

MARIOLOGY AND VERNACULAR LITERATURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

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I. Introduction

The cult of the Virgin Mary was introduced to Hungary at the time of the Christianization of the Magyar nation in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. This cult found a fertile ground among the newly converted Hungarians and devotion to the Virgin became an integral part of Hungarian Medieval culture. The first Christian King of Hungary, St. Stephen (1000—1038) after the loss of his only son and heir, dedicated his nation to Mary, and placed his newly Christianized people under her protection.¹ This devotion to the Mother of God must have spread extensively in the land. An interesting indication of the penetration of the cult of the Virgin is the fact that the second oldest linguistic remnant of Hungarian literature is a poem on the Sorrows of Mary, written at the end of the thirteenth century.² The late fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth represents the last flowering of Hungarian medieval culture and is particularly important in its reflection of the deep devotion and mystical love toward the Virgin. She is the subject of countless legends, is commemorated in hymns, in prose and poetry. Since this period in the cultural history of Hungary also corresponds to the emergence of vernacular literature, the cult of Mary will be evident both in Latin and Hungarian literary products. The last decade of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth was a period of severe social tensions, economic decline and political factionalism in Hungary and the menace of the Turks on the southern borders of the nation was growing each year. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the idea of Mary as the protector of the Magyars against foreign attack, particularly the "pagan" Turks, became stronger than ever before. With a weak king, a bankrupt nation and a violent peasant uprising in 1514, it is understandable that Mary was considered the protective shield, the only refuge of a nation drifting rudderless in the sea of disaster.³

Although Hungary had its share of churches and cloisters dedicated to the Virgin, ample literary and artistic evidence of devotion to the Mother of God, yet, the cult of Mary was never as extensive as it was in Western Europe, particularly France. The excesses of Mariolatry which do appear on occasion in the West, do not seem to have affected the borderlands of Christianity. This does not mean that Hungary was outside of the mainstream of intellectual and artistic currents in the Middle Ages, far from it; Hungarians were full participants in the major theological and intellectual trends of

the late Middle Ages. This is very evident in the Mariological controversy concerning the Immaculate Conception. The problem of the Immaculate Conception of Mary attracted considerable debate in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and pitted noted theologians and even religious orders against each other. This debate had its reverberations in Hungary and created considerable excitement among the theologians. The most vocal and successful scholars were the defenders of the idea that Mary was born without sin and, therefore, this Mariological controversy in Hungary was clearly won by those who supported the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Since a number of the books written by Hungarian theologians, supporting the Immaculate Conception were published and widely circulated, it is my intention to trace and explore the major features of this Mariological controversy in late Medieval Hungary. The only aspect of Mariology that will be treated in this paper is the problem of the Immaculate Conception, its major defenders in Hungary and its influence on vernacular literary development.

The Council of Basel on September 17, 1439 proclaimed that the Mother of God, through the special grace of God was never tainted by original sin and was born immaculate, free from any imperfection. It was also ordered by the council that December 8 should be celebrated by the Church as the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. The problem, however, was not solved. The Council of Basel which in its 36th Session had passed this as "doctrina pia et consona cultui ecclesiastico, fidei Catholicae, rectae rationis, et Sacrae Scripturae,"⁴ was no longer considered canonical, having broken away from Pope Eugenius IV. The theological controversy continued for decades and became, to a large degree, a dispute between the two mendicant orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The Dominicans, following Aquinas, did not believe that Mary was conceived without sin, and felt that she was freed from original sin only subsequently. The Franciscans, with the support of Duns Scottus, argued for the view adopted by the Council of Basel. Pope Sixtus IV on February 27, 1477 issued a bull *Cum praeclsa*, which supported the celebration of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, and prescribed the indulgences which went along with the celebration of the feast. Since the controversy did not diminish, Sixtus IV issued another document *Grave nimis*,⁵ in which he condemns some of the attacks of the Dominicans against the Immaculate Conception. The whole question was not solved, however, until the Post-Reformation era and the subsequent acceptance of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of the Church.

II. The Franciscan defenders of the Immaculate Conception

In Hungary, as in the rest of Europe, the most vocal defenders of the Immaculate Conception were the Franciscans. It is from this order that we have the most illustrious exponents of the Marian theology in the person of Pelbartus of Temesvár (Pelbartus de

Temesvár) and Oswaldus of Laska. What makes these two Franciscans so important in late medieval Hungarian Mariology, is, first of all, the fact that their writings were published and republished in many editions, and second, that their Latin tracts became the basis of many Hungarian translations.

Let us examine the career and major contributions of these two Hungarian Franciscans in greater detail. Born around 1440 probably in Temesvár in South-Eastern Hungary (today Timișoara, Rumania),⁶ Pelbartus entered the Franciscan Order of the strict observance. His order sent him to study at the University of Cracow in 1458,⁷ just four years after the provincial meeting of the Order at Eger decried the lack of opportunities for higher education for the younger members of the Order and encouraged that more Franciscans should be sent abroad for studies.⁸ After the completion of his studies in the Arts Faculty, he studied Theology and received a doctorate in 1471, the year in which he returned to Hungary.⁹ Pelbartus lectured at Buda in the Franciscan *Studium* on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, also taught at the order's school in Esztergom, subsequently returned to teach at Buda where he died in January of 1504.

Sometime between 1479 and 1481, Pelbartus became very ill and it was this event which led him to turn his devotion to the Virgin. He sought her aid, recovered from his illness and took up the pen to spread her devotion. The result was the composition of the *Stellarium coronae benedictae Mariae Virginis*.¹⁰

This book served a dual purpose. It is first of all a beautiful exposition of love toward the Virgin, by a man almost intoxicated by his love for her. Second, on a more mundane level, the *Stellarium* is a collection of sermons written by pelbartus for the benefit of his fellow preachers, to give them material when they address their congregations. Throughout the sermons the author consistently stresses his belief in the Immaculate Conception.¹¹ The success of the *Stellarium* was immense and immediate. There was great demand for copies of the book and the author was encouraged to expand his sermon collection. The result was the completion of a major work known under the collective title of *Pomerium* or *Orchard*. The *Pomerium* is made up of three volumes, *Sermones de Sanctis*, for the various saints' days of the ecclesiastical year, *Sermones de Tempore* sermons for Sundays and for the fixed feast days, and the *Sermones quadragesimales*, which contains material for sermons during the Lenten Season.¹²

The *Pomerium* is not a collection of sermons which had already been given by the author or others, but a well developed, theologically sound exposition of the heritage of the late medieval Church. Pelbartus tries to present to his fellow clergy the tools with which they can improve their preaching, serve their listeners better. To enliven his sermons he draws heavily on legends (one important source is the ever popular *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine), the *Catalogus sanctorum*, the *Gesta Romanorum* and *exempla* of all kinds, writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers, the major

theologians of the Middle Ages, as well as popular tales. So vivid were the sermons of Pelbartus, complete with dialogues, that there is evidence that they were also used as stage plays.¹³ Both the *Sermones de sanctis* as well as the *Sermones de Tempore* contain constant references to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in the almost 500 sermons.¹⁴

He also wrote a commentary on the Psalms and was working on a major theological work, when death overtook him. This last work, entitled *Aureum rosarium theologicae*¹⁵ was a scholastic work, based largely on the *Sentences* of Lombard and not very original. He took various topics of faith, quoted the usual scholastic authorities to explain his position in a rather mechanical manner. He completed three volumes of the work when he died, apparently while writing the entry on "Conceptio."¹⁶ The *Aureum rosarium* was completed by the confrère and student of Pelbart, Oswaldus of Laska.

The second great Franciscan defender of the Immaculate Conception was Oswaldus of Laska (Oswaldus de Lasko), who was born in southern Hungary about 1450.¹⁷ He entered the Order of the strict observance and eventually appears to have worked under Pelbartus at Buda. There does not seem to be any indication that he attended a university abroad although it is possible that he might have studied in Cracow or possibly Vienna. He taught theology at Pest, became the head of the convent in 1495-1497, and was twice *vicarius* of the Hungarian Province. He died at Buda on June 10, 1511.¹⁸ Oswaldus was a worthy successor of Pelbartus both as a man devoted to the spread of the honor of Mary, as well as a theologian. His activities are many-sided. He wrote a life of fellow Franciscan Giovanni Capistrano, who had died in Hungary in 1456, completed the fourth volume of Pelbartus' *Aureum rosarium*¹⁹ and following in his confrère's footsteps, wrote two major compendiums of sermons, the *Biga salutis* in three volumes²⁰ and the *Gemma fidei*.²¹ Both of these works show a deep theological knowledge, acquaintance with patristic and scholastic sources and a considerable bitterness against the prevailing worldliness and social tensions of this age.²²

The most explicit expression of the Immaculate Conception is found in the first volume of the *Biga salutis*, in sermons 6 and 7. He marshals all of the supportive material of the major writers and organizes them into a logical sequence. He also collects all of the arguments which he can muster to counter those who oppose the Immaculate Conception.²³ His argumentation and logical structure is more precise than that of Pelbartus and he seems to project his own personality into the sermons more than his predecessor.

III. The influence of the Franciscan tradition

The immense popularity of the work of Pelbartus and Oswaldus can hardly be underestimated. A certain German book publisher, Johannes Rymman, while on a trip to Hungary received manuscripts of both the works of Pelbartus and Oswaldus of

Laska.²⁴ The city of Hagenau became the center of publication for the works of these two Franciscan friars, although there were editions printed in several other towns as well.²⁵ No other Hungarian author of the period was published as often as Pelbartus. Laskai was somewhat less popular.²⁶ Not even the great humanist poet Janus Pannonius could compete with the number of editions that the writings of Pelbartus achieved.²⁷ It is evident from this that the writings of these two Hungarian Franciscans were read extensively outside the borders of Hungary as well as at home. Their well-constructed sermons, vivid legends and *exempla* must have caught the imagination of thousands.²⁸ Although the scholastic tone of these works was at variance with the humanistic trends which were sweeping over Europe, yet they attracted a large audience. It seems that a real contradiction existed in Hungary at the time when Pelbartus began the composition of the *Stellarium*. While he was the product of a monastic environment, used all the tools of the late scholastic speculation to write his book in his cell at Buda, just a few city blocks away, Matthias Corvinus,²⁹ one of the great Renaissance princes, was holding court surrounded by humanist scholars, acting out his role as patron of arts and letters. Pelbartus and Oswaldus seemed as if they were light years from the polished, Neo-Platonist court of the king,³⁰ while in reality the physical distance between them could be measured in yards. This illustrates an important dichotomy in the culture of Hungary in the second half of the 15th century and the first quarter of the sixteenth: humanistic culture and late medieval ideologies existing side by side, out of touch with each other.

While there is no influence of these two Franciscans on the Royal court and its humanistic Latin culture, their effect on the growth of Hungarian literary development is very extensive. The books of these two men, but particularly the work of Pelbartus, became the basis of some of the most important vernacular texts in the history of the Hungarian language. Vernacular literature was slow in developing, retarded by a strong adherence to Latin as the only language of scholarship, and also, probably, by the difficulties of Hungarian orthography. When the flood of vernacular writings began at the turn of the sixteenth century, an overwhelming part of it was based on the writings of Pelbartus of Temesvár.

The first codices containing Hungarian texts were usually translations of the writings of Pelbartus from Latin to Hungarian, made for the use of a diverse reading audience. Some of the vernacular translations were made for the Poor Clares, living near the capital, also for beguines, lay persons, and even members of the clergy.³¹ The Franciscans were involved in the creation of a large number of these vernacular codices. The *Stellarium* and the *Sermones de sanctis* are the two main sources for the vernacular codices.³² These volumes carry the views of Pelbartus on the Immaculate Conception directly into Hungarian literature. Since the *Stellarium* and the *Sermones de sanctis* were the most important works where Pelbartus dealt with the problems of Mariology, it is through these translations that so much Mariological material passes

into Hungarian literature. A total of seventeen vernacular codices were associated with the Franciscans, the largest single group of Hungarian vernacular writings.³³ Almost invariably they carry material directly from Pelbartus, in fact, are sometimes simply translations of parts of his writings. Some of these vernacular translations were made during the time when Oswaldus of Laska was vicar of the Hungarian province and he probably encouraged the many translations from the writings of his confrère.³⁴

The very large number of editions of the writings of Pelbartus of Temesvár made his writing in Latin known to a wide and cosmopolitan audience, in Eastern and Western Europe. His work also became the basis of a large portion of vernacular literature in Hungary and must have enjoyed a considerable audience both in the form of sermons, presented by preachers, as well as devotional readings to persons, who either did not know Latin at all, or had greater facility in the native tongue.³⁵ The popularity of the *Stellarium* and the *Sermones de Sanctis* for both Latin and Hungarian audiences, insured that the views of Pelbartus on Mariological problems received very wide exposure.

IV. Carthusians and the Immaculate Conception

Let us turn to the representatives of other religious orders who expressed support of the Immaculate Conception.

An early supporter of this theological view comes from a most unexpected source: a Carthusian monk, who used to be a soldier in the army of János Hunyadi, the great Christian general who defeated the Turks in 1456 at Belgrade. He later ended his life in an Italian monastery. His name is Andreas Pannonius.³⁶

Born in the early 15th century, Andreas Pannonius became a soldier in the service of János Hunyadi at an early age. He fought under the great general for five years, was present at the baptism of Hunyadi's younger son, the future Renaissance ruler of Hungary, Matthias.³⁷ He probably entered the Carthusian Order in 1445, but not in his native land but in Venice. He subsequently lived in Bologna and in Ferrara where he was elected prior of the monastery but was prevented from filling the office. In 1467, he wrote a tract, *De regis virtutibus*, dedicated to the Hungarian king, Matthias. He also wrote a book, *Libellus de virtutibus* which he offered to Ercole d'Este,³⁸ a number of theological works and sermons. Fortunately the Hungarian National Library has a copy of his commentary on the *Cantica canticorum*,³⁹ in which he uses the Old Testament text to honor the Blessed Virgin. In his commentary he treats the Immaculate Conception at considerable length (fol. 29r-34v.). Andreas Pannonius considers the problem of the Immaculate Conception from three points: its possibility, its reasonability, and its necessity. He marshals the learned opinion of Sts. Augustine, Ambrose, Leo the Great, Anselm, Bernard, Grosseteste and even Aquinas to prove his view, that they all supported the Immaculate Conception by stating, "One only has to

understand them correctly."⁴⁰ He concludes that those who do not believe in the sinlessness of Mary at the time of her conception, are fighting a losing battle because the view is already very widely held in England, France, Hungary, Germany and especially in Rome, and the feast of the Immaculate Conception is celebrated everywhere. The most important religious orders, i.e. the Carmelites, Carthusians and, most important, the Franciscans celebrate the services in honor of the Immaculate Conception. The date of composition of the *Cantica canticorum* commentary is uncertain, but must be placed toward the last third of the fifteenth century. It, therefore, predates the work of Pelbartus and Oswaldus and is one of the first major statements on the Immaculate Conception by a Hungarian author.⁴¹

Another Carthusian author also deals with this Mariological problem in the early sixteenth century. Since we do not know his exact identity he is generally referred to as the "Anonymous Carthusian."⁴² About all we know of him is that he was the procurator of his order at the monastery of Lövöld in Western Hungary and most of his work was produced in the critical period of Hungarian history, the years around the battle of Mohács (1526).⁴³

The major work of the Anonymous Carthusian is contained in the Érdy-codex, the longest and most valuable of the vernacular collections of the early sixteenth century.⁴⁴ The work contains 104 sermons, arranged according to the ecclesiastical year, most of these based on the sermons of Pelbertus of Temesvár, also 90 legends of saints and a poem about St. Stephen. The Érdy-codex contains a beautiful sermon for the feast of the Immaculate Conception. He mentions that there is still considerable debate among theologians on this point, but systematically attempts to prove that it is proper and logical to believe in the Immaculate Conception. In other sermons, in the legends which he presents as well as in an exposition on the "Ave Maria", he constantly weaves into them the theme of the sinlessness of the Virgin at the time of her birth. The Érdy-codex is, therefore, not only a valuable jewel of Hungarian vernacular literature, but an interesting source of Mariology.⁴⁵

V. The Hermits of St. Paul and their work

The only religious order native to Hungary was the *Fratres ordinis S. Pauli primi eremitaie* founded in the mid-thirteenth century. The order spread rapidly and enjoyed popularity as well as rich patronage. From the fourteenth century on, there were Hermits of St. Paul in Poland, Germany, Spain and Portugal.⁴⁶

This native Hungarian order also produced a number of defenders of the Immaculate Conception. The first among these is a certain Michael de Hungaria who had studied at the University of Paris,⁴⁷ received his doctorate there, and was a resident of the monastery of Budaszentlőrincz near the capital. Among his theological works, three have survived: *De operibus emeritarum*, *De Spiritu Sancto* and *De Immaculata*

Conceptione.⁴⁸ The history of his order records that this noted Hebraicist carried on an important debate at Buda with a certain Dominican father, named Antonius, on the question of the Immaculate Conception. Although it appeared that Antonius was going to emerge as victor in the debate, Michael de Hungaria, in a brilliant fashion, destroyed the arguments of the Dominican. This debate took place in the presence of the king, probably Matthias Corvinus, and many important members of the court.⁴⁹ Whether the victory of Michael de Hungaria had any effect on the Mariological orientation of the king is uncertain. The two splendid Missals which belonged to the king, and are now in the Vatican Library, seem to indicate that Matthias was inclined toward the belief in the Immaculate Conception.⁵⁰ Michael de Hungaria subsequently returned to Paris and died there.⁵¹ Since there seems to be another Michael de Hungaria who lived at this same time, possibly a Dominican, there is considerable confusion among scholars as to which Michael wrote exactly what.⁵²

A second hermit of St. Paul who defended the Immaculate Conception was Johannes de Posonio (Pozsony), whose work is known through the transcription of his sermons made by the Jesuit Laurentius Chrysogonus Dalmata in the collection *Mundus Marianus* in the 17th century.⁵³ Johannes de Posonio wrote his sermon on the Virgin between 1465 and 1488. His Mariological works are over 50 folio pages long, and are filled with devotion toward the Blessed Virgin and her Immaculate Conception.⁵⁴

Another devotee of the Immaculate Conception was Albertus de Chonadino (Csanád), who wrote poems in praise of the Virgin at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ The last hermit of St. Paul to take up his pen in defense of the Immaculate Conception was Gregorius Bánffy, known as Caelius Pannonius, who died in Rome in 1545. His two important books were the *Collectanea in Sacram Apocalypsin Divi Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistae* and the *Expositio in Canticum Cantorum*.⁵⁶ In both of these works he makes a strong argument for the Immaculate Conception, stating that the Divinity of Jesus demands that His Mother should have been conceived without sin.

The hermits of St. Paul, just as the Franciscans and the Carthusians, produced some vernacular translations of devotional material which are of great interest. Two of these are particularly important: the Czech and Festic codices⁵⁷ written by the hermits for a lay woman, Benigna Magyar, widow of Pál Kinizsi, a hero in the wars against the Turks.⁵⁸ The two codices contain much important Mariological material and the *Officium S. Mariae in sabbato*. The hermits celebrated Saturday as a special day dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.⁵⁹

Since these two codices were written by the hermits of St. Paul for a lay woman, this tends to support the view that the Immaculate Conception was popular among the laity and was not only discussed by learned theologians.

VI. The Dominican reaction to the Immaculate Conception

Although the Dominican order was considered to be the major opponent of the Immaculate Conception in the fifteenth century, no major effort was made by the Hungarian Dominicans to counter the work of the Franciscans and other orders.

This is especially remarkable if we consider that the Hungarian Dominicans were an active force in the intellectual life of the nation. After being reformed by the Viennese theology professor Leonardus Huntepichler in the mid-fifteenth century,⁶⁰ the Dominicans seem to have flourished. Their *studium generale* in Buda even attracted the noted Thomistic theologian and Hebraicist Petrus Niger, who dedicated his *Clypeus Thomistarum* to Matthias Corvinus.⁶¹ The king, anxious to improve the intellectual level of his nation even tried to elevate the Dominican *studium* into a full university.⁶² Besides Petrus Niger, a number of other members of the order taught at the Buda *studium*. Among them was Nicolaus de Mirabilibus, Jacobus de Lillienstein and other theologians.⁶³ Yet, among all the teachers of the order, not one important theologian takes up the question of the Immaculate Conception, with the exception of the Pater Antonius mentioned in connection with his debate against Michael de Hungaria in the presence of the king and his court.

It is possible that this Antonius is identical with Antonius de Zara, confessor of the queen Beatrice of Aragon.⁶⁴ This Dominican friar was given permission to assume the magisterial dignity at the *studium generale* at Buda in 1477.⁶⁵ As confessor of the Queen he seems to be the only Dominican friar named Antonius sufficiently important to have been able to debate the problem of Immaculate Conception before the king and his court.

The vernacular codices attributed to the Dominicans also avoid any attacks on the Immaculate Conception. Although 17 vernacular codices are considered by scholars to be connected to the Order of Preachers, none of them contain open attacks on the Immaculate Conception.⁶⁶

VII. Conclusion

An examination of the sources shows a deep mystical and at times almost desperate devotion to the Virgin Mary among the Hungarian clergy and laity of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This devotion is evident both in the Latin as well as the newly developing vernacular literature of the country.

The Mariological controversy concerning the problem of the Immaculate Conception had strong reverberations in Hungary. A number of very vocal advocates of the view that Mary was conceived without sin take up their pens in defense of this view. As in Western Europe the most vocal and successful defenders and promoters of the Immaculate Conception were the Franciscans, and Pelbartus of Temesvár and his

confrère Oswaldus of Laska carry on this tradition in Hungary. Much of their work is in support of the cult of the Mother of God and they joyfully preached the Immaculate Conception. The many editions of Pelbartus insured that his work reached a large audience in its Latin form and the many Hungarian translations and extracts indicate his popularity among the less educated.

Support for the Immaculate Conception is also evident in the writings of Hungarian Carthusians, especially Andreas Pannonius, and among the Hermits of St. Paul, a native religious order.

It is interesting to note that the Hungarian Dominicans did not enter the controversy with any great force, as their brethren in the West were prone to do. They show a certain passivity in this whole matter during the period under discussion.

The examination of the problem of the Immaculate Conception in late Medieval Hungary is made more interesting by the appearance of vernacular sources which add an extra dimension to the study of this Mariological problem.

All indications lead us to believe that the belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary was quite widespread in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Hungary, not only among the regular and secular clergy, but also among the laity.

Notes

1. See the Hartvik Legend in Szentpétery, Imre, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, II (Budapest, 1938), 363-440; also: Györffy, György, *István király emlékezete*, [Remembrance of King Stephen], (Budapest, 1971), pp. 79-80: "Queen of heaven, worthy rejuvenator of this world, in my last supplication to you, I entrust the Church with its bishops and priests, the country with its inhabitants and lords, to your protection."
2. Jakubovich, Emil, and Pais, Dezső, *Ó-magyar olvasókönyv* [Old Hungarian Reader], (Pécs, 1929), pp. 127-128.
3. See especially "Vásárhelyi András éneke" [The Song of András Vásárhelyi], in Horváth, Cyrill, *Középkori magyar verseink [Régi Magyar Költők Tára]* [Our Medieval Hungarian Verses—Collection of Old Hungarian Poets], I, (Budapest, 1921), 236-240. In modern form: Barta, János and Klaniczay, Tibor (eds.), *Szöveggyűjtemény a régi magyar irodalomból* [Text Collection from Old Hungarian Literature], I, (Budapest, 1963), pp. 135-136.

Verse 15:

"Halottaknak megszabadejtója,
Törököknek megnyomorajtója
Kerályoknak jó tanácsadója
Magyaroknak megoltalmazója!"

4. Haller, Johannes et al., *Concilium Basiliense: Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Concils von Basel*, [IV, Protokolle Dec. 1436-Dec. 1439], (Basel, 1925), p. 589; Delaruelle, E., Labande, E. R. and Ourliac, P., *L'église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire, 1378-1449*, [Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Fliche, A., Marin, V. (eds.) XIV], I, (Paris, 1926), p. 275.

5. Denzinger, H., *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, (Freiburg i. Br., 1954), no. 734, 745; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. X, p. 468; Sericoli, C. *Immaculata B. M. Virginis conceptio iuxta Xisti IV constitutiones* [Bibliotheca Mariana Medii Aevi], (Roma, 1945).
6. For the basic biography of Pelbártus, see Szilády, Áron, *Temesvári Pelbárt élete és munkái* [The Life and Works of Pelbárt of Temesvár] (Budapest, 1880); Horváth, Cyrill, "Temesvári Pelbárt és beszédei" [Pelbárt of Temesvár and His Sermons] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny I* (pótkötet), 1889, 145—233; Békesi, Emil, "Magyar írók Hunyadi Mátyás korából" [Hungarian Writers from the Age of Matthias Hunyadi], *Katholikus Szemle* (1902), pp. 331—336.
7. Mentioned as "Baccalaureus Artium" in 1463 with the marginal notation "scriptor ecclesiasticus celebris", in *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, Muczkowski, Joseph (ed.), (Cracow, 1849), p. 59; also Tonk, Sándor, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban*, [University Attendance of Transylvanians During the Middle Ages], (Bukarest, 1979), pp. 143, 309, no. 1855.
8. Magyar, Arnold, "Die ungarischen Reformstatuten des Fabian Igali aus dem Jahre 1454. Vorgeschichte und Auswirkungen der Statuten", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (1971), pp. 99—100.
9. Békesi, *Magyar írók*, p. 333.
10. He mentions his illness and recovery in the Prologue of his work: Mészáros, György, *Doctrina Mariana Pelbarti de Themesvár*, [Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum], (Roma, 1947), p. VIII.
11. This is particularly true of Book IV, parts I and II of the *Stellarium*. Part I treats "de mysterio immaculate conceptionis," Part II, concerns the Bull of Sixtus IV: See: Mészáros, *Doctrina Mariana*, pp. 55—83. On the whole problem of the Immaculate Conception see the excellent study of Dám, Ince, *A szeplőtelen fogantatás védelme Magyarországon a Hunyadiak és Jagellók korában* [The Defense of the Immaculate Conception in Hungary During the Age of the Hunyadis and Jagellonians], (Roma, 1955). I am deeply indebted to Father Dám for information in this article.
12. The *Sermones Pomerii Fr. Pelbarti de Temeswar diui Ord. S. Francisci de Sanctis*, was first published in Hagenau and was subsequently reprinted at least 18 times. *Sermones Pomerii Fr. Pelbarti de Temeswar, divi Ordinis S. Francisci de Tempore*, was first published in 1489 and also saw at least eighteen other editions, and the *Sermones quadragesimales, Fr. Pelbartum de Themeswar*, was published a total of 21 times. Békesi, *Magyar írók*, pp. 335—336.
13. The sources used by Pelbárt are discussed by Borzsák, István "Temesvári Pelbárt és Laskai Osvát exemplumainak antik vonatkozásai" [Antique References in the 'Exempla of Pelbárt of Temesvár and Osvát of Laskó'], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 78 (1974), pp. 57—65; Vargha, Damján, *Kódexeink legendái és a Catalogus Sanctorum* [Sz(ent) István Akadémia Nyelv- és Széptudományi Osztályának kiadása], [Our Codices and the Catalogus Sanctorum—Publication of the Language and Fine Arts Section of the Academy of St. Stephen], (Budapest, 1923), pp. 3—36; Katona, Lajos, *Temesvári Pelbárt példái* [The 'Exempla' of Pelbárt of Temesvár], (Budapest, 1902).
14. This view is expressed by the late Tibor Kardos, *Régi Magyar Drámái Emlékek* [Monuments of Old Hungarian Drama] Vol. I, (Budapest, 1960), pp. 86. Also see pp. 314—348 containing a "play" by Pelbartus entitled "Prophetae" or "Prófétajáték."
15. The commentary on the Psalms was entitled: *Expositio compendiosa et familiaris sensus litteralem et mysticum Libri Psalmorum* published twice in Hagenau, 1504 and 1513. Books I—IV of the *Aureum Rosarium* were published at Hagenau between 1503—1508. Békesi, *Magyar írók*, p. 336.
16. His death was reported as follows: "Fr. Pelbartus de Temesvár, Magister S. Theologiae, Budae, in conventu S. Joannis Evang. in festo S. Vincentii Martyris anno 1504 quasi subridendo obdormivit in Domino," Békesi, *op. cit.*, p. 334; see also Dám, Ince, "Influsso di Pelbarto di Temesvár nelle opere di Angelo Elli da Milano," *Corvina I* (1952) p. 183.
17. The standard biography of Laskai is by Richárd Horváth, *Laskai Osvát*. [Osvát of Laskó]. (Budapest, 1932), especially pp. 7—23.

18. Karácsonyi, János, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The History of the Order of St. Francis in Hungary to 1711], II, (Budapest, 1924), p. 571.
19. In the 1508 Hagenau edition the following notation appears in the colophon: "Opus ab Oswaldo de Lasco supplementum est, non confectum", see Dám, *Szeplőtelen fogantatás*, p. 102.
20. The first volume of the *Biga salutis* is entitled *Sermones de sanctis*, the second *Sermones dominicales* and the third volume *Quadragesimale*. They were all published at Hagenau, between 1497 and 1516. The first volume of the *Biga salutis* had six editions, the second also six and third four editions. See: Ballagi, Aladár, *Buda és Pest a világirodalomban 1473–1711* [Buda and Pest in World Literature], I, (Budapest, 1925), no. 51, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 84, 88, 89, 106, 107, 108, 188, 189, 198, 199.
21. The *Gemma fidei* was also published in Hagenau in 1507. *Ibid.*, no. 114.
22. Much of the social tensions were caused by the fact that many unworthy people occupy important positions in the government of the nation. See: Pásztor, Lajos, "Temesvári Pelbárt és Laskai Osvát az egyházi és világi pályáról" [Pelbárt of Temesvár and Osvát of Laskó Concerning Ecclesiastical and Secular Career] *Regnum* (1937), 152; Kardos, Tibor, *Régi Magyar Drámai Emlékek*, Vol. I, p. 107.
23. Dám, Ince, *A szeplőtelen fogantatás*, pp. 33–34.
24. Concerning Johannes Rymann, see: Fitz, József *A magyar nyomdászat, könyvkiadás és könyvkereskedelem története* [The History of Hungarian Printing, Publishing and Book Trade], Vol. I, (Budapest, 1959), 207–210.
25. Other cities where the books of Pelbartus were published: Augsburg, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Paris, Lyon and Venice: Békesi, *Magyar írók*, 335–336.
26. Fitz, *Nyomdászat*, pp. 217–218.
27. Between 1512 and 1523 there were 8 editions of the poems of Janus. See: Gerézdi, Rabán, "Egy költői hírnév története. A Janus-hagyomány sorsa a Jagelló-korban," [The History of a Poet's Reputation—the Janus Tradition in the Jagellonian Age], *Janus Pannoniustól Balassi Báltintig*, (Budapest, 1968), p. 51.
28. Mályusz, Elemér, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary], (Budapest, 1971), pp. 354–358.
29. For the best brief analysis of the problem of humanistic penetration in Hungary, see: *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* [A History of Hungarian Literature to 1600], Klaniczay, Tibor (ed.), Vol. I, (Budapest, 1964), pp. 205–216. The work of Kardos, Tibor, *A magyarországi humanizmus kora* [The Age of Hungarian Humanism], (Budapest, 1955), pp. 150–201, should be used with certain degree of caution.
30. Huszti, József, "Platonista törekvések Mátyás király udvarában" [Platonic Aspirations at the Court of King Matthias], *Minerva* (1924–1925), especially pp. 41–72.
31. Horváth, János, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei* [The Beginnings of Hungarian Literary Culture], (Budapest, 1944), pp. 62–63.
32. Almost a hundred sermons by Pelbartus can be traced in the vernacular codices of the period. For an analysis of this development, see: Horváth, Cyrill, *Nemzeti irodalmunk a reformációig* [Our National Literature to the Reformation], (Budapest, 1891), pp. 109–111.
33. Dám, Ince, *a szeplőtelen fogantatás*, pp. 50–69; Horváth, János, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei*, pp. 202–217; Vargha, Damján, "Szent Ferenc és fiai a magyar kódexirodalomban" [St. Francis and His Sons in Early Hungarian Literature] *Szent Ferencz nyomdokain, 1226–1926* [In the Footsteps of St. Francis, 1226–1926], (Budapest, 1926), pp. 79–122; Concerning the spread of Pelbartus' Mariological views in the vernacular literature of the period, see: Nyilasi, Rajmund, *Codexink Mária-legendái* [The Mary Legends of Our Codices], (Budapest, 1902).
34. Laskai was elected twice to be *vicarius* of the Hungarian province, first in 1497–1501 and again from 1507 to 1509. See Karácsonyi, János, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig*, p. 571.
35. Dám, Ince, *A Szeplőtelen fogantatás*, pp. 49–50.
36. Concerning Andreas Pannonius, see: Fraknói, Vilmos and Ábel, Jenő, *Két magyarországi egyházi író a XV. századból, Andreas Pannonius — Nicolaus de Mirabilibus* [Two Ecclesiastical Writers from Hungary

- in the 15th Century, Andreas Pannonius–Nicolaus de Mirabilibus), [Irodalomtörténeti emlékek, I], (Budapest, 1886), pp. VII–XXII; also Révész, Mária, "Andreas Pannonius és Bornio da Sala," [Andreas Pannonius and Bornio da Sala] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 59 (1935), pp. 75–81; Dám, Ince, "Andreas Pannonius ferrarai priorságának viszonyai" [The Circumstances of the Ferrara Priorship of Andreas Pannonius], *Civitas dei* (1953) pp. 101–110.
37. "... quia te adhuc in cunabulis, dum sacrum baptismum Transylvaniae in civitate Cluswar suscepisti, vidi infantulum" in: Fraknói and Ábel, *Irodalomtörténeti emlékek*, Vol. I, p. 130.
38. The text of the two tracts are found: *ibid.*, pp. 1–133; 139–239.
39. Budapest: National Széchényi Library, no. 443. For a description of the volume see: Bartoniek, Emma, *Codices manu scripti Latini; Codices Latini mediae aevi*, I, (Budapest, 1940), pp. 397–399. The work of Andreas Pannonius is contained on folios 5–111 of the volume. On the sources used by Andreas Pannonius see the study of Horváth, János Jr., "Andreas Pannonius 'Cantica canticorum' kommentárjának forrásai" [The Sources of the Commentary on the 'Cantica canticorum' of Andreas Pannonius] *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 66 (1942), p. 257.
40. Dám, Ince, *Szeplőtelen fogantatás*, p. 42; Mályusz, Elemér, *Egyházi társadalom*, p. 360.
41. Dám, Ince, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–45. Dám disagrees with the position taken by József. Huszti that the *Cantica canticorum* was completed as late as 1505. See Huszti, "Andreae Pannonii expositio super Cantica Canticorum," *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1939), pp. 97–104.
42. See the excellent study by Bán, Imre, *A karthauzi Névtelen műveltsége* [The Culture of the Anonymous Carthusian], *Irodalomtörténeti füzetek*, Vol. 88, (Budapest, 1976).
43. There is a dispute concerning the exact date of the composition of the Érdy codex. See: Dienes, Erzsébet, "Az Érdy-kodex keletkezésének idejéről és írójáról," [Concerning the Time of Origin and the Author of the Érdy Codex], *Magyar Nyelv*, 62 (1966) pp. 17–29; Kovács, Sándor, "A karthauzi Névtelen helye az irodalomtörténetben," [The Place of the Anonymous Carthusian in Literary History], *Magyar Nyelv*, 63 (1967) pp. 76–77.
44. Budapest: National Széchényi Library, M Ny 9. Published: Volf, György, *Nyelvemléktár* [Treasury of Linguistic Remains], IV, V. (Budapest, 1876).
45. Bán, Imre, *A karthauzi Névtelen*, 37–38; Most of the sermons related to the Virgin Mary found in the Anonymous Carthusian are traceable to the *Stellarium* of Pelbartus of Temesvár. Especially important is the sermon for Dec. 8, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (See: Volf's edition, I, p. 239).
46. Concerning the establishment of the Hermits of St. Paul, see the work of Kisbán, Emil, *A magyar pálosrend története 1225–1711* [The History of the Hungarian Order of Hermits of St. Paul], vols. 2 (Budapest, 1938–1940); also: *Archivum Ordinis Sancti Pauli I. Eremitae*, I, (Roma, 1966).
47. Asztrik, Gábor, "Magyar diákok és tanárok a középkori Párizsban," [Hungarian Students and Teachers in Medieval Paris], *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 62 (1938), pp. 205–206; Knauz, Nándor, "A Szent Lőrinczről nevezett Buda melletti Pálos zárda," [The Convent Named after St. Laurence near Buda Belonging to the Hermits of St. Paul], *Magyar Sion* (1865) p. 588.
48. Dám, Ince, *Szeplőtelen fogantatás*, 19.
49. There is a question as to when this dispute took place. See: Eggerer, Antonius, *Fragmen panis corvi protoeremitici, seu Reliquiae annalium Eremiticoenobiticorum Ord. S. Pauli primi eremitae*, (Vienna, 1663), pp. 209–210 places the events in the year 1444. Another important source, Gyöngyösi, Gergely, *Vitae fratrum heremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitae*, Budapest, University Library, A. b. 151/c capt. 46 clearly shows that the event took place after 1458. See the new translation of Gyöngyösi's *Vitae* under the title of *Arcok a magyar középkorból* [Portraits from the Hungarian Middle Ages], V. Kovács, Sándor (ed.), (Budapest, 1983), pp. 123–124.
50. Vatican Library, *Cod. Urb. Lat. 110 and Rossiana Cod. Lat.*, 1164. For a description of the two volumes see: Csapodi, Csaba and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, Klára, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, (Budapest, 1978), p. 66.

51. Eggerer, Antonius, *Fragmen panis*, 210; Gyöngyösi, Gergely, *Vitae fratrum*, cap. 46; cf. Mályusz, Elemér, *Egyházi társadalom*, p. 260.
52. Békesi, *Magyar írók*, p. 858; Mályusz *op. cit.*, pp. 351–353; also see: Horváth, Cyrill, “Michael de Ungaria XIII beszéde” [The Thirteen Sermons of Michael de Ungaria], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 5 (1895), pp. 130.
53. *Mundus Marianus*, (Vienna, 1646), 722. Johannes de Posenio (János Pozsonyi) is also mentioned in Velezquez, Joannes Antonius, *Dissertationes et adnotationes de Maria Immaculate Concepta*, (Lyon, 1653), Lib. V, Diss. 3, annot. I; Mészáros, G., *Doctrina Mariana Pelbarti*, p. IV.
54. See the inscription in Cod. Lat. 78, Budapest, University Library: “Hunc libellum scripsit frater Johannes de posonio In Valle Virginis gloriose prope eandem civitatem et aliquas collecturas addidit que sunt scripta per fratrem nicolaum predicatorem dewthimorem anno domini M° CCCC 88°”, Mezey, László (ed.), *Codices Latini medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestensis*, (Budapest, 1961), p. 137, esp. fol. 6–10.
55. The printed edition of the poems are entitled “Hymni duo, de Annunciatione B. Virginis Mariae et de S. Angelis editi a 1515 a F. Alberto de Chonadino Ord. S. Pauli primi erem. in monasterio B. Virginis ad Albam Ecclesiam prope Budam.” See: Békesi, András, *Magyar írók*, p. 862. Part of the poems in Hungarian translation are found in Kardos, Tibor, *Középkori kultúra, középkori költészet* [Medieval Culture, Medieval Poetry], Budapest (1941), p. 194. The view expressed by Kardos (p. 209) that Csanádi was a major “humanist” poet, seems greatly exaggerated.
56. Dám, Ince, *Szeplőtelen fogantatás*, pp. 46–48, 105–106; Kisbán, Emil, *Pálosrend története*, 264–266.
57. Gondán, Felicián, *A középkori magyar pálos-rend és nyelvelmékei (Festetich- és Czech-kódex)* [The Linguistic Remains of the Medieval Hungarian Hermits of St. Paul (The Festetics and Czech Codices)] (Pécs, 1916), 4–8: The Czech Codex is preserved at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Nr. K42—(old catal. number: Magyar kódex 12° 2), it was published by Döbrentei, Gábor, *Régi magyar nyelvelmékek*, Vol. II. (Budapest, 1840). The Festetics Codex is found at the National Széchényi Library, M Ny 73. Published by Volf, György, in *Nyelvelméktár*, XIII, (Budapest, 1888). Also new facsimile edition: Molnár, József (ed.), *Festetich Kodex*, [Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Magyar Kódexek, I], (Budapest, 1977).
58. On page 180 of the Czech Codex there is the following inscription for the year 1513 “Ez konyweth yrtha F. M. Nadsaagos Benyigna azzonnak. Nyhay Kenešy paal Thaarsanak. o nadsaaga Klastromaban waasomban.” In the Festetics Codex there is reference to the illness of Pál Kinizsi: “Paal wram betegsegerewl zerzett imadsag.” Gondán, Felicián, *Pálos-rend és nyelvelmékei*, 4–5.
59. Pásztor, Lajos, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [Religious Life in Hungary under the Jagellonians], (Budapest, 1940), 31, 87; Horváth, János, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei*, p. 166. Pelbartus, in the *Stellarium* mentions the three reasons why Saturday should be devoted to the Virgin Mary: Lib. XII. Pars 1. art. 2.
60. Frank, Isnard W., “Leonhard Huntzpichler, O. P. (†1478). Theologie-professor und Ordensreformer in Wien,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*. 36 (1966) 338–340.
61. First printed at Venice in 1481 (Hain, 11888). The dedication of the *Clypeus Thomistarum* to Matthias Corvinus is reprinted in Jacobus Quetif and Jacobus Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I Pars II, (Paris, 1719), pp. 862b–863a. Description of volume in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, see: Hellebrant, Árpád, *Catalogus librorum saeculo XV^o impressorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Academiae Litterarum Hungaricae asservantur*, (Budapest, 1886), no. 69, pp. 52–53.
62. See my study “The State of Education in Hungary at the Eve of the Battle of Mohács (1526),” *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies* 2 (1975), p. 5; Harsányi, András, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* [The Dominican Order in Hungary Before the Reformation], (Debrecen, 1938) pp. 145–161.

63. Harsányi, András, *op. cit.*, 159 *et f.*; also Domonkos, Leslie S., *A History of Three Early Hungarian Universities, Óbuda, Pozsony and Buda*, University of Notre Dame (USA), (1966), pp. 156–166.
64. Antonius de Zara later became bishop of Modrus, after considerable difficulties between King Matthias and the Holy See. See: Fraknói, Vilmos, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékkal* [The Ecclesiastical and Political Relations of Hungary with the Holy See in Rome], II, (Budapest, 1902), pp. 227–229.
65. 1477, Sept. 8: "Frater Antonius de Jadra conventus Zagradiensis baccalaurens habuit licentiam sumendi insignia magistratualia in universitate Budensi, eo modo, quo a sede apostolica ordinabitur et ipsis assumptis gaudet privilegiis magistrorum": Harsányi, *Domonkosrend*, 147, no. 96; 247, no. 345.
66. Dám, Ince, *Szeplőtelen fogantatás*, pp. 69–74; Timár, Kálmán, "Domonkos-rendi magyar kódexek" [Hungarian Dominican Codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 40 (1930), pp. 265–276; 397–412.