

Edina Ádám

**PELBÁRT OF TEMESVÁR AND THE USE OF IMAGES IN
PREACHING**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

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by

Edina Ádám

Hungary

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Edina Ádám**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 26 May 2008

Signature

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INTRODUCTION:

THE USE OF IMAGES AS PREACHING AIDS

During the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, religious images of various mediums were extensively used in both private and public religious practices.¹ The present study, however, narrows its focus solely to their usage in the course of preaching and illustrates it through a series of model sermons of an Observant Franciscan, Pelbárt of Temesvár (†1504).

An abundance of textual and pictorial sources dating from the High Middle Ages attests the frequency and popularity of the use of props in preaching.² The objects employed for such purposes were of rather miscellaneous origin, therefore their usage in the context of preaching could occasionally be quite staggering. Roberto of Lecce, renowned Franciscan preacher and the author of several sermon collections (ca. 1425-1495), for instance, was disposed to wear the armor of the crusaders as a kind of a costume, which he revealed by stripping off his habit during one of his sermons.³ Other preachers went to even further extremes. So did Jean Bourgeois, who was recorded to be brandishing a skull at his audience in Angers in

¹ Concerning the different usages of images in public and private religious practices, see: Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früherer Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1981); Bruce Cole, *Italian Art 1250-1550: The Relation of Renaissance Art to Life and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 75-148; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); Colum Hourihane, ed., *Objects, Images and the Word: Art in Service of the Liturgy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

² Concerning the genre of sermon, the development of the thematic sermon and Franciscan preaching activity, see: Louis-Jacques Batallion, *La Prédication au xiii^e siècle en France et Italie* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993); Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand, ed., *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain-la Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993); Nicole Bériou, *L'Avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La Prédication à Paris au xiii^e siècle* (Paris: Institut d'études Augustiniennes, 1998); Beverly Mayne Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 134-181.

³ Maria Giuseppina Muzzerelli, *Pescatori di uomini, Predicatori e piazze alla fine del Medioevo* (Bologna: Mulino, 2005), 102 (hereafter: Muzzerelli, *Pescatori*). Concerning the life and preaching activity of Roberto of Lecce, see: John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 481-482 (hereafter: Moorman, *History*).

1491,⁴ while some Observant Franciscans from Moravia supposedly not only displayed human skulls to their listeners, but also struck the skulls repeatedly while uttering repulsive words at them.⁵

Religious images formed a distinct group of such preaching devices. Probably their most renowned exploiter at the time was Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444). According to the tradition, he himself created the so-called *tavoletta*, a small-scale tablet painted with the Holy Name of Jesus, which he reportedly used from 1418 onwards.⁶ Francesco Mei, for instance, in a letter written to the abbot of the monastery of Saint Pancras in Florence, gave an account of how Bernardino, after finishing a sermon on the virtues of the name of Christ, revealed the *tavoletta* to the audience. More importantly, Francesco also recorded the reactions Bernardino provoked by displaying the cult image. According to Francesco, just by the sight of the *tavoletta* a woman who had been possessed was freed from her demons, a miraculous healing that prompted many members of the audience to touch the image and to engage in a procession afterwards.⁷

⁴ Hervé Martin, *Le métier du prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du moyen âge (1350-1520)* (Paris: Editions du CERF, 1988), 580.

⁵ According to the treatise of Peter of Klatovy, written in 1462, the preachers used to show human skulls to their audiences while saying: *Ecce! Tu fuisti papa vel rex vel magnus dominus, ubi est tua dignitas vel maiestas, ubi sciencie, ubi thesauri & gloria huius mundi? Cuncta tibi transierunt! Sed modo, ubi est tua anima? In inferno!* In addition, in order to further increase the impact on the listeners, they kept beating the skulls, Martin Elbel, “St. John of Capistrano and the Franciscan Convent in Late Medieval Olomouc,” MA thesis, Central European University (Budapest: 1994).

⁶ Moorman, *History*, 463-464. Concerning Bernardino’s preaching activity and his use of the *tavoletta*, see: Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962); Cynthia L. Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His audience* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 1-83 (hereafter: Polecritti, *Preaching*); Franco Mormando, *The Preacher’s Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 29-40 (hereafter: Mormando, *Preacher’s Demons*).

⁷ *Post hec, cum multis ante diebus populum docuisset quid eos facere expediret, in die [secunda post] Pentecosten, que est xxviii mensis huius, maxima omnium attentione predicavit de virtute nominis Yhesu. Et cum multa clara grandique voce dixisset, ad extremum nomen Yhesu tabula quadam mirabili artificio depictum populo iamiam illud expectanti et nomen semper invocanti, suis manibus ostendit et in Yhesu Christi nomine omni populo benedixit; quo tempore aiunt mulierem quandam, que immundo spiritu tenebatur, liberam evasisse et post demum illud aiunt contigisse compluribus. His peractis, statim solemnina celebrare ceperunt, que omnes et Deo et mundo viventes mirifice sunt venerati; omnesque gradatim mirabili ordine totam civitatem post reliquias et Yhesu Christi nomen processere*

Besides the textual evidence, there are a handful of images, functioning as visual equivalents to the *reportatio* of Francesco Mei, that depict Bernardino displaying the *tavoletta*. Such images are, for instance, the sketch by Jacopo Bellini showing Bernardino preaching from a tall wooden pulpit with the *tavoletta* in his hand, and the panel painting by Sano di Pietro depicting the preacher in the act of delivering a sermon and holding the *tavoletta* at the Piazza di Campo, in Siena.⁸ Bernardino, however, did not restrict himself solely to the use of the *tavoletta*. In Sano di Pietro's artwork a painting is set up on an altar behind him. Although, it is hard to determine, due to the size of the depiction and the quality of the available reproductions, the painting displayed on the altar is a representation of the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child flanked with two other saintly figures on a golden background. In another panel painting of Sano di Pietro, which together with the one just mentioned above functioned as the wings of an altarpiece, Bernardino is depicted in front of the Sienese Church of Saint Francis preaching from a pulpit.⁹ In his left

et flentes et gaudentes, ut res postulabat, ac nomen Yhesu sepissime invocantes. Quoted by P. Salvator Tosti, "De praedicatione S. Bernardini Senensis in patria civitate, anno 1425" *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 8 (1915): 679-680. Polecritti lists further *reportationes* regarding Bernardino's use of the *tavoletta*: Polecritti, *Preaching*, 73-78.

⁸ The sketch by Jacopo Bellini (London, British Museum) is dated prior to the death of Bernardino. According to scholars, it is most likely drawn in 1444, when Bernardino visited Venice and Padua, Colin T. Eisler, *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 390. The panel painting of Sano di Pietro (Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) was commissioned and prepared shortly after the death of Bernardino and originally it was a wing of an altarpiece. Michael Mallory, Gaudenz Freuler, "Sano di Pietro's Bernardino Altar-Piece for the Compagnia della Vergine in Siena," *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991): 186-192. There are several other images depicting Bernardino in the course of preaching with the *tavoletta*, for example: a panel painting by Neroccio di Bartolomeo de' Landi (Siena, Museo Civico, 1470), and a fresco by Gian Giacomo da Lodi (Lodi, Chiesa di San Francesco, Cappella di San Bernardino da Siena, 1477). Concerning the iconography of Bernardino and other preacher saints, see: Roberto Rusconi, "The Preacher Saint in Late Medieval Italian Art," *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 181-200 (hereafter: Rusconi, "Preacher Saint"). According to Rusconi the traditional iconography of these preacher saints of the High Middle Ages was closely connected with their preaching activities, for instance their attributes often exemplify the subject-matter of their sermons. In the case of Bernardino of Siena, this epitome is the *tavoletta*. In connection to the iconography of Bernardino, Rusconi mentions Daniel Arasse, "Iconographie et évolution spirituelle: la tablette de saint Bernardin de Sienne," *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 50 (1974): 433-456, to which study, however, I had no access.

⁹ Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. George Kaftal, *Iconography of Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1986), 197, 199 (hereafter: Kaftal, *Tuscan Painting*).

hand he is holding a crucifix of such size that it is clearly visible to all members of the audience while he is pointing at it with his other hand. Similarly, in a predella painted by Vecchietta (1412-1480), Bernardino is depicted preaching with a crucifix to members of the Confraternity of the *Disciplinati della Scala*.¹⁰

It appears to that the use of images was not an unusual practice among the group of preachers who are traditionally associated with Bernardino and often labeled as his disciples.¹¹ Roberto of Lecce, who was known for his flamboyant style of preaching, for instance, during his stay in Perugia in 1444, preached with a crucifix.¹² Meanwhile John of Capistran (1386-1456) adapted the use of the *tavoletta*, as attested by the panel painting of Sebald Popp, and occasionally employed the crucifix and other images as well.¹³

The examples of the preaching practice of John of Capistran bear special importance in the case of the present study as he was closely connected with the Hungarian Observants. He spent an extended period of time in Hungary: he crossed

¹⁰ Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale. Kaftal, *Tuscan Painting*, 197, 199.

¹¹ It is debated whether such thing as a school existed around Bernardino, although, Roberto of Lecce, in a sermon written for the feast of Bernardino includes a rather lengthy list of preachers who, according to Roberto, imitated Bernardino's preaching technique: *Quin immo et si qui post ipsum in officio praedicandi clari sunt habiti, ut fratres: Iohannes de Capistrano, Iacobus de Marchia, Matthaeus de Sicilia, Antonius de Bitonto, Andreas de Sancto Geminiano, Iohannes de Prato, Iacobus de Donzellis de Bononia, Herculanus de Perusio, Franciscus de Trevio, Silvester de Senis, Antonius de Arimino, Michael de Mediolano, Bartholomeus de Ayano, Antonius de Vercellis, Seraphinus de Gaieta, Cherubinus de Spoleto, Franciscus de Spoleto, Hieronymus de Florentia, Dominicus de Gonessa, Iacobus de Gallio, omnes fratres minores in hoc genere dicendi famosissimi et quicumque alii etiam de aliis ordinibus mendicantium pro maiori parte conati sunt imitari modum et regulam atque stilum ipsius sancti Bernardini*. Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1490), <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/92-3-quod-2f-2/start.htm>. Concerning the question of the school organized around Bernardino, see: Mormando, *Preacher's Demons*, 6-7.

¹² Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their performance," *Preacher Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 106; and Polecritti, *Preaching*, 107.

¹³ The panel painting (ca. 1480) attributed to Sebald Popp is currently in the collection of the Staatsgalerie, Bamberg. Muzzarelli presents the frontispiece of the *Vita Johannis Capistrani, Sermones eiusdem* (Augsburg: Johann Miller, 1519) in which John of Capistran is depicted preaching with a cross. Rusconi calls attention to an engraved reliquary. The choir of former Observant Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, in Olomouc is decorated with a sizable mural depicting the "Battle of Belgrade" (1468?) in which John of Capistran is depicted with an image of the *Vir dolorum* in his hand. Muzzarelli, *Pescatori*, Figure 8; Rusconi, "Preaching Saint," 188; and Ivo Hlobil, "The Arts in Moravia and Silesia from the Gothic to the Renaissance, 1400-1550," *The Last Flowers of the Middle Ages from Gothic to the Renaissance in Moravia and Silesia*, ed. Ivo Hlobil, (Olomouc: Olomouc Museum of Art, 2000), 47-48.

the border into Hungary some time in mid-May, 1455 and remained there until June, 1456. During his stay, he preached persistently against the Ottomans in order to organize a popular crusade, yet he also spared no energy visiting Observant houses in the country. Thus, it is considered the result of his and James of the Marches' ardent work that the Hungarian Observant Order was reorganized.¹⁴ Therefore, and here I launch a rather bold hypothesis, it is possible that through his rather expressive and theatrical style, which at the time was foreign to the audience north of the Alps,¹⁵ John of Capistran influenced the preaching practice of the Hungarian Observant Franciscans and introduced the means of the powerful exploitation of the visuals, however, in the present thesis I do not wish to examine the origins of the practice in Hungary.

Surprisingly, this intriguing aspect of preaching, namely the use of images, was long neglected in the field of sermon studies and only recently has the secondary literature begun to pay closer attention to it.¹⁶ The most relevant works to the subject of this study are those that aim to research the interrelation between the text and image created by preaching. First, I would mention the study of Debby Ben-Aryeh Nirit, "The Preacher as a Goldsmith: The Italian Preachers' Use of the Visual Arts,"

¹⁴Johannes Hofer, *Johannes Kapistran: Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche* (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1964-1965), vol. 2. 349-378; Ödön Bölcskey, *Capistranói Szent János élete és kora* (Saint John of Capistran: His Life and Times) vol. 2. (Székesfehérvár: 1924), 233- 281. Probably the most recent work dealing exactly with the reorganized Hungarian Observants is the comprehensive work of Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Les Franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle* (vers 1450-vers 1540) (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2008). Concerning James of the Marches, see: Moorman, *History*, 367-368, 473-478.

¹⁵ Ottó Gecser, "Itinerant Preaching in the Late Medieval Central Europe: St. John of Capistran in Wrocław," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 47 (2003): 5-18.

¹⁶Further studies concerning the connection between preaching and visual arts are the groundbreaking work of Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in the Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) (hereafter: Baxandall, *Painting*), in which Baxandall expands on the possible role that preaching had in forming visual taste and Anna Nilsén, "Man and picture: On the Function of Wall Paintings in Medieval Churches," *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Philip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 323-340; discusses wall paintings as reflections of sermons. Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400-1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007) by focusing on one single genre, that is, the genre of the pulpit, examines its relation to preaching. Furthermore, I would mention Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli and Roberto Rusconi's works noted above.

which by examining the works of Giovanni Dominici, Bernardino of Siena, and Girolamo Savonarola provides textual proof for the use of visual arts in preaching.¹⁷ Second, Miriam Gill's "Preaching and Image in Later Medieval England" focuses on the nature of the connection between preaching and visual arts.¹⁸ Next, in the fascinating monograph, *Le rete delle immagini*, Lina Bolzoni explores the relations between the rhetoric of preaching and that of the visuals and illustrates the role of preaching in the composition and reception of images.¹⁹ Finally, Sara Lipton's article "'The Sweet Lean of His Head': Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages" concentrates on how the text guided the perception of a devotional image.²⁰

In this thesis, I will examine the use of images in preaching through several sermons composed by a Hungarian Observant Franciscan author, Pelbárt of Temesvár (Pelbartus de T(h)emeswar, Pelbartus de T(h)emesvar) for his *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis* collection. A common feature of the sermons that I will work with is that they all contain passages with unambiguous references to visual representations and/or to their use while preaching. Here I apply the expression "unambiguous" meaning passages that, by using such expressions as *depingere* or *pictura*, indicate a connection to visual representations in an explicit manner.²¹ Other descriptive passages, such as those speaking of the Last Judgment, Heaven, or Hell that may

¹⁷ Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "The Preacher as a Goldsmith: The Italian Preachers' Use of the Visual Arts," *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 127-153.

¹⁸ Miriam Gill, "Preaching and Image in Later Medieval England," *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 155-180 (hereafter: Gill, "Preaching," 127).

¹⁹ Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini: Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002).

²⁰ Sara Lipton, "'The Sweet Lean of His Head': Writing about Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages," *Speculum* 80 (2005): 1170-1208.

²¹ The criterion which I followed is based on that of Ildikó Bárczi and Miriam Gill, *Ars compilandi. A késő középkori prédikációs segédkönyvek forráshasználata (Ars Compilandi: The Use of Sources in Late Medieval Preaching Handbooks)* (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó: 2007), 91 (hereafter: Bárczi, *Ars compilandi*);

recall details familiar from visual arts, therefore, are excluded. The number of sermons that contain such passages is rather small in the work of Pelbárt of Temesvár; in this study I will use a total of six passages. It has to be noted, however, that I have not examined the entire corpus of Pelbárt's sermons because the preparation of the modern edition is still in progress.²² Therefore, this study is restricted to the sermons already available in edited form, namely the *Pars aestivalis* and the majority of the *Pars hiemalis*. Thus, the examined material is about two third of the complete text of the *de sanctis* series.

Concerning the content of my thesis, in Chapter 2 I will present a biography of Pelbárt of Temesvár in order to sketch the cultural context which he belonged to and also to provide some material about him accessible in English.²³ In Chapter 3, which is the core of my thesis, I will examine the passages which I selected from the sermons of Pelbárt of Temesvár. First, by close reading I will identify and characterize the images being referred to in the text. Second, by scrutinizing the relation between text and image I will try to determine the purpose behind Pelbárt's inserting such passages into his sermons.

At last, I would like to clarify that all the English translations of the Latin texts are mine unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes. The edited version of Pelbárt's texts is based primarily on the 1502 Augsburg edition, and it was made available to me by Ildikó Bárczi and the *Sermones Compilati* research group.²⁴ As the pages are

²² The first modern edition of the text is being prepared by the *Sermones Compilati* research group led by Ildikó Bárczi.

²³ To my knowledge, there are only three studies in English about Pelbárt of Temesvár and his works: D. E. Rhodes, "An Unidentified 'Incunable' Printed at Augsburg not before 1502," *The Library* 13 (1958): 54-56; Zoltán Kosztolnyik, "Pelbártus of Temesvár: A Franciscan Preacher and Writer of the Late Middle Ages in Hungary," *Vivarium* 5 (1967): 100-110 and "Some Hungarian Theologians in the Late Renaissance," *Church History* 57 (1988): 5-18.

²⁴ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, (Augsburg, 1502) (hereafter: Pelbárt, *Sermones*, *PA* or *PH*), All sermons cited from *Pars aestivalis* series are from: <http://emc.elte.hu/pelbart/patartalom.html>. (Accessed: May 23, 2008), citations from the *Pars hiemalis* of the work are used with permission of the editors, who are working on the online critical edition.

unnumbered in this edition, when citing Pelbárt's work, I decided to adhere to the practice of Pelbárt's time. Namely, I will provide the number of the relevant sermon in the series and the letter mark of the section where it appears.

CHAPTER 1:

PELBÁRT OF TEMESVÁR

A Biography: Revised

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the name of Pelbárt of Temesvár appeared sporadically in the scholarly literature. Miklós Istvánffy, who composed his *Pannonii Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis* barely a century after Pelbárt's death, recalls him as an excellent and learned man whose works were outstanding, yet, because of his enormous aquiline nose and deformed face people used to laugh at him.²⁵ In Péter Bod's catalogue of illustrious men Pelbárt is mentioned under the name Pelbárt Osvald. According to Bod, he was a renowned Franciscan preacher, who, Bod incorrectly adds, lived sometime around 1401.²⁶ Bod also mentions some textbooks composed by Pelbárt, though it is unclear whether he is aware of the separate works of Pelbárt and places them into two groups, or feels that Pelbárt had only two pieces of writings. Elek Horányi is the first to base his biography largely on a document contemporary with Pelbárt and known to modern scholarship. The source he used, the Observant Chronicle of the Bosnian Hungarian province,²⁷ mentions Pelbárt twice. The first mention concerns the beginning of his teaching career at the *studium generale* of Buda, in 1483; the second is the occasion of his

²⁵ Quoted by Cyrill Horváth: *Egregium quidem illum et doctum virum, cuius sacrae exstant lucubrationes, sed qui ab enormi et adunco naso deformique vultu passim rideretur*. Cyrill Horváth, *Temesvári Pelbárt és beszédei* (Pelbárt of Temesvár and his Sermons) (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1889), 64 (hereafter: Horváth, *Temesvári Pelbárt*).

²⁶ Péter Bod, *Magyar Athenas avagy az Erdélyben és Magyar-országban élt tudos embereknek, nevezetesebben a'kik valami, világ eleibe botsátatott írások által esméretesekké lettek, 's jo emlékezeteket fen-hagyták historiájok* (Hungarian Athenas or the History of Learned Men Living in Transylvania and Hungary) (Nagyszeben: 1766), 219.

²⁷ The *Chronicle* that is traditionally yet wrongly is attributed to Balázs Szalkai was written in the first half of the sixteenth century by an anonymous author and is available to modern scholarship in the edition of Ferenc Toldy, Ferenc Toldy, ed., "Blasii de Zalka et continuatorum eius cronica fratrum minorum de observantia provinciae Boznae et Hungariae," *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum litarariorum maximum inedita* (Pest: Bibliotheca Academia Scientiarum, 1867), 213-315 (hereafter: Toldy, *Cronica*). Concerning the work itself, see: Andor Tarnai, "A magyarországi obszervánsok rendi krónikájának szerzői és forrásai" (The Authors and the Sources of the Hungarian Observant Chronicle) *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 77 (1973): 135-147.

death in 1504.²⁸ In addition, Horányi included a complete list of Pelbárt's works with some information concerning their publication.²⁹

Nineteenth-century studies concerning Pelbárt and his works were essential for subsequent scholarship. Ferenc Toldy, besides incorporating the data available in the above-mentioned Observant chronicle, discovered a written record attesting that Pelbárt attended the Faculty of Arts at the university in Cracow and received a baccalaureate in 1463.³⁰ In his pioneering study, Áron Szilády made further attributions to the biographic writing on Pelbárt.³¹ He published the discovery of Vilmos Fraknói, namely, that according to another university record Pelbárt was

²⁸ *Item Vicarius iste dum fuisset multum acceptus patribus et fratribus, iterum est electus in Capitulo Budae celebrato Anno Domini 1483, quo tempore etiam bonae memoriae Pater Pelbártus solennis praedicator, et in theologia non mediocriter imbutus, in conventu Budensi legebat fratribus aptis super Sententiis. Toldy, Cronica, 250. Et tunc anno sequenti in festo sancti Vincentii Martyris magister S. Theologia frater Pelbártus de Tömösvár Budae in conventu S. Iohannis quasi subridens obdormivit in Domino. Cuius laus in memoria sequitur Carminibus istis: Et Pelbártus Plebis ars: Artus nomine Miles, / Docuit plebem, vicit et hostem, obtinet nomen. / Bissenis Virgini laudes cecinit: Stellarium monstrat: / Tempora Sanctorum quot lector lege Pomeriorum: / Revelans in quatuor nobis dat scire magistrum: / Quaeque tua gesta te tollunt caetera Pater: / Quae nostra narrare desit fecundia facta: / Tu nostrae decus gentis, tu gloria nobis: / Iam credita cernis, et coelum te patria tenet, / Et Deum cum patre Seraphico nobis ora. Toldy, Cronica, 253.*

²⁹ *TEMESVARIENSIS (PELBÁRTUS) Hungarus, a natali solo nomen accepit. Quo anno dederit nomen Instituto Minorum Fratrum, de observantia in Vicaria Hungariae, compertum nondum est. Quod A. MCCCCLXXXIII. Budae in Coenobio S. Ioannis Evang. Sacrae Magister Theologiae, eamdem prout olim quatuor libris sententiarum continebatur, fratribus, & discipulis suis interpretatus sit, vetus Provinciae Chronicon MS. docet. ... En operum suorum indicem: 1.) Aureum Rosarium Theologiae, ad Sententiarum quatuor libros pariformiter quadripartitum, ea Doctrina Doctis subtilis, suorum sequacium, sanctorum etiam Thomae Aquinatis, Bonaventuraeque, ac multorum solidorum Doctorum &c. Alphabetico compilatum ordine. Primus tomus MDIII. secundus MDIV, in officina Henrici Gran. Civis Hagenavensis, expensis vero industrii Bibliopolae Ioannis Rinman, typo vulgatus est. 2.) Pomerium Sermonum triplicium tomis totidem editorum. 3.) Stellarium Coronae B. Virginis Mariae in laudem eius elegantissime pro singulis Praedicationibus coaptatum. 4.) Expositio Psalmorum, Cantorum, Novi ac Veteris Testamenti: item Symboli S. Athanasio a quibusdam adscripti, nec non Hymni Ambrosiani, Te Deum Laudamus &c. in Imperiali oppido Hagenaw, A. MDV. typus mandata. ... Budae in Monasterio S. Ioannis Evang. more, & modo subridentis, in festo S. Vicentii Martyris An. MDIV. scribere, docere, & vivere defuit. Alexius Horányi, Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum, pars III (Pozsony [Bratislava]: 1777), 392-395.*

³⁰ Ferenc Toldy, *A magyar nemzeti irodalom története* (History of the Hungarian National Literature) (Pest: Emich és Eisenfels Könyvnyomdája, 1852), 41-42. Concerning the register of matriculation, see: Antoni Gašiorowski, ed., *Liber promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculi decimi quinti* (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000), 53.

³¹ Áron Szilády was the first to address questions concerning the function and the influence of Pelbárt's works, Áron Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt élete és munkái* (Pelbárt of Temesvár: His Life and Works) (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1880) (hereafter: Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*).

among the enrollees in 1458,³² and called attention to a personal remark attributed to Pelbárt in Sermon 101 of the *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, which further reinforced the fact that Pelbárt studied in Cracow.³³ Furthermore, Szilády created the chronology of Pelbárt's works based on the author's comments scattered in the texts. Cyrill Horváth chiefly adopted the biography composed by Szilády, yet amended a few details and drew attention to certain mistakes.³⁴

The twentieth-century biographies are largely based on those of Áron Szilády and Cyrill Horváth. As information is scarce about the life of Pelbárt, the literature tends to fill out these lacunas. Szilády was the first who made an attempt in this direction by estimating Pelbárt's date of birth, conjecturing about his education prior to the university years in Cracow, and hypothesizing the events between the time of his graduation and death based on pieces of written evidence. For instance, his proposal that Pelbárt was residing at the Observant house in Esztergom derives from an anecdote discovered in Sermon 23 of the *Sermones de sanctis*.³⁵ By using this method Szilády created a hypothetical biography of Pelbárt according to which he was born around 1435,³⁶ studied in Temesvár before enrolling to the university in

³² *In decanatu Mgri Stanislai de Schadek, 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. Valentinus de Cracouia. Palbertus de Themesuar (scriptor ecclesiasticus celebris).* ... Quoted by Áron Szilády. Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 3.

³³ *Novi et ego quendam studentem in universitate Cracoviensi, qui cum non bene posset proficere in studio: beatam Catarinam invocavit, et tandem mirabiliter profecit.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 101, I; and Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 4.

³⁴ Cyrill Horváth, *Pomerius* (Budapest: Singer és Wolfner, 1884); *Temesvári Pelbárt és beszédei* (Pelbárt of Temesvár and his Sermons) (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1889); and *Temesvári Pelbárt és codexeink* (Pelbárt of Temesvár and our Codices) (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1891).

³⁵ In Sermon 23 of the *Sermones de sanctis*, PA, Pelbárt tells about a miraculous healing of a sick child in Esztergom, in 1487: *Referam ex hoc tempore factum miraculum in Hungaria civitate Strigoniensi anno dñi MCCCCLXXXVII. Puer quidam ad mortem infirmatus, cum iam nulla esset spes salutis, illius parentes in predicatione audientes de sancti Bonaventure meritis, devoverunt pro illius sanctitate sancto Bonaventure missas facere celebrari et statim iste puer sanus surrexit et parentes pro conservata prole gratias egerunt ac vota exsolverunt.* Szilády assumes that Pelbárt was present at the event. Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 14.

³⁶ In the third sermon written for the feast of Saint Nicholas Pelbárt refers to himself as *nos saltem iam provecte etatis serviamus Christo Domino*. Comparing this passage to Pelbárt's reflections on the question of age, Szilády concluded that he was born around 1435. Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 11-12.

Cracow,³⁷ entered the Observant Order at the age of thirty,³⁸ resided in the Observant house of Ozora and Esztergom prior to his teaching career at the *studium generale* in Buda,³⁹ suffered and recovered from the plague sometime in the late 1470s, early 1480s,⁴⁰ and left Buda for Esztergom around 1487, possibly due to a conflict with King Matthias.⁴¹

Szilády's rhetoric, however, remains clear throughout his work and his hypotheses are easily distinguishable from factual data, unlike in subsequent scholarly literature that tends to incorporate unverifiable pieces of information and speculations of the earlier studies treating them as facts in order to fabricate a continuous narrative. Therefore, here I shall provide a brief summary of the motifs repeated in the secondary literature with seemingly no factual basis.⁴²

³⁷ This is a mere hypothesis of Szilády with no supporting evidence of any kind. Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 4.

³⁸ *Deus id quod vult facere, ab eterni voluit illud, sed non nisi in tempore secundum suam sapientiam preordinato producere in effectum: et tunc producit. Sicut si ego a principio adolescentie semper habuissem voluntatem intrandi religionem anno etatis mee XXX. ita quod illud non faciam antea: et sic in deum nulla cadit mutatio voluntatis, quia ab eterno voluit facere, sed sic et isto tempore quo perficere illam voluntatem decrevit et ab eterno ut non antea produceret.* Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 5. Horváth disproves Szilády's hypothesis by pointing out the inaccuracy of Szilády's translation. Horváth, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 66.

³⁹ In *Sermon 45* of the *Sermones de tempore*, PH, Pelbárt recalls that sometime around 1480 (*circa annum dni MCCCCLXXX vel quasi*) he and some other clerics were told about a miraculous event that took place in a village by the Kapos River. Therefore, Szilády assumes that he was staying at the monastery of Ozora at the time, which is near by the river, Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 6. Similarly, Szilády bases his conjecture that Pelbárt spent sometime in Esztergom before 1483, on another anecdotal story told in *Stellarium*, according to which a man who submerged in the Danube and spent three days at the bottom of the river was saved, Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 7.

⁴⁰ In the prologue of the *Stellarium* Pelbárt talks about the circumstances of the composing the work, namely, that he had such a severe illness that he promised he would write a collection of sermons honoring the Virgin. At another place, Pelbárt mentions that he suffered from the plague several times. From these two personal remarks and other contemporary sources reporting on an epidemic in Hungary in 1479 and 1480, Szilády concludes that he might have had the plague. Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 9-10.

⁴¹ Szilády assumes that Pelbárt's critical opinion of King Matthias, which he gave utterance to in some of the sermons written for the feast of Saint Stephan and Saint Ladislás, namely Sermons 54, 15, and 17, PA, possibly led to discord between him and the king, Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 33-40.

⁴² Other works, not mentioned in the main text here, with problematic biographical entries are: Sándor V. Kovács, "Temesvári Pelbárt egy korszakváltás sodrában," (Pelbárt of Temesvár at the Beginning of a New Era), *Temesvári Pelbárt válogatott írásai* (Selected Writings of Pelbárt of Temesvár), ed. Sándor V. Kovács (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1982), 411-441; Károly Szalay, "Skolasztika és szatíra" (Scholasticism and Satire), *Kortárs* 41 (1997): 68-80; Péter Pátrovics, "Pelbárt Krakkóban: A magyar-lengyel kapcsolatok egy kevésbé ismert szegmenszoma" (Pelbárt in Cracow: A Less Known Segment of the Hungarian-Polish Relations), *Emlékkönyv Temesvári Pelbárt halálának 500. évfordulója alkalmából 1504-2004* (Volume Dedicated to the 500th Anniversary of the Death of

Emil Békesi stated that Pelbárt was already a member of the Franciscan Order by 1458 and stayed in Cracow until 1471 to complete his doctoral studies in theology.⁴³ János Karácsonyi seems to know even more about the life of Pelbárt. According to Karácsonyi, after receiving his baccalaureate Pelbárt entered the Observant Order and completed his studies in theology.⁴⁴ From 1483 onward he taught in turns at the Observant convents of Buda and Esztergom, where he served as a guardian in 1493 or 1495.⁴⁵ He provides no evidence to support his statements except for the one concerning Pelbárt's guardianship when he claims to have received the information from Ferdinánd Kaizer, although, no written document is known to support this.⁴⁶ Zoltán Kosztolnyik takes it one step further. According to him, after returning from Cracow in 1471, Pelbárt became involved in the revolt against King Matthias and as a consequence of his participation he was forced to spend some time outside the Hungarian Kingdom. Tivadar Vida includes even further details about the life of Pelbárt, yet leaves them without references. He claims that in 1494 Pelbárt was a member of a committee together with Osvát of Laskó and Lukács of Segösd, which that meant to quell the conflict between the Observant and Conventual Franciscans in Szeged and that after being the guardian of the Observant house in Esztergom Pelbárt returned to Buda in 1496 and was appointed provincial of the Order.⁴⁷

Pelbárt of Temesvár 1504-2004), ed. Piusz Berhidai, Ilona Kedves, (Esztergom: Temesvári Pelbárt Gimnázium, Kollégium és Szakközépiskola, 2006), 17-23.

⁴³ Emil Békesi, "Magyar írók Hunyadi Mátyás korában" (Hungarian Authors in the Time of Mátyás Hunyadi) *Katholikus Szemle* 16 (1902): 332.

⁴⁴ János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* (History of Saint Francis' Order in Hungary until 1711) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1924): 568 (hereafter: Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc*).

⁴⁵ Karácsonyi gives different dates in his book. Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc*, 44, 568.

⁴⁶ Pelbárt Szalóczy refers to a charter in his study according to which Pelbárt was a guardian in Esztergom in 1495, yet he fails to cite his source, Pelbárt Szalóczy, "Temesvári Pelbárt" (Pelbárt of Temesvár) *Vigilia* 14 (1949): 722.

⁴⁷ Tivadar Vida, "Temesvári Pelbárt kapcsolata kora társadalmával" (The Connection of Pelbárt of Temesvár with the Society of his Times), *Vigilia* 41 (1976): 671-679.

These few examples demonstrate well what the secondary literature produced and reproduced over the years. Until the discovery of further documents, if they exist at all, it has to be accepted that the available information on the life of Pelbárt is scarce. For instance, no evidence is known that would support that after receiving his baccalaureate Pelbárt continued his studies in Cracow. Furthermore, nothing seems to confirm that he was a guardian in Esztergom.⁴⁸ Therefore, researchers must adhere to mere facts and use those as starting points in attempt to recreate the milieu in which Pelbárt lived and composed his works. Among the existing biographies the most accurate ones, that is, factual works, are those of Marcell Böröcz⁴⁹ and János Horváth.⁵⁰ Attempts to expand on certain aspects of Pelbárt's life are found in the studies of Pelbárt Szalóczy and József Waldapfel. Szalóczy takes into consideration the curriculum of the university of Cracow and briefly mentions the textbooks used at the time of Pelbárt,⁵¹ while Waldapfel names a few contemporaries active in Cracow in the middle of the fifteenth century who might have had a influence on Pelbárt.⁵²

The present study will take an approach similar to that of Böröcz and Horváth. It is restricted to verifiable data and includes nothing more even if this results in a skeletal biography. What remains after a critical reading of the sources and the secondary literature and what should serve as a reference point is no more than a handful of data in connection to the life of Pelbárt and a list of his works. It is known

⁴⁸ Pelbárt appears as a guardian in Esztergom, in 1495 in the otherwise reliable handbook of John R. Moorman, however, this piece of information is based on personal communication with Tivadar Vida. John R. Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1983), 174.

⁴⁹ Marcell Böröcz, *Ferencesek a középkori magyar irodalomban* (Franciscans in Medieval Hungarian Literature) (Pécs: Katolikus Hírlapkiadó és Nyomda, 1911), 74-80.

⁵⁰ János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei: Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* (The Beginnings of Hungarian Literary Culture from the Time of Saint Stephen until Mohács) (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1944), 57-62.

⁵¹ Pelbárt Szalóczy, "Temesvári Pelbárt" (Pelbárt of Temesvár), *Vigilia* 14 (1949): 721-727.

⁵² József Waldapfel, "A krakkói egyetem s a magyar lengyel szellemi élet kapcsolatai a Renaissance korában" (The University of Cracow's Connection with the Hungarian Polish Intellectual Life during the Renaissance), *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 69 (1946): 27- 46.

that he enrolled in the university of Cracow in 1458, where he received his baccalaureate in 1463; sometime prior to 1483 he entered the Observant Franciscan Order; as a renowned preacher already, he took up a teaching position at the *studium generale* in Buda in 1483; and he died at the Observant convent of Saint John the Baptist in Buda in 1504.

The Works of Pelbárt of Temesvár

The modern scholarly literature is acquainted with four published works of Pelbárt of Temesvár. These, in chronological order, are the *Stellarium Coronae Beatae Virginis*, *Expositio Psalmorum*, *Pomerium*, and *Aureum Rosarium Theologiae*.⁵³ The *Expositio*, which was written sometime around 1483-1487, is an exegetical work on the Psalms that has been suggested to have been a textbook because of the brevity of the interpretations.⁵⁴ The *Rosarium*, a four-volume encyclopedic work, was begun around 1500, yet, due to the death of Pelbárt it was completed by Osvát of Laskó (ca. 1450-1511).⁵⁵ Both the *Stellarium*, composed between 1480 and 1483, and the *Pomerium*, written in period of 1489-1497, are collections of model sermons, a genre which shall be discussed below. Concerning their contents, the *Stellarium* comprises sermons composed for the feasts of the Virgin Mary, while the *Pomerium* contains sermons of various kinds, arranged in three series

⁵³ As was already mentioned, the generally accepted chronology of the works of Pelbárt of Temesvár is due to Áron Szilády and Cyrill Horváth, who drew up their arrangement based on textual evidence, Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 50-59 and Horváth, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 6-13. The earliest known editions of Pelbárt's works, with the exception of the *Expositio*, were prior to his death. Concerning the editions, see Gedeon Borsa, "Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt munkáinak megjelentetői" (The Publishers of the Works of Osvát of Laskó and Pelbárt of Temesvár), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 121 (2005): 1-24 (hereafter: Borsa, "Laskai"). The *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis* was published 21 times between 1499 and 1521.

⁵⁴ Szilády, *Temesvári Pelbárt*, 11.

⁵⁵ Hungarian Observant Franciscan. His name also appears as Osvaldus de Lasko, Oswaldus de Lasco. He is traditionally considered a pupil of Pelbárt. His most significant works his two collections of model sermons, the *Biga Salutis* and the *Gemma Fidei*. Richárd Horváth, *Laskai Osvát* (Osvát of Laskó) (Budapest: 1932). Considering his works and their editions, see: Bárczi, *Ars compilandi*.

according to the liturgical criteria: for Sundays (*de tempore*), for the Lenten period (*quadragesimale*), and for the saints' days and great feasts (*de sanctis*), the latter being the subject of the present thesis.

The *Sermones Pomerii de Sanctis*

As was mentioned above, the *de sanctis* series of the *Pomerium* belongs to the genre of model sermon collections that are a type of preaching aids.⁵⁶ On one hand, they elucidate how to compose and preach a sermon, yet their approach is more practical than those of the *artes praedicandi*,⁵⁷ as it is done by supplying samples along with instructions. Along the lines of these instructions, the preachers using the collection can alter the model sermons in one way or another in order to fit them to the needs of their congregations and to perform them accordingly.⁵⁸ In the prologue of his cycle, for instance, Pelbárt explains the proper use of his sermons by giving directions to the preachers exploiting his work. For example, he advises them to expand on some parts along the guidelines provided by his conclusions and questions. Another strategy, which he suggests, is omitting certain conclusions considered complicated for the actual listeners to comprehend, yet keeping the core of their meaning in a simplified form:

Also, I have find it appropriate to indicate certain conclusions or at least some questions for every part of individual sermons, so that with the help of these it should be recognized, what those parts of a given sermon should consist of. Yet, when it will appear that it will not be useful to expose such conclusions as I have written them because of a

⁵⁶ David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) (hereafter: d'Avray, *Preaching*), 90.

⁵⁷ James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 269-355 (hereafter: Murphy, *Rhetoric*); Thomas M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi: Contributions à l'histoire de la rhétorique au Moyen Age* (Paris: Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa, 1936) Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes Praedicandi*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992); Phyllis Roberts, "The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon," *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 41-63.

⁵⁸ d'Avray, *Preaching*, 106-108.

simple-minded flock, they should be omitted, but their basic meaning should be presented in an easily understandable form.⁵⁹

Pelbárt provides further instructions, some of them embedded in the text, others appearing as separate entries, that attest to the function of the collection. Among these instructions, for instance, are the cross-references which guide the user from one text to additional corresponding ones,⁶⁰ and directions concerning the performance, some of which shall be dealt with below. The means and the degree of alteration, however, as it becomes obvious from the text of Pelbárt, depended on the cultural level of the audience. This idea was adopted from the ancient theory of *circumstantiae*, which instructs the speaker to take into consideration the conditions when composing a discourse.⁶¹ In the case of Pelbárt's work and any other collection of model sermons, the intended first audience is preachers, while the ultimate audience is their congregations.⁶² Pelbárt, however, talks only about the ultimate audience which he envisaged for his work when justifying the simplicity and brevity of his style by referring to such authorities as Aristotle, Cicero, and Gregory the Great:

Yet, according to the teaching of Aristotle, in the third book of his *Rhetoric*⁶³ and that of Tullius [i.e., Cicero] in his *Rhetorics*,⁶⁴ brevity in discourses is the most commendable thing and appeals to the audience, because the sense of hearing is the most prone to boredom among all [the other] senses. Then, as Saint Gregory teaches in his *Pastoral Rule*,

⁵⁹ *Ut ergo pro simplicium capacitate populorum in hoc opere utilius pariter et placibilis procedam, brevi et simplici stylo (quantum libuit pro unaquaque materia curandum) decrevi scribere. ... Significandum etiam censui, quod certas conclusiones pro qualibet parte sermonis uniuscuiusque aut saltem quaestiones annotavi, quibus agnosceretur, quid pro tali parte illius sermonis contineatur. Ubi tamen pro plebis simplicitate videbitur non expedire ipsas conclusiones, proponere in forma descripta, dimittendae sunt, sed sensus earum simpliciter prosequendus est.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, Prologus.

⁶⁰ d'Avray, *Preaching*, 105-106.

⁶¹ Carlo Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)," *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 458-459 (hereafter, Delcorno "Medieval Preaching").

⁶² In order to differentiate the dual audience of Pelbárt's work I will apply d'Avray's terms: first audience and ultimate audience. d'Avray, 105.

⁶³ Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, ed. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991)

⁶⁴ During the Middle Ages the two most influential rhetorical handbooks were Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, also attributed to Cicero at the time. Cicero's *De Oratore* was rediscovered in the early fifteenth century. James J. Murphy, "Rhetoric," *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 629-630.

the discourse of the teachers must conform to the quality of the audience. Therefore, I have decided to write in a brief and simple style (as much as it was appropriate for dealing with every individual subject) in order to proceed in this work in a manner that is at the same time very profitable and quite pleasant, in accordance with the power of understanding of the simple people.⁶⁵

As for the basic characteristics of the genre, model sermon collections, on the other hand, similar to *exemplum collections*,⁶⁶ lives of saints,⁶⁷ *florilegia*,⁶⁸ etc., helped the work of the preachers by simplifying and speeding up the process of composing sermons by providing organized preachable material.⁶⁹ In the case of Pelbárt's *de sanctis* series, this preachable material is more than 200 sermons divided into two major groups. The first section, the *Pars hiemalis*, preceded by a prologue and succeeded by a separate instructional passage, contains sermons written for the winter period, that is, from the feast of Saint Andrew (November 30) through the feast of Ascension (fortieth day after Easter). The second section, the *Pars aestivalis*, consists of sermons composed for the summer, that is, from the feast of the Holy Trinity (Sunday after Pentecost) through the feast of Saint Catherine (November 25). At the end of each section a group of sermons written for general classes of saints, such as martyrs, confessors, and virgins, can be found. The series as a whole concludes with the *vita* of Saint John the Almsgiver. There are 97 sermons overall in the *Pars hiemalis* and 124 in the *Pars aestivalis*,⁷⁰ however, more than one sermon is

⁶⁵ *Sed quoniam iuxta doctrinam Philosophi III. Rhetoricae et Tullii in sua Rhetorica brevis in sermonibus plurimum placet et delectabilis est auditoribus, eo quod sensus auditus inter omnes sensus est maxime attaediativus. Denique ut beatus Gregorius docet in Pastoralis: Secundum qualitatem auditorum debet formari sermo doctorum. Ut ergo pro simplicium capacitate populorum in hoc opere utilius pariter et placibilis procedam, brevi et simplici stylo (quantum libuit pro unaquaque materia curandum) decrevi scribere.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, Prologus.

⁶⁶ Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'Exemplum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 147-164.

⁶⁷ Sofia Boesch Gajano, ed., *Raccolte di vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo: Strutture, messaggi, fruizioni* (Roma: Schena Editore, 1990).

⁶⁸ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers. Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979).

⁶⁹ d'Avray, *Preaching*, 105.

⁷⁰ The *vita* of Saint John is excluded. Concerning the list of sermons, see: Appendix.

written for certain feasts, therefore, the *Pars hiemalis* offers sermons for a total of 38 feasts and the *Pars aestivalis* for 45. Pelbárt gives the reason for this in the prologue, saying that the number of sermons written for one single feast depends on whether the saint is venerated locally or not. By considering such a factor, Pelbárt connects his work to a national context, unlike other model sermon collections, which according to d'Avray tend to have a spaceless character:⁷¹

Finally, in this work, I took care to include four sermons for every single feast of the saints which is kept among us. But for the feast that is not kept I have composed only one sermon, that is, for some special saints, for those places and occasions when it would be convenient to preach about them. And in addition to these, I have thought to write in several sermons about some other saints, mentioning what is suitable for them in general.⁷²

This preachable material in Pelbárt's work is accessed through the use of two *tabulas*, the *tabula iuxta ordinem sermonum*, and the *tabula alphabetica*, which are lists of the feasts according to the liturgical year and topics arranged in alphabetical order.⁷³ His sermons are fully developed texts⁷⁴ and by their rhetorical forms, are classed as thematic sermons.⁷⁵ Thematic sermons, characteristic primarily of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, derive their name from the theme, which is a brief biblical passage functioning as the sermons' starting point and exposed to divisions and subdivisions in order to be elucidated with the recourse of scriptural and patristic citations (*auctoritates*), proofs of reason (*rationes*), narratives (*exempla*), etc.⁷⁶

⁷¹ d'Avray, *Preaching*, 128.

⁷² *Denique in hoc opere pro cuiuslibet sancti festo colendo apud nos quattuor sermones applicare curavi. De festo autem non colendo unicum sermonem feci, et hoc pro praecipuis dumtaxat sanctis, ubi et dum de his placuerit praedicari. Et insuper pro aliis commune sanctorum pluribus sermonibus conscribendum putavi.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, Prologus.

⁷³ Ildikó Bárczi, "Virtuális könyvtár a késő középkori Magyarországon" (A Virtual Library in Late Medieval Hungary), *A magyar irodalom története a kezdetektől 1800* (A History of Hungarian Literature from the Beginnings until 1800), ed. László Jankovits and Géza Orlovsky (Budapest: Gondolat, 2007), 153-167.

⁷⁴ Concerning their structures, model sermons can be drafts, texts somewhat developed, or texts fully developed. d'Avray, *Preaching*, 106-108.

⁷⁵ A thematic sermon can be also referred to as *sermo modernus* or university sermon.

⁷⁶ Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching," 474.

As for the content of the sermons, the *tabula alphabetica* provides the primary orientation. The subjects appearing in it can be thematically arranged into categories, such as pastoral care, canonical law, virtues the vices, etc.⁷⁷ Although, the *tabula* lists only three *exempla* (*Exemplum de fortitudine vini regis et mulieris*,⁷⁸ *Exemplum de Ormomella [sic] ave*,⁷⁹ *Exemplum de rhinoceronta [sic] vel unicorn*⁸⁰), there is a great abundance of short stories in the collection.⁸¹ Further characteristic of the sermons, are the already mentioned personal remarks of Pelbárt and his reflects on contemporary political events. For instance, a rather popular subject of the secondary literature dealing with Pelbárt, in the fourth sermon written for the feast of Saint Ladislav, he strongly criticizes King Matthias and the humanistic court around him.⁸²

⁷⁷ Categories are based on those set by Ildikó Bárczi. Bárczi, *Ars Compilandi*, 575-610.

⁷⁸ Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 22, K.

⁷⁹ Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 17, B.

⁸⁰ Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 19, C.

⁸¹ In the *de sanctis* series there are more than sixty short narratives that are called *exemplum* by Pelbárt.

⁸² Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 17.

CHAPTER 2:

PELBÁRT OF TEMESVÁR AND THE USE OF IMAGES

Presenting the Textual Evidence

The passages referring to visual representations and their use can be arranged in two groups based on some of their basic characteristics which are determined by their intended audience and function. The first group, which is comprised of two passages, was meant for the first audience of Pelbárt's work, that is, the preachers. Similar to stage directions, these passages were not part of the text to be preached, but acted as instructions. Due to their function, they are staggeringly explicit about the use of images: they do not only assign what images should be displayed, but also how and when. The passage, which I discovered in Sermon 66 of the *Pars hiemalis*, written for the feast of Good Friday, for instance, exhorts the preachers to hold up the image of the crucifix while speaking passionately about the torments that Christ suffered on the cross:

Second, Christ also felt pain chiefly during the elevation, namely when they raised him on the cross from the ground and vehemently placed the prepared shaft into a small pit so the cross would stand upright; during this elevation, the weight of his body, maintained as it was only through those nails and powerfully hurled into the pit caused Christ enormous pains, more [painful] than all other pains as it is said in the *revelation of St. Brigit*.⁸³ Because of this it is piously believed [that] at the time Christ mournfully cried out with a groaning voice because of the anguish of his pain. **You also, then, raise the image of the crucifix and say some pious contemplative words** [emphasis mine]. To the people: "Oh man, look and see the son of God hanging today on the cross for your sake! Watch how he is tormented among the nails, watch the flowing blood, watch the wounds, watch the face that had been spat on, watch his head crowned with a crown of thorns!"⁸⁴

⁸³ William Peterson Cumming ed., *The Revelations of Saint Brigitta* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

⁸⁴ *Secundo quoque in elevatione principaliter dolorem Christus habuit, scilicet quando elevaverunt ipsum in cruce a terra, et vehementer iniecerunt foveae trunco praeparato, ut staret crux in altum erecta, in qua elevatione pondus corporis per clavos illos sustentatum et fortiter foveae iniectum maximum Christo cruciatum intulit, super omnes alios dolores, ut habetur in Revelatione sanctae*

Likewise, the passage at the end of the *Pars hiemalis*, instructs the preachers to display several images to the audience simultaneously with the delivery of the pertinent passages of the sermon written for Good Friday:

Likewise about preaching on Good Friday with the venerations of the pious depiction of the suffering of Christ. Note the mental script on how to proceed. **Before all [else] you can show the crucifix as if covered in blood**, as you say a prayer to the cross saying: *Oh cross, hail, our only hope* etc., so that through such display the hearts may be moved. First, go all the way until the pious subject of Christ's separation and his farewell to his glorious Mother. **And there show the images representing these [subjects]**. Finally, after the first feeling of compunction in the audience, ask some questions according to your preference and discuss [them], as it will seem fit to you, if you have some knowledgeable men listening. **Second, carry on with the story from the Gospel and you will be able to stir compunction one more time among the people on the topic of the flagellation of Christ using the suitable image**. Then you can ask some further questions in order to satisfy the knowledgeable ones. **Third, right after expanding on the *Ecce homo* or the *Ecce rex vester* show the image of Christ tied the usual way**. Fourth, in the end, continue with [the story] of the bringing out and of the crucifixion and with the other following [scenes] just as God may inspire you [emphasis mine].⁸⁵

A peculiarity of the latter passage is that it appears separately from the sermon which it refers to. Furthermore, Pelbárt does not specify which Good Friday sermon the instructive passage belongs to, as there are four of them in the cycle. Yet, by

Brigittae. Unde pie creditur tunc Christus flebiliter voce gemebunda succlamassee prae doloris anxietate. Eleva itaque et tu Crucifixi imaginem, et fac devotas allocutiones contemplativas. Ad populum: O homo, intueri et aspice Dei Filium hodie pro te pendentem in cruce! Vide, qualiter inter clavos cruciatur, vide sanguinem defluentem, vide vulnera, vide faciem consputam, vide caput coronatum spinea corona! Pelbárt, Sermones, PH, 66, T.

⁸⁵ *Item de sermone faciendo in magna sexta feria cum caerimoniis devotae repraesentationis passionis Christi. Nota memorialem signaturam procedendi. Ante omnia potes ostendere crucis lignum quasi cruentatum, cum orationem dicis ad crucem loquendo, scilicet: O crux, ave, spes unica etc., ut per talem ostensionem commoveantur corda. Primo proseguere usque ad devotam materiam de separatione Christi et valedicendo a gloriosa sua Matre. Et ibi ostende imagines haec repraesentantes. Tandem post compunctionem primam populi dic aliquas quaestiones iuxta placitum, et disputa, ut videbitur tibi, si habes audientes viros scientificos. Secundo proseguere historiam evangelicam, et poteris alteram compunctionem populi facere in flagellatione Christi per imaginem convenientem. Tunc ut scientificis satisfacias, poteris quaestiones interserere. Tertio iuxta passum Ecce homo vel Ecce rex vester ostende imaginem Christi ligatam suo modo. Quarto deinde proseguere de educatione et crucifixione et aliis subsequentibus, prout Deus dederit. Pelbárt, Sermones, PH, unnumbered page.*

comparing the references made to the content of the sermon to those of the four Good Friday speech, I concluded that it corresponds to Sermon 66 of the *Pars hiemalis*.⁸⁶

The second group of passages, in contrast, was intended for the ultimate audience, that is, the congregations of the preachers who made use of Pelbárt's collection. As these passages are part of the main text, that is, the text to be preached, their function can be determined only within the context of the speeches (see below). Also, compared to the above-mentioned two passages, they are far less explicit about the use of images. Namely, they merely allude to different visual representations along with some elements of the depictions. For instance, in Sermon 9 of the *Pars aestivalis*:

It is because of this that **the Holy Church usually depicts Paul with a book and a sword. Peter with the keys**, on the other hand, in order to show that Paul teaches us salvation through his wisdom in his Epistles, and with the sword, that is to say that through the merits of his martyrdom he defends [us] from the enemies. Peter, however, has the keys for the opening heaven.⁸⁷

Description of the Images

In order to describe the images that Pelbárt of Temesvár advised preachers to use, a thorough examination of the individual passages is required. Luckily, the passages of each group are detailed enough to enable the basic characterization of the images. By basic characterization I mean the identification of some of the most essential features of an image, such as its subject matter and iconographic type. As to

⁸⁶ The theme of Sermon 66, *Miseremini mei, miseremini, saltem vos, amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me*, is derived from Is. 19:21. After the theme and the introduction, a prayer to the cross follows: *O crux, ave spes unica etc.* Then the theme is divided into twelve parts according to the sorrows of the Virgin Mary: first, the betrayal of Christ; second, the separation and farewell of Christ and Mary; third, the arrest of Christ ... eighth, the flagellation of Christ; ninth, the coronation of Christ; tenth, Christ sentenced to death and the carry of the cross; eleventh, the crucifixion; twelfth, Christ's death and his burial. Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66.

⁸⁷ *Unde Sancta Ecclesia Paulum solet depingere cum libro et ense. Petrum autem cum clavibus, ad repraesentandum, quod Paulus per sapientiam in libris epistolarum nos docet ad salutem, et per ense, id est per merita passionis defendit ab hostibus. Petrus autem habet claves aperiendi caelum.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 9, K.

get the most accurate description of the images, I will also consult contemporary visual parallels. Furthermore, in the case of the instructive passage from the end of the *Pars hiemalis* I will include the relevant sections of Sermon 66 to derive further information concerning the depictions. I will do so, because according to the instructions given by Pelbárt the images had to be displayed simultaneously with or immediately after the delivery of the pertinent text. For instance, “Second, carry on with the story from the Gospel and you will be able to stir compunction one more time among the people on the topic of the flagellation of Christ using the suitable image;”⁸⁸ and “Third, right after expanding on the *Ecce homo* or the *Ecce rex vester* show the image of Christ tied the usual way.”⁸⁹ Therefore, in my opinion, the texts and the displayed images had to correspond with or complement each other.

In the passage at the end of the *Pars hiemalis*, images depicting scenes from the Passion of Christ are mentioned. First, Pelbárt refers to the use of the Crucifix, that is, a representation of the cross with the figure of Christ on it: “Before all [else] you can show the crucifix as if covered in blood.”⁹⁰ From Pelbárt’s characterization (*crucis lignum quasi cruentatem*), I assume that the crucifix, which he alludes to, was a kind of realistic depiction of Christ showing him bleeding from numerous wounds.⁹¹ Most probably, the same crucifix is being referred in Sermon 66 as well, as the use of two separate crucifixes within the same sermon seems unlikely.

Pelbárt’s next reference to the use of images is: “First, go all the way until the pious subject of Christ’s separation and his farewell to his glorious Mother. And there show the images representing these [subjects].”⁹² The passage is rather obscure,

⁸⁸ For the Latin text, see: footnote 85.

⁸⁹ For the Latin text, see: footnote 85.

⁹⁰ For the Latin text, see: footnote 85.

⁹¹ Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), (hereafter: Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*). 571-574.

⁹² For the Latin text, see: footnote 85.

however, in my opinion, here he refers to two visual depictions: one depicting Christ's separation and the farewell to his Mother, which is traditionally called "Christ Taking Leave of his Mother" in the field of art history, and another one, which he fails to name in the passage of instructions. I propose, however, that it is the "Payment of Judas,"⁹³ as the section following the prayer to the cross in Sermon 66 deals with the subject. Due to the obscurity of the passage, however, I will not take the latter image into further consideration.

The subject of the visual depiction, "Christ Taking Leave of his Mother" derives from devotional literature. It is recounted, for instance, by the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*.⁹⁴ Its first known visual depiction appears in a Passion cycle made sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century in Cologne.⁹⁵ Although several variants of the depiction of this episode exist in the High Middle Ages,⁹⁶ the type that Pelbárt of Temesvár seems to refer to, based on the corresponding texts of Sermon 66, is either the one showing Mary kneeling in front of her son or the one depicting both the Virgin Mary and Christ kneeling. The reason why the iconographic type of the image cannot be further specified is because Pelbárt divides the scene of the farewell into two by inserting an additional scriptural text. According to the first section, Mary is begging his son not to go to Jerusalem while kneeling in front of Him,⁹⁷ but in the second one, they are both kneeling while saying farewell.⁹⁸

⁹³ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 2, 444-447.

⁹⁴ Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, ed., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: an Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 305-309, (hereafter: Ragusa, *Meditations*).

⁹⁵ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 35.

⁹⁶ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 35.

⁹⁷ *Materno ergo affectu coepit, ut aiunt, ipsa Feria quinta genibus flexis Filium petere taliter ...* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

⁹⁸ *Interim, ut tradunt devoti et satis utique rationabiliter, Christus ut bonus filius matri valediceret, elicentiauit omnes e domo illa praeter matrem, et coram ea genua flexit. Quo viso humillima Virgo festinavit, et ipsa coram Filio procidit ad genua, coepitque piissimus Iesus taliter dicere ...* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

The next image that Pelbárt suggests to be used is the “Flagellation:” “Second, carry on with the story from the Gospel and you will be able to stir compunction one more time among the people on the topic of the flagellation of Christ using the suitable image.” Although, the subject of the “Flagellation” was derived from the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, the visual representation was highly influenced by the devotional literature,⁹⁹ as the relevant scriptural passages provide no specific details about the more gruesome aspects of this event.¹⁰⁰ Judging by the rather vivid description of the event in Sermon 66, namely, that the undressed Christ was tied to a column while being scourged, his entire body was covered in wounds and his pouring blood wetted the ground,¹⁰¹ Pelbárt of Temesvár alluded to one of those graphic depictions showing the servants scourging Christ.¹⁰²

The next image that Pelbárt of Temesvár refers to is the so-called “Ecce Homo:” “Third, right after expanding on the *Ecce homo* or the *Ecce rex vester* show the image of Christ tied the usual way.” Based on the instruction and the corresponding section of Sermon 66,¹⁰³ it seems probable that Pelbárt refers to the narrative image depicting Pilate presenting Christ to the Jews.¹⁰⁴ In the High Middle Ages such “Ecce Homo” images represented Christ dressed in the purple robe, wearing the crown of thorns with his hands tied with Pilate on his side standing in front of a crowd of Jews.¹⁰⁵ Pelbárt’s expression “Christ tied in the usual way,” however, can cast some doubts concerning the image. Namely, his term is very much in the fashion of those that Sixten Ringbom draws attention to in his work, *Icon to*

⁹⁹ Ragusa, *Mediations*, 328.

¹⁰⁰ Mt. 27:26; Mk.15:15; Jn 19:1.

¹⁰¹ *Et ut doctores dicunt, ligaverunt illi Iesum nudatum ad columnam quandam, et flagellaverunt, ut non esset in eo sanitas a planta pedis usque ad verticem. Et ut dicit Gregorius Nazianzenus: Caro sacra Christi flagellata post livores sanguinem ex omni parte scaturiebat, quo etiam terra sub pedibus Iesu et columna ipsa atque flagella madefiebant.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, P.

¹⁰² Kirschbaum, *Lexicon*, vol. 2, 127-130.

¹⁰³ Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, Q. See: footnote 146, 147, 149.

¹⁰⁴ Jn. 19:4-6

¹⁰⁵ Kirschbaum, *Lexicon*, vol. 1, 557.

Narrative.¹⁰⁶ According to Ringbom, in the late Middle Ages, expressions emphasizing the major character of a narrative, such as *Salvator coronatus* or *Christo giovenetto de anni circa duodeci*, referred to one kind of *Andachtsbild*, that is, to those which were produced by “the subtraction of the narrative.” Therefore it is possible, that the image, which Pelbárt suggests to be used, is not a narrative, but an *Andachtsbild* depicting the Christ in a close-up, dressed in the purple robe wearing the crown of thorns with his hands tied, along with some of the most important protagonist of the event, such as Pilate.¹⁰⁷

Moving on to the other type of passages, what I found is the clear indication of the subject matter and also of the iconographic type. In Sermon 22 of the *Pars aestivalis*, for instance, Pelbárt makes a reference to the images of Saint Paul and Saint Peter. Furthermore, by indicating the attributes of figures, he also makes it obvious that the depictions are in accordance with the traditional iconography:¹⁰⁸ “It is because of this that the Holy Church usually depicts Paul with a book and a sword. Peter with the keys, on the other hand ...”.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, in Sermon 68 of the *Pars aestivalis*, he recalls the conventional depiction of the Archangel Michael weighing the souls: “[His] third privilege is having the duty of weighing [the souls] as it is visible in pictures, which are the books of lay people.”¹¹⁰

As for the iconography, Pelbárt’s references to the depiction of Saint Emeric and Saint Anthony of Padua are more intriguing. For instance, the representation of Saint Emeric, which Pelbárt describes, was a fairly novel type at the time when the text was composed as according to Gyöngyi Török it became widespread only in the

¹⁰⁶ Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: the Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1984), 55-58 (hereafter: Ringbom, *Icon*).

¹⁰⁷ Concerning such images, see: Ringbom, *Icon*, 145-147 and figure 113-116.

¹⁰⁸ Kirschbaum, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, 74-75.

¹⁰⁹ For the Latin text, see: footnote 84.

¹¹⁰ *Tertium privilegium est ponderandi officium habere, ut patet in picturis, quae sunt libri laicorum*. Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 68, I.

last third of the fifteenth century:¹¹¹ “It is because of this that in the Holy Church, as a mark of exceptional respect, he has the following ornament as a special attribute to be represented holding a lily in his hand.”¹¹² The description of Saint Anthony of Padua, in Sermon 9 of the *Pars aestivalis*, differs quite substantially from the traditional iconography of the saint. Generally he is portrayed as a young man wearing the habit of the Franciscans. His attributes may vary: he can hold a book, a lily, a burning heart, or the Christ Child in his hand.¹¹³ The text of Pelbárt of Temesvár, however, talks about a depiction in which Saint Anthony is holding a fish: “It is because of this miracle, therefore, and also because of that other one described in the first division of the sermon 13 right before letter C that Saint Anthony is depicted holding a fish.”¹¹⁴ This depiction, which according to Pelbárt originates from two miracles performed by the saint, is specific to the late medieval arts of southern German territories. Merely a few examples of the type have survived, for instance: an illumination (1494/1497)¹¹⁵ and a woodcut (1484)¹¹⁶ depicting the Franciscan saints, a tapestry (1502),¹¹⁷ and a fragment of a predella (1477).¹¹⁸

By comparing the images that Pelbárt recommends to be used to the corpus of the late medieval artworks of Hungary, it can be seen that the group of images assembled by Pelbárt has some unique pieces. While some depictions can be found among the remaining panel paintings, murals, and wooden sculptures, moreover,

¹¹¹ Gyöngyi Török, “A Mateóci Mester művészetének problémái” (Questions concerning the art of the Master of Mateóc), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 29 (1980): 49-80.

¹¹² *Unde in Sancta Ecclesia ipse pro honore speciali habet hoc decus clenodii, ut depingatur cum lilio manu gestans.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 91, A.

¹¹³ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de L’art Chrétien*, vol. 3. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 118.

¹¹⁴ *Propter hoc ergo miraculum et etiam propter illud aliud descriptum primo articulo sermonis 13 immediate ante litteram „C” beatus Antonius piscem gestare depingitur.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, H.

¹¹⁵ Johannes Gründler, ed., *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi: Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Berger Verlag, 1982), 596-598.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 658-660.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 704-705.

¹¹⁸ Éva Benkő, Klára Garas, and Zsuzsa Urbach, *German, Austrian, Bohemian and British Paintings*, (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2003), 17-18.

some of them, such as the Flagellation, and the Archangel Michael are rather frequent, others, such as the representation of Saint Anthony of Padua and the Christ Taking Leave of His Mother are unparalleled in the region.¹¹⁹ In my opinion, the reason for their appearance in Pelbárt's text is that just like the example of the above-mentioned woodcut shows, such prints were in circulation at the time.

The Function of Images

Preaching during the Middle Ages was considered a way of educating the public. Augustine in his work, *On Christian Doctrine*, referring to Cicero indicates that the most important task of an orator is to teach: "he who is eloquent should speak in such a way that he teaches, delights, and moves. Then he added, 'To teach is a necessity, to please is a sweetness, to persuade is a victory.'"¹²⁰ Similar to Augustine, Alan of Lille defined preaching as a "manifestation and public instruction of morals and faith" in his preaching manual written around 1200.¹²¹ Preaching, however, was not limited simply to instruct the audience on the dogmas and morals of the religion, but also to teach them how to look at and use images.¹²² Bernardino of Siena, for instance, was educating his audience on the proper use of the *tavoletta* when exhorting them to place an image in each room of the house, thus, they can pay great respect to the cult image and recall it in their actions.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* (The Panel Paintings of Medieval Hungary), (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955); *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* (The Wooden Sculptures of Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967); *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon* (Murals in the Medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina, 1977). Ernő Marosi, ed. *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül*, vol. 1-2. (The Art of Hungary around 1300-1470) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

¹²⁰ Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1958), 136.

¹²¹ *Praedicatio est, manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens, ex rationum semita, et auctoritatum.* Alan of Lille, *De Arte Praedicandi* in PL 210 coll. 111.

¹²² Baxandall, *Painting*, 48.

¹²³ "Simile, ti dissi di questo nome di Iesù, che tu il tenesse in ogni luogo de la tua case, che tu gli facesse riverenza, e che tu il ricordassi ispeso con buona fede in ogni tua operazione." Bernardino da

In the light of all this, I would argue that the passages I identified in the sermons of Pelbárt of Temesvár, concerning their functions, are also instructive. Yet, they work on two levels because of the characteristically dual audience of model sermons. On one hand, they directly educate people on how to look at the sacred, and on the other, they provide models to preachers on how to teach their own audiences.

Before moving on to the examination of Pelbárt's passages, a brief digression is necessary in order to discuss the scholarly view on images at the time of Pelbárt. During the Middle Ages a threefold justification of the images made their usage possible in a Christian context: according to such authorities as Thomas Aquinas and Saint Bonaventure, while commenting on the relevant passages of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, they state that images possessed a didactic, a mnemonic, and an emotive function.¹²⁴ In the series of sermons by Pelbárt, examined in the present work, scattered references to all these functions of images can be found. In Sermon 68 of the *Pars aestivalis* written for the feast of the Archangel Michael, Pelbárt reflects on the didactic function of images when defining them as books for the laity.¹²⁵ This idea is traditionally attributed to Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604) who, in a letter, reprimanded Serenus, bishop of Marseilles for having removed the images from churches in his bishopric: "Images are to be employed in churches, so that those who are illiterate might at least read by seeing on the walls what they cannot read in books."¹²⁶ Furthermore, as for the mnemonic function, in Sermon 71 written for the feast of Saint Francis of Assisi, Pelbárt clearly refers to this function of images when

Siena, *Prediche Volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, ed., Carlo Delcorno, vol. 1. (Milan: Rusconi, 1989), 724.

¹²⁴ Quoted by David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 162-163 (hereafter: Freedberg, *Power*).

¹²⁵ For the Latin text, see: footnote 110.

¹²⁶ *Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quae legere in Codicibus non valent.* Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* in PL 77. coll. 1128-29. Quoted and translated by Freedberg, *Power*, 163. The notion, however, was already present in Late Antiquity. See: Freedberg, *Power*, 163.

talking about the stigmatization of Francis. Namely, Pelbárt says that the marks impressed on the body of Francis resemble in their function the paintings and sculptures erected by triumphant rulers as they are all meant to keep a great victory alive in the memory of the people.¹²⁷ Similarly, in Sermon 76 of the *Pars hiemalis*, he refers to religious images, namely, the images of the crucifix and the saints, as aids to memory.¹²⁸ Finally, the already discussed instructional passage at the end of Sermon 97 aptly attests to Pelbárt's awareness of the emotive function of images; he expects, for instance, simply by displaying the crucifix, the hearts of the intended audience to be moved. He also anticipates that by narrating the story of the flagellation as well as showing the corresponding image, members of the audience would feel compunction.¹²⁹ These scattered passages, I believe, prove that Pelbárt of Temesvár was fully conscious of the three functions of images mentioned above, and he presented some examples for their various usages.

It is to the use of such images that I shall now turn. The first group of images which I will discuss is comprised of the image of "Christ Taking Leave of his Mother," the "Flagellation," the "Ecce Homo," and the "Crucifix." In my opinion, with the help of these images and the corresponding texts, Pelbárt demonstrates how to meditate with images.

Such image-assisted meditation was considered the most basic level of contemplation, yet it was greatly encouraged as for some it was regarded as the only accessible way to knowledge of divine and for others it was a step towards the higher

¹²⁷ *Hanc autem stigmatizationem fecit Christus pro renovanda memoria passionis suae in mundo, quae iam inveterata erat, paena oblita. Sed per Franciscum est in cordibus fidelium innovata, in quo et visibiliter impressa cernitur. Nimirum videmus, quod reges magnifici solent res gestas et magnas victorias depingi vel sculpi facere ad memoriam hominum.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PA, 71, B.

¹²⁸ *Proinde laudabile est habere imagines Crucifixi vel sanctorum circa lectum tuum aut mensam, ut ex aspectu memoreris Christi Iesu et sanctorum, ac reverentiam facias.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 76, E.

¹²⁹ For the Latin text, see: footnote 85.

stages of imageless meditation.¹³⁰ As Gregory the Great expresses it: “We do not harm in wishing to show the invisible by means of the visible.”¹³¹ The theoretical background of this practice was related to Augustine’s division of the human sight into corporeal, spiritual and intellectual.¹³² According to him, corporeal sight is that of the physical eyes; spiritual sight consists of the recollection of something absent and of imagination; while intellectual sight is the perception of the abstract.¹³³ Yet, at the same time, as the spiritual vision operates with mental images that are imprints of physical entities,¹³⁴ it is ultimately depended on corporeal vision. Therefore, through the stimulation of the corporeal eyes the ascension to a higher level of seeing, that is, seeing with the spiritual eyes becomes possible. The same idea is echoed in one of Pelbárt’s sermons written for the feast of Saint Thomas, where he says that by the sight of the actual image of the crucifix people are enabled to recreate in their minds the scene of the crucifixion and to meditate on it:

Just as Thomas, along with other disciples, saw the wounds of Christ’s passion with [his] corporeal eyes, and kept them unceasingly before the eyes of [his] mind, in the same way, we, who have not seen corporeally the crucified Christ, should frequently contemplate at least with the eyes of [our] mind remembering his passion in order to express [our] gratitude to him for the great gift of redemption. **For, you see, it is precisely because of this that the image of the crucifix is placed in front of our eyes in church** [emphasis mine].¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Ringbom, *Icon*, 19; Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-century Florence*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 179-180.

¹³¹ Gregory the Great, *Epistolae* in PL 77, coll. 990-991. Quoted and translated by Freedberg, *Power*, 164.

¹³² Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* in PL coll. 453-80.

¹³³ Ringbom, *Icon*, 15.

¹³⁴ Aristotle, *On Memory*, tr. Richard Sorabji (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1972), 50. Concerning the medieval notion of mental images: Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), (hereafter: Carruthers, *Book*), 46-79.

¹³⁵ ... *sicut Thomas vidit cum ceteris discipulis vulnera passionis Christi oculis corporalibus, et iugiter habuit in oculis mentalibus, ita nos, qui corporaliter Christum crucifixum non vidimus, frequenter aspiciamus saltem oculis mentalibus recordando de eius passione, ut ei gratias agamus de tanto beneficio redemptionis. Nam propter hoc in ecclesia ponitur ante oculos nostros imago crucifixi.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 12, M.

The aim of image-assisted meditation is to cause an affective relation between the beholder and the image, that is, to excite the beholder to empathy.¹³⁶ In order to achieve the state of empathy, however, images have to be perceived in a particular way. Pelbárt in the texts corresponding to the assigned images demonstrates a handful of strategies (related closely to those of handbooks of meditations),¹³⁷ by means of which the beholder of the image can attain the desired emotional experience. In what follows, I will discuss these schemes.

In the text relating to the image “Christ Taking Leave of his Mother” Pelbárt creates a lengthy dialog between the Virgin Mary and Christ interrupted by an event described in the Gospels, when Jesus sent two of his disciples, Peter and John, to Jerusalem to prepare the celebration of Passover.¹³⁸ Pelbárt’s text closely relates to that of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, a meditational handbook of the late-thirteenth century, attributed to John of Caulibus.¹³⁹ Pelbárt begins by describing the situation: the Virgin Mary, being fully aware of the peril threatening her son in Jerusalem, kneels down begs him not to go.¹⁴⁰ This account, just like the one¹⁴¹ preceding the section about Christ ordering some of his disciples to go to Jerusalem, corresponds to the image he assigned to this particular section of the sermon. At this point, the representation created by the text and the image are in accordance with each other. Next, as if vivifying the figures of the image recommended to the preacher, Pelbárt engages the two characters depicted in a rather emotional and intimate conversation. By doing so, he directs the attention more closely at them. The first

¹³⁶ Ringbom, *Icon*, 19.

¹³⁷ Concerning the characteristics of devotional literature: Thomas H. Bestul: *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 26-68 (hereafter: Bestul, *Text*); Freedberg, *Power*, 169.

¹³⁸ Mt. 26:17; Mk. 14:12; Lk. 22:7-13.

¹³⁹ Bestul, *Text*, 48. Considering the farewell of Christ and the Virgin Mary in the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, see: Ragusa, *Meditations*, 305-309.

¹⁴⁰ For the Latin text, see: footnote 97.

¹⁴¹ For the Latin text, see: footnote 98.

section of the dialog is dominated by Mary's speech. First, she implores her son to stay in Bethany, then, after having understood that the death of Christ is in accordance with the will of God, she asks Christ to let her die before or at the same moment as he does, or to allow her mind to be lifted in ecstasy as not to feel any pain inside.¹⁴² In the second section, it is mostly Christ who talks. He expresses his gratitude to his mother for accepting him to her womb, for carrying him for nine months, for giving birth to him, for nursing him, for feeding him, for sustaining a great deal of work and suffering, for serving him, for shedding tears for him, for undergoing many efforts, toils and perils for his sake.¹⁴³ The intimacy of their conversation can be seen from the manner in which they address each other. Mary calls her son "my most beloved son" (*filius meus dilectissimus*) while Christ names her "dearest mother" (*mater carissima*), "my dearest mother" (*carissima mater mea*), "the most beloved mother" (*mater praedilectissima*), and "sweetest mother" (*mater dulcissima*). Furthermore, at the end of each section, Pelbárt inserts an explicit call for contemplation:

¹⁴² "*Quaeso te, Fili mi et Deus meus, exaudi me, matrem maestissimam, ut non ascendas in Hierusalem, nam hic, in Bethania praeparabunt tibi Martha et Magdalena agnum paschalem, ne forte inimici manus inciant tibi.*" Cui respondit Dominus: "*Non licet – inquit –, carissima mater, in hoc te exaudire, sed potius voluntatem Patris facere, ut impleantur Scripturae. Nam Isa. LIII.: Oblatus est, scilicet Filius Dei, quia ipse voluit,*¹⁴² *scilicet Pater et Filius.*" Cui gloriosa Mater: "*Scio – ait –, Fili mi, quod sic voluit Deus Pater redimi mundum tua passione et morte, sed quia cor maternum hoc cogitans crepet amaritudine, saltem da mihi, si possibile est et convenit, antea mori, quam tu, Fili mi dilectissime, moriaris, aut simul tecum exhalare spiritum, aut in extasim mentis rapi, ut penitus nil sentiam.*" Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

¹⁴³ "*O Mater praedilectissima, regratior tibi, quod me fideliter et humiliter ad verba angeli Gabrielis in uterum suscepisti, et quod mensibus novem me portasti in utero virgineo, quod me peperisti, lactasti, nutritivisti, multos labores et angustias pro me sustinuisti fugiendo in Aegyptum, ibi manens et inde rediens, et triduo me tandem requirens, annisque XXX semper mihi fidelissime et devotissime in omnibus servivisti, et quot guttas lactis tui virginei mihi dedisti sugenti, quot servitia impendisti, quot labores et poenalitates pro me sustinuisti, tot et tantas tibi refero gratiarum actiones. Vale ergo nunc, dulcissima Mater, et mane in gratia meae deitatis, quia ecce a te separabor, ut vadam ad moriendum pro genere humano.*" *O quantus ibi fuit fletus, quantus luctus Virginis Matris et piissimi eius Filii super matre compatientis, cogitet haec pia mens! Tandem spiritu resumpto Beata Virgo ut potuit loqui, dixit: "Gratias tibi ago, Deus meus, qui me dignatus es eligere in matrem, cum essem paupercula ancilla tua, et quod servitia mea placuerunt tuae maiestati."* Sicque se invicem osculando vale sibi dixerunt. Dominus quoque Matrem suam Marthae et Magdalenae commendavit. Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

We can picture in our mind in all piety how much the Blessed Virgin must have cried at the time, how gently she must have listened to the words of her son from dawn until the hour of their parting;¹⁴⁴

Oh, what tears, what grief must have come upon the Virgin Mother and her loving and respectful son, who was feeling compassion for his mother! Let the faithful mind just picture this!¹⁴⁵

The text, which Pelbárt recommended to be heard while the image of the “Flagellation” is displayed, is a compilation of the relevant passages taken from the Gospel of Luke and John and from various theological authorities, among whom only Gregory of Nazianzen is named. The construction of the text resembles that of the previous one: the description of the situation is followed by a dialogic part and a call to contemplation, between which a stage-by-stage account of the flagellation is inserted.¹⁴⁶ Here, Pelbárt recounts how the undressed Christ, tied to the column, was brutally scourged and, by doing so, he draws attention to some of the gruesome details that were most likely to arouse strong emotional reactions from the intended audience.

The passage belonging to the image of the “Ecce Homo” is, just like the text of the Flagellation, pieced together of the relevant passages of the Gospels and other sources in such a way that the most detailed and vivid possible text is created. Once more, Pelbárt applies the technique of episodic progression, also emerged in the account of the Flagellation, to recount the torture of Christ. He breaks down the story

¹⁴⁴ Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

¹⁴⁵ Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, E.

¹⁴⁶ *Octavus dolor dicitur flagellationis. Nam cum Herodes remisisset Iesum ad Pilatum, principibus, scilicet sacerdotum, convocatis Pilatus volens eripere Christum dixit: “Ego nullam causam invenio in homine isto ex his, quibus eum accusatis, sed neque Herodes. Nam remisit eum ad nos, et ecce nihil dignum morte actum est ei.” At illi clamabant: “Nos legem habemus, et secundum legem debet mori.” Pilatus dixit: “Emendatum illum corripiam et dimittam.” Tunc ergo Pilatus tradidit Iesum militibus flagellandum. Et ut doctores dicunt, ligaverunt illi Iesum denudatum ad columnam quandam, et flagellaverunt, ut non esset in eo sanitas a planta pedis usque ad verticem. Et ut dicit Gregorius Nazianzenus: Caro sacra Christi flagellata post livores sanguinem ex omni parte scaturiebat, quo etiam terra sub pedibus Iesu et columna ipsa atque flagella madefiebant. Et ut pie arbitrari possumus, cum solvissent eum tam crudeliter flagellatum, prae dolore et debilitate Dominus in terram cecidit facietenus sanguine suo irrigatam. O benedicta Virgo Maria, quo dolore tunc cor tuum vulnerabatur!*

into as many separate events as possible: the soldiers led him away, crowned him, clothed him, mocked him, hailed him, struck him, put a reed in his hand, spat on him, and hit his head. Furthermore, he leaves the progression unfinished, thus open to a free flow of further visualization by saying: “They were doing all this and many other such things.”¹⁴⁷ Next, he directs the attention to Christ’s face, more specifically to the crown of thorns by describing the actual physical object and the injuries that it caused.¹⁴⁸ Then in the end, Pelbárt progresses to the dialogic episode of Pilate presenting Christ to the Jews. This section of the text, although mostly based on the Scripture, also includes passages by the means of which the reception of the displayed image can be aided.¹⁴⁹ For instance, after presenting Christ to the Jews, Pilate, according to Pelbárt’s text said: “Look, how atrociously he is being punished, with all his body scourged, slapped in the face, spat on, pricked by thick thorns, his head painfully wounded, while he is tied up and tortured in many ways etc.”¹⁵⁰ Once again, the attention is focused on the figure of Christ: first on his whole body, then to his face, and back to the body again. By attributing these words to Pilate, Pelbárt gets the intended audience even more involved. Namely, by addressing them in the name of Pilate, Pelbárt virtually places them in the crowd gathered at the *praetorium*, thus, creates the atmosphere of immediacy.

¹⁴⁷ *Nonus dolor coronationis spineae et punctionis. Post haec enim milites duxerunt eum in atrium praetorii, et plectentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti eius, et veste purpurea circumdederunt eum, et veniebant ad eum illudentes et dicentes: “Ave, rex Iudaeorum!” Et dabant ei alapas, et dederunt arundinem in manu eius, et conspuebant in eum, et percutiebant caput eius. Haec et plura talia faciebant pro complacentia Iudaeorum et forte pecunia ab eis accepta. Pelbárt, Sermones, PH, 66, Q.*

¹⁴⁸ *Et Nicolaus de Lyra dicit, quod corona illa erat de iuncis marinis ad modum spinarum acutis, quorum – ut quidam aiunt – aculei sunt duri et acutissimi ad instar chalybis, habentes virtutem naturalem attrahendi humorem. Pelbárt, Sermones, PH, 66, Q.*

¹⁴⁹ Jn. 19:1-15; Mt. 27:19-29.

¹⁵⁰ *Videte, quam acerbe est punitus, toto flagellatus corpore, in facie alapizatus, consputus, percussus spinis densis, acerbissime perforatus in capite, ligatus et multipliciter afflictus etc. Pelbárt, Sermones, PH, 66, Q.*

The text belonging to the second display of the image of the Crucifix once again is aimed to guide the reception of the intended audience.¹⁵¹ Initially, Pelbárt directs the attention to the whole body of Christ by commanding the beholder to: “look and see the son of God hanging today on the cross for your sake!”¹⁵² Next, he progresses to certain details, such as wounds of Christ: “Watch how he is tormented among the nails, watch the flowing blood, watch the wounds.”¹⁵³ The observation of these details still requires the beholder to look at the whole body of Christ, however, with a more concentrated attention to some parts of it. Finally, Pelbárt shifts the focus to the head of Christ by saying: “watch the face that had been spat on, watch his head crowned with a crown of thorns!” When supposedly all eyes are fixed on the face of Christ, Pelbárt applies the rhetorical device, which he also used when presenting the depiction of “Christ Taking Leave of his Mother,” the “Flagellation,” and the “Ecce Homo.” Namely, he composes a fictive monolog of the depicted character. Here, however, this device proves extremely powerful not only because it is the tortured Christ who utters these words, but also because he directly addresses the members of the audience:

Oh man, see what I suffer for you, to you I cry out, for you I die,
watch the nails that are piercing me through, watch the tortures which I
am put through! There is no such pain as that which is torturing me.
And while this is only outward pain, inwardly I grieve even more when
I see you being ungrateful!¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, at the end of the section, Pelbárt presents a model of how the audience should respond to the Crucifix. He indicates that a strong emotional reaction is

¹⁵¹ Pelbárt advises displaying the Crucifix twice. First, at the beginning of the sermon, a second time while discussing the actual event of the crucifixion. Here, I intend to focus only on the latter.

¹⁵² For the Latin text, see: footnote 84.

¹⁵³ For the Latin text, see: footnote 84.

¹⁵⁴ *O homo, vide, quae pro te patior, ad te clamo, pro te morior, vide clavos, quibus confodior, vide poenas, quibus afficior! Non est dolor, sicut quo crucior! Et cum sit exterius tantus dolor, intus est gravior, dum te ingratum experior.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, T.

expected on the behalf of the beholder: “Therefore, weep you, sinner, to Christ;” and that the beholder should be afflicted by the feeling of compunction:

Oh sweetest Jesus, oh my beloved God, what did your hands do wrong that they were so violently stuck to the cross? What did your sacred feet offend, oh most faithful Lord, that they are nailed together like this? What [did your] sacred head [do] that in such a manner it is pierced through by so many thorns? What [did] your handsome face [do] to be so disgraced by the spitting of the Jews? Oh, sweetest Jesus, Son of God, I am the one who acted unjustly, I, the one who sinned, I, the one who committed injustice and you were fastened to the cross in my place. You are punished for me, you are condemned to death for me.¹⁵⁵

The above-presented techniques, namely, the vivid description of events with the help of stage-by-stage progression and the insertion of dialogs, the use of emotive language, the explicit call for contemplation, however, are not the invention of Pelbárt of Temesvár. As it was already mentioned they are closely related to those of the meditation handbooks. Thomas H. Bestul in his survey of Latin Passion narrative, states that the most characteristic rhetorical techniques applied in devotional literature are the emotional-charged language, the direct address to the audience, and repetition.¹⁵⁶ What Pelbárt accomplished was that he adapted and incorporated the language characteristic to meditational handbooks into his model sermons and by assigning the use of certain depictions, he demonstrated how to contemplate with the help of images.

The second group of images, which I will discuss, is made up of the depiction of the Archangel Michael, Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint Emeric, Saint Peter and

¹⁵⁵ *Plora ergo, peccator, ad Christum: O dulcissime Iesu, o amorose Deus meus, quid nocuerunt manus tuae, quod tam atrociter sunt confixae cruci? Quid, piissime Domine, pedes sacri offenderant, quod sic sunt conclavati? Quid sacrum caput, quod sic est spinis confossum densissimis? Quid facies tua decora, quod sputis est Iudaeorum deturpata? O praedulcis Iesu, Fili Dei, ego sum, qui inique egi, ego, qui peccavi, ego, qui iniquitatem feci, et tu pro me cruci affixus es. Tu pro me poenas exsolvis, tu pro me morti damnaris.* Pelbárt, *Sermones*, PH, 66, T.

¹⁵⁶ Bestul, *Text*, 36.

Saint Paul. I would argue that in the case of these images, the possible usages that Pelbárt demonstrates are in connection with their didactic and mnemonic functions.

Concerning the didactic function of images, Gregory the Great defined the pictorial decoration of churches as books of the illiterate. By the expression, “books of the illiterate” he did not mean to signify the images inferior nature to written material, but their accessibility to a larger audience.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the “illiterate” audience had to be armed with the necessary skills and knowledge in order to be able to “read,” that is, to properly interpret the visual representations exposed to them. One possible way of obtaining such basic competence was listening to sermons.¹⁵⁸

In the light of this, I believe that the passages in the text of Pelbárt concerning the second group of images were intended to educate on how to interpret visual representations on the level of the ultimate audience. In the case of the depiction of the Archangel Michael, Pelbárt does that by clarifying the action of weighing souls, meanwhile in the case of the other depictions, he explains the attributes of the figures.¹⁵⁹

These passages, however, function on another level as well. Namely, on the level of the first audience to whom Pelbárt wishes to show how to incorporate images into the very structure of a sermon. As I mentioned above, the sermons of Pelbárt belong to the type of thematic sermons: they begin with a theme that is exposed to divisions and subdivision. Following each section comes the validation of the given division or subdivision with the help of various citations. Pelbárt generally employs biblical passages, hagiographical writings, and citations from the works of the Church Fathers, however, by examining within the structure of the sermons the passages

¹⁵⁷ Carruthers, *Book*, 221-222.

¹⁵⁸ Baxandall, *Painting*, 48.

¹⁵⁹ For the Latin texts, see: footnote 87, 110, 112, and 114.

discussed, it can be seen that they also function as arguments in proving Pelbárt's interpretation of the theme.

Such usage of images has one major consequence. Namely, that the images become associated with certain parts of the sermon or, as in the case of the depiction of Saint Emeric, with the whole structure of it.¹⁶⁰ The possible reason for incorporating them in such a way into the text of the sermons is that they were expected to act as mnemonic cues.¹⁶¹ The reason for this was that according to authorities, storage and recollection, the two basic activities of the memory, were best stimulated by visual means as the process of memory was essentially considered a visual act.¹⁶² Taking this into account, what can be seen in Pelbárt's text is an effective use of the visuals. Namely, as the images incorporated into a text of the sermons, by a future stimulus of a similar or same depiction the partial or the full content of the sermon becomes recallable to the audience by the means of association.

¹⁶⁰ The chosen theme for Sermon 91 is: *Iustus germinabit sicut lilium, et florebit in aeternum ante Dominum*, Hos. 15:1. Thus, the depiction of Saint Emeric with his attribute of a lily can be associated with the entire text.

¹⁶¹ Bolzoni, *La rete*, 7.

¹⁶² Carruthers, *Book*, 16-17.

CONCLUSION:

The main focus of this study was to examine what results Pelbárt of Temesvár expected to achieve by inserting passages in his sermons referring to visual representations and/or their use in preaching. I conclude that these passages functioned on two levels which are in accordance with the dual audience of Pelbárt's model sermon collection. On the level of the first audience, that is, the preachers using the collection, with the help of these passages Pelbárt demonstrated how to pass basic knowledge concerning visual representations to the members of the congregation, how to prepare the audience in the course of a public preaching event for an image-assisted private meditation, and how to incorporate images into the text of a sermon so that they functioned as mnemonic cues for the listeners. Meanwhile, on the level of the ultimate audience, that is, the preachers' congregations, what Pelbárt intended was to guide the reception of the images and to train for their future reception.

As for my contribution, there is no other study, to my knowledge, that focuses on the use of images in preaching in Central Europe, nor one that researches the relation of images and preaching through a printed collection of model sermons. Other studies on the topic, referred to in my introduction, concentrate primarily on sources produced in Italy, France, and England. In addition, the texts they examine belong mostly to the genre of *reportationes*. An exception is the study of Miriam Gill, which is partially based on the *Festial* (1382-90) by the Augustinian prior John Mirk. This annual cycle of vernacular sermons, similar to Pelbárt's collection in its function, was written in order to provide material for priests in parish churches, but, although it was quite popular in its time, it was not intended to be disseminated in such a large

circle as the *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*.¹⁶³ Therefore, the passages which I discovered are pieces of evidence that the practice of using images in preaching existed in the Central European region and that it was encouraged and transmitted with the help of such preaching manuals as Pelbárt's collection. Furthermore, among the images which I identified I found some visual representations, such as that of Anthony of Padua and the Christ Taking Leave of his Mother, that were unknown to Hungarian art history. Finally, I included a revised biography of Pelbárt of Temesvár as he is generally misrepresented by the secondary literature.

As for future studies, I propose two possible directions. First, to extend the research to Osvát of Laskó's model sermon collections, the *Biga Salutis* and the *Gemma Fidei*, which, written and published around the same time as Pelbárt's collection,¹⁶⁴ provably contain passages referring to visual representations and/or to their usage.¹⁶⁵ Second, due to the genre of the sermons discussed in this thesis, I would examine the surviving texts written in the vernacular that are based on Pelbárt's *de sanctis series*. There are several manuscripts dating from the first half of the sixteenth century that are adaptations of Pelbárt's text. Among these surviving texts, the one that relies on the work of Pelbárt to the greatest extent is the Érdy Codex composed by an anonymous Carthusian monk in 1526/1527 for the members of the religious community, including both nuns and monks, and for the youth who had not yet mastered Latin.¹⁶⁶ In the process of researching this source, I have found

¹⁶³ Gill, "Preaching," 156.

¹⁶⁴ Borsa, "Laskai," 1-3.

¹⁶⁵ Bárczi, *Ars compilandi*, 91-100.

¹⁶⁶ *Érdy codex*, ed. György Volf, 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1876). Concerning the Érdy Codex, see: Edit Madas, ed., *A néma barát megszólal: Válogatás a Karthauzi Névtelen beszédeiből* (The Silent Monk Begins to Speak: A Selection from the Works of the Anonymous Carthusian) (Budapest: Magvető, 1985); and Imre Bán, *A Karthausi Névtelen műveltsége* (The Erudition of the Anonymous Carthusian) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976).

several pieces of textual evidence for the use of images.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, another possible subject of further studies might be the examination of how the change in the audience affected the use of images.

¹⁶⁷ For instance, on folio 19r while talking about the importance of Salvation, he exhorts the audience to look at the image of the Crucifix. Similarly, on folio 286r he urges his audience to look at the image of the Crucifix and that of Saint Francis of Assisi. Meanwhile on folio 14v, he describes an image of the Crucifixion and calls his audience to observe the characters one by one.

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Abbreviation:

PL: *Patrologia cursus completus, series latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne

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APPENDIX

**Pelbartus de Themeswar. *Pomerium de sanctis: Pars hiemalis, Pars aestivalis.*
Augsburg: 1502.**

Pars hiemalis:

- 000 Prologus
- 001 De sancto Andrea apostolo
- 002 De sancto Andrea apostolo
- 003 De sancto Andrea apostolo
- 004 De sancto Andrea apostolo
- 005 De sancta Barbara virgine
- 006 De sancto Nicolao
- 007 De sancto Nicolao
- 008 De sancto Nicolao
- 009 De sancto Nicolao
- 010 De sancta Lucia virgine
- 011 De sancto Thoma apostolo
- 012 De sancto Thoma apostolo
- 013 De sancto Thoma apostolo
- 014 De sancto Thoma apostolo
- 015 In vigilia nativitatis Dominicae
- 016 De nativitate Domini
- 017 De nativitate Domini
- 018 De nativitate Domini
- 019 De nativitate Domini
- 020 De nativitate Domini
- 021 De nativitate Domini
- 022 De nativitate Domini
- 023 De sancto Stephano protomartyre
- 024 De sancto Stephano protomartyre
- 025 De sancto Stephano protomartyre
- 026 De sancto Stephano protomartyre
- 027 De sancto Iohanne evangelista
- 028 De sancto Iohanne evangelista
- 029 De sancto Iohanne evangelista
- 030 De sancto Iohanne evangelista
- 031 De Innocentibus
- 032 De Innocentibus
- 033 De Innocentibus

- 034 De Innocentibus
- 035 De sancto Thoma martyre
- 036 De sancto Silvestro papa
- 037 De sancto Silvestro papa
- 038 De circumcissione Domini
- 039 De circumcissione Domini
- 040 De circumcissione Domini
- 041 De circumcissione Domini
- 042 In Epiphania Domini
- 043 In Epiphania Domini
- 044 In Epiphania Domini
- 045 In Epiphania Domini
- 046 De sanctis martyribus quinque fratribus
- 047 De sancto Sebastiano
- 048 De sancta Agnete
- 049 De sancto Vincentio martyre
- 050 In conversione sancti Pauli
- 051 In conversione sancti Pauli
- 052 In conversione sancti Pauli
- 053 In conversione sancti Pauli
- 054 De sancta Dorothea
- 055 In cathedra sancti Petri
- 056 De sancto Matthia apostolo
- 057 De sancto Matthia apostolo
- 058 De sancto Matthia apostolo
- 059 De sancto Matthia apostolo
- 060 De sancto Gregorio papa
- 061 De sancto Ioseph
- 061a De sancto Benedicto
- 062 In cena Domini
- 063 In cena Domini
- 064 In cena Domini
- 065 In cena Domini
- 066 In Parasceve
- 067 In Parasceve
- 068 In Parasceve
- 069 In Parasceve
- 070 De sancto Adalberto
- 071 De Sancto Georgio
- 072 De Sancto Georgio
- 073 De Sancto Georgio

074	De Sancto Georgio
075	De sancto Marco evangelista
076	De sanctis apostolis Philippo et Iacobo
077	De sanctis apostolis Philippo et Iacobo
078	De sanctis apostolis Philippo et Iacobo
079	De sanctis apostolis Philippo et Iacobo
080	De sanctae crucis inventione
081	De sanctae crucis inventione
082	De sanctae crucis inventione
083	De sanctae crucis inventione
084	De sancto Bernardino
085	De translatione beatissimi Francisci
086	De ascensione Domini
087	De ascensione Domini
088	De ascensione Domini
089	De ascensione Domini
090	De sanctis infra Pascha et Pentecosten
091	De sanctis infra Pascha et Pentecosten
092	De sanctis infra Pascha et Pentecosten
093	De sanctis infra Pascha et Pentecosten
094	De quacumque virgine
095	In Dedicatione ecclesiae
096	In Dedicatione ecclesiae
097	In celebritate Primitiarum

Pars aestivalis¹⁶⁸

Sermo Titulus

001	De Sancta Trinitate
002	De Sancta Trinitate
003	De Sancta Trinitate
004	De Sancta Trinitate
005	De festo corporis Christi
006	De festo corporis Christi
007	De festo corporis Christi
008	De festo corporis Christi
009	De sancto Antonio ordinis minorum
010	De sancto Iohanne Baptista

¹⁶⁸ <http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/patartalom.html>

- 011 De sancto Iohanne Baptista
- 012 De sancto Iohanne Baptista
- 013 De sancto Iohanne Baptista
- 014 De sancto Ladislao rege
- 015 De sancto Ladislao rege
- 016 De sancto Ladislao rege
- 017 De sancto Ladislao rege
- 018 De sanctis Petro et Paulo apostolis
- 019 De sanctis Petro et Paulo apostolis
- 020 De sanctis Petro et Paulo apostolis
- 021 De sanctis Petro et Paulo apostolis
- 022 De commemoratione sancti Pauli apostoli
- 023 De sancto Bonaventura ordinis minorum
- 024 De sancto Bonaventura ordinis minorum
- 025 De sancta Margareta virgine
- 026 De sancta Margareta virgine
- 027 De divisone apostolorum
- 028 De sancta Maria Magdalena
- 029 De sancta Maria Magdalena
- 030 De sancta Maria Magdalena
- 031 De sancta Maria Magdalena
- 032 De sancto Iacobo apostolo
- 033 De sancto Iacobo apostolo
- 034 De sancto Iacobo apostolo
- 035 De sancto Iacobo apostolo
- 036 De sancta Anna
- 037 De sancta Anna
- 038 De sancta Anna
- 039 De sancta Martha
- 040 De sancto Petro ad vincula
- 041 De sancto Petro ad vincula
- 042 De transfiguratione Domini
- 043 De transfiguratione Domini
- 044 De transfiguratione Domini
- 045 De transfiguratione Domini
- 046 De sancto Laurentio martyre
- 047 De sancto Laurentio martyre
- 048 De sancto Laurentio martyre
- 049 De sancto Laurentio martyre
- 050 De sancta Clara virgine
- 051 De sancto Ludovico confessore ordinis minorum

- 052 De sancto Stephano rege
- 053 De sancto Stephano rege
- 054 De sancto Stephano rege
- 055 De sancto Bartholomaeo apostolo
- 056 De sancto Bartholomaeo apostolo
- 057 De sancto Bartholomaeo apostolo
- 057a De sancto Augustino
- 058 De decollatione sancti Iohannis Baptistae
- 059 De exaltatione sanctae crucis
- 060 De exaltatione sanctae crucis
- 061 De exaltatione sanctae crucis
- 062 De exaltatione sanctae crucis
- 063 De sancto Matthaeo evangelista
- 064 De sancto Matthaeo evangelista
- 065 De sancto Matthaeo evangelista
- 065a De sancto Gerardo
- 066 De sancto Michaeli archangelo
- 067 De sancto Michaeli archangelo
- 068 De sancto Michaeli archangelo
- 069 De sancto Michaeli archangelo
- 069a De sancto Hieronymo
- 070 De sancto Francisco duce minorum
- 071 De sancto Francisco duce minorum
- 072 De sancto Francisco duce minorum
- 073 De sancto Francisco duce minorum
- 074 De sancto Francisco duce minorum
- 075 De sancto Francisco duce minorum
- 076 De sancto Luca evangelista
- 077 De sancto Luca evangelista
- 078 De sancto Luca evangelista
- 078a De undecim milibus virginibus, de sancta Ursula
- 078b De sancto Demetrio
- 079 De sanctis Simone et Iuda apostolis
- 080 De sanctis Simone et Iuda apostolis
- 081 De sanctis Simone et Iuda apostolis
- 082 De omnibus sanctis
- 083 De omnibus sanctis
- 084 De omnibus sanctis
- 085 De omnibus sanctis
- 086 De commemoratione defunctorum
- 087 De commemoratione defunctorum

- 088 De commemoratione defunctorum
- 089 De commemoratione defunctorum
- 090 De sancto Emerico confessore
- 091 De sancto Emerico confessore
- 092 De sancto Emerico confessore
- 093 De sancto Martino
- 094 De sancto Martino
- 095 De sancto Martino
- 096 De sancta Elizabeth vidua
- 097 De sancta Elizabeth vidua
- 098 De sancta Elizabeth vidua + De sancta Caecilia
- 098a De sancta Caecilia
- 098b De sancto Clemente
- 099 De sancta Catherina virgine
- 100 De sancta Catherina virgine
- 101 De sancta Catherina virgine
- 102 De sancta Catherina virgine
- 103 De dedicatione ecclesiae
- 104 De dedicatione ecclesiae
- 105 De apostolis communis sermo
- 106 De apostolis communis sermo
- 107 De apostolis communis sermo
- 108 De evangelistis communis sermo
- 109 De evangelistis vel apostolis
- 110 De maryre uno vel pluribus communis sermo
- 111 De maryre uno vel pluribus communis sermo
- 112 De maryre uno vel pluribus communis sermo
- 113 De confessoribus pontificibus communis sermo
- 114 De confessoribus pontificibus communis sermo
- 115 De doctoribus sanctis communis sermo
- 116 De doctoribus sanctis communis sermo
- 117 De quocumque confessore communis sermo
- 118 De quocumque confessore communis sermo
- 119 De sanctis virginibus vel mulieribus sermo communis
- 120 De sanctis virginibus vel mulieribus sermo communis
- 121 De sanctis virginibus vel mulieribus sermo communis
- 122 De sanctis virginibus vel mulieribus sermo communis
- 123 De sanctis viduis mulieribus communis sermo
- 124 De quacumque sancta muliere sive coniugata, sive vidua
- 124a De sancto Iohanne Eleemosynario

