

THE *AB AURO* PROLOGUE OF PELBARTUS OF THEMESWAR'S THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA*

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ABSTRACT. The *Ab Auro Prologue of Pelbartus of Themeswar's Theological Encyclopedia*. Pelbartus of Themeswar is a 15th century observant Franciscan best known for his collections of model sermons. This article, however, treats one of the two prologues which accompany his work of systematic theology, the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*. The *Ab auro* prologue, which is discussed in detail in the present study, introduces the reader to the main intent of the work. It has a rich metaphoric style and is tacitly inspired by the "Primum principium" of William of Vaurouillon's commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

Keywords: *Pelbartus of Themeswar, William of Vaurouillon, the Ab auro prologue, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, exempla*

In the 15th century there was an increased demand, in comparison with the previous two centuries, for encyclopedias¹ á texts which would incorporate almost all the information necessary for a science, ordered in such a manner that would make it easy to access. Such texts were compiled especially in the natural sciences,² but theology made no exception.

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¹ When establishing the difference between dictionaries, repertoires and encyclopedias, Olga Weijers mentions the fact that the dictionaries and repertoires only send to other books whereas encyclopedias resume the knowledge of a period and are actually meant to be read. See: Olga Weijers, *Dictionnaires et repertoires au moyen age*, Brepols, Turnhout, 1991, p. 12.

² Stefan Swieżawski states that the need to have more and more compendiums and manuals that make study easier is a characteristic tendency of the époque. See: Stefan Swieżawski, *L'Univers- la philosophie de la nature au XV^e siècle en Europe*, Editions de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie, Varsovie, 1999, p. 8–9.

As the need for such works which would be easy to consult grew, so did the popularity of the alphabetical order.³ This order was used so as to organize a certain matter within the indexes added by the print houses⁴ as well as by the authors themselves in *tabulae* situated either at the beginning or at the end of a certain work. The alphabetical order as we know it was not really appropriated before the end of the Middle Ages, and, once it was, it already showed a different approach towards the text: it was no longer read linearly, but the important passages were to be found with a certain speed, read and re-read, but especially quoted in sermons.⁵

1. The *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*: Pelbartus of Themeswar and his theological encyclopedia

Pelbartus of Themeswar, a 15th century observant Franciscan, is the author of an alphabetically ordered theological encyclopedia. He was born in Timișoara (Themeswar), probably around 1435. The matriculation register at the University of Krakow mentions his enrollment in the Faculty of Arts in 1458⁶ and the *Liber promotionum* has a mention of him as a graduate of that faculty, having become a *baccalaureus artium* in 1463.⁷ The next source mentioning Pelbartus is the chronicle of the observant Franciscans of Buda, attributed to Blasius of Zalka, in which we find him as an established preacher, teaching at the *studium* of the Saint-John observant Franciscan convent in Buda in 1483.⁸ The same chronicle mentions his death on the

³ For a detailed presentation of the evolution of the alphabetical order, see: Olga Weijers, *Dictionnaires et répertoires au moyen âge*, Brepols, Turnhout, 1991. Another good presentation of the evolution of the alphabetical order in the context of the evolution of glossaries and dictionaries would be Donatella Nebbiai - Dalla Guarda, "Les glossaires et les dictionnaires dans les bibliothèques médiévales", in Jacqueline Hamesse (ed), *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité à la fin du moyen âge – actes du Colloque international organisé par le "Ettore Majorana Center for Scientific Culture" (Eric 23-30 septembre 1994)*, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996, p. 145–204.

⁴ For how the first books were printed, see: Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2010. Also, a very good presentation of how the first print shops worked can be found in: Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, Yale University Press, London and New Haven, 2010.

⁵ Olga Weijers, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁶ Antoni Gasiorowski (ed.), *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400-1508*, Towarzystwo naukowe Societas Vistulana, Crakow, 2004, p. 272. His name was initially erroneously transcribed, by the editor of the *Album studiosorum*, as Gewardus. See: A. M. Kosterkiewicz (ed.), *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, Tomus I, Typis et impensis Universitatis Jagellonicae, Cracoviae, 1887, p. 153.

⁷ Antoni Gasiorowski (ed.), *Liber promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracovensi saeculi decimi quinti*, Nakladem Polskiej Akademii Umieje, Krakow, 2000, p. 53.

⁸ Ferenc Toldy (ed.), "Blasii de Zalka et continuatorum eius cronica fratrum minorum de observantia provinciae Boznae et Hungariae" in *Annalecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, Bibliotheca Academia Scientiarum, Pesta, 1867, pp. 213–215.

22nd of January 1504 and the fact that he is celebrated within the order on the 27th of May.⁹

Although Pelbartus is best known for his collections of sermons,¹⁰ the last work of his life, a theological encyclopedia named *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, or by its full name *Aureum Rosarium Theologiae ad Sententiarum quatuor libros pariformiter quadripartitum ex doctrina Doctoris Subtilis suorumque sequacium, sanctorum etiam Thomae Aquinatis Bonaventuraeque ac multorum solidorum doctorum*, was conceived as a four volume compendium of systematic theology. Pelbartus only wrote the first two volumes by himself¹¹. The third one is said to have been written in collaboration with his disciple Oswaldus de Lasko, though there is no definite proof of this fact,¹² while the last one was entirely written by Oswaldus,¹³ The

⁹ I have chosen to present a biography of Pelbartus based on what can be proven through direct historical sources. Given the fact that this author is an important figure of his time, much interest has been given to his biography, fact which has led to much speculation. For other biographies see: Gabriel Adriányi, "Pelbart von Temesvár", in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 7, Herzberg, 1994, p. 174–178; Zoltán Kosztoľnyik, "Pelbártus of Temesvár: A Franciscan Preacher and Writer of the Late Middle Ages in Hungary", *Vivarium*, 5(1967), p. 100–110; Zoltán Kosztoľnyik, "Some Hungarian Theologians in the Late Renaissance", *Church History*, 57 (1988), p. 5–18. For a critical discussion of such biographies see: Edina Ádám, *Pelbart of Temesvár and the Use of Images in Preaching*, MA Thesis in Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2008.

¹⁰ Pelbartus wrote four works: *Stellarium coronae beatae virginis*, *Expositio psalmodum*, *Pomerium* and *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*. The *Stellarium* is a treaty dedicated to the Virgin Mary, after Pelbartus had been saved by her from a terrible illness (in his own words, the pest). See: Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae gloriosissimae virginis Mariae*, Venetiis apud Iohannem Antonium Bertanum, 1586, 1r; idem, *Stellarium*, liber I, pars V, articulus I, cap. III. In total it was edited in 21 different editions, especially in Germany and Italy. The *Expositio psalmodum* was edited only two times. The *Pomerium* is divided into three parts: *De sanctis*, *De tempore*, *Sermones quadagesimales*. The *De sanctis* was edited 19 times, *De tempore* 18 and The *Sermones quadagesimales* 20 times. Again, most of these editions were made in Germany and Italy. The *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium* knew only four editions: the first one between 1503-1507 at Hagenau, two Venetian editions and one Brescia edition (these were quite late: 1586, 1589 and 1590).

¹¹ The colophons of the two volumes mention him as author. See: Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, 156vb, for the colophon of the first volume. And Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, II, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, impensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1504, 417rb for the colophon of the second volume.

¹² The colophon of the third volume does not mention Oswaldus as co-author, nor does the title. See: Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, III, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, impensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1507, 164vb.

¹³ *Rosarii theologiae sapientiae aurei quartus liber, pro elucidatione 'Sententiarum' libri quarti per fratrem Osvaldum de Lasko, divi ordinis sancti Francisci de observantia, tunc provinciae Hungariae vicarum, fratre Pelbarto defuncto, consummatus in regia civitate Budensi impressusque impensis circumspecti viri archibibliopole Iohannis Rynmann de Oringaw, in officina industrii Henrici Gran, civis in opido imperiali Hagenaw, finit feliciter anno salutis nostrae millesimo quingentesimo octavo, II die Decembris*. Oswaldus de Lasko, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, IV, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, impensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1508.

Rosarium aureum follows the order of Peter Lombard's four books of the *Sentences*: a first volume on the Trinity, a second on creation, a third on Christology and a fourth on the sacraments. Each of these books has an internal alphabetical order.¹⁴ The idea of writing a theological encyclopedia which is alphabetically ordered was not original. Such an endeavor was most probably inspired by Raynerius de Pisis and his *Pantheologia*. The element of novelty that Pelbartus of Themeswar brings is that he organizes the four volumes following the structure of the Lombard's text.

In this article I shall discuss the first part of the prologue to this book, entitled 'Ab auro'. It is in this short fragment that Pelbartus explains the title of the book and presents his reasons for having written it.

This first entry to the encyclopedia plays the role of a prologue, but of a special type, given that it is followed by another prologue which discusses the nature theology, the subject matter of the four volumes.¹⁵ Prologues such as the second one are quite common for commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, whereas the first entry is not all that common. The second prologue constitutes a separate entry in this alphabetically organized encyclopedia. It is introduced under the title 'Abyssus' and begins with an enumeration of the meanings that the word 'abyss' can have. The last meaning is that of 'abyssus theologicae sapientiae'¹⁶ which constitutes a pretext to introduce 8 questions concerning theology. These 8 questions are inspired by John Duns Scotus' commentary on the *Sentences* and are quite typical for such a work.¹⁷

¹⁴ This order, however, is not perfectly alphabetical in the way in which we understand such an order in the contemporary world. There are situations which seem to defy the alphabetical order. Some such instances, which can be explained by the different graphic form that a word can have in Medieval Latin, can be found in the first volume of the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*. For example, the word 'Idea' is treated near the end of the book probably because it would be written with a 'y' in most situations. Also, the last word of the first volume of this vast theological encyclopedia is 'Hypostas'. Given that this word comes from Greek, the 'h' is treated as a spirit and not as a letter, so the last entrance begins, as it should, with a 'y' and not with an 'h'.

¹⁵ I have begun the edition and translation into Romanian of the two prologues. The edition of first one, 'Ab auro' can be found at the end of this article. For the second one, see: Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1va- 6va.

¹⁶ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1vb.

¹⁷ Although there have been great variations in the structure of the *Sentences* commentaries throughout the centuries, there are certain traits which are common. The discussion of the nature of theology is one of those instances. I am not asserting that it can be found in all of them, but I dare say that it is at least common to find such a text in the majority of cases, starting from the 13th century onward. For a presentation of the evolution of commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard see: Philipp W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences*, Broadviewpress, Toronto, 2007. For a discussion concerning this kind of writings in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, see Philipp W. Rosemann (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3, Brill, Leiden- Boston, 2015.

In fact, from the four editions of the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium* only two contain the 'Ab auro' entry, whereas the other two begin directly with the definition of the term 'abyss' and 8 questions that concern the nature of theology. The two editions which have this prologue are Hagenau 1503 and Brixia 1590. The other two, the Venetian ones from 1586 and 1589, are both missing this entry.

One can divide the text gathered under the title 'Ab auro' into two parts: a first part, which in the Hagenau 1503 edition occupies one column, that explains the title and the reasons that Pelbartus had for writing such a text and a second part, occupying the same amount of space, and which is meant to be an encouragement towards study.¹⁸

2. The first part of the 'Ab auro' prologue

In the first part of the 'Ab auro' Pelbartus explains the two main elements of the title: 'aureum' and 'rosarium'. This part of the text makes use of poetic language and the choice of the two words is explained with the aid of two similes.

After having mentioned that this work is organized in an alphabetical order and that it is the result of his love for the Divine Trinity, Pelbartus proceeds to explain why the name 'aureum' had been chosen: just as gold is of a reddish hue when it is first dug out of the earth and becomes precious only after having been melted down by fire, so do the questions and subtle arguments, extracted by theologians from the depth of theological wisdom, become valuable only after having been melted down by the fire of charity. By this metaphor he is actually saying that the thoughts of the most esteemed theologians become truly valuable only in his compilation.

The choice of the word 'rosarium' for the title is also explained by a simile: just as for a bouquet of roses one chooses those roses which have blossomed, so in this book the most clear, efficient and useful arguments of the theological truth have been gathered in a concise manner.¹⁹

The explanation given for the choice of these two words for the title already gives us an insight into why Pelbartus wanted to write such a book: in order to have the most important arguments of theology presented concisely, organized alphabetically, in just one place.²⁰ This must have seemed very important to a preacher, as Pelbartus

¹⁸ Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1ra–1rb.

¹⁹ See: Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1ra. This fragment is also edited at the end of the article.

²⁰ The fact of wanting to organize a vast material in just one book is also mentioned by Pelbartus of Themeswar in the introduction to the *Pomerium de tempore*: (...) *hoc opus laboriosum in sermonibus recolligendis et conscribendis aggredi, et ex multis et variis, scilicet aliorum editionibus unum summarium volume utcunq[ue] contexere*. See: Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, 1501, a1 v.

himself was, who wanted to be able to find all the necessary materials for writing his sermons in just one work. And this is the case with the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium* where one can find discussions concerning subjects such as theology,²¹ Divine Trinity,²² angels,²³ birds,²⁴ the names of the winds²⁵ and the functions of certain prepositions in relation with the Divine Trinity.²⁶

After having described these two aspects of the title, Pelbartus presents in more detail the importance of brevity, the theme having only been suggested up to that point. To explain why he is going to insist on brevity throughout the work, Pelbartus gives three authoritative arguments.

The two authorities cited explicitly in favor of brevity are Hippocrates and Cicero. The citation from Hippocrates belongs to his book of aphorisms and sounds as follows: *ars longa, vita brevis et experimentum fallax*²⁷ (art is long, life is short and experience deceiving). The second one invokes Cicero's statement that the only way that one can have good listeners is by summing up subject matter.²⁸

The third argument states the following: *brevitate gaudent moderni secundum proverbiam*²⁹ (according to the proverbs moderns rejoice in brevity). It is not clear to what proverbs Pelbartus is referring to. However there is at least one such saying in a text written by Robert of Handlo.³⁰

²¹ See, for instance, Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1va—6va and f. 141vb—142ra.

²² See, for instance, Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 142va—143rb

²³ See, for instance, Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, II, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, impensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1504, 'Angelica natura'—'Angeli XI'

²⁴ See, for instance, Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, II, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, impensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw 1504, 'Avis I'—'Avis III'

²⁵ See, for instance, Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, II, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, impensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1504, 'Venti nomina'

²⁶ See, for instance, Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 110vb.

²⁷ Hippocrates, *Aforisms, from the latin version of Verhoofd, with a literal translation on the opposite page and explanatory notes* by Elias Marks, Collins & co, New York, 1817, I, 1, p. 28.

²⁸ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De inventione*, lib. I, c. 16, p. 21, l. 10: *Dociles auditores faciemus, si aperte et breviter summam causae exponemus, hoc est, in quo consistat controversia.*

²⁹ The very same citation is given by Pelbartus of Themeswar when he explains the short length of the sermons of the *Pomerium quadragesimale*: *Circa partem autem istam praemitto quod pro ferialibus diebus breviores sermones faciam, tum quia pro illis diebus populus minori numero confluit quam diebus festivis vel dominicis, tum quia gaudent brevitate moderni (...)*. See Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones quadragesimales*, Hagenau, ex officina Henrici Gran, 1499, sermo I, a2.

³⁰ Robertus de Handlo, "Regulae, cum maximis Magistri Franconi, cum additionibus aliorum musicorum" in Peter M. Lefferts (ed.), *Robertus de Handlo The rules and Johannes Hanboys The Summa*, University of Nebraska Press, 1991, maxima 1.

The explanation and argument for brevity are followed by a short mention of the structure of his work. Pelbartus states that he is going to organize the work alphabetically, so that those interested in a certain subject might find what they are looking for in a short amount of time. He also intends to divide it into four volumes so that the ligature might not be a problem for those who use his work.³¹ These two statements are a clear illustration of a somewhat interesting relationship of the reader and author to the text. They both are concerned by the speed with which one can navigate through a thick volume in order to find his precise subject of interest. Furthermore, the author is also preoccupied by the material part of the book Pelbartus implies that if too many pages are tied together in the same volume, it becomes difficult to read.

The first part of this prologue ends with answers to two possible criticisms: that of being superfluous and that of committing heresy.

Pelbartus does not explicitly answer the first criticism, but rather gives a simile which re-invokes the theme of gold: just as gold is necessary to the poor, but superfluous for those who are rich, so his work is necessary to those, such as himself, who are less educated all the while being superfluous to those who have received a better education.³²

To the second possible criticism he answers as any good Christian would: if he is to state anything against the Church he is more than willing to consider it unsaid. However, he does leave place for such things to be said as part of the scholastic exercise.³³

The first simile of the book, where the author states that just as fire melts the gold extracted in its brute form from the earth thus rendering it valuable, his work melts together the statements of many saint and powerful doctors, contradicts these last two paragraphs which seem to be the proof of great modesty. In fact, there is no such contradiction: these last two paragraphs of the first part are a necessary rhetorical element; one has to explain why he is writing, and, in the case of a medieval writer, make sure he cannot be accused of heresy. The legal language used in the part where Pelbartus states that he is willing to retract what he has said if somebody finds it to be against the determination of the Church proves this exact point.

³¹ Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau, I, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1ra.

³² Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau, I, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1ra.

³³ Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, Hagenau, I, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Joannis Rynman de Oringaw, 1503, f. 1ra.

3. The second part of the 'Ab auro' prologue

The second part of this prologue occupies an entire column in the Haguenau 1503 edition and is conceived as a collection of *exempla* meant to incite people towards study. Pelbartus cites Jerome's prologue to the *Book of kings*, the *Prologus galeatus* (Defensive prologue)³⁴ as the origin of the examples of pagan men and for the story of Origen's life he explicitly cites Jerome's letter to Oceanus.³⁵

Before presenting these *exempla*, Pelbartus tries to argue for the importance of learning and does so by showing its connection to the nature of the human being itself. He cites three different sources in his favor: Gregory the Great, Aristotle and Averroes.

Gregory the Great is mentioned saying that any human being deprived of the knowledge of his Creator is an animal: *omnis homo sine conditoris et divinorum cognitione pecus est*.³⁶ Aristotle is mentioned with two different citations concerning this aspect. The first one belongs to book VII of the *Nicomachean Ethics*:³⁷ *homo, inquit, bestialis centies millesies peior est omni bestia, quia operationes bestiae pravae sunt ex natura, sed hominis ex malitia* (the human being, he says, is a hundred thousand times more savage than any beast because the beast's operations are bad out of nature whereas a human's are bad out of evilness); the second one, to the first book of the *Metaphysics*³⁸ and states that humans are primarily their intellect. The third authority cited is Averroes who is said to have asserted:³⁹ *Vae vobis, qui in sortem bestiarum computati estis, cum illud divinum quod in vobis est, scilicet intellectum, dereliquistis videlicet negligendo quod scire debuistis* (Woe to you who are counted in the lots of the beasts because you have denied that what is divine in you, *i.e.* the intellect, by neglecting what you were supposed to know).

³⁴ Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars I epistulae I–LXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula III, *Ad Nepotianum Presbyterum*, p. 417–18, par. 3, l. 5–15.

³⁵ Actually, the text has its origin in Saint's Jerome letter to Pammachius and Oceanus, a letter that he writes as a reply to a letter written by the two, after having read Origen's *Peri archon* in which they had found several heretic points. Jerome's letter focuses on the fact that although Origen does have heretical opinions he is not to be completely dismissed. For the context that I have just presented see: Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars II epistulae LXXI–CXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LXXXIII *Pammachii et Oceani ad Hieronymum* and Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars II epistulae LXXI–CXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LXXXIV *Ad Pammachium et Oceanum*. For the precise reference to the text cited, see: Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars II epistulae LXXI–CXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LXXXIV *Ad Pammachium et Oceanum*, p. 130, par. 8, l. 22.

³⁶ Most probably this citation does not belong to Gregory, but I have not yet managed to find its source.

³⁷ Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, VII, 7, 1150a.

³⁸ It is not found in the first book of the *Metaphysics*, but in: Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, I, 8, 1168b; also it is to be found in the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, Super IX libri Ethicorum Aristotelis, p. 246, l. 62.

³⁹ Unfortunately, I have not yet managed to find the precise source of this citation.

The text continues with the *exempla* of certain learned men from the past. There is a comparison to be made between the *exempla* of studious men of the past that both Pelbartus and William and Vaurouillon,⁴⁰ an author who represents a very important source for the *Rosarium*, invoke. The origin of these examples, which are to be found in Pelbartus's 'Ab auro' prologue and in Guillaume de Vaurouillon's first *Principium*,⁴¹ is Jerome. Pelbartus cites the *Prologus galeatus* (*The defensive prologue*)⁴² á the prologue to the book of Kings as the main source of his examples of pagan wise men, as mentioned above, whereas Vaurouillon cites Jerome's 52nd letter to Nepotianus.⁴³ They, both, however, also mention, Jerome's letter to Oceanus⁴⁴ as their source for the *exemplum* of Origen's life.

The first *vir studiosus* mentioned by Pelbartus is Plato about whom he says that, although he was a very famous master in Athens, he went to foreign countries following the letters (and by letters, he means sciences). Vaurouillon too presents a version in which Plato goes to the lands of different peoples in order to get initiated in the sciences. In Vaurouillon's version he learns the mathematical sciences whereas in Pelbartus's version he gets initiated in the sciences of the *trivium* (also called the letters or the literal sciences). What they have in common, expressed in almost the same wording, is the fact that in his 81st year of life, Plato dedicated his last strengths to study.

⁴⁰ William of Vaurouillon composes a *Sentences* commentary which takes into account all the distinctions of the book of the Lombard. There is a very big difference between how one used to comment on the *Sentences* in the 14th Century in Paris and how Vaurouillon (15th century) proceeds. There is also a great difference between the way that Vaurouillon and Pelbartus relate to the text of the *Sentences*. Pelbartus has almost no regard for the structure of the book, except for his organizing the four books of the *Rosarium* following the four books of Peter Lombard's text, whereas Vaurouillon carefully follows all the distinctions. For a very good presentation of the structure and sources of William of Vaurouillon's commentary, see: Ueli Zahnd, "Easy-Going Scholars Lecturing *Secundum Alium*? Notes on Some French Franciscan *Sentences* Commentaries of the Fifteenth Century" in Rosemann (ed.), *Medieval Commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2015, p. 267–290.

⁴¹ See: Guillelmus Vorillongus, *Super quattuor libris Sententiarum*, Venetia, per Iacobum de Leucho, impensis Lazari de Soardis, 1496, Primum Principium primi *Sententiarum*, 2rb–1va. The modern editions of William of Vaurouillon's *Sentences* commentaries only have parts of his *pricipia*.

⁴² Actually the same information can be found in Jerome's 52nd letter addressed to Nepotianus. See: Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars I epistulae I- LXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LII, *Ad Nepotianum Presbyterum*, p. 417–18, par. 3, l. 5–15.

⁴³ Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars I epistulae I- LXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LII, *Ad Nepotianum Presbyterum*, p. 417–18, par. 3, l. 5–15.

⁴⁴ Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars II epistulae LXXI- CXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LXXXIV *Ad Pammachium et Oceanum*, p. 130, par. 8, l. 22.

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| Pelbartus de Themeswar, <i>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium</i> , Hagenau, 1503, f. 1rb | Guillelmus Vorillongus, <i>Super quattuor libris, Sententiarum'</i> , Venetia, 1496, Primum Principium, f. 2rb; f. 2va. | Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, <i>Epistulae</i> , pars I epistulae Iá LXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LII, <i>Ad Nepotianum Presbyterum</i> , p. 417á18, par. 3, l. 5á15. |
| Plato ⁴⁵ cum esset magister in Athenis famosus amore studii <i>quasi toto orbe fugientes persequebatur litteras subiiciens se aliorum disciplinae</i> . Et tandem senio confectus 81 anno artus ultimos studio subiecit . | Plato <i>memphicos et ignotos adivit populos ut matheseos imbueretur disciplinis</i> ; (...) Plato velud quoddam <i>lumen terris missum octogesimario primo anno</i> senio confectus, artus ultimos studio supposuit , quem annorum numerum antiqui consecraverunt philosophi: octoginta quippe unum novem novies faciunt. | Unde et sapientes Graeciae, cum expletis centum et septem annis se mori cerneret dixisse fertur dolere, quod tunc egrederetur e vita, quando sapere coepisset; Plato octogesimo et uno anno scribens est mortuus . |

The second exemplary life is that of Pythagoras. Pelbartus is satisfied to just say that he roamed through the lands of other peoples and crossed seas, whereas Vaurouillon names the peoples visited by Pythagoras:

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| Pelbartus de Themeswar, <i>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium</i> , Hagenau, 1503, f. 1rb | Guillelmus Vorillongus, <i>Super quattuor libris, Sententiarum'</i> , Venetia, 1496, Primum Principium, f. 2rbá2va. |
| Sic Pythagoram et <i>quosdam alios lustrasse provincias</i> , novos adiisse populos, maria transisse commemorat. | Pictagoras <i>creticos (scr. certicos) et lacedemonios, minois atque ligurgi</i> leges inspecturus; |

The third example is that of Parmenides. In Pelbartus of Themeswar's text this comes just after Pythagoras, whereas in Vaurouillon's the example of Socrates and his dedication to study is interposed. They both tell the story of Parmenides hiding in a cave for 15 years:

⁴⁵ I have used italics in order to indicate what is only similar, whereas the situations in which the exact same wording is used by the two authors are indicated in bold.

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| Pelbartus de Themeswar, <i>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium</i> , Hagenau, 1503, f. 1rb | Guillelmus Vorillongus, <i>Super quattuor libris "Sententiarum"</i> , Venetia, 1496, Primum principium, f. 2vaá2vb. |
| Parmenides prae amore studii in antris latitavit 15 annis. | Parmenides (scr. Permenides) quem italorum germen seminavit XV annis prae studio in antris latitat. |

The fourth example of a pagan philosopher invoked by Pelbartus is that of Socrates. Both Vaurillon and Pelbartus say that he wrote his books when he was 90 and they both call him 'Thebanus'. The error of a scribe is most probably at the origin of this appellative. In the original, that is in Jerome's texts, there is no mention of a 'Socrates Thebanus' but only of a 'Crates Thebanus'.⁴⁶

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| Pelbartus de Themeswar, <i>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium</i> , Hagenau, 1503, f. 1rb | Guillelmus Vorillongus, <i>Super quattuor libris "Sententiarum"</i> , Venetia, 1496, Primum principium, f. 2va. |
| Socrates quoque thebanus tanto amore philosophiae flagravit ut 90 annorum senex <i>libros conderet</i> et cunctas opes abdicaret. | Socrates ille thebanus nonagenarius <i>librum condidisse</i> refertur. |

These are the examples of pagan sages that Pelbartus and Vaurouillon have in common. Vaurouillon has a much more detailed and long list of pagan *virii studiosi* which Pelbartus doesn't even mention.

After these four pagan examples taken from Jerome's texts, the life of Jerome himself is given as an example by Pelbartus. Vaurouillon intersects the example of Origen's life, which Pelbartus only presents afterwards. They both tell the story of Jerome leaving Rome and his riches in order to better write and read. Pelbartus also adds pray and teach. This mention could be important if we think about the intention with which the *Rosarium* was written:

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| Pelbartus de Themeswar, <i>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium</i> , Hagenau, 1503, f. 1rb | Guillelmus Vorillongus, <i>Super quattuor libris "Sententiarum"</i> , Venetia, 1496, Primum principium, f. 2vb. |
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⁴⁶ Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, pars I epistulae I–LXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LXVI *Ad Pammachium de dormitione Paulinae*, p. 657, par.8, l. 12.

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| Denique maxime nos sanctorum exempla provocant ad studia, nam gloriosus Hieronymus patriam , divitias, Romam et omne humanum deservit negotium ut iugiter aut scriberet aut legeret aut doceret aut oraret, qui et omnibus persuadens ait: ama scientiam scripturarum et carnis vicia non amabis. | Hieronymus , non solum divitias , sed patriam omneque humanum , <i>dereliquit negotium ut iugiter aut scriberet aut legeret</i> . |
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The next example taken into consideration is that of the life led by Origen. Both Vaurouillon and Pelbartus insist on the value his self- castration in order to be more focused on study. The difference is that Pelbartus also mentions that this act of Origen permitted him to teach studious women more freely. This observation becomes interesting if one is to consider that it comes from somebody who is first and foremost a sermon writer, concerned with the difficulties that a Christian community might encounter:

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| Pelbartus de Themeswar, <i>Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium</i> , Hagenau, 1503, f. 1rb | Guillelmus Vorillongus, <i>Super quattuor libris ‚Sententiarum‘</i> , Venetia, 1496, Primum Principium, f. 2vb. | Sanctus Eusebius Hieronymus, <i>Epistulae</i> , pars II epistulae LXXIáCXX, Isidorus Hilberg (ed.), Viena, 1996, epistula LXXXIV <i>Ad Pammachium et Oceanum</i> , p. 130, par. 8, ll. 20á24. |
| Quid dicam de Origene famosissimo qui amore tanto fuit <i>detentus sapientiae</i> ut <i>seipsum castrasse dicatur quo firmius mente esset in hoc occupatus et feminas studiosas liberius doceret <i>prout scribit Hieronymus</i> ipse ad Oceanum.</i> | Origene , <i>ad Oceanum scribens</i> refert Hieronymus , tanto huius <i>sophiae amore detentum</i> ut se castrasse dicatur, quo firmius mente esset in hac occupatus . | Voluptates in tanto fugiit, ut zelo Dei, sed non secundum scientiam <i>ferro truncaret genitalia</i> ; calcavit avaritiam; <i>scriptura memoriter tenuit et in studio explanationis earum diebus sudavit ac noctibus</i> . |

Both authors continue by the enumeration of the names of different wise Christians who had dedicated their life to study. As I feel I have shown the connection between Vaurouillon and Pelbartus in the choice of these *exempla* sufficiently, I choose to not copy that list of names. The only mention which imposes itself is that Vaurouillon has a longer enumeration of names of Christian *virii studiosi* alongside with a far more detailed presentation of their lives.

Conclusions

The 'Ab auro' prologue is a very good introduction to the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*: it explains the title as well as the reason for which it was written- in a metaphorical language- and it defends its contents from a possible accusation of heresy, in a typical legal language.

It can be divided into two parts: the explanation of the title and other such introductory elements constitute the first part; the second part is composed as an encouragement towards study. This second part has a series of *exempla* which are common with those invoked by William of Vaurouillon in the *Primum Principium* of his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

The present study has analyzed both parts trying, in the meantime, to introduce this text into the larger context of *Sentences* commentaries as well as in the larger historical context by which Pelbartus of Themeswar was influenced.

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