

THE LITURGICAL TEXT AS AUTHORITY IN PELBARTUS DE THEMESWAR'S SERMON FOR THE FEAST OF SAINT FRANCIS

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Abstract The present paper focuses on the relationship between liturgy and sermon-literature. Despite the fact that theoretical summaries do not mention it, there was a common practice that can be observed in the case of the sermon-literature of the Middle Ages and thus that of Pelbartus de Themeswar, namely that the liturgical texts are used as authorities supporting the teachings within the sermon, which explain and express the faith of the Church with a legitimacy similar to other prestigious references. We can observe the operation of the proverb-like theological principle *lex orandi lex credendi* behind this practice, according to which liturgy is also a source of faith, and in some cases it expresses the faith of the Church even more perfectly than the somewhat abstract manifestations of theology. Pelbartus chooses this particular way of reference in sermon 74 in the summer part of the *Pomerium de sanctis*, in which he contemplates on the stigmatization of St Francis. The liturgical authorities employed by Pelbartus de Themeswar in his sermons are meant to prove the authenticity of Francis's stigmata and that they are not the invention of Pelbartus. We can find the parallels of the method in the sermons of Robertus Craccolus and Osualdus de Lasko, where these liturgical citations appear with particular emphasis on their authority-function.

Keywords Pelbartus de Themeswar, liturgy, Saint Francis, sermon, authority

Foreword

Martin Morard compares the relationship between the thematic *sermo*¹ and the liturgy of the Middle Ages to a marriage in which liturgy actually takes the sermon as

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¹ I use the term *thematic sermo* based on Edit Madas, referring to *scholastic sermons*. Edit Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből: A kezdetektől a XIV. század elejéig*

a wife.² Even though the metaphor might seem somewhat puzzling, it still sheds light on the defining role of liturgy concerning the genre of sermons, because the vast corpus of the sermon-literature of the Middle Ages is practically inseparable from the liturgical framework in which it was created and in which it functioned. The sermon-literature of the Middle Ages is therefore impossible to interpret without a profound knowledge of the liturgy of the age which determined the rhythm of people's lives, marking and accompanying the important stages and stations of their existence.³ This organic union of the liturgy and of the sermons justifies a thorough examination of the liturgical references and background when interpreting the sermon-collections of certain authors.

As liturgy affects the creation of sermons on several levels, in order to provide an interpretation to a sermon it is important to differentiate and mark the levels on which liturgy can affect sermons. In my research, I distinguished four different aspects regarding the relationship between sermons and liturgy.

My research on the sermons of Pelbartus de Themeswar outlined four different layers concerning the relationship between liturgy and sermons:

- Firstly, the liturgical event integrates the sermon, as long as the oral form of the sermon is presented within the framework of the liturgy, at a given time during the mass and in a designated place within the liturgical space.
- Secondly, the liturgical event guides the preacher, as the liturgical occasion offers him the topic; the starting point of the sermon (the *thema*) is usually based on the texts of the daily liturgy. The construction of the model sermon collections follows the order of the liturgical feasts; the thematic structure of the annual liturgy enables the preacher to repeat the topics each year.
- Thirdly, the texts of liturgical ceremonies are part of a textual universe, in which the compiling preacher highlights the parts of texts that support his argument, his point of view. In the sermons, a characteristic group of quotations is based on those citations about which the preacher actually says that they are taken from the liturgy of the church, and these quotations are traditionally introduced as *Ecclesia canit* or *canitur*, or by

(From the history of medieval Hungarian sermons: from the beginnings to the early 14th century) (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2002), 129–130.

² Martin Morard, *Quand liturgie épousa prédication: note sur la place de la prédication dans la liturgie romaine au Moyen Âge, VIIIe-XIVe siècle* in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, eds. Nicole Bériou, Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 80.

³ James Monti presents an apt illustration of the liturgy intertwining with every stage of the human life, when he refers to a triptichon painted by a 15th-century flemish artist, Rogier van der Weyden titled *The Seven Sacraments*, which shows the seven stages of man from birth to death accompanied by the Seven Sacraments. James Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012), 1.

providing the liturgical locus and genre of the quote (*in officio, in introitu missae, in collecta, in antiphona, in hymno, in prosa* etc.).

- The fourth aspect of the relationship between sermons and liturgy is when the sermon returns to certain segments of the liturgy, such as parts of a ceremony or certain texts, and it comments on or provides an explanation for them.

This paper focuses on the third aspect concerning the relationship between liturgy and sermon-literature.

Lex orandi lex credendi

Despite the fact that theoretical summaries do not mention it, there was a common practice that can be observed in the case of the sermon-literature of the Middle Ages (and thus that of Pelbartus de Themeswar), namely that the liturgical texts are used as authorities supporting the teachings within the sermon, which explain and express the faith of the Church with similar legitimacy to other prestigious references (such as the Church Fathers and other influential Christian theologians). We can observe the operation of the proverb-like theological principle *lex orandi lex credendi* behind this practice, according to which liturgy is also a source of faith, and in some cases it expresses the faith of the Church even more perfectly than the somewhat abstract manifestations of theology.⁴ A religious text does not own this authority by itself, but by the legitimisation of the Church, therefore the principle can only be applied in the case of those texts which are composed and approved by the teacher of the true faith, the Church.⁵ In the introduction of his fourth sermon written for the feast of Saint Lawrence the Martyr, Pelbartus de Themeswar himself also talks about the authority of the Church manifest in the liturgical texts. The basic citation of the sermon is taken from the liturgy of the day, and he claims that the authority of the words of the Church overtakes that of the Holy Bible, and he refers the reader/listener to St Bernard and St Augustine to justify his claim.⁶

⁴ Lajos Dolhai, "Lex orandi lex credendi," *Teológia* 13 (1999/3–4): 97. Dolhai traces back this principle to the teaching of St Augustine, from whose work *De gratia et libero arbitrio* it was emphasized by his follower, the leader of the Roman Papal Chancellery, Prosper of Aquitania. The principle had become part of the official teaching of the Church by the end of the 5th century and it was generally acknowledged because Dionysius Exiguus incorporated it into his collection of law. *Ibid.*, 98.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁶ PA 049: "*Laurentius bonum opus operatus est, qui per signum crucis caecos illuminavit. (A) Haec sunt verba Ecclesiae in officio ad laudem huius festivitatis, secundum quod Bernardus dicit: Ecclesiae verba magis sunt authentica, quam verba Pauli vel Iacobi apostolorumque aliorum, eo quod Ecclesia sponsa Christi est. Nam et Augustinus li. XI. Contra Faustum dicit: Ego evangelio non crederem – inquit –, nisi me catholicae Ecclesiae auctoritas admoneret. Haec ille.*"

The sermon written for the feast of the stigmatization of St Francis

To the question why Pelbartus chooses this particular way of reference we may find the answer in sermon 74 in the summer part of the *Pomerium de sanctis*, in which he reflects on the stigmatization of St Francis.⁷ Pelbartus provides an exceptionally high number of sermons in the honour of St Francis: we find seven in *Pomerium*, six in the summer part, one in the winter part, and it is only the feast of Jesus's birth that competes with this number. These sermons provided sufficient sources for preachers both for the feast day and for the memorial days of Saint Francis of Assisi.⁸ The *thema* of the sermon to be interpreted here is taken from Saint Paul's letter to the Galatians, and it is the most commonly used citation⁹ for most of the Francis-sermons (Pelbartus uses it in two of his speeches): *Ego enim stigmata Domini Iesu in corpore meo porto*.¹⁰ The different divisions of the *sermo* describe the following themes: Francis was stigmatised, he bore Christ's crucifixion wounds, and he truly bore them on his body.¹¹ In the first division, the preacher investigates why Christ wanted Francis to bear his wounds. In the second division, Pelbartus talks about the stigmatization itself, as a miraculous event. In the third part, he quotes the legend of the Saint and papal orders, which prove that the stigmata are genuinely authentic.

The second division focuses on the appearance of the seraph,¹² and finds it miraculous and admirable because of three aspects. Firstly, he claims that it is not common for this type of angels, to which Isaiah refers as six-winged creatures in

⁷ PA 049: "*Laurentius bonum opus operatus est, qui per signum crucis caecos illuminavit. (A) Haec sunt verba Ecclesiae in officio ad laudem huius festivitatis, secundum quod Bernardus dicit: Ecclesiae verba magis sunt authentica, quam verba Pauli vel Iacobi apostolorumque aliorum, eo quod Ecclesia sponsa Christi est. Nam et Augustinus li. XI. Contra Faustum dicit: Ego evangelio non crederem – inquit –, nisi me catholicae Ecclesiae auctoritas admoneret. Haec ille.*"

⁸ In the *Martyrologium Romanum* besides the feast of Francis on 4 October there are memorial days for the saint's stigmatization and transfer of his relics, the former on 17 September, the latter on 25 May: *Martyrologium Romanum editio novissima SS. D. N. Pio Papa IX.*, (Roma: 1890), 208.

⁹ Piusz Berhidai, *Temesvári Pelbárt helye a ferences irodalmi hagyományban in Plaustum seculi IV.* (The place of Pelbartus de Temeswar in the Franciscan literary tradition), ed. Ildikó Bárczi http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=341tan_plaus_piusz#_ftn21 accessed in 29 March 2016.

¹⁰ Gal 6,17. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, editio electronica*, ed. Michael Tuveedale, (London: 2005) <http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/index.html> accessed on 29 March 2016. The other sermon with the same biblical reference: PA 071.

¹¹ PA 074 (A): "*Primum, quod stigmatizatus est; secundum, quod Domini Iesu stigmatibus decoratus est; tertium, quod in corpore stigmata portavit vere.*"

¹² Bonaventura, *Legenda maior in Analecta Franciscana*, t. X. (Quaracchi: Collegium Sancti Bonaventurae: 1930), 619.

front of God's holy throne praising His glory,¹³ that they would be messengers, that they would have a mission regarding humans.¹⁴ Francis, however, is an exceptional human being, whose spiritual blaze for God made him entirely similar to Christ. Pelbartus claims that this is the very reason why a *seraph* came to Francis, because the expression itself originally means "the one burning [with love]."¹⁵ Furthermore, the vision is special because amid the wings of the seraph there was the image of a crucified man. For Francis it was amazing how the powerlessness of pain and suffering can befit the immortality of the seraphic soul.¹⁶ This is the point where Pelbartus poses the question (particularly important to Franciscans) whether the seraph that appeared to the founder of the order was Christ himself or just an angel.¹⁷ The preacher refers to theologians and teachers of the Church and concludes that it was Christ himself who appeared and stigmatised Francis;¹⁸ however, Pelbartus does not quote any statement or argument on this, but simply states that all of this is obvious from the *officium* which had been legitimised by the

¹³ Kornélia Koltai, "Angyalok az Ószövetségben" (Angels in the Old Testament), in *Angyalok az Ókortól Szent Tamásig* (Angels from the Antiquity to Thomas Aquinas), eds. Géza Xeravits, Balázs Tamási, Xavér Szabó (Budapest: Sapientia Főiskola, L'Harmattan, 2011), 28.

¹⁴ PA 074 (E): "Et hoc fuit mirabile, quod ad beatum Franciscum missus est et descendit Seraph, quia de communi lege angeli ex ordine Seraph non mittuntur ad extra, sed semper Deo assistunt."

¹⁵ Ibid.: "Prout dicit **Dionysius li. De angelicis hierarchiis**: *Pro speciali ergo privilegio fuit, quod Seraph veniret ad beatum Franciscum*, tum quia in rebus multum arduis solet Deus et raro illos angelos mittere, tum quia incendere veniebat, ut scilicet beatus Franciscus per incendium mentis transformaretur totus in Christi similitudinem, ideo Seraph, quod interpretatur 'ardens amore', missus est." The verb *saraph* can indeed have a *burn*, *burning* meaning, but it is to be connected with the winged snakes, the creatures of the Old Testament. Koltai, *Angyalok az Ószövetségben*, 29.

¹⁶ PA 074 (E): "Secundum mirabile in Crucifixi specie, quia cum praedictus angelus Seraph volatu celerrimo pervenit propinquius ad sanctum Franciscum, vidit inter alas effigiem hominis crucifixi in modum crucis manus et pedes extensos ac cruci affixos. Hoc enim fuit valde mirabile, ideo et Francisci mens de hoc vehementer stuporem incurrit eo, quod passionis infirmitas cum immortalitate spiritus Seraphici nullatenus conveniret. Mirum etiam fuit, quod lignum crucis et clavi, quibus affixi erant manus et pedes illius, cernebantur inter alas angelicas."

¹⁷ PA 074 (F): "Quaeritur hic, utrum in ista forma Seraphica apparuerit Christusmet in propria persona, aut tantum angelus Christi." Only some of the accounts of the stigmatization mention the figure of the seraph, among them that of St Bonaventure, which is the most prestigious of St Francis's biographies. This is the one Pelbartus uses as a reference. See: Octavian Schmucki, *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi: A Critical Investigation in the Light of Thirteen-Century Sources* (New York: The Franciscan Institute St. Bonaventure University, 1991), 180–195.

¹⁸ PA 074 (F): "Ad quod respondetur secundum **doctores nostros**, quod ibi fuit ipsemet Christus in propria persona stigmatizans beatum Franciscum."

Church, and he continues with four citations from the breviary said on the feast day of St Francis.¹⁹ (See table 1.) Finally, he concludes his argument by quoting *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu*, the work of Bartholomaeus de Pisis.²⁰ He then goes on to discuss the third miraculous aspect of the legend, the secret message uttered by the seraph.

Table 1

Pelbartus de Themeswar		
in antiphona:	<i>Crucis apparens hostia tensis in cruce brachiis, sex alis recta variis etc. Sequitur: Suaque sacra stigmata in eius carne protrahit</i>	Officium in festo sacrorum stigmatum sancti Francisci, Vesperas 2., Antiphona ad Magnificat; <i>Crucis apparet hostia tensis in cruce brachiis, sex alis tecta variis.</i>
in hymno:	<i>Ad quem venit rex e caelo amictu Seraphico sex alarum tectus velo, aspectu pacifico, affixusque crucis telo portentum mirifico. Cernit servus redemptorem passum impassibilem, saeculorum imperatorem etc.</i>	Officium in festo sacrorum stigmatum sancti Francisci, Vesperas 1., Hymnus; <i>Crucis Christi mons Alvernae</i> (AH 4, 140)
in prosa:	<i>Tunc alatus vir hierarcha venit, ecce rex monarcha etc.</i>	<i>Sanctitatis nova signa</i> sequence 11. v.: <i>Tunc ab alto vir hierarcha</i> ²¹ (AH 55, 153)
in versu:	<i>Signasti, Domine, servum tuum, Franciscum signis redemptionis nostrae.</i>	Officium in festo sacrorum stigmatum sancti Francisci, Vesperas 1., Versiculus.

¹⁹ PA 074 (F): "Ad quod respondetur secundum **doctores nostros**, quod ibi fuit ipsemet Christus in propria persona stigmatizans beatum Franciscum."

²⁰ Ibid.: "Ergo fuit Christus, sicut et revelatum esse legitur li. **Conformitatum III.**: *O mira Christi clementia, quia sic apparuit ad transformandum.*"

²¹ AF t. X., 402.

The table shows that the preacher uses the authority of several liturgical texts to interpret the figure of the seraph in the vision, and he uses these with the same attitude as he uses other prestigious references from the Church Fathers or theologians, or even biblical loci, because, as he claims, the text of the liturgy was sanctified by the Church (*in officio per Ecclesiam approbato*) and therefore it can be accepted as authentic and true. It can be derived from the theme that, in this case, Pelbartus could not take into account most of the traditionally referenced authorities, but he needed documents that testify the circumstances of the miracle, such as the different Francis-biographies, accounts from eye-witnesses, and papal bulls regarding the stigmatization. He uses the most prestigious Francis-biography by Saint Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, and points out several accounts from eye witnesses;²² he also uses the work of Hugolinus de Monte Georgio entitled *Speculum vitae beati Francisci et sociorum eius*, and quotes the circumstances of the stigmatization in great detail, including the conversation between Christ and Francis.²³ Although the rest of the legend quoted from Bonaventura contains some

²² PA 074 (I): “Ut enim scribit **Bonaventura**, vir utique maximae sanctitatis in **legenda**, quod licet beatus Franciscus omni diligentia studeret haec stigmata abscondere portando semper ex tunc manus contectas et pedes calciatos, et sollicite occultando lateris vulnus, vidisse tamen Dei ordinatione et palpassse iuraverunt multi sanctissimi fratres, aliqui etiam cardinales, similiter et summus pontifex Alexander quartus, qui et in praedicatione publica se oculis conspexisse asseruit. Sed et in morte beati Francisci viderunt plus quam L fratres, et sancta virgo Clara cum suis virginibus inclusis, et saeculares innumeri, ac osculati sunt et contrectaverunt pro firmitate testimonii.” Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, 619.

²³ PA 074 (I): “Legitur enim in **libro De vita sociorum beati Francisci**, quod cum beatus Franciscus in latere Montis Alernae quadragesimam beati Michaelis ieiunaret, quodam mane, dum ibi oraret, miram dulcedinem divinam abundantius solito coepit sentire, et vidit de caelorum sublimitate descendere ad se Seraph ignitas scilicet alas et splendidas habentem, et mons cernitur inflammari. Appropinquante illo vidit inter alas Christum Iesum crucifixum, et vehementer obstipuit, maeroremque compassionis super Christo passo et gaudium super eius gratioso aspectu mens eius incurrit, ut dicitur in **Legenda**. Et cum arcana verba sibi revelasset, tandem dixit: “Para te, Francisce, faciam enim in te mirabilia.” Et ille: “Tu scis, Domine, quia paratus sum ad omnia tua mandata.” Tunc Christus extendit manum suam dextram super beati Francisci manum dexteram ponendo, ad cuius contactum Franciscus vulneratus in manu dolorosa voce exclamavit: “O Domine Iesu!”, et cecidit in terram, et sic attonitus ac stupens aspiciebat Christum. Cui stupenti ait Christus: “Surge, Francisce, extende aliam manum!” Et fecit consimili modo in sinistra manu eius, et iterato ille cecidit exclamans. Ad quem Dominus iterum ait: “Surge, Francisce, para te.” At ille: “Domine mi, paratus sum.” Et Dominus posuit pedes suos super pedes Francisci, et ille plagatus repente exclamavit, et cecidit in terram. Tandem dixit iterum Dominus: “Francisce, surge, ut perficiam in te, quae disposui, mirabilia.” Franciscus ait: “Domine, quis poterit sustinere tales dolores?” Cui Dominus: “Quid tunc fecisses, si verbera et spineae coronae punctiones, alapas, sputa et alias poenas, quas ego pro hominibus suscepi, sustinuisses?” Surgens ergo Franciscus dixit: “Quid iubes, paratus sum.” At

indirect reference to certain liturgical texts referred to by eye-witnesses,²⁴ Pelbartus does not incorporate this part of the legend into his sermon, even though he could have used it to formulate his own line of thought.

Pelbartus mentions four popes who had made statements regarding Francis and his stigmatization. First of all, he mentions Pope Gregory IX, who canonised Francis as a saint. Pelbartus refers to three of his papal bulls, and he mentions that Gregory IX claimed the stigmatization to be a matter of faith. In the case of Pope Alexander III, he mentions three bulls; he then refers to Pope Nicholas III's letter, which begins with the line *Exiit qui seminat*, and which made it to the *Liber sextus*, a collection of canon law.²⁵ Last but not least he mentions Pope Benedict XII, who ordered the feast of St Francis to be held each year.²⁶ This last one is a mistake, however, because the feast was ordered by Pope Benedictus XI in 1304.²⁷ It can be thus seen, that Pelbartus does not disregard the usual authorities; he does use them as references, but at the same time he finds it relevant to incorporate liturgical texts to support his argument – perhaps in order to cumulate the number of reference texts. To find out what other motivations Pelbartus might have had for turning to the *officium* for support, it is worthwhile to have a look at other authors' sermons composed for the feast of Saint Francis.

Christus amplexans illum iunxit latus lateri beati Francisci, et statim impressit plagam lateralem. Tunc Franciscus exclamans: "O pie Iesu!" – cecidit in terram quasi semimortuus, et Christus in caelum disparuit. Beatus autem Franciscus iacuit in terra usque ad nonam. Tunc frater Leo superveniens et videns prostratum levavit eum putans ex abstinentia defecisse. Et sic ab illa hora beatus Franciscus licet occulte, ut potuit, illa sacra stigmata in corpore portavit." Damján Vargha proves that the description of the stigmatization is indeed originating in the referenced work *Speculum vitae* and it arrived in this form with Pelbartus's mediation into the Lázár-codex. Damján Vargha, "Temesvári Pelbárt 'Szerafikus szent Ferenc'-beszédei és kapcsolatuk kódexirodalmunkkal" (Pelbárt Temesvári's sermons on 'Franciscus Seraphicus' and their relations to Hungarian codex literature", in *Emléksorok hazánk nagyjaitól a "Barátok" 700 éves jubileumára 1221–1921* (Memorials of great men of our nation to the 700th jubilee of the "Brethren") (Budapest: Élet Nyomda, 1921), 49.

²⁴ "Viderunt etiam ex familiaritate, quam cum viro sancto habebant, aliqui cardinales laudes sacrorum stigmatum *prosis* et *hymnis* ac *antiphonis*, quas ad ipsius ediderunt honorem, veraciter inserentes, qui tam verbo, quam scripto perhibuerunt testimonium veritati." Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, 618–619.

²⁵ VI. 5. 12. 3.

²⁶ PA 074 (I): "Secundo probatur apostolicorum plurimorum bullis, scilicet **Gregorii IX.**, qui hunc sanctum ascripsit catalogo sanctorum, qui de ista stigmatizatione mandat credendum fidelibus sub nota haeresis, et fecit tres bullas. Item **Alexandri papae IV.**, qui etiam fecit tres bullas. Item **Nicolai tertii**, qui dedit bullam. Et **extra de verborum significatione "Exiit, qui seminat" li. VI.** facit de stigmatibus expressam mentionem. Item **Benedicti XII.**, qui dans bullam ordini mandavit celebrari festum stigmatum."

²⁷ About the papal orders concerning the stigmatization see Berhidai, *Temesvári Pelbárt helye*.

Sermons on Saint Francis in contemporary sermon-collections

Looking through the sermons written about St Francis at that time, it is conspicuous that the stigmatization does not occur among the themes of the sermons written about the founder of the order. Even if they do talk about the stigmata, the sermons – unlike Pelbartus’s – do not go into proving whether the stigmata were genuine or not. They merely refer the reader to the authorities of the *Legenda maior*, or the papal bulls. Below I have examined certain model sermon collections according to the types of the referenced authorities, but not in sequential order, considering the fact that the compiler of the Late Middle Ages would have not necessarily used the collections’ model sermons in their chronological order.

Some of the preachers refer directly and solely to the *Legenda Maior* of Bonaventura concerning the stigmatization and the possibility that the vision could be questionable does not even occur. In his second sermon on Saint Francis, Franciscus de Mayronis, the Franciscan scholastic philosopher from Provance contemplates on the similarity between Christ and the saint, and he derives his argument from a citation taken from the Book of Ezechiel.²⁸ This similarity is proven in four points, including that of the miraculous events taken from the *Legenda Maior*, depicting the appearance of the holy wounds on Francis’s body, which he accepts as fact.²⁹

The Franciscan Iohannes Gritsch from Basel also refers to Bonaventure. In one of his sermons – written for the Saturday following the second Sunday of Lent – the preacher mentions the stigmatization of Saint Francis when he discusses the value of suffering. The fact that it is not a sermon written primarily about St Francis, the saint’s story merely representing an example to underpin the value of suffering,

²⁸ Franciscus de Mayronis, *Sermo II. De sancto Francisco in Sermones de sanctis*, (Basel: Jacobus de Pforzzen, 1498), c. 01.: “Tu signaculum similitudinis plenus sapientia et perfectus decore in deliciis Paradisi Dei fuisti, omnis lapis praeciosus operimentum tuum. **Ez XXVIII.**” Ez 28, 12–13. <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/74-6-theol/start.htm?image=003936>. Accessed on 29 March 2016.

²⁹ Ibid., c. 02.: “Primo fuit decoratus signo crucis in ore suo ut vidit frater Silvester trina vice, patet in **III. capitulo Legendae magnae** de institutione religionis. (...) Secundo fuit decoratus signo Thau in fronte sicut fratri Pacifico fuit divinitus revelatum ut dicitur in **legenda** (...) Tertio fuit decoratus signo crucis sive vulneris in latere, ideo dicitur in **capitulo de stigmatibus** dextrum quoque latus quando lancea transfixum rubra cicatrice obductum erat, quo saepe sacrum sanguinem effundens tunicam et femoralia infundebat.” (...) Quarto fuit decoratus sacris stigmatibus in duabus manibus et duobus pedibus, unde dicitur ubi supra: Apparente sibi spiritu seraphico in monte Alvernae statim in manibus eius et pedibus apparere ceperunt signa clavorum, quemadmodum Christi sibi apparentis conspexerat.”

might be the reason why he does not mention the problem of the authenticity of the wounds.³⁰

Other authors prefer to refer to papal bulls, as does Iacobus de Voragine, who dedicates his third sermon on St Francis entirely to the problem of the stigmatization. The basic citation of the sermon is the same part of the letter to the Galatians as it was in Pelbartus's sermon. The first part of the sermon examines the reasons of the stigmatization, the second part talks about Francis as a soldier of Christ, whose wounds were given by Christ as weapons to fight evil. The last part enumerates five arguments which are to prove the authenticity of the stigmata: Francis's vision, the blood from his body, the physical pain he suffered, the testimony of many eye-witnesses and the miracles, through which those who doubted the origin of the wounds died, while those who believed in the wounds grew stronger. The latter ones are authenticated by the person of Pope Gregory.³¹ Pope Gregory IX had indeed stood up for the authenticity of the stigmata in several of his utterances, opposing and reprimanding the doubters, but we cannot certainly say what exact sources were referred to by the preacher.³² The events evoked in the sermon would justify referring to the legend as well, but the author does not find it necessary to support his argument with any further references.

³⁰ Iohannes Gritsch, *Sermo ad feriam VI. post Reminiscere in Quadragesimale*, (Strassburg: Drucker des Paludanus, 1486), (T): "Unde devotus doctor Bonaventura scribens de devoto patre nostro Francisco in legenda de stigmatibus eius sacris dicit: (...) Qui tandem passionis amore intime incaluit, quod a Christo in monte Alvernae passionis signa in manibus, pedibus et latere biennio ante mortem apparenter suscepit."

<http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/e-237-a-2f-helmst-1/start.htm?image=00151>. Accessed on 29 March 2016.

³¹ Iacobus de Voragine, *Sermo III de stigmatibus Sancti Francisci in Sermones Iacobi de Voragine de tempore et de sanctis*, (Basel: Iohannes Amerbach, c.1485), c. 03.: "Tertio ostenditur per hoc, quod ipse stigmata in corpore suo portavit, quod fuit argumentum omnimodae veritatis, quod multipliciter ostendi potest. Primo ex seraphica visione (...). Secundo ex sanguinis obmissione. (...) Tertio ex sensibili dolore. (...) Quarto ex multorum fidei attestatione. (...) Quinto ex multorum miraculorum ostensione, nam ex signis ipsos mortificat dubios, sicut patet in papa Gregorio, modo iuvat devotos, sicut patet hoc in milite sibi devoto, qui laetaliter seu usque ad mortem fuit sauciatus seu vulneratus. Modo convertit incredulos, sicut patet in clerico de cuius stigmatibus dubitanti et in manu sua vulnus recipienti." <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/e-115-2f-helmst-2/start.htm?image=00409>.

Accessed on 29 March 2016.

³² Pope Gregory IX's *Usque ad terminos* (31 March 1237) bull was addressed to the bishop of Olmutz, who had doubted and denied the stigmata. In his letter *Non minus dolentes* (1237 31 March) he suspended the Dominican monk Eberhardt from the right of preaching, because he had been preaching against Francis and the stigmata. His letter *Confessor Domini gloriosus* (5 April 1237) is addressed to all the believers of Christ, and he authenticates the origin of the holy wounds of Francis. Berhidai, *Temesvári Pelbárt helye*.

There are preachers who treat the miracle of the wounds as a fact, and talking about it they do not feel pressed to refer to any authority at all. In his second sermon written for the feast of St Francis, the Franciscan Contractus Iohannes explains the spiritual greatness of the saint using three factors: his contempt of the world, his achievement in contemplation, and the use of the fruits of the heavenly kingdom. He mentions pious prayers as a condition for a contemplative life, to which he brings the vision of the seraph, the stigmatization and the secret message delivered by the seraph as examples.³³ The author does not go into detail concerning the miraculous event and he does not feel the need to name any authorities as he evidently incorporates the miracle in the sermon as a fact.

The sermon collection of the Franciscan Henricus Herpf contains nine sermons to honour the saint, the first of which he exclusively dedicates to the feast day of the stigmatization. Starting with the basic citation of the sermon, the author examines the embodiment of love and he naturally refers the argument to St Francis.³⁴ Besides beauty, kindness and faithfulness, he names generosity as a fourth characteristic and he talks about the spiritual gifts and physical signs (i.e. the holy wounds St Francis received through the vision in Alverna) given to Francis in connection with this.³⁵ Henricus Herpf does not name his source either, although he does elaborate on the circumstances of the vision and the stigmatization in detail,

³³ Iohannes Contractus, *Sermo II. de sancto Francisco in Sermones de tempore et de sanctis cum communi sanctorum et cum aliis sermonibus*, (Köln: Johann Koelhoff d. Ä, 1478), CCXXIV.: "Tertius gradus est devota oratio. **Can. III.** dicitur de anima contemplativa: *Quae est ista, quae ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhæ, et thuris*. Oratio enim duo requirit, scilicet carnis mortificationem, quae accipitur per myrrham et cordis devotionem, quae accipitur per thus. Utrumque habuit beatus Franciscus, ipse enim carnem per ieiunia flagellavit, per vigiliis, per genuflectiones continue macerabat et devotioni cordis sine intermissione insistebat, et ideo non est mirum, si sursum per contemplationem ascendebat. In huius signum cum in monte aliquando vigiliis et orationibus et ieiuniis vacabat per contemplationis excessum totus in Deum ferebatur, in qua contemplatione seraph sex alarum sibi apparuit et stigmata sacra sibi impressit et secreta quaedam familiariter secum contulit." <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ink/content/pageview/6016280>.

Accessed: 29 March 2016.

³⁴ "Anima Ionathae conglutinata est animæ David, et dilexit eum Ionathas quasi animam suam." I Sm 18, 1.

³⁵ Henricus Herpf, *Sermo in festo stigmatum beati Francisci in Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Speyer: Peter Drach, 1484), [Bibl. nat. 149.], (B): "Quarto propter affectus liberalitatem quantum ad donum copiosum. Et hoc ultimum singulariter praesenti speculatione convenit, quoniam in hac die tam excellenter in spiritualibus donis et corporalibus insigniis servum suum Franciscum divina pietas pervenit, quem divina dignatione seraphicandum duxit in montem excelsum Alvernae seorsum, sicut apostolos tres transfigurandus duxit in montem Thabor. Duxit – inquam – eum in montem illum solitarium, ut eo in solitudine ducto loquatur ad cor eius et de arduis gratiis adipiscendis certificetur."

the time and place of the vision, the seraph and his wings – these all become the bearers of some allegoric meaning.

The examples so far show that the remembrance about the stigmata does not necessarily imply their authenticity, so much so that some authors do not name one single source or authority when they talk about these events in the saint's life. That is why it is striking to see a preacher who puts a special emphasis on proving the authenticity and reality of the holy wounds, and for this, he turns to the support of liturgical texts.

The Franciscan Robertus Caracciolus in his *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* dedicates his first sermon to the stigmatization of St Francis. The basic citation of the sermon is the aforementioned letter to the Galatians that was quoted by Pelbartus as well. The author expresses that the conviction of those who doubt the authenticity of the wounds is important.³⁶ At the beginning of the speech he refers to St Augustine enumerating several mythological creatures and extraordinary events, and then poses the question why those who can imagine these as true things doubt the authenticity of the holy wounds of St Francis.³⁷ It is plausible that Robertus Cracciolus speaks against those humanists who respect the Greek-Roman antiquity, and who willingly mocked and humiliated lengthy and pretentious preachers in their poems.³⁸

³⁶ Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermo de sacris admirandisque stigmatibus seraphici Francisci in Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1490), c. 01.: "Sed plerique dum haec audiunt, vel credere nolunt Franciscum signo Crucifixi fuisse insignitum, vel quod leve et non admirandum id assueverant. Quapropter ut novitas tantae rei cum devotione fidelibus innotescat, reprimatur, quod temeritas curiosorum in hoc sermone de sacris Francisci stigmatibus tractare decrevi."

<http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/92-3-quod-2f-2/start.htm?image=00245>. Accessed on 29 March 2016.

³⁷ Ibid., c. 02.: "Idcirco **Augustinus li. XVIII. De civitate Dei c. XIII.** inquit: *Fabulae factae sunt de minotauro, quod bestia fuerit inclusa Labyrintho, quo cum intrassent homines, inextricabili errore inde exire non poterant; de Centauris, quod equorum hominumque fuerit natura coniuncti; de Cerbero, quod sit triceps inferiorum canis; de Phryxo et Helle eius sorore, quod vecti ariete volaverunt; de Gorgone, quod fuerit crinita serpentibus et aspicientes convertibat in lapides; de Bellerophonte, quod equo pennis volante sit vectus, qui equus Pegasus dictus est; de Amphione vel Arione, quod citharae suavitate lapides mulserit et attraxerit; de fabro Daedalo et eius Icaro filio, quod sibi coaptatis pinnis volaverunt.* Haec ille. Si igitur ista et alia huius excogitari potuerunt, quid mirum inquirunt increduli, si de Francisco aliquis fingendo et mentiendo dixerit, quod in manibus, pedibus et latere plagas quasi crucifixus habuit." Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei contra Paganos libri XXII*, (PL 41) 13–84., 18. 13 <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/cdd/index2.htm>. ccessed: 29 March 2016.

³⁸ About the mocking poetry of Ianus Pannonius and others see: Cecília Radó, "Roberto Caracciolo prédikációs működésének magyarországi vonatkozásai", *Plaustrum seculi VI.*, ed. Ildikó Bárczi http://sermones.elte.hu/page/369_tan_plaus_rcili.pdf. Accessed: 29 March 2016.

The first chapter of the sermon proves the reality of the stigmata in three ways. Firstly, he underpins it with the authority of the Church; secondly, with the holiness of the witnesses; and thirdly, with the miracles accompanying the stigmata.³⁹ Talking about the authority of the Church, he claims that anyone doubting it should be considered a heretic and a non-believer.⁴⁰ Then, he lists the texts of several pontificates and popes authenticating the holy wounds. Besides the legend written by Bonaventura, he refers to the same papal bulls that occurred in Pelbartus's texts, but Cracciolus is more accurate concerning the authorities, because he provides incipits and quotations as well.⁴¹ Among the bulls he mentions the liturgical texts which are the works of highly esteemed churchmen or popes, and thus they are part of the holy liturgy. (Table 2.)

Table 2.

Robertus Caracciolus	
Rainerius cardinalis composuit hymnum, qui incipit: <i>Plaude, turba paupercula</i>	Hymnus ad Laudes, Rainerius Cappoccus de Viterbio cardinalis diaconus. AH (52, 181)
Dominus Thomas cardinalis edidit hymnum, qui incipit: <i>In caelesti collegio</i> , et hymnum, qui incipit: <i>Decus morum, dux minorum</i> .	Hymnus ad Nocturnas, Thomas Capuanus, cardinalis a S. Sabina. AH (52, 179)
	Hymnus ad Vesperas 2., Thomas Capuanus, AH (52, 182)

³⁹ Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermo de sacris admirandisque stigmatibus seraphici Francisci*, c. 02.: "Primo ex Ecclesiae auctoritate; secundo ex testium sanctitate; tertio ex miraculorum claritate."

⁴⁰ Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermo de sacris admirandisque stigmatibus seraphici Francisci*, c. 02.: "Primo probamus veritatem stigmatum Francisci ex Ecclesiae auctoritate. Nam ut Christus dixit **Matth. XVIII. c.**: Qui ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus."

⁴¹ Ibid.: "Nam dominus **Bonaventura cardinalis**, episcopus Albanensis, vir eximiae sanctitatis, legendam sancti Francisci eleganter scripsit, in qua diffuse loquitur de stigmatibus illis. (...) **Benedictus papa duodecimus** bullam fecit de stigmatibus sacris, in qua statuit, ut fratres minores publice in Ecclesia officium stigmatum annuatim possent celebrare. **Nicolaus papa tertius in Extravaganti, quae ponitur in sex Decretalium et incipit "Exiit qui seminat etc."** dum regulam beati Francisci in multis extolleret postea ita subdidit: haec est cui attestante paulo nullus de cetero debet esse molestus, quam Christus suis sacris stigmatibus confirmari volens institutorem ipsius passionis suae signis notabiliter insignivit. **Alexander papa quartus** per suas apostolicas litteras Francisci stigmata comprobavit. Prima eius bulla incipit: **Grande ac singulare miraculum**. Secunda: **Si novae laetitiae militantis Ecclesiae**. Tertia: **Benigna divinae operationis voluntas**. In hac ita de stigmatibus loquitur: locunda dominicae passionis insignia in eiusdem sancti corpore dum ad huc vitali spiritu foveretur manus caelstis operatoris impressit. Et iterum ibidem in manibus eius et pedibus expressa undique similitudo clavorum de subiecto propriae carnis excrevit vel de materia novae creationis accrevit."

Gregorius papaantiphonam fecit, quae cantatur in vesperis et de stigmatibus clare sic loquitur: <i>Plange turba paupercula, ad patrem clama pauperum: hoc lugubre suspirium, pater Francisce, suscipe.</i>	Antiphona ad Benedictus et Magnificat infra octavam et pro commemoratione sancti Francisci, Owed to Pope Gregory IX. (AF X. 388.)
Aliqui cardinales laudes sacrorum stigmatum prosis et hymnis et antiphonis ediderunt, quae perhibuerunt testimonium veritati.	

The argumentation of Cracciolus is based on the same line of thought that we have seen in Pelbartus's work, namely that if the Church acknowledges certain texts as true and it also builds them into the liturgy, then these are evidential and are to be taken so, in the same way as the teachings of the church fathers or other theologians. The same argument can be read in Pelbartus's text: *in officio per Ecclesiam approbato*. However, in Cracciolus, these liturgical texts are not mentioned on their own, but as parts of a long list, in which mainly the utterances of high-ranking churchmen, popes and bishops ensure the justification of the teaching which is why he adds the names of the authors with the texts. Pelbartus, unlike Cracciolus, reduces the long enumeration of churchmen to *secundum doctores nostros*, but he includes more and different specific quotations, i.e. in a given section he builds wholly on the authority of the liturgy. It is possible that he was considering the fact that the quotations in verse would affect the audience differently than the lengthy enumeration of papal bulls, although later, at the end of his sermon, he includes this list in a shorter form than the one found in Cracciolus's sermon.

We find a similar argumentation in Osualdus de Lasko's sermon collection *Biga salutis*, where we can find four sermons honouring the founder of the order, one of which is dedicated to the feast of the stigmatization. The sermon talks about Francis as the angel of the last days based on the basic citation taken from the Book of Revelations: *Vidi alterum angelum ascendentem ab ortu solis habentem signum Dei vivi et clamavit voce magna*.⁴² The three reasons why Francis can be called and angel form the three divisions of the sermon: his personal dignity, his love of Christ and the admirable usefulness of Frances.⁴³ Osualdus includes the question of the

⁴² Apoc 7,2. The quotation is one of the most frequent themes in Francis' sermons according to the Schneyer repertorium. It comes up in Pelbartus's sixth sermon honouring the saint. (PA 075). Quoted in: Berhidai, *Temesvári Pelbárt helye*.

⁴³ Osualdus de Lasko, *Sermo de stigmatibus sancti Francisci* in *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*. (Hagenau, 1499), [Bibl. nat. Inc. 1030.], c. 02.: "Primo a personali dignitate, ibi: *Vidi alterum angelum ascendentem* etc.; secundo a speciali Christi caritate, ibi: *habentem signum Dei* etc.; tertio a mirabili utilitate, ibi: *et clamavit voce* etc."

stigmata into the second division, discussing it in great detail. He introduces the vision by Bonaventure and refers to the authority of the Church by the papal bulls and the accounts on the stigmata by high-ranking churchmen the same way Craccolus had done. Among the latter ones we can find Raynerius de Viterbio and Thomas de Capua, who are referred to by Craccolus. However, Osualdus only quotes de Capua, the hymn beginning with *Decus morum, dux minorum*.⁴⁴ It is clear that the way Osualdus composes his sermon is quite similar to Craccolus's argumentation and, what is more, here the focus is more on the personal authorities of the Church, rather than on the texts they had written, as Osualdus only quotes one of these word by word.⁴⁵ Osualdus gives an account on Pope Gregory IX, according to which Francis came to Gregory in a dream to prove the reality and authenticity of his wounds, thus suspending the pope's initial doubts.⁴⁶ For the authentication of the wounds, Osualdus mentions the case of a Joachim abbot, who – according to the tradition – had painted Francis's figure bearing the stigmata well before Francis was born, and the painting can now be seen in St Marc's Basilica in Venice.⁴⁷ These two

<http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/laskaiosvat/index.php?file=os/os086>.

Accessed on 29 March 2016.

⁴⁴ Ibid., c. 14.: "Hanc igitur stigmatizationem a Christo facta et miraculis innumeris confirmata nullus, nisi infidelis vel haereticus dubitat, cum Salvator **Mat. XVIII.** dicat: *Qui Ecclesiam non audit sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus*. Sancta enim Mater Ecclesia approbavit, sicut **Nicolaus III. in VI. Decretalium extra de verborum significatione „Exiitqui seminat”**. Similiter **Benedictus papa XII.** bullam fecit de stigmatibus. Item **Alexander papa quartus**, similiter **cardinales** ipsa sacra stigmata verbo et scripto extulerunt, sicut **sanctus Bonaventura**, dominus **Raynerius de Viterbio**, dominus **Thomas de Capua** hymnum fecit de eo, in quo dicit sic: *Regis signum ducem dignum insignit manu latere.*"

⁴⁵ Osualdus provides a liturgical reference in the first division of the sermon, to prove that Francis was sent by Christ, he quotes the sequence of Gregory IX, beginning *Caput draconis ultimum*. See ibid. c. 06.: "Quarto quoque, quod beatus Franciscus sit missus a Christo domino, probemus autentica attestazione. Nam papa Gregorius nonus in prosa, quam fecit de beato Francisco, quae incipit: *Caput draconis* sic dicit: *Verum de Christi latere novus legatus mittitur, in cuius sacro corpore vexillum crucis cernitur.*" (AF X. 401.)

⁴⁶ Ibid.: "Nam et Gregorius papa IX. antequam beatum Franciscum catalogo sanctorum ascriberet, scrupulum in corde habebat, quo ad vulnus laterale. Nocte vero quadam (sicut idem pontifex referebat cum lacrimis) beatus Franciscus eidem facie dura apparuit, cuius cordis hesitationem redarguens elevavit brachium dextrum, vulnusque detexit ac phialam poposcit, quae porrecta videbatur sanguine ex lateris vulnere implere. Qui ex tunc ad illud sacrum miraculum tanta cepit devotione affici, ut nullo modo pati posset, quin severa increpatione feriret, qui ipsa stigmata impugnaret." The same in Craccolus: *Sermo de sacris admirandisque stigmatibus seraphici Francisci*, 246.

⁴⁷ Osualdus de Lasko, *Sermo de stigmatibus sancti Francisci*, c. 04.: "Nam depingi eum fecit in ecclesia sancti Marci Venetiis super hostium sacristiae cum stigmatibus, sicut hodie cernentibus claret." The same in Craccolus: *Sermo de sacris admirandisque stigmatibus seraphici Francisci*, c. 03.

latter stories occur in Cracciolus's sermon as well, it is probable therefore that Osualdus had the work of the Italian Franciscan at hand when compiling his own sermon.

When comparing these sermons, it is clear that Robertus Cracciolus, Pelbartus and Osualdus use a similar logic when they build up their line of thought to authenticate the stigmata of the saint. Their sermons are written for the feast day of Francis, and they place a special emphasis on the authenticity of the wounds, and therefore they refer to the same, canonical authorities: Bonaventura's legend, papal bulls and liturgical texts. The theme limits the range of works they can refer to, but it is conspicuous that they both incorporate liturgical texts. While Osualdus and Cracciolus build on the authority of certain people, Pelbartus does not consider naming the creator of the referenced texts relevant; for him, the authority of the Church and of the liturgical text is powerful enough to support his arguments. Pelbartus uses the repertoire of the liturgical texts for the feast more freely quoting them several times in his Francis-sermons.

The canon of the works that can be used for the argumentation proving the authenticity of the stigmata is very thoroughly discussed in Bartholomaeus de Pisis's *Liber Conformitatum*, which is frequently quoted in the Francis-sermons. The authority of the Church is represented by eight papal bulls, some of which he presents in great detail, followed by the texts composed by popes or prelates and the 13th chapter of Bonaventura's *Legenda Maior*. In the table below I embedded only the liturgical references.⁴⁸

Table 3.

Bartholomaeus de Pisis	
Papa Gregorius IX. in prosa, quam fecit de beato Francisco, quae incipit: <i>Caput draconis ultimum</i> . In atiphona: <i>Plange turba paupercula, ad patrem clama pauperum: hoc lugubre suspirium</i> ,	Prosa auctore Gregorio IX. (AF 401.) Antiphona ad Benedictus et Magnificat infra octavam et pro commemoratione sancti Francisci, Gregorio IX. attributa. (AF 388.)

⁴⁸ Bartholomaeus de Pisis, *Liber Conformitatum* III. 308–309., AF t. V, 406–408.: “Sic ergo apparet octo bullis summorum pontificum, scilicet tribus domini Gregorii IX., tribus domini Alexandri IV., una Domini Nicolai III., alia domini Benedicti, quomodo beatus Franciscus stigmata habuit.” In connection with Gregory IX, apart from the canonization of Francis, he discusses the following bulls: *Confessor Domini gloriosus*; *Non minus dolentes*; *Usque ad terminos*. From Pope Alexander he discusses: *Grande ac singulare miraculum*, *Benigna divinae operatio voluntatis*, *Si nova laetitiae*; From Pope Nicholas, he refers to the one beginning with *Litteras felices recordationis*, which got into the *Liber sextus*. However, about Benedict XII he only mentions the fact that he introduced the feast of Francis, without referring to any actual place. The critical edition refers to the latter papal bull reoccurring at the preachers as *apocrypha*.

<i>pater Francisce, suscipe.</i>	
Rainerius cardinalis de Viterbio composuit hymnum: <i>Plaude turba paupercula</i> . Idem antiphonam illam famosissimam composuit: <i>Caelorum candor splenduit, novum sidus emicuit</i> .	Officium sancti Francisci, laudes, hymnus, auctore Rainerio Capoccio de Vitebri. (AF 384. / AH 52, 181) Officium sancti Francisci, nocturnus, antiphona, assignatur cardinali Rainerio Capoccio. (AF 388. / AH 52, 181)
Thomas cardinalis de Capua cum duos hymnos faceret: <i>In caelesti collegio</i> , qui dicitur ad nocturnum, et <i>Decus morum dux minorum</i> , qui in secundis vesperis cantatur.	Officium sanctorum stigmatum sancti Francisci, nocturnus, hymnus. (AH 11, 131) Officium sancti Francisci, vesperas 2., hymnus. (AH 52, 182)

It is clearly visible that the same list of names can be found in Cracciolus's and Osualdus's sermons, and the quoted texts can also be read in *Liber Conformitatum*, therefore we can assume that for the two preachers this work served as the original example. Whether certain texts found their way to the sermons directly from this work or mediated by other texts cannot be known for certain, but it seems likely that this served as a basis for a Franciscan canon, to which Franciscans referred when they wanted to prove the holy origins of Francis's stigmata. This canon is partly present in Pelbartus's work, as he also refers to papal texts, and what exactly he was referring to can be deduced from the sources, as he quotes Bonaventura as well, but when it comes to liturgical texts, he follows his own motives and he chooses freely from the breviary written for the feast of St Francis.

Conclusion

From the comparison it is visible that the liturgical authorities employed by Pelbartus de Themeswar in his sermons prove the authenticity of Francis's stigmata and that it is not the invention of Pelbartus. We can find the parallels of the method in the sermons of Robertus Cracciolus and Osualdus de Lasko, where these liturgical citations appear with particular emphasis on their authority-function. It is characteristic that the Franciscans are particularly keen on using this practice, especially when relying on the teachings embedded in the liturgy to support the case of a question so significant to them. However, the texts of Pelbartus can also be differentiated from the parallels, in that he is treating liturgical texts and references more freely, using them not based on their authors as personalities, but on the texts' content. It can be concluded that the source of his argumentation is most probably the work of Bartholomaeus de Pisis, which plausibly filtered into the sermons of Pelbartus and Osualdus through the mediation of the works of Robertus Cracciolus. It is striking how the authentication of the holy wounds became such an empathic,

marked part of the sermons of 15th-century authors in particular. The question remains whether or not there had been a concrete historical event that gave a particular reason for both Hungarian authors to deal with the authentication of the stigmata in such detail.