total biblical citations	598
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(d) Peter Lombard and commentaries on the *Sentences*

Given that we argue for the importance that the *Book of Sentences* plays in the composition of this theological encyclopedia, the references to Peter Lombard and to commentaries on his text are vital to our line of reasoning. The *Magister Sententiarum* is invoked a total of 252 times, only as author of this book. To be more precise, his name is explicitly mentioned 77 times, whereas the title of his famous work appears in 175 instances. It is normal to find such quotations, given that the majority of the other sources invoked by Pelbartus are commentaries on the *Sentences*. However, it would be wise to assume that they are not first-hand citations, but belong to the commentaries that Pelbartus is actually copying from:

Peter Lombard

Quoted as Peter Lombard (Petrus Lombardus), without the name of the book	77
<i>The Book of Sentences</i> (<i>Liber Sententiarum</i>)	175
Total	252

(d.1.) *The Scotist School*

Staying in the domain of the *Sentences* and the literature that they generated, the bulk of Pelbartus' sources consist in quotes from Scotist commentaries on the *Sentences*. He names: Duns Scotus, Guillaume of Vaurouillon, Peter of Aquila (Scotellus or Scotorellus) and Francis of Meyronnes. These are the authors that shape the *Rosarium* from a doctrinal point of view.

Guillaume of Vaurouillon

The main influence is the Scotist author Guillaume of Vaurouillon, who is named 950 times. He completed his commentary on the first three books of the *Sentences* in 1431, and on the fourth in 1448, at Paris,

becoming Master of Theology in April of 1448. Vaurouillon’s text refers to the *Sentences* in their entirety and is a proof of the so called “return to the text of the master” that occurred in the 15th century. He is very faithful to the doctrine of the Doctor Subtilis, and it is not unusual that Pelbartus quotes him to such an extent. What is interesting to note is that the first edition of his work was published at Lyon, in 1489, as an incunabulum, so the book must have reached Buda quite fast, since the first volume of the *Rosarium* was written in 1500 and published in 1503.³²

Quoted as Guillaume of Vaurouillon, without the name of the book (Guillerimus)	513
The commentary on the <i>Book of Sentences</i>	437
Total	950

Francis of Meyronnes

Francis of Meyronnes, another Scotist author, is quoted 492 times. He lived at the beginning of the 14th century and read the *Sentences* in Paris, in the academic year 1320-1321, being named *magister theologiae* on the 24 of May in 1323.³³

Quoted as Francis of Meyronnes (Franciscus Maronis), without the name of the book	296
The commentary on the <i>Book of Sentences</i>	195
<i>De virtutibus</i> (?)	1
Total	492

Peter of Aquila

Peter of Aquila, named “Scotellus” (little Scotus) or, as Pelbartus calls him, “Scotorellus”, is quoted 359 times. The doctrine of this author was so close to Scotus, that medieval and modern theologians used to say “si vis intelligere Scotum, lege Scotellum” (if you want to understand Scotus, read Scotellus).³⁴

Quoted as Little Scotus (Scotorellus) or Peter of Aquila (Petrus de Aquila), without the name of the book	211
Commentary on the <i>Book of Sentences</i>	148
Total	359

William of Ware

Pelbartus only invokes this author a few times, never directly, usually following Peter of Aquila. William of Ware, also known as *Doctor Fundatus*, is not a Scotist doctor *per se*, but we have included him in this section, because he is quoted as if he were one by Pelbartus. Ware was a pupil of Alexander of Hales and a master of Duns Scotus in Paris,³⁵ so he peaked at the end of the 13th, beginning of the 14th century.

Quoted only as William of Ware (Varro), without the name of the book	6
The Commentary on the <i>Sentences (In libros Sententiarum)</i>	4
Total quotes	10

Duns Scotus

Duns Scotus, the Subtle Doctor himself, is cited 216 times, but there are reasons to suspect that he is mostly quoted after the compendia of his *sequaces* and not directly from his own works. This affirmation is based on the fact that I have not found any instances in which Duns Scotus is quoted without the explicit mention that his words can also be found in the commentaries of Peter of Aquila or Guillaume of Vaurouillon.

Quoted as Duns Scotus (Scotus) or as the Subtle Doctor (Doctor Subtilis), without the name of the book	143
Commentaries on the <i>Sentences</i> (<i>Lectura, Ordinatio, Reportatio Parisiensis</i>)	71
<i>Quodlibet</i>	2
Total	216

And finally, there are 72 general mentions of the *Scotistae, via Scoti*, etc., thus making the total number of Scotist citations 2039.

(d. 2.) The Thomist School

Thomas and certain Thomists are also mentioned by Pelbartus and they are invoked on quite a series of occasions. Thomas Aquinas is quoted 387 times, Raynerius Pisanus, the author of a compendium of Thomas's *Summa* is named 31 times, and the school 4 times. There is a total of 422 instances in which Thomism of some type is quoted explicitly. Even without any qualitative analysis, it is clear that Pelbartus was a follower of the Scotist school – the only schools mentioned are the two, and the Scotist one is named four times more often than the Thomist one. As a side note, it can once again be seen that our author was not a great fan of the 14th century, given that he completely ignores the Cistercian and Augustinian revolution that took place in that time span.

An analysis of the manner in which Thomists and Scotists are invoked only strengthens the thesis that Pelbartus was a Scotist: the line of thought of the Doctor Subtilis is followed and often introduced by phrases such as “it is better said by the Doctor Subtilis and the *Scotistae*”; “it would be better to follow the Scotist school in this” etc.; so, conclusions are given following this line. Thomas and the Thomists are only quoted to be contradicted or in cases in which a common opinion is stated and Scotist doctors and non-Scotist ones are named together, so as to show how widespread that point was. The following tables offer a synoptic view of this information:

Thomas Aquinas

Quoted as Thomas Aquinas (Thomas de Aquino), without the mention of the book	185
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Commentary on the <i>Sentences</i>	136
<i>Summa</i>	56
<i>Quodlibet</i>	2
<i>Super Dionysii De divinis nominibus</i>	2
<i>De ente et essentia</i>	3
<i>De veritate</i>	1
<i>Contra gentiles</i>	2

Total	387
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Thomists

Thomistae	4
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Raynerius Pisanus

Quoted as Raynerius Pisanus, without the name of the book	11
<i>Summa</i>	20
Total	31

(d. 3) Other important Franciscan theological writings

Besides the Scotist faction, Pelbartus invokes a series of other authors whose writings he considers to be consistent with his general approach. The most notable ones are Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure:

Alexander of Hales, quoted only by name, without any mention of a book title	27
<i>Summa</i>	12
Total	39

Bonaventure, quoted by name, without any mention of a book title	318
Commentary on the <i>Sentences</i>	275
Total	593

(e) Practical *Summae*

There are also 19 mentions of the *Summa* of Antoninus Florentinus, which wouldn't be a considerable amount if we were to not pay attention to the fact that they are all gathered under one entry of the *Rosarium*, the *Addiscere* chapter, in which Pelbartus explains what one should learn in order to become a better theologian.³⁶ This part of the text is also the one to gather the most citations from the texts of canon law, given that it prescribes what is adequate and what is not adequate for a student in theology. So, the *Addiscere* chapter basically explains that a good theologian should be well versed in the arts of the *trivium* (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and from the arts of the *quadrivium* only concern himself with music, not paying much attention to devilish endeavors such as astronomy and physics:

<...> tales scientiae quadriviales licite quidem leguntur et audiuntur ac addiscuntur, ut dictum est, tamen in eis non est sistendo nec omnino vacando illis intendendum, excepta musica scientia quae multum deservit divinis laudibus decantandis. Nam tales scientiae, licet in se contineant veritatem secundum Hieronymum, non tamen ducunt ad pietatem <...>.

Unde Ambrosius, distinctione 37, paragrapho ‘hinc etiam’ dicit: astronomia et astrologia et huiusmodi despecta sunt, quia nil valent ad salutem, sed mittunt in errorem, et qui his student, curam animae non habent.³⁷

[<...> somebody may read and listen to and learn these quadrivial sciences, as has been said above, still one must not stop at them or give up everything in order to understand them, with the exception of musical science which is very useful in chanting divine merits. Because such sciences, although they do have some truth in them, according to Jerome, they do not lead to piety <...>. That is why Ambrose, in distinction 37, paragraph ‘hinc etiam’ says: astronomy and astrology and similar sciences are worthy of contempt, because they have no value to salvation, and they lead people into error, and those who study them do not take care of their souls.]

This is a somewhat surprising attitude if we take into account the fact that Pelbartus studied the arts at the University of Cracow, which was well known for its “natural studies” program, only two generations or so before Copernicus.³⁸ Still, Jean Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris at the end of the 14th century, held a similar stance: he argued in favor of the interpretative sciences and against the others.³⁹

The sources for this part of the text are *summae* that also deal with issues of canon law, such as that of the Florentine or that of Angelus of Clavasio (Angelo of Chivaso). The latter is also quoted 18 times in the first volume of the *Rosarium*, but only within this very specific chapter:

Antoninus Florentinus, without the name of the book	3
<i>Summa</i>	16
Total	19

Angelus de Clavasio, without the name of the book	9
<i>Summa</i>	9
Total	18

Conclusion

Although it is hard to state beyond a shadow of a doubt what Pelbartus of Themeswar actually had at hand in the library of Buda, we do have the means to make some educated guesses regarding what some of the books in the library were. Since out of a total of 7171⁴⁰ explicit quotes 950 invoke Guillaume of Vaurouillon, it would be safe to assume that his book was actually in the library and heavily studied. The same goes for Peter of Aquila and Francis of Meyronnes who are also quoted quite a few times. Still, we can't say for sure that the works of Duns Scotus, who was invoked 216 times, were present: Pelbartus uses the works of so many followers of Scotus that we can't tell whether these explicit mentions are due to what he read, studied and had in the library of Buda, or to the works of Scotists who mentioned their master.

The same goes for Aristotle and Augustine: did Pelbartus have their actual books in his hands or did he quote them following other authors? It is hard to say, although it is probable that he just copied those mentions from other works – everybody in the past had quoted the Philosopher and Augustine and there already existed numerous florilegia with their sayings: so, even if Pelbartus didn't base those quotes on other authors, closer to his times, that he had actually read, which is quite hard to believe, he still wouldn't have done the drastic thing of actually reading the works of Aristotle and Augustine instead of just reading some collections of their sayings. It is not clear whether he even had the Book of *Sentences*, given that all quotes of the Lombard's text come from the works of his commentators.

Another set of works that I suspect him to have actually read and found in the library of the convent, are the theological *summae* of Angelus of Clavasio and Antoninus Florentinus. My suspicion is not based, this time, on the number of quotes, but on the fact that many Franciscan convents did own a *Summa Angelica* and maybe even the Florentine's *Summa* due to their practicality: they explained the canons of the Church and were extremely useful for the brothers and the general organization of conventual life.

So, up to now, it is pretty clear that the Franciscan convent of Buda must have owned the texts of some followers of Scotus and the *summae* of Angelus of Clavasio and Antoninus Florentinus, besides the books that were useful in the liturgic practice.

NOTES

- ¹ This title suggests that the text belongs to a typology, if not exactly to a literary genre: it makes one think of the collections of predicable materials assembled throughout the Middle Ages by preachers of all doctrinal orientations, from good Catholics to protestants. There exists at least another work bearing this title, a *Rosarium* written sometime in the 14th century, that has as its point of departure a different work, which circulated under the title *Floretus*. This *Rosarium* has been translated into Middle English, but besides the alphabetical order and, maybe the titles of some entries, has little to do with the work of Pelbartus of Themeswar. On the Middle English translations of the *Rosarium*, see: Nolcken (von), C., *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie*, Carl Winter Universitätverlag, Heidelberg, 1979. Maybe the fact that is most interesting for our study is that two of the Latin originals of the *Rosarium*, both of which can be found in British libraries, have attributions, written in a later hand, to Pelbartus of Themeswar: the Leicester, Wyggeston Hospital, ms. 10 D 34/16, has a marginal notation in 17th century script at f. 167, that writes *scripsit Pelbartus Rosarium Theologie*. *An hoc sit adhuc ambigitur* [Pelbartus wrote the Rosary of theology. It is doubtful whether this is the case] and the Oxford, Bodleian library, ms. Bodley 803, writes, at f. 177r, in 17th century script, *quo auctore incertum est, cum de duobus legimus, Oswaldo et Pelberto* [sic!], *quorum uterque autor est libri inscripti Rosarium Theologie, sed an huius Rosarii siquidem nescio* [by which author it is unclear, since we read about two, Oswaldus and Pelbartus, each of which is the author of the book entitled The Rosary of Theology]. See Nolcken (von), C., *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie*, Carl Winter Universitätverlag, Heidelberg, 1979, p. 30.
- ² Despite three attempts to form a university in Hungary (in Pécs, Buda and Bratislava - back then Pozsony), this great medieval kingdom remained the only one of its stature to not have a university. This fact is remarked in passing by Pierre Riché and Jacques Verger in their *Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*. See: Riché, P., Verger, J., *Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*, Éditions Tallandier, Paris, 2006, p. 233.
- ³ On the subject of teaching in the *studia* of religious orders, see: Kent, E. Jr., Courtenay, W. J., Metzger, S. M., (eds.), *Philosophy and Theology in the 'Studia' of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts. Acts of the XVth Annual Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, University of Notre Dame, 8-10 October 2008*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2012.
- ⁴ On the political stability brought about by the reign of this king, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary*, I. B. Tauris, London-New York, 2001, pp. 298-322.

- ⁵ The list of enrolled students of the Faculty of arts registers him as follows: *Rectoratus magistri Iohannis de Dambrowka, sacrae theologiae et decretorum doctoris, custodies Kelcensis et canonici Sancti Floriani, vicecancellarii Studii Cracoviensis* <...> *Pelbartus Ladislai de Temeschwar, 4 gr., tt.* So it tells us that he registered during the rectorate of master John of Dambrowka. Other information that we can extract is that his father's name was "Ladislaus" (thus the use of the genitive of filiation "Ladislai") and that he paid the total sum for his enrollment, 4 polish grosz. For the list of enrolled students, see: Gašiorowski, A. (ed.), *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400-1508*, Towarzystwo naukowe Societas Vistulana, Kraków, 2004, p. 272.
- ⁶ The list of students who completed their studies (*Liber promotionum*) writes: *In decanatu Magistri Stanislai de Schladek, anno domini 1463, ad Quatuor tempora Lucie, infra scripti ad gradum baccalariatus in artibus promoti, sic ut sequuntur, sunt locati: Nicol. De Visnicze (comes), Petrus de Cibinio, Simon de Cibinio, Valentius de Cracovia, Palbertus de Themesvar (scriptor ecclesiasticus celebris)* <...>. From this we can extract the following: that Pelbartus was pretty high in the ranking of students, the order of students respecting the order of their grades in the promotion exam, and that his name was not all that common, since it is misspelled (Palbertus). The inscription *scriptor ecclesiasticus celebris* (a famous Church writer) was added in the margin, by a later hand. This seems reasonable, since in 1463, when the list was conceived, Pelbartus had not yet written anything. For the list of promotions, see: Gašiorowski, A. (ed.), *Liber promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculi decimi quinti*, Cracovia, Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci, 2000, p. 53.
- ⁷ For an analysis of the Franciscan study system throughout the Middle Ages, and especially for this information, see: Roest, B., *A History of Franciscan Education 1210-1517*, Brill, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2000, pp. 105-115.
- ⁸ There is, however, much speculation regarding that period. To give just a few examples, Zoltán Kosztolnyik states that, most probably, during those 20 years Pelbartus was not in Hungary; the very same author says that Pelbartus might have been chased out of Hungary by an enraged Mathias Corvinus (See: Kosztolnyik, Z., "Pelbartus of Temesvár: A Franciscan Preacher and Writer of the Late Middle Ages in Hungary", in *Vivarium*, 5 (1967), pp. 100-110, at pp. 103-105). Alexander Krischan has put forward a theory according to which, after he obtained his bachelor's degree in arts and until 1480, Pelbartus stayed at the Ozora convent, where he also met his friend and student, Oswaldus of Lasko (See: Krischan, A., "Pelbartus de Timișoara", in Ruja, A. (ed.), *Dicționar al scriitorilor din Banat*, Editura Universității de Vest, Timișoara, 2005, pp. 579-581). Although Krischan's story is quite romantic, there are no documents to back it up.
- ⁹ *Item Vicarius iste <Franciscus de Bánya> dum fuisset multum acceptus patribus et fratribus, iterum est electus in Capitulo Budae celebrato anno*

domini 1483, quo tempore etiam bonae memoriae Pater Pelbartus solennis praedicator, et in theologia non mediocriter imbutus, in conventu Budensi legebat fratribus aptis super "Sententiis". <...> Item secundo idem electus fuit Budae Anno Domini 1503. Et tunc anno sequenti in festo sancti Vicentii Martyris magister S. Theologiae frater Pelbartus de Tömösvár Budae in convent S. Ioannis quasi subridens obdormivit in Domino. The first part of this citation tells us that Pelbartus was already teaching theology following the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard in 1483 and that he was a known preacher. The second part registers his death, which occurred in 1504. For the chronicle, see: Toldy, F. (ed.), "Blasii de Zalka et continuatorum eius cronica fratrum minorum de observantia provinciae Boznae et Hungariae", in *Annalecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, Bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum, Buda, 1867, pp. 213-315, p. 250, p. 253.

¹⁰ Edina Ádám has criticized the biographies of Pelbartus that have circulated throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, underlining the key fact that the only things that we know for sure come from the three mentioned documents. See: Ádám, E., *Pelbárt of Temesvár and the use of images in preaching*, MA Thesis in Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest, 2008, pp. 1-20.

¹¹ There are numerous mentions of *brevitas* throughout the first volume of the *Rosarium*, and its' first prologue, the *Ab auro* entry, even contains a short passage in which it praises the virtue of brevity in a text or a discourse, by quoting established sources for this type of attitude, such as Hippocrates and Cicero.

¹² Such a pedagogical instrument corresponded to 15th century tendencies, both in its' suitability for teaching and in its' tendency to make theology comprehensible; another similarity lies in the consistent struggle of the *Rosarium* to avoid heresy. There are other such examples, starting from the very beginning of the 15th century. To name only one, Henry of Gorkum's *Conclusiones*, an abbreviation of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, written at the very beginning of the century, was also composed as a pedagogical tool (See: Slotemaker, T. J., "Henry of Gorkum's *Conclusiones Super IV Libros Sententiarum*: Studying the Lombard in the First Decades of the Fifteenth Century", in Rosemann W. P. (ed.), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2015, pp. 145-173, at p. 159 and p. 160). One can also find similarities to Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl's *Lectura Mellicensis*, which is, just like the *Rosarium*, a lecture addressed especially to a monastic audience. See in this respect: Brînzei, M., Schabel D. C., "The Past, Present, and Future of Late Medieval Theology: The Commentary on the *Sentences* by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, Vienna, ca. 1400", in Rosemann, W. P., *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, Brill, Leiden - Boston, 2015, pp. 174-266, at pp. 250-262.

- ¹³ The very name of this literary genre makes it seem counter intuitive that there be “encyclopedias” which only treat one subject, but in fact this case is quite common. Different writings on only one subject can pertain to it, as long as they tend to exhaust the domain that they are dedicated to. See: Fowler, L. R., “Encyclopaedias: Definitions and Theoretical Problems”, in Binkley P. (ed.), *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts – Proceedings of the Second Comers Congress Groningen 1-4 July 1996*, Brill, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1997, pp. 3-30, at p. 8.
- ¹⁴ For the characteristics of encyclopedic writings, see: Draelants, I., “Le siècle de l’encyclopédisme: conditions et critères de définition d’un genre”, in Zucker, A. (ed.), *Encyclopédire. Formes de l’ambition encyclopédique dans l’Antiquité et au Moyen Age*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2013, pp. 81-106, at pp. 86-99.
- ¹⁵ Some scholars have simply qualified the *Rosarium* as such, without even taking into consideration its encyclopedic nature. See for instance: Zahnd, U., *Wirksame Zeichen? Sacramentenlehre und Semiotik in der Scholastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2014, p. 410.
- ¹⁶ I am currently working on assembling a complete list of all the incunabula of Pelbartus of Themeswar’s works.
- ¹⁷ For the sake of brevity, the editions have been identified by place and year of print, without mention of the editor or the full title of the work in each of the editions. The list has been composed with the help of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), which can be accessed online at the following address: <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/>.
- ¹⁸ See in this respect Burg, A. M., “Catalogue des livres imprimés à Hagenau, de la Bibliothèque municipale de Hagenau”, in *Études Haguenviennes* 2/1956-1957, pp. 21-143, at pp. 21-22.
- ¹⁹ See: Niedermeier, H., “Johannes Rynmann (1460-1522) ein Verlag theologischen Literatur”, in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 9 (1968), pp. 422-432.
- ²⁰ Monica Brînzei and Christopher Schabel have applied a similar methodology in order to deduce what the library of the 14th century Cistercian Conrad of Ebrach looked like. See: Brînzei, M., Schabel, D. C., “Les cisterciens et l’université. Le cas du commentaire des *Sentences* de Conrad d’Ebrach († 1399)”, in Turcan-Verkerk, A-M., Stutzmann, D., Falmagne, T., Gandil, P. (eds.), *Les Cisterciens et la transmission des textes (XII^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2018, pp. 453-486, especially between pp. 458-472.
- ²¹ See: Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae gloriosissimae Virginis*, Venetiis apud Iohannem Antonium Bertanum, 1586, lib. I, pars 5, art. 1, c. 3, f. 27ra-27rb.
- ²² Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae gloriosissimae Virginis*, Venetiis apud Iohannem Antonium Bertanum, 1586, lib. III, pars. 2, art. 2, c. 4, f. 65ra-rb.

- 23 There are only two practical *Summae* that we can place in the library starting from the quotes of the first volume of the *Rosarium*. They are both invoked when Pelbartus tries to establish what one should study in order to be better at theology, in the *Addiscere* chapter of the *Rosarium*.
- 24 Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau ex officina Henrici Gran, 1503, *Addiscere* I-V, a8rb-b2ra.
- 25 Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau ex officina Henrici Gran, 1504, *Natatile* I-III, z2vb-z5vb.
- 26 Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau ex officina Henrici Gran, 1504, *Metalla et mineralia*, y5vb.
- 27 Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau ex officina Henrici Gran, 1504, *Bestia* I-III, h6ra-i3rb.
- 28 The colophon of this fourth volume writes: *Rosarii theologiae sapientiae quartus liber pro elucidatione Sententiarum libri quarti, per fratrem Oswaldum de Lasko, divi ordinis sancti Francisci de observantia, tunc provinciae Hungariae vicarium, fratre Pelbarto defuncto, consumatus* [The fourth book of the *Rosarium* of theological wisdom, for the elucidation of the fourth book of the *Sentences*, has been completed by brother Oswaldus of Lasko, from the saint order of Saint Francis of observance, at the time vicar of the Hungarian province, because brother Pelbartus had died]. See: Oswaldus de Lasko, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau ex officina Henrici Gran, 1508, B7vb.
- 29 I have chosen to group all of Aristotle's logical works together, for the sake of brevity.
- 30 This aspect is very well presented in Luciana Cioca's article, "Knowing God's existence according to James of Eltville's *Sentences* Commentary I, q. 6", in Brînzei, M., Schabel, D. C. (eds.), *James of Eltville from Paris to Vienna. An Intellectual Journey at the End of the 14th Century*, Brepols, Turnhout, under print.
- 31 See in reference to this aspect: Laczkó, E., "The Liturgical Text as Authority in Pelbartus of Themeswar's Sermon for the Feast of Saint Francis", in *Philobiblion* 21 (2016), pp. 35-52.
- 32 On Guillaume of Vaurouillon, see: Zahnd, U., "Easy-Going Scholars Lecturing *secundum alium*? Notes on some Franciscan *Sentences* Commentaries in the 15th Century", in Rosemann, W. P. (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, pp. 267-314; Zahnd, U., *Wirksame Zeichen? Sakramentenlehre und Semiotik in der Scholastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2014.
- 33 For a good presentation of Francis of Meyronnes, see: Duba, W., "Continental Franciscan *Quodlibeta* after Scotus", in Schabel, D. C. (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Fourteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2007, pp. 609-621.

- ³⁴ See: Duba, W., *The Forge of Doctrine. The Academic Year 1330-31 and the Rise of Scotism at the University of Paris*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2017, p. 23.
- ³⁵ See: Little, G. A., *Grey Friars in Oxford*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1892, p. 213.
- ³⁶ On this subject, see: Baneu, A., “*Quales scientiae sunt addiscendae pro theologia melius intelligenda?* Pelbartus of Themeswar on Education”, in *Philobiblon* 21 (2016), pp. 53-64.
- ³⁷ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau ex officina Henrici Gran, 1503, Addiscere, b1rb.
- ³⁸ On the University of Cracow and its’ impressive arts curricula in the time of Copernicus and a few generations before, see: Goddu, A., *Copernicus and the Aristotelian Tradition – Education, Reading and Philosophy in Copernicus’s Path to Heliocentrism*, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2010.
- ³⁹ See: Hobbins, B. D., “Gerson on Lay Devotion”, in McGuire, P. B., *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2006, pp. 41-78, at p. 74.
- ⁴⁰ This number of explicit citations for just one volume of the work is quite impressive. Just as a comparison, the 14th century Cistercian, Conrad of Ebrach († 1399) has 2252 explicit citations throughout the four books of the *Senteneces* (See: Brînzei, M., Schabel, D. C., “Les cisterciens et l’université. Le cas du commentaire des *Sentences* de Conrad d’Ebrach († 1399)”, in Turcan-Verkerk, A-M., Stutzmann, D., Falmagne, T., Gandil, P. (eds.), *Les Cisterciens et la transmission des textes (XI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2018, p. 459). The case of Peter Pirchenwart is quite interesting too: this author, who read the *Sentences* at Vienna, at the beginning of the 15th century, has approximately 2508 explicit citations in his commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences*, so the difference is quite striking (I would like to thank Monica Brînzei for letting me consult her statistic of the explicit citations that can be found in Pirchenwart. On this author see the first part of the article Brînzei, M., Curuț, I., “From author to authority: the legacy of James of Eltville in Vienna”, in *James of Eltville from Paris to Vienna. An intellectual Journey at the End of the 14th Century*, Brepols, Turnhout, under print).

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