

## QVALES SCIENTIAE SUNT ADDISCENDAE PRO THEOLOGIA MELIUS INTELLIGENDA? PELBARTUS OF THEMESWAR ON EDUCATION

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ALEXANDRA BANEU\*

**Abstract** This article focuses on three aspects of Pelbartus of Themeswar's position on learning: how one should prepare before beginning to study theology, which sciences should one learn in order to better understand theology and in order to pursue a *magisterium* in this domain and, finally, what people have to learn in order to be saved. These three lines of investigation contour a true educational program.

**Keywords** Pelbartus of Themeswar, theology, learning, Angelus of Clavasio, Antoninus Florentinus.

The problem of what one should learn in order to better fulfil his duties or to excel in one's studies preoccupies us all. Is it necessary to study Latin and history in order to better understand the thought of a medieval philosopher? Should one study German and French before leaping into the study of phenomenology? Is there any way analytic philosophy could be accessible to somebody who is not proficient in English? It is these types of questions that are at the basis of most educational programs (at least at the basis of the well-thought ones), whether they are institutional or individual ones.

We can very well suppose that such issues prompted Pelbartus of Themeswar to include a chapter about what everybody should learn, according to each and every one's status and obligations, in his alphabetically organised theological encyclopaedia, the *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*.<sup>1</sup> It should be

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\* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. alexandra.baneu@yahoo.com

<sup>1</sup> The *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium* is a four-volume, alphabetically organized theological work. Each of the volumes follows the same theme as the corresponding book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*: the first one is about the divine Trinity, the second discusses creation, the third Christology and the fourth the sacraments. On the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and its commentary tradition, see: P. W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences* (Toronto: Broadviewpress, 2007); G. R. Evans, ed., *Medieval Commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard*, vol. 1 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002); Philipp

noted that his treatment of the aspect of what should be learned is very practical: he does not debate on abstract themes such as ‘Can we truly learn theology?’ or ‘Are theological notions accessible to the human intellect without some sort of supernatural revelation?’, but rather gives us a list of things we should know.

By using such a title as ‘Addiscere’, Pelbartus places the entire discourse in the perspective of the pupil. It is not a text about what should be taught, but about what each and every one of us, as good students, should learn. This list of subjects one should master is a clear reflection of Pelbartus’s integration within the observant Franciscan study system<sup>2</sup> as well as of his Cracovian past.<sup>3</sup>

### Part 1: Spiritual preparation

According to Pelbartus, closely following the *Summa* of Antoninus Florentinus,<sup>4</sup> one cannot simply begin to study theology. There is a set of rules which are to ensure that the student is able to reach the final goal of his endeavour, i.e. to know and love God.<sup>5</sup>

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W. Rosemann, ed., *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 2 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010); Philipp W. Rosemann, ed., *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015); Monica Brnzei, ed., *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016). For a presentation of Pelbartus of Themeswar’s *Rosarium* and its relation to commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, see: Ueli Zahnd, *Wirksame Zeichen? Sakramentenlehre und Semiotik in der Scholastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 487- 491, and my article Alexandra Baneu, “The *Ab auro* Prologue of Pelbartus of Themeswar’s Theological Encyclopedia”, *Studia UBB. Philosophia* 60 (2015), sp. issue, 5–18.

<sup>2</sup> I especially mean the fact that study is justified as a weapon against heresy and sciences are not to be learned for their own sake but only in order to better understand theology. On the educational system of the Observant Franciscans, see: B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education 1210–1517* (Leiden, Boston- Köln: Brill, 2000), 153- 171 (From now on, *A History of Franciscan Education*); Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 52–100.

<sup>3</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar’s matriculation within the Arts Faculty of the University of Krakow in 1458 is noted in the matriculation registry of the university. See: Antoni Gąsiorowski, ed., *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508* (Krakow: Towarzystwo naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2004), 272. Also, the fact that he obtained his bachelor’s degree 5 years later, in 1463, is registered in the *Liber promotionum* of the same faculty. See: Antoni Gąsiorowski, ed., *Liber promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracovensi saeculi decimiquinti* (Krakow: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiej, 2000), 53.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa theologica*, III (Veronae: ex typographia seminarii apud Augustinum Carattonium, 1740), V, I, 2, 235- 236. From now on this work will be referred to as Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*.

<sup>5</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*, I (Hagenau: ex officinal Henrici Gran, 1503), ‘Addiscere I’, a8rb. From now on this work shall be referred to as *Rosarium*.

The first one is that the future student must admit his sins to himself and do penance for them. This is confirmed by the authority of Bernard of Clairvaux who in his *Sermones super 'Cantica canticorum'*<sup>6</sup> states that the beginning of salvation is to know oneself and that without such knowledge it is impossible to know God. Therefore, theology would not be possible without good introspection, says Pelbartus with the help of Saint Bernard.<sup>7</sup> Oddly enough, this reference does not seem to be copied from the text of the Florentine. This first condition establishes how the student should relate to himself: he must be honest and admit his faults.

This prepares him for adhering to the second rule, which implies that he seek the help of God, asking him for wisdom. This point is strengthened with a quote from the Bible, more precisely from the epistle of James.<sup>8</sup> From the position of weakness brought about by the admission of one's sins, he is now able to ask for the help of God. This second condition refers to the relation between the student and God.

The third condition necessary for learning theology is humility. The student has to be humble in order to submit himself to the authority of a master. This is argued for with two authorities. The first belongs to the *Book of proverbs*:<sup>9</sup> "when pride comes, then comes disgrace, but with the humble is wisdom." The second authority is the Philosopher<sup>10</sup> himself stating that the person who is learning should believe in the doctrine he is learning and interrogate it in a humble way.<sup>11</sup> This condition is copied, together with the authorities that sustain it, from the *Summa* of Antoninus Florentinus.<sup>12</sup> Thus, in this third point it is established how a student should relate to his master.

The fear of God in avoiding all sins constitutes the fourth condition and it is supported by a quote from the *Book of Psalms*<sup>13</sup> and one from the *Book of wisdom*,<sup>14</sup>

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There are three more editions of the *Rosarium*: Venice 1586, Venice 1589 and Brescia 1590. In order to simplify the references, this article will only quote the first edition which was completed while Pelbartus was still alive and constitutes the best witness of his work.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super 'Cantica canticorum'*, sermo 37, par. 1, vol. 2, p. 9, l. 7- 16.

<sup>7</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere I', a8rb. Johannes of Capistrano has the same opinion on the necessity of self knowledge. See: Pietro Delcorno, "'Quomodo discet sine docente?' Observant Efforts towards Education and Pastoral Care", in *A Companion to Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson, Bert Roest (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 154. From now on referred to as P. Delcorno "'Quomodo discet sine docente?'".

<sup>8</sup> James I, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Proverbs XI, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Aristoteles Latinus, *De sophisticis elenchis*, II, p. 78, l. 11 (165b 3).

<sup>11</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere I', a8rb- a8va.

<sup>12</sup> Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*, III, V, l. 3, 238.

<sup>13</sup> Psalms 110, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Wisdom, I, 4.

both of which stress that the true beginning of wisdom lies in the fear of God.<sup>15</sup> So, after having established through these rules how a student ought to relate to himself, to God and to a master, Pelbartus goes on to stipulate how wisdom begins. It should be noted that for Pelbartus, in the good Scotist tradition,<sup>16</sup> theology is more justly qualified as a type of wisdom (*sapientia*) than as a science (*scientia*), given the fact that it speaks of divine things.<sup>17</sup>

As a fifth rule, Pelbartus stipulates the exercise of virtues in acting well. This could only be a consequence of the previous rule regarding the fear of God. Only the authority of Bernard of Clairvaux<sup>18</sup> that states that true wisdom lies in doing good deeds and avoiding doing evil,<sup>19</sup> showing us that this fifth rule is also about wisdom, just like the previous one.

The sixth and by far the most interesting rule is that the student should show diligence in his studies. This position is reinforced with the help of Boethius's authority. Pelbartus is not actually quoting him but a commentary attributed to William of Weathley,<sup>20</sup> stating that diligence can soften the bluntness of any subject. Then, in order to better illustrate his point of view, he introduces two *exempla*. The first one is actually an analogy: a drop of water which can permeate rocks, not because of its strength but due to the fact that it falls steadily, is just like a man who, with the help of his mind, by frequently learning, can hunt down a meaning no matter how obtuse or difficult it might be. The second one rather paints a picture depicting a lazy person, acting like a monkey who throws away a nut because of its exterior bitterness, never getting to the sweetness of its core. Just as this monkey never gets to the sweetness of the nut, lazy people who give up as soon as they realise the difficulty of study never reach its sweetness.<sup>21</sup>

The exemplum of the lazy and impatient monkey has a long history. One can also find it, for instance, in the *De eruditione principum* of William Peraldus<sup>22</sup> to show

<sup>15</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere I', a8va.

<sup>16</sup> It is better to speak of a Scotist tradition rather than of a Scotist school of thought, given the great differences that separate the authors who claim to be following the Subtle Doctor. The difference between a school of thought and a tradition is that a school is a tradition consciously formed around a limited number of postulates. See: M. Hoenen, "Scotus and the Scotist School. The Tradition of Scotist Thought in the Medieval and Early Modern Period", *John Duns Scotus - Renewal of Philosophy*, ed. E. P. Bos (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1998), 197- 210; B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education*, 179–181.

<sup>17</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Abyssus', q. 3, a3vb.

<sup>18</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super 'Cantica canticorum'*, sermo 1, par. 2, vol. 1, p. 4, l. 4–7.

<sup>19</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere I', a8va.

<sup>20</sup> Guillelmus Wheatley (dubium), *In Boethii De scholarium disciplinis*, cap. 5, p. 197, col. 2, l. 49.

<sup>21</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere I', a8va.

<sup>22</sup> Guillelmus Peraldus, *De eruditione principum*, V, cap. 33, p. 447, col. 1, l. 8.

how some people do not try to obtain an education because of its exterior bitterness, and in James of Vitriaco's<sup>23</sup> sermons, to illustrate how people who lack intelligence run away from wisdom and prudence because they consider it bitter. Hence, this same example is used in different contexts in order to illustrate various aspects.<sup>24</sup>

This condition clearly tells us that Pelbartus is fully aware of the difficulties one encounters while studying. His preoccupation with this aspect of learning is just as evident in his third sermon dedicated to the feast of saint Catherine of Alexandria, where he states that, while he was in Krakow, he knew a student who encountered difficulties with his studies and it was only through the intervention of the saint that he could successfully complete them.<sup>25</sup>

The last condition is the love of God when perfecting one's knowledge.<sup>26</sup> This perfection, according to Bernard of Clairvaux, refers to perfecting your wisdom by progressing from the fear of God to the love for God.<sup>27</sup>

## Part 2: What sciences should one learn in order to better understand theology?

These rules are followed by a second chapter, 'Addiscere secundo', which discusses whether it is more useful for salvation to teach theology or to attend to individual souls by performing the sacraments. Pelbartus's answer is that it is more important from an absolute point of view to teach theology than to perform the sacraments.<sup>28</sup> Given that this article focuses more on the sciences that are considered necessary in order to learn theology, we shall not discuss the 'Addiscere secundo' in greater detail.

In the third chapter it is asked whether in order to learn theology it is licit to study secular sciences or, on the contrary, one should not be preoccupied with them at all. Although sciences themselves are not bad, sin can occur if they are misused. The abuse of sciences, says Pelbartus following Antoninus Florentinus,<sup>29</sup> can appear in three cases: if the things that are learned are bad in themselves, like poetic

<sup>23</sup> Iacobus de Vitriaco, *Sermones vulgares vel ad status*, sermo 6, prothema, par. 1, p. 101, l. 25.

<sup>24</sup> On the fact of reusing literary motives see: Flóra Rajhona, Eszter Laczkó, "The Forms of the Narrative Material in the Exempla of Pelbartus de Themeswar's *Pomerium*", in *Fortuna, Melusine, Genovefa*, ed. Dieter Breuer and Gábor Tüskés (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2010), 35–50.

<sup>25</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, II (pars aetiva) (Augsburg: ex officinal Henrici Gran, 1502), sermo 101, Yy 5ra. The edition of this sermon is available online: <http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=pa/pa101>. Accessed 28 November 2016.

<sup>26</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere I', a8va.

<sup>27</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 73, VI. 1, p. 312, l. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere II', a8vb.

<sup>29</sup> Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*, IV, XVI, l. 2, 1272–1273.

science which inclines one towards carnal desire or necromancy; if the intentions of the learner are wrong, for instance if he learns in order to be known (*vanitas*) or if he learns in order to know (*curiositas*) or in order to gain a profit (*cupiditas*);<sup>30</sup> and, finally, if the person who is learning loses his faith or is kept from doing his duty because of his studies.<sup>31</sup>

The rest of the chapter is divided into five “difficulties” which closely examine which sciences should be learned in order to better understand theology. This part of the text can be seen as an educational programme that Pelbartus probably aims at young people who want to study theology. Keeping in mind what the title of this entry suggests,<sup>32</sup> this text does not address teachers but pupils, discussing not so much what should be taught but what one should learn.

The first difficulty concerns which sciences should be learned in order to gain better access to theological knowledge. Pelbartus claims that all those sciences which are not forbidden are useful for the study of theology. The seven liberal arts are very important. Those of the *trivium* are the first to be mentioned: grammar teaches us to properly write and speak or pronounce, logic is useful in order to discern between truth and falsehood, rhetoric teaches the student to speak in an adorned manner. The sciences of the *quadrivium* are also permitted: music, in order to know the proportions of sounds and voices; geometry, because it is about the measures of things; arithmetic, which is about numbers and their proportions, is especially important because, in theology, mysteries are sometimes signified by numbers, and finally, astronomy, because it teaches the movements of the heavenly bodies and of the celestial spheres.<sup>33</sup>

Natural philosophy, metaphysics and ethical philosophy also play an important role, because they serve theology as handmaidens to their lady. In addition, attention should be paid to canon and civil law. The liberal arts, physics and

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<sup>30</sup> Pelbartus explicitly mentions Bernard of Clairvaux as the source for this classification. See: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super ‘Cantica canticorum’*, sermo 36, par. 3, vol. 2, 5–6, l. 25–4. Still, his direct source is Antoninus Florentinus: Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*, III, V, l. 1, 233. A similar characterization of bad and good learning can be found in the “Ab auro” Prologue of the *Rosarium*: some have tried to learn those things that surpass them out of pride or evilness, in a diabolical way (heretics), others have tried out of curiosity, in a human manner (the philosophers), whereas only a few have tried in a divinely inspired manner (the theologians). See: Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, ‘Ab auro’, a3vb. For a history of the concept of *curiositas* and its influence on modern science, see: Hans Blumberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge-London: MIT Press, 1983), 229–401.

<sup>31</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, ‘Addiscere III’, a8vb–b1ra.

<sup>32</sup> “Addiscere” means to learn as opposed to “docere”, which means to teach. So, this entry addresses the disciple and not the teacher. It is not an abstract theory about what should be taught, but rather a text aimed at those who want to study theology, telling them what they should learn beforehand.

<sup>33</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, ‘Addiscere III’, b1ra.

metaphysics make you know how to define, divide, argue for or reject a position and canonical science resembles a type of practical theology. So, according to Pelbartus, all these sciences are as useful for theology as practice is for speculation.<sup>34</sup>

The next question is whether poetry should be studied, since it corrupts the souls of the young. Just a few lines above, while it is explained how sin can appear in learning, poetry is qualified as a science that is bad in itself given that it inclines one towards carnal sin and, just like necromancy, it simply should not be studied. But, on reviewing the issue in this second difficulty, Pelbartus, following the *Summa* of Angelus of Clavasio,<sup>35</sup> divides the books written by pagans into two categories: books such as Ovid's *De arte amandi* that nobody should ever read given that they are about impudent things<sup>36</sup> and books that are useful, especially for the enrichment of one's vocabulary, although some indecent things can be found in them.<sup>37</sup> It is not at all unusual to use such justifications for the study of pagan authors. In 8<sup>th</sup> century Gaul, where Latin was considered a foreign language, the monks were allowed to read the classical authors without any restraints in order to learn it.<sup>38</sup>

In the third difficulty it is debated how mathematics might help in the study of theology. Although the solution to the first difficulty states that arithmetic and geometry might be useful because the first could help one decipher the numerical symbolism of the Bible, while the second teaches the student about the proportions of things, the issue is discussed in more detail at this point. Pelbartus thus establishes a distinction between 'mathematica' and 'matematica'. The first is useful in the study of theology, while the second is the same as divination and it is thus forbidden to read or learn it.<sup>39</sup> This passage closely follows the *Summa* of Angelus of Clavasio,<sup>40</sup> but it goes further than the text of the *Summa angelica*, also explicitly quoting the *Catholicon* of Iohannes of Ianua,<sup>41</sup> Angelus's implicit source.

<sup>34</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere III', b1ra.

<sup>35</sup> Angelus of Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae* (Nuremberg: impressa per Anthonium Koberger, 1492), 'Magister', 185vb. From now on: Angelus of Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*.

<sup>36</sup> Oswaldus of Lasko has the same opinion about the works of Ovid. He severely criticizes the masters that read his poetry with their disciples. See: Oswaldus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati* (Hagenau: ex officina Henrici Gran, 1499), sermo 79, K1vb. The text is available online at the following address:

<http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/laskaiosvat/index.php?file=os/os079>.

Accessed 28 November 2016. Also, see: Ildikó Bárczi, *Ars compilandi* (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó, 2010), 316.

<sup>37</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere III', b1ra.

<sup>38</sup> Pierre Riché, Jacques Verger, *Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Age* (Paris: Tallandier, 2006), 26.

<sup>39</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere III', b1rb.

<sup>40</sup> Angelus of Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, 'Magister', 185vb.

<sup>41</sup> Iohannes of Ianua, *Catholicon* (Venetiis: iussu et impensis domini Petri Lichtenstein, 1506), 'Matesis', 3 5va–vb.

But what about the sciences of the *quadrivium*? They are permitted, but one should not insist on them for too long. The only exception is music, which is useful in singing praises to the Lord.<sup>42</sup> Although these sciences do hold some truth, says Pelbartus naming Saint Jerome as a source,<sup>43</sup> they do not lead to piety. That being said, they are of little use and incline one to sins such as *curiositas*. Astronomy and astrology are the ones which do the most harm, sending innocent souls towards sin.<sup>44</sup> The explicit sources for this passage are Antoninus Florentinus<sup>45</sup> and Angelus of Clavasio.<sup>46</sup>

Astronomy played a very important role at the University of Krakow in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Actually, it was the science that established its reputation. Some great astronomers such as Iohannes of Glogovia and Marcin Bylica studied at the Faculty of Arts in the same period as Pelbartus of Themeswar.<sup>47</sup> It is thus difficult to explain such a critical attitude towards this subject, given Pelbartus's education.

The question concerning physics and the laws receives more of a legal answer: one can study those sciences if it does not intervene with their duties and if it can help them better fulfil their obligations. Members of a religious order who live in a monastery can only study such sciences if they do not leave the monastery for more than two months in order to do so, *sub poena excommunicationis*.<sup>48</sup> The answer is copied from Angelus of Clavasio<sup>49</sup> whom Pelbartus explicitly quotes.

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<sup>42</sup> The importance given to music was not unanimously accepted by the Observant Franciscans. John of Capistrano actually considered that too much time from the education of novices is dedicated to musical instruction. See: P. Delcorno, "Quomodo discet sine docente?", 151.

<sup>43</sup> Pelbartus actually quotes Gratian's *Decretum*: Gratianus, *Codex iuris canonici. Editio Lipsiensis secunda* (Leipzig, 1879–1881), pars 1, dist. 37, canon 10, p. 138, l. 25–27.

<sup>44</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere III', b1rb.

<sup>45</sup> Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*, IV, XVI, l, 5, 1279.

<sup>46</sup> Angelus of Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, 'Magister', 185vb.

<sup>47</sup> See: Paul Knoll, "The Arts Faculty at the University of Cracow at the End of the Fifteenth Century", in *The Copernican Achievement*, ed. R. S. Westman (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 147. Also, for the *curricula* of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Krakow, see: André Goddu, *Copernicus and the Aristotelian Tradition – Education, Reading and Philosophy in Copernicus's Path to Heliocentrism* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 5–167. The *Statutes* of this Faculty also specify what works one should have to read in order to graduate and how much time should be dedicated to each of them. See: Józef Muczkowski, ed., *Statuta necnon Liber promotionum* (Krakow, 1849), 13–15.

<sup>48</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere III', b1rb.

<sup>49</sup> Angelus of Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, 'Excommunicatio de casibus', VII, casibus 6 et 7, 96rb.



The solution to the next difficulty, regarding the usefulness of alchemy, is also copied from the *Summa Angelica*.<sup>50</sup> The fact is that alchemy should not be studied. This is not a true science: those who practice it either create false gold or silver, or they create real gold and silver through diabolical intervention.<sup>51</sup>

To sum up, the sciences that Pelbartus thinks might be useful in the study of theology are: the trivial sciences, philosophy (more precisely, natural philosophy, ethics and metaphysics), canon and civil law and, from the sciences of the *quadrivium*, music. All the rest are permitted under certain conditions, or are completely forbidden.

Nevertheless, what if somebody does not merely intend to better understand theology, but to pursue a *magisterium* in this science? Pelbartus answers this question in the fifth chapter ("*Addiscere quinto*"). In order to be a magister one must learn the *scientias humanas*: grammar, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, ethics, politics and, above all, metaphysics. These sciences teach one how to define, divide, prove or reject arguments, so whoever seeks to obtain a *magisterium* must know them, but not stop at them. As a source for this passage, Pelbartus quotes Augustine of Anchona,<sup>52</sup> but he is actually copying from the *Summa* of Antoninus Florentinus.<sup>53</sup>

Also, in order to become a magister in theology, one should learn canon law. The importance given to canon law together with that given to moral theology is a sign of the central place held by pastoral care within the observant ideology.<sup>54</sup> Theology and canon law do not differ from one another in their subject, but only in the manner in which they treat the same subject. That is to say, while theology talks about the sacraments in a subtle way, their very existence under discussion, canon law takes them as given and discusses them in a positive manner. Secondly, theology determines certain subjects in view of contemplation, whereas canon law determines them in view of action. Thirdly, while theology discusses things related to the cult of God out of belief, canon law mostly discusses the practical details of the cult, such as the order of ministers or their duties. Lastly, while theology is mostly about the introspection and the relation between man and God, canon law is about the relation between man and man and only concentrates on exterior aspects of the divine cult. Given this close relationship between theology and canon law, the student who is seeking to obtain a *magisterium* in theology should not only read the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard but also Gratian's *Decretum*.<sup>55</sup> The fact that the texts of these two authors are brought together this way is not at all unusual. Actually,

<sup>50</sup> Angelus of Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, 'Alchimia', 8rb–8va.

<sup>51</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere III', b1va.

<sup>52</sup> Augustine of Anchona, *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* (Romae: ex typographia Georgii Ferrarii, 1584), q. 108, art. 1, 535a.

<sup>53</sup> Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*, III, V, II, 239–240.

<sup>54</sup> See P. Delcorno, "'Quomodo discet sine docente?'" , 156.

<sup>55</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere V', b2ra–rb.

Gratian and Peter Lombard are very often quoted together. There is even a medieval legend according to which they were brothers or, in some instances of the legend, even twins.<sup>56</sup> The issue of the necessity to study law in order to accede to a *magisterium* is once again treated following the text of Antoninus Florentinus.<sup>57</sup> Although Augustine of Ancona<sup>58</sup> is explicitly mentioned in relation to the fact that theology and canon law only differ in regard to the manner in which they treat the same subject but not in regard to the subject itself, the reference is once again copied from the *Summa* of the Florentine.

The next two questions of the “*Addiscere quinto*” are whether a member of a religious order should pursue a *magisterium* in theology and whether it is permitted for someone to try to obtain a *licentia docendi* in theology. Though these subjects are interesting, they are not directly related to our theme and shall not be treated here.<sup>59</sup>

In conclusion, in order to obtain a *magisterium* in theology, one should have a good knowledge of both the human sciences and canon law. The first is necessary because it is those sciences that teach one to define, divide, argue for or against positions and speak in an adorned manner. The second is obligatory because canon law is like a type of practical theology: the two have the same subject which they treat in different ways.

### Part 3: What should everybody else learn?

In order to see how Pelbartus answers this question, we should return to the previous chapter, the “*Addiscere quarto*”. There, he explains what every single person should learn, according to his or her status and duties, in order to be saved. What is worth mentioning is that this question extends much farther than those which we have previously discussed. We no longer have a text that tells students of theology what to do in order to better understand the subject matter of their studies, but a text that tells all Christians what they must learn in order to be saved. The answer is copied from the *Summa de casibus conscientiae* of Angelus of Clavasio<sup>60</sup> and it implies that there are certain things that people must know according to their status and duties. Church rulers must insist on canon law. Princes and other secular rulers must learn civil law so that they may make fair judgments. They also have to know politics and defence. Judges are to know the civil laws. Those who have the souls of others in their care, such as confessors, should engage in the

<sup>56</sup> See A. Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

<sup>57</sup> Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa*, III, V, II, 2, 241- 242.

<sup>58</sup> Augustine of Ancona, *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* (Romae: ex typographia Georgii Ferrarii, 1584), q. 108, art. 3, 536b- 537a.

<sup>59</sup> For these two questions see: Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, ‘Addiscere V’, b2rb.

<sup>60</sup> Angelus of Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, ‘Scientia’, 256ra–rb.

study of *casus conscientiae*. Doctors and preachers are to pay special attention to the study of the Bible.

Those who belong to a religious order should respect what the rule of their order prescribes for each case. Learning the liberal arts, except music, is not mandatory for them, but it is advised that they study the trivial arts. They should also insist on philosophy, especially on moral philosophy and, of course, theology. If they neglect such duties, they are to be damned; Gratian's *Decretum*<sup>61</sup> is quoted in relation to this aspect, but Pelbartus does not quote it directly, but following the work of Angelus. The members of religious orders are to combine prayer and reading so as to find a good proportion.<sup>62</sup>

All Christians should know the things that belong to the Christian faith: the *Creed*, elements of the Christian faith such as the fact that the feasts of the saints should be publicly celebrated, the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria*, the precepts of the Decalogue. Parents and godfathers who do not teach their children or godsons these things commit a deadly sin and so do the children *post annos discretionis*. Still, it can suffice if a Christian knows the information that these prayers contain without knowing how to recite them by heart. But, if he were to be asked about them he would know how to answer correctly. So, for instance if somebody were to be asked whether Jesus was the son of God and they would know to answer affirmatively they might be excused for not knowing the *Creed* by heart. Although such knowledge might suffice, Christians should be advised to learn these prayers and the precepts of the Decalogue by heart.<sup>63</sup> Generally, the Observants emphasise the catechization of lay Christians. This is proven both by the contents of their sermons, as well as by the great number of Catechisms that originate from the observant milieu.<sup>64</sup>

According to Pelbartus, people should know different things according to their duties. What is more interesting is that the lack of necessary knowledge can lead to damnation. So, if somebody does a bad job because of his lack of education, it is also considered a sin.

## Conclusion

The main purpose of this article was to present Pelbartus of Themeswar's opinion concerning which sciences should be learned in order to better understand theology.

<sup>61</sup> Gratianus, *Codex iuris canonici. Editio Lipsiensis secunda* (Leipzig, 1879–1881), pars 1, dist. 37, canon 8, p. 138, l. 8 et *sqq.*

<sup>62</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere IV', b1va–vb.

<sup>63</sup> Pelbartus of Themeswar, *Rosarium*, 'Addiscere IV', b1vb.

<sup>64</sup> See, P. Delcorno, "'Quomodo discet sine docente?'" 174–182. Also, on the great number of Catechisms see Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 230–313.

His theory is compiled<sup>65</sup> from the works of Antoninus Florentinus and Angelus of Clavasio, as the rich critical apparatus of the article illustrates. However, his manner of bringing these opinions together in order to construct his text is remarkable: he manages to address all possible aspects that one can think of regarding the process of learning, beginning with how one should prepare oneself for the study of theology (“*Addiscere I*”) and ending with the conditions under which it is permitted for somebody to try and obtain a *licentia docendi* in theology (“*Addiscere V*”).

Given that not all subjects were equally important for the theme, we have focused on only three aspects: how one should prepare for the study of theology, which sciences should one learn in order to better understand theology and in order to pursue a *magisterium* in this science and finally, what everybody should learn, given one’s status and duties, in order to be saved. These three aspects manage to round up the educational program put forth by Pelbartus of Themeswar. Despite the impressive number of sciences that Pelbartus thinks one should learn, the Observant ambivalence towards the subject of education is quite evident from his opinions<sup>66</sup>: pagan sciences can be studied only under certain conditions and in view of better understanding theology.

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<sup>65</sup> On the technique of compilation, see Alastair Minnis, “Nolens Auctor sed Compiler Reputari: the Late Medieval Discourse of Compilation”, *La méthode critique au Moyen Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 47–63. Neil Hathaway, “Compilatio: From Plagiarism to Compiling”, *Viator* 20 (1989): 19–44. For an exposition of the connected issue of ‘plagiarism’ in the Middle Ages, see Monica Brînzei, “Plagium”, *Mots médiévaux offerts à Ruedi Imbach* (Turnhout, Porto: Brepols, 2011), 559–568.

<sup>66</sup> See: P. Delcorno, ““Quomodo discet sine docente?””, 150, 154–155.