

SO NEAR AND YET SO FAR AWAY. THE RECEPTION OF THE HOMILETIC WORKS OF PELBARTUS DE THEMESWAR AND OSUALDUS DE LASKO IN TRANSYLVANIA

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Abstract Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osualdus de Lasko are the only Hungarian authors of sermon collections in the Middle Ages. For a research concerning medieval preaching in Transylvania, focusing mainly on the reception of homiletic literature, their works are of a special importance. As they were compiled in the proximity, one might expect that these preaching aids arouse the interest of the Transylvanian public and the amount of copies currently preserved in local libraries suggests the same. The present paper questions the provenance of these volumes in order to determine to what extent they were received, circulated and used in this province of the Hungarian Kingdom at the end of the Middle Ages.

Keywords Sermon collections, medieval preaching, Pelbartus de Themeswar, Osualdus de Lasko, Transylvanian libraries

During the Middle Ages at the core of the intellectual life stood the clergy, who had access to the written word and was concerned of thinking and teaching others to think¹. The involvement and interest for such activities among the less enlightened figures, who did not left written works, are deciphered by looking at the studies they undertook, especially their

* doi: 10.26424/philobib.2019.24.2.11

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This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNDS-UEFISCDI, project PN-III-P4-ID-PCCF-2016-0064: 'Nașterea elitei intelectuale in Europa Centrală. Formarea profesorilor la Universitatea din Viena (1389-1450)/ The Rise of an Intellectual Elite in Central Europe: Making Professors at the University of Vienna, 1389-1450'.

¹ Jacques le Goff, *Intelectualii în evul mediu* (Intellectuals in the Middle Ages) (București: Meridiane, 1994), 19.

university education, but can also be traced in the books they owned and used². The present inquiry focuses on the Transylvanian clergy, searching a particular category among the books to which it had access, namely texts belonging to homiletic literature. The reception of such works is able to offer clues about the manner in which Transylvanian clerks used to fulfil one of the main pastoral tasks, that of preaching. As Alain de Lille memorably and comprehensively described it as *manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens, ex rationum semita et auctoritatum fonte proveniens*³, the delivery of a sermon involved the task of teaching others by transmitting doctrinal and moral precepts.

The present paper starts from an observation and a question to which I have constantly return during a PhD research, which explores preaching in late medieval Transylvania, with a special focus on the reception of homiletic literature in this region, after the emergence of printing. Regarding the sources that allow such a research endeavour, the Transylvanian situation is somehow peculiar due to the lack of prominent local preachers, authors of sermon collections. In fact, as a border region of the Latin Christendom, its specific in terms of features of literate behaviour translated in receptivity, rather than creativity⁴. Although a province with strong particularities – justifying an approach that considers it on its own – Transylvania was during the Middle Ages part of the Hungarian Kingdom. Placing it within this context, one cannot overlook the existence of representative figures of preachers at the level of the entire Realm. Towards the end of the medieval era, at the turn of the 16th century, two preachers originating here, both activating within the Order of the Friars Minor, compiled collections of model sermons: Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osualdus de Lasko⁵. For the investigation of the homiletic literature that circulated in Transylvania the works of the two Hungarian authors represent the sole sources produced in the proximity. The question that

² The need to extend the research concerning higher education both in terms of inquired sources, including books as useful material for an in-depth understanding of medieval education beyond the quantitative approach of university attendance, and in terms of object of analysis, by looking towards the activity and careers of former students after returning home, is emphasized by Adinel Dincă, “Unknown Books from Medieval Universities. Some Transylvanian Examples”, in *University and Universality. The Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day*, eds. Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai, István Lengvári, Éva Schmelczner-Pohánka, Pécs, 2017, 163-176.

³ Alain de Lille, “Ars praedicandi”, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, Vol. 210, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, Paris, 1855, col. 111–195, here 111.

⁴ Reflecting upon literacy and its manifestation in East Central Europe, Anna Adamska considers this peripheral region of the medieval *Latinitas* as an area of ‘creative reception of cultural models’, including a ‘passive and indirect literate behaviour’. See Anna Adamska, “Intersections: Medieval East Central Europe from the Perspective of Literacy and Communication”, in *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, eds. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (London – New York: Routledge, 2016), 225-238.

⁵ Different variants of their names are to be found in the literature: Pelbartus/ Pelbart de Themeswar/ Temesvar/ Temesvár, Temesvári Pelbart and Osualdus/Osvaldus/Oswaldus/ Oswald/ Oswald de Lasko/Lasco, Laskai Osvát; I will refer them using the variant usually encountered in medieval sources and primarily in the titles or colophons of their works.

arises inevitably is: to what extent were their sermon collections received, circulated and used in Transylvania? In the following pages, I intend to offer a possible answer, by looking at the material currently preserved in libraries and at some indirect sources as well.

Before trying to respond this question, I shall offer a short introduction regarding the activity and the homiletic writings of the two authors considered here. Information regarding their identity and lives are rather sparse. Pelbartus (c. 1435-1504) is mentioned for the first time in 1458, when he was beginning his university studies at Krakow⁶, while in 1463 he appears in the *Liber promotionum as baccalaureus artium*⁷. The Chronicle of the Friars Minor of the province of Bosnia and Hungary, attributed to Blasius de Zalka, provides certain subsequent information. According to this source in 1483 he was living in the St. John convent in Buda, where he was teaching theology, following the *Sentences* of Petrus Lombardus⁸. Reinforcing this data, in some of his works Pelbartus is referred as *sacrae pagine professor* or *sacrae theologiae professor*⁹. The same chronicle informs regarding his death on January 22, 1504¹⁰. His homiletic work includes two sermon collections: one entirely dedicated to the Virgin Mary – *Stellarium Beate Virginis Mariae*, first printed in 1498, sometimes considered rather a theological work – and the second, offering model sermons for all the Sundays, feasts and for the Lent in three volumes – *Pomerium sermonum* (1498-1499). They are joined by two other works probably related to his position as a teacher in the convent of Buda, namely an explanation of the Psalms – *Expositio Psalmorum*, first printed in 1504 – and an encyclopaedic theological work, inspired by the commentaries of the *Sentences* – *Aureum Sacrae Theologiae Rosarium*, in four volumes (printed first in 1503, 1504, 1507, the last one compiled by Osualdus de Lasko – 1508).

⁶ Antoni Gašiorowski, *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400-1508*, (Krakow: Towarzystwo naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2004), 272.

⁷ Idem, *Liber promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculi decimi quinti* (Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci, 2000), 53.

⁸ *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita* (henceforth: *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae*), ed. F. Toldy, (Pesta: Gustavus Emich Acad. Hung. Typographus, 1862; Reprint: Budapest: Bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae, 1986), 250.

⁹ Some examples of such mentions within the titles are: *Pomerium Sermonum De Tempore [...] Per Religiosu[m] [et] deuotu[m] Patrem: litterarum diuina[rum] Professorem eximijssimu[m]: fratre[m] Pelbartu[m] de Themeswar [...]* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynmann, 1503), VD 16 P 1183; *Expositio compendiosa et familiaris [...] Qua[m] expositione[m] Religiosus pater Sacre Theologie Professor Ord[in]is Mino[rum] de Observatia Frater Pelbartus d[ic]e Themeswar [...]* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynmann, 1504); *Secu[n]dus Liber Rosarii Theologie aurei: [...] Per Religiosum devotu[m]q[ue] P[at]rem sacre pagine Professore[m] ... Fratrem Pelbartu[m] de Themeswar [...]* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynmann, 1504), VD 16 P 1159.

¹⁰ *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae*, 253. The most recent and comprehensive synthesis of the debates and research outcomes regarding Pelbartus' origins, life, studies and work is offered by Alexandra Baneu, *Structuri conceptuale în opera lui Pelbartus de Themeswar. Elemente de gândire scotistă în 'Rosarium'* (Conceptual structures within the work of Pelbartus de Themeswar. Elements of Scotist Thinking in *Rosarium*) (Cluj-Napoca: unpublished PhD Thesis, 2016).

Oswaldus de Lasko (c. 1450-1511) – contemporary and student of Pelbartus – is known both as author of sermons and for the position he held within the Order. According to the *matricula* of the University of Vienna, he started his studies here in 1474¹¹. Unfortunately, there is no further evidence telling for how long he had been a student, nor about when or if he graduated. More consistent data exist for the last decade of the 15th century. In 1493 he seems to have been guardian of the observant convent from Sälard, holding the position of *visitor* of the custody of Strigonium as well, while in 1497 he is mentioned as guardian of the convent of Pest¹². During the same year, he was elected to lead the Hungarian vicariate of the observant branch of the order, a position he occupied two times consecutively and for the third time from 1507. According to the previously cited chronicle, in the function of vicar he compiled the text of the observant constitutions adopted in 1499, at the chapter held in Atya¹³. As already mentioned, after Pelbartus' death he took care of bringing his theological work to completion. Another contribution assigned to him is a part of the often-mentioned chronicle of the Friars Minor from Bosnia and Hungary¹⁴. Nonetheless, it seems he also wrote a biography or *vita* of John of Capestrano, a text he cites twice in his sermons, but no longer exists nowadays¹⁵. As a sermon author, his work is to some extent comparable with that of Pelbartus, including two collections. One of them offers model sermons for the entire liturgical year, in three volumes, under the title *Biga salutis* (1497, 1498, 1501). It is joined by a collection entitled *Gemma fidei*, with a single edition in 1507, which comprises a cycle of 71 sermons for Lent, with a narrower addressability, providing speeches with rich theological and doctrinal content, short treatises, meant strictly to strengthen the faith of the Catholic population of the Hungarian Kingdom, exposed to various kinds of heterodoxies and to the Ottoman threat. Given their rich activity within the Order of the Friars Minor in Hungary and their popularity, the writings of these two authors were subject to numerous studies, which focused mostly on their content¹⁶ or, in terms of reception, on the inventory of the different editions¹⁷ and on the

¹¹ *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien. Im Auftrag des Akademischen Senats herausgegeben vom Archiv der Universität Wien*, Vol. II: 1451-1518/I, eds. Franz Gall, Willy Szaivert (Graz-Wien-Köln: 1967) XXII, 146.

¹² Balázs Kertész, "Two Hungarian Friars Minor (Franciscan Observants) in the Late Middle Ages: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko", in *Infima aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, eds. P. E. Kovács, K. Szovák (Budapest: Corvina, 2009), 60–78.

¹³ *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae*, 252.

¹⁴ Balázs Kertész, "The 1499 Constitutions of the Hungarian Observant Franciscan Vicariate", *Chronica* 15 (2017): 173-186, accessed August 10, 2019:

<https://ojs.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php/chronica/article/view/31691>, here 177-178; A. Tarnai, "A magyarországi obszervánsok rendi krónikájának szerzői és forrásai" (The writers and sources of the chronicle of the Hungarian Observants), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 77 (1973): 135–147, here 140; Idem, "A magyar nyelvet írni kezdi" *Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon* (Hungarian Language is Being Written. Literary Thinking in Hungary in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Corvina, 1984), 94.

¹⁵ T. Kálmán, "Laskai Ozsvát ismeretlen műve" (An unknown work of Ozvát Laskai), *Religio* 67 (1908): 697–699.

¹⁶ Among the recent studies undertaken in this respect: Marie Madeleine de Cevins, "La religion des laïcs, vue par les prédicateurs franciscains hongrois de la fin du Moyen Âge", *Specimina Nova* 1 (2001): 147-

way they influenced the beginnings of literature in Hungary¹⁸. The presence of aforementioned sermon collections in medieval libraries within the Kingdom was not investigated so far, although the subject was not entirely neglected by the historiography. I shall mention here just two of the opinions formulated on this particular aspect, which suggest that further exploration in this direction might be opportune. Marianne Rozsondai, in an article from 1984 dedicated to the investigation of the bindings of the Pelbartus' works preserved within the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, states that the writings of this author must have been accessible and known by his Hungarian contemporaries, but the volumes purchased and used in this area during medieval times were to a great extent destroyed¹⁹. More recently, in her book about the observant branch of the Order of the Friars Minor in Hungary, Marie Madeleine de Cevins also formulates some remarks regarding the importance of the works of the two Franciscan authors, arguing that their preaching aids must have found their place among the book collections of medieval Franciscan convents from Hungary. Her arguments in this respect are a reference to *Pomerium* from 1510, the great number of copies of these sermon collections currently preserved in Hungarian libraries and their consistent presence in later Franciscan libraries.²⁰

Starting from such premises, I attempted to identify all the copies of the sermon collections authored by Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osualdus de Lasko that are currently preserved in libraries from Transylvania, as a first step towards detecting the locally circulated volumes. In the case of Pelbartus, I found no less than forty-four copies in thirty-seven volumes, which makes him the author of printed sermon collections with the greatest number of copies preserved in Transylvanian libraries. Within such a hierarchy, he would be followed by Pseudo-Petrus de Palude, whose works are represented by twenty-four copies. Regarding

168; Eadem, "Le stéréotype du bon laïc dans les sermons franciscains hongrois de la fin du Moyen Âge", in *Le stéréotype, outil de régulations sociales*, eds. M. Grandière, M. Molin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 15-49; Ildikó Bárczi, "La diversité thématique dans les prédications de Pelbart de Temesvár", *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 100 (2007): 251- 310.

¹⁷ Borsa Gedeon, "Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt műveinek megjelentetői" (The Editors of the Works of Osualdus de Lasko and Pelbartus de Themeswar), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 121 (2005): 1-24; Dominikus Göcking, "Beschreibung der Druckausgaben der Werke des Franziskaner-Observanten Oswald de Lasco", *Kirchliches Buch- und Bibliothekswesen. Jahrbuch* 1 (2000): 23-33; Lajos Borda, "Über die Inkunabelausgaben von Pelbartus de Themeswars Stellarium", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 82 (2007): 97-100.

¹⁸ Böröcz Marcell, *Ferencesek a középkori magyar irodalomban* (The Franciscans in the Hungarian Medieval Literature) (Pécs: Katholikus Hírlapkiadó, 1911); Horváth Cirill, "Temesvári Pelbárt és kódexeink" (Pelbart de Temesvár in the Hungarian Codicological Literature), *Budapesti Szemle* 65 (1891): 383-399, 66 (1892): 21-43.

¹⁹ Rozsondai Marianne, "Temesvári Pelbárt népszerűsége Európában. Miről vallanak a könyvkötések" (The Popularity of Pelbartus de Themeswar in Europe as Witnessed by Bookbindings), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 100 (1984): 300-319, here 318.

²⁰ Marie Madeleine de Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle: vers 1450-vers 1540*, (Roma: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2008), 245-246.

the volumes compiled by Osualdus, the number is smaller, gathering just eight copies in seven volumes, but comparable with that of the works of other well represented authors, such as Johannes Herolt (9), Leonardus de Utino (7) or Robertus Caracciolus (6). Fifty-two copies in forty-four volumes²¹ represents more than twenty percent of the amount of sermon collections, printed until the middle of the 16th century, extant in Transylvania (Chart 1). This promising statistic seems to confirm the assumption made by Marie Madeleine de Cevins or, at least, her argument regarding the current presence of these two authors' works in local book collections. However, a look towards the distribution of this material in libraries raises some question marks (Table 1). The most striking aspect is the high number of works owned by the Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca (16), compared for instance with their presence in the Library of the Brukenthal National Museum from Sibiu (7). Although an important holder of old books, the collections from Cluj are rather rich in early modern and modern materials, comprising 81 incunabula²² and 27 sermon collections published in the first century of printing, while the library in Sibiu preserves a collection of 382²³ incunabula and approximately 70 homiletic volumes printed until the middle of the 16th century. But probably a more significant difference between the two institutions is the way in which their collections were gathered, the one from Sibiu having a stronger historical local background²⁴. Moreover, the volumes preserved in Cluj were already subject to a survey concerned with their bindings – one of the material elements useful in tracking the route of an old book – which emphasized that many covers were replaced in the Modern Times, while all the preserved historical bindings were manufacture in the German area or in Central Europe²⁵. Therefore, the question is: how and

²¹ This number might not be definitive, as the 16th-century prints preserved in Romanian libraries are only partially catalogued. For instances, for the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia, I only counted the incunabula and two *cinquecentinae*, recorded in a catalogue strictly concerned with the books coming from Levoča: Eva Selecká Mârza, *A középkori lőcsei könyvtár* (The Medieval Library of Levoča) (Szeged: Scriptum, 1997). In other cases, such as the Municipal Library from Sighişoara or the Brukenthal Library from Sibiu, the volumes printed in the 16th century were identified exclusively through field research.

²² Elena Mosora, Doina Hanga, *Catalogul incunabilelor* (The Catalogue of Incunabula) (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1979).

²³ Veturia Jugăreanu, *Catalogul colecției de incunabile* (Catalogue of the Incunabula Collection) (Sibiu, s.n., 1969).

²⁴ Adinel Dincă, "The Lost Libraries of Transylvania: Some Examples from the 15th and 16th Centuries", IFLA World Library and Information Congress Milan, Italy 23rd -27th August 2009, online: <https://www.ifla.org/past-wlic/2009/78-dinca-en.pdf>, last accessed: August 9, 2019.

²⁵ Hajnal Bartha, "The Bindings of Works by Pelbartus of Themeswar and Osualdus de Lasko in the Collections of the University Library, Cluj", *Philobiblon: Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities* 3, 1/2 (1998): 277-285. The works of Pelbartus de Themeswar preserved in the Teleki-Bolyai Library from Târgu Mureş were also presented in a separate study, but the provenance of these volumes is not especially addressed. Weisz Szidonia, "Un *pomerio sommo theologo* în Biblioteca Teleki-Bolyai. Operele lui Pelbartus de Themeswar" (*A pomerio sommo theologo* within the Teleki-Bolyai Library. The Works of Pelbartus de Themeswar), *Libraria. Studii și cercetări de bibliologie* 9 (2010): 92-99.

when did all these volumes reach Transylvania? To what extent can we talk about medieval reception?

Beyond any supposition, the copies themselves can provide an unequivocal answer and a few volumes do indeed bare the traces of their Transylvanian circulation. A copy of the part comprising *sermones quadragesimales* from the first edition of *Pomerium*, kept in the Brukenthal Library²⁶, seems to have belonged to the convent of the Friars Minor from Mediaș. An inscription clarifies that it was assigned to this religious house by the provincial vicar²⁷ for the common use of the friars – explicitly mentioning that it was forbidden to be appropriated for someone’s own benefit (Fig. 1). Other annotations are rather scarce, only a few marginal notes appear in the first two parts of the book.

A second example of a volume that reached Transylvania soon after being printed is to be found within the holdings of the Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca and it is a copy of the same work, *Sermones Quadragesimales Pomerii*, but from a later edition²⁸. An ownership inscription written down on the first page discloses that in 1532 the book arrived in the hands of Friar *Petrus de Vasarhel*, inhabitant of a convent from Alba Iulia, and it was received from *Petrus Teremi*, a citizen of Cluj, for the soul of *Gervasius*, priest in the same town. Therefore, between the moment it was published and the moment it was donated to the convent in Alba Iulia the book might have been used in Cluj. Concerning the recipient of the gift, another manuscript annotation added later (Fig. 2) clarifies its identity: *Conventus Albegywl[en]se[rum] ordinis predicator[um]*. A convent of the Order of the Friars Preachers was established in Alba Iulia during the 13th century, its existence being disrupted in the context of Reformation, in 1551. The friars tried to return in the town, without success, in 1553 and 1581²⁹. However, at

²⁶ Appendix: nr. 34.

²⁷ When cataloguing this volume Veturia Jugăreanu transcribed the sequence of the inscription referring to this person as: „per fratrem P.V.”. However, it does not make too much sense to interpret these two letters as initials of a name, in which case we would have to deal with a friar who donated the book, as usually donors’ names are fully recorded. A more reliable lecture of this note would be: “per Reverendum Patrem Vicarium”, the initials being read as abbreviations of a well-known title, making the whole inscription more comprehensible and logical. This solution seems natural, as for instance in the text of the constitutions of the Hungarian vicariate adopted in the chapter from Atya in 1499 the vicar is constantly nominated with the words “Reverendus Pater Vicarius” and sometimes even in abbreviated forms as “Reverendus P. V.” or “R. P. V.”. Moreover, the verb used to express how this volume reached Mediaș is „deputatum est”, in total conformity with the constitutions, which state that the provincial vicar was in charge of the acquisition and distribution of books. The further warning that the book must not be used for one’s own benefit, but it was to serve the use of all friars – reiterating the regulations from the same constitutions – reinforce the idea that it was assigned to them by the provincial vicar. See *Leges Ecclesiasticae Regni Hungariae Et Provinciarum Adiacentium*, Vol. III, ed. Ignác Batthyány, (Cluj: s.n., 1827), 611.

²⁸ Appendix: nr. 6.

²⁹ *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș* (The Dictionary of Monasteries from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș), eds. Adrian Andrei Rusu, Nicolae Sabău, Ileana Burnichioiu, Ioan Vasile Leb and Mária Máko Lupescu (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), 47-48.

that moment, the volume was already in the hands of a different owner, probably a member of the noble family Lazar, as a note recorded on the last page, dating back to 1580, refers to a certain *Stephanus Lazar de Zaarhegy* (Fig. 3).

The presence of other volumes in medieval Transylvania can only be presumed. The same Brukenthal Library preserves a copy of *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis* bound together with a copy of *Stellarium*, printed in 1514 at Lyon³⁰, which was previously part of the so-called *Kapellenbibliothek* – the library of the Lutheran Gymnasium of Sibiu, established in the second half of the 16th century³¹. On the book's edge, the coat of arms of the town of Sibiu is stamped with hot iron (Fig. 4), a mark that seems to be common to volumes that formerly belonged to the medieval book collection of one of the local religious institutions³². Given the absence of any further ownership marks, the situation is still uncertain. Another unknown detail is the moment when a copy of a sermon collection of Osualdus de Lasko, printed in 1516 at Hagenau, reached Transylvania³³. The volume bares an annotation mentioning *Johannes Baier* (Fig. 4a), member of the town council of Sibiu, who in 1598 bequeathed this and a few other volumes to the same Lutheran Gymnasium³⁴. The note is identical with one of those present on the pages of Pelbartus' work owned by the Friars Minor in Mediaş (Fig. 4b). The palaeographic characteristics of other manuscript notes spread throughout the pages of the volume indicate that it was also used before 1598, but there are no further arguments for linking the earlier use with a Transylvanian reader.

Therefore, among the fifty-two copies of the sermon collections compiled by the two Hungarian Friars minor and currently preserved in Transylvania, only two are baring irrefutable proofs of local medieval circulation, while for other three their presence in this region can be presumed (Chart 3). By expanding the survey, further data regarding the Transylvanian reception of these works could be added. In this respect, one more volume was identified in a library from nowadays Hungary, i.e. a copy of a collection comprising Sunday sermons of

³⁰ Appendix: nr.38-39.

³¹ Friedrich Mueller, "Die Inkunabel der Hermannstädter Kapellenbibliothek", *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 14 (1877): 293-358, 489-543; Friedrich Teutsch, "Der älteste Katalog der Hermannstädter Kapellenbibliothek", *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 3 (1880): 93-94; Atilla Verok, "Das Buch als Repraesentationsmittel bei den Siebenbuerger Sachsen", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 30 (2016): 91-99, here 93-94.

³² Adinel Dincă, "Biblioteca oraşului Sibiu în evul mediu. Câteva considerații pe marginea unei confuzii istoriografice" (*The Library of the Sibiu Town in the Middle Ages. A Few Considerations Concerning a Historiographical Confusion*), in *Cluj - Kolozsvár - Klausenburg 700: várostörténeti tanulmányok = studii de istorie urbană* (Cluj - Kolozsvár - Klausenburg 700: Studies of Urban History), coord. Lupescu Makó Mária, eds. Ionuț Costea, Ovidiu Ghitta, Sipos Gábor and Rüz-Fogarasi Enikő (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2018), 431-436, here 434-435.

³³ Appendix: nr. 33.

³⁴ Gustav Gündisch, "Die Bücherei des Hermannstädter Ratsherrn Johannes Bayer", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 13 (1990): 23-34.

Osualdus de Lasko, which belonged in the 16th century to the Franciscan convent from Cluj³⁵. From approximately seventy printed homiletic works for which I was able to determine that they arrived in Transylvania shortly after being published, these three, optimistically six copies represent a small fraction (Chart 2), but not an exceptional one. With maximum four copies of Pelbartus and two of Osualdus, the reception of the works of these authors in the time they were compiled fits within a statistic common to other authors of sermon collections as well: four copies of the postils assigned to Guillelmus Parisiensis, probably four sermon collections of Johannes Herolt, at least two of Leonardus de Utino and a few more in the case of the work *Sermones thesauri novi* attributed to Petrus Paludanus (cca. 9).

The hypothesis advanced by Marianne Rozsandai regarding the losses to which medieval libraries from the Hungarian Kingdom were subjected could also be checked thanks to some indirect sources regarding the reception of the works authored by Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osualdus de Lasko. A first proof of this kind is their direct citation by one of the few locally produced homiletic writings, i.e. the so call “Mediascher Predigtbuch”. Alongside some of the Church Fathers, Johannes Herold, Hugo de Prato, Haymo or Johannes Eck, the names of the two Friars Minor are among the sources³⁶ of this work compiled around 1535-1536 probably in the environment of the Franciscan convent in Albești³⁷. Its library must have included copies of the quoted works: *Biga salutis*, *Stellarium* and *Pomerium*, which were probably lost or at least could not be identified so far among the preserved material. For Transylvania, one of the greatest losses of this kind was the library of the Lutheran Gymnasium from Braşov, which in the context of the Protestant Reformation took possession of book collections previously gathered by Catholic religious establishments. The library was devastated by the Great Fire from 1689 and only a few medieval volumes survived³⁸, but the catalogues compiled before this dreadful moment seem to include the books took over from pre-Reformation institutions as well³⁹, helping recovering what was vanished. The alphabetic list from the earliest catalogue of this library, dating back to 1575, includes a record of *Biga salutis*,⁴⁰ which can only refer to the work of Osualdus de Lasko. In what concerns the works of

³⁵ Csapodi Csaba and Csapodiné Gárdonyi Klára, *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526* (Bibliotheca Hungarica. Codices and Printed Books in Hungary before 1526), Vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár, 1988), 307, nr. 1116.

³⁶ Adolf Schullerus, “Das Mediascher Predigtbuch”, *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 41 (1923): 5-160, here 97-108; Balázs J. Nemes, ‘Das „Mediascher Predigtbuch“. Miszelle zu einem Plenar mit Perikopen in deutsch-lateinischer Mischsprache aus Siebenbürgen am Vorabend der Reformation’, *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 38 (2015): 31–36, here 35.

³⁷ Karl Reinerth, “Wer war der Verfasser des sogenannten *Mediascher Predigtbuches*”, *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 1 (1971): 75-83.

³⁸ Adrian Papahagi, “Lost Libraries and Surviving Manuscripts: The Case of Medieval Transylvania”, *Library and Information History* 31 (2015): 35-53, here 41.

³⁹ Dincă, “The Lost Libraries of Transylvania”, 5; Papahagi, “Lost Libraries and Surviving Manuscripts”, 40.

⁴⁰ Julius Gross, “Zur ältesten Geschichte der Kronstädter Gymnasialbibliothek”, *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 21 (1887): 591-708, here 605.

Pelbartus, a mention of *Sermones quadragesimales Pomerii* appears only in an inventory from 1622,⁴¹ so it was most likely acquired later. Therefore, in this case only one volume with plausible medieval local circulation was lost, compared to slightly larger numbers of homiletic works pertaining to other authors (3 or 4 of Mefreth, 3 of Pseudo-Petrus de Palude, 3 of Johannes Herolt). In such conditions, the decisive factor for the reception of the works of all these authors must have been more or less the same, the most important common feature being that they succeeded to penetrate the book market and became influential in the field of pastoral literature.

Without a manuscript tradition precedent to their publishing, the sermon collections of these two Hungarian observant Franciscans were printed starting from the last years of the 15th century, a time when the diffusion of homiletic literature known an unprecedented dynamic, with record numbers of editions. Moreover, the writings of the two Franciscans were not printed on Hungarian grounds. The publishing of their first editions in Western Europe, at Hagenau, in the printing press of the famous Heinrich Gran, pioneer of printing in Alsace, with the financial support of Johannes Rynmann, and their further reprinting for two successive decades in other important typographic centres (Basel, Lyon, Strasbourg, Venice, Paris etc.) guaranteed a fast and safe enter on the market⁴². Hence, although their authors lived and activated in the vicinity of Transylvania, the works themselves did not reach this region directly, but through the channels of book distribution, which were linking this province with the Occident, as each sermon collection of the other mentioned authors.

A simple look over the number of editions of the sermon collections published until 1520 clearly emphasizes the popularity enjoyed by the preaching aids compiled by Pelbartus and Osualdus all around Europe and, besides, can provide an explanation for the difference between the numbers of preserved copies. If those of Pelbartus' works are visibly higher, might be due to the likewise higher number of editions. In fact, in a hierarchy of popular authors of homiletic works, established by Anne T. Thayer based on this criterion of the number of editions, Pelbartus occupies the seventh position, while in the hierarchy of popular sermon collections *Pomerium* stands on the fifth place⁴³. Additionally, the typographic centres where the works of Pelbartus and Osualdus were printed are also among the most prolific ones

⁴¹ Ibid., 630.

⁴² István Monok, "Hungary and Transylvania and the European Publishing Centres in the Sixteenth Century: The Cases of Paris, Basel and Venice", in *A Divided Hungary in Europe: Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541-1699*, Vol. 1 *Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationship*, ed. Gábor Almási (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 229-252, especially 232-233, 236-237. Gedeon Borsa explains under which circumstances were the works of the two Hungarian authors published by Johannes Rynmann. Gedeon Borsa, "Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt műveinek megjelentetői", 11-14. About Johannes Rynmann's activity as publisher, see Albrecht Kirchoff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, Vol. 1 *Notizen über einige Buchhändler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Verlag der J. C. Hinrichs'shen Buchhandlung, 1851), 8-40.

⁴³ Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 17, Table 2.1., 31, Table 2.6.

in terms of amount of published sermon collections⁴⁴. Furthermore, according to the conclusions of the aforementioned scholar, it was the large addressability and versatility of this kind of homiletic works, which guaranteed their success on the market.

For better understanding the routes of these two authors' books, an answer to the following question is required: when did the other volumes extant in current libraries reached Transylvania, increasing the numbers to such important (and misleading) amounts? Some copies might suggest a local use of the works of Pelbartus de Themesvar and Osualdus de Lasko a century or more after their publishing. No less than five copies of the sermon collections of Pelbartus display an ownership marks of Jesuit establishments from Cluj and Alba Iulia⁴⁵. Another one, printed in 1503, although lacking any marks pointing towards a possessor, was intensively annotated. Some of the notes were cut through, but the part of the text that can still be deciphered is enough to enable at least a hypothesis. A first observation is that these recordings are both in Latin and in Hungarian. The region where the volume was used can be restrained even more, since the names of two Princes of Transylvania can be identified in the manuscript annotations, namely Sigismund Rákóczi (1607-1608) and Gheorghe Rákóczi I (1630-1648), dating the presence of the book in Transylvania in the first half of the 17th century⁴⁶. Moreover, it was during the reign of Gheorghe Rakoczy I when the mission of the Bosnian Franciscans was officially opened in Transylvania, while in 1640 the Transylvanian Franciscan custody was established⁴⁷. The volumes held by the National Sekler Museum in Miercurea Ciuc, recovered from the Franciscan convent of Șumuleu-Ciuc might have arrived there in the same period, but there is insufficient proof in order to determine the precise moment. In two cases, only fragments of the works are preserved, making it impossible to identify the provenance. Two other works bounded together in one volume do not display any ex-libris or ownership inscription. A single volume comprises a manuscript note indicating *Emericus de [Giengies]* as user in 1570, which stands as evidence that the book arrived in the Transylvanian Franciscan convent later⁴⁸. However, this convent was the sole Catholic establishment in Transylvania that survived the Reformation and became a focal point for the Franciscan mission. Therefore, it is possible that these volumes have re-found their usefulness in the context of Counter Reformation, the more so as, in the same context, some of the works of the two Hungarian authors were reissued. Such copies of *Rosarium*, edited in Venice in 1586

⁴⁴ Ibid., 32-33, Figure 2.2. According to this statistic, the most prolific typographic centres in terms of the printing of sermon collection are: Lyon, Strasbourg, Paris, Venice, Cologne, Hagenau and Nurnberg. With the single exception of Cologne, editions of the works of Pelbartus and Osualdus were printed in all these cities.

⁴⁵ Appendix: nr. 9 (*Residentia Albana Societatis Jesu*), nr. 41 (*Colegii Societatis Jesu Claudiopolitani 1604*), 43, (*Collegii Claudiopolitani Societatis Jesu Catalogus inscriptus 1717*), nr. 44, 45 (*Domus Monostor. Societatis Jesu 1701*).

⁴⁶ Appendix: nr. 11, f. [9]r, [111]r. The names of these two Princes do not occur in ownership inscriptions, but in notes that were most probably pen trials.

⁴⁷ Lucian Periș, *Prezențe catolice în Transilvania, Moldova și Țara Românească (1601-1698)* (Catholic Presences in Transylvania, Moldavia and Valachia: 1601-1698) (Blaj: Buna Vestire, 2005), 251-259.

⁴⁸ Appendix: nr. 46 (manuscript note from 1570), nr. 47, 48 (without ownership marks), nr. 49, 50 (fragments).

and currently part of the Teleki Library in Târgu Mureş and of the old book collection from the Seckler Museum of Ciuc, belonged during the 17th century to the Transylvanian Franciscan convents from Călugăreni⁴⁹ and Şumuleu Ciuc⁵⁰. This late stage of reception does not fully explain the consistent presence of the works of these two authors in present-day libraries. A substantial portion of the volumes reached Transylvania much later, usually after the dismembering or secularization of various ecclesiastic collections from Central Europe⁵¹, when they re-enter the market, this time as antiques. For instance, among the copies preserved in the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia, three come from Levoča⁵². Within the Telek-Bolyai Library from Târgu Mureş, there is a volume comprising sermons of Pelbartus *de tempore, pars aestivalis* and *de sanctis*, whose provenance is related to the Benedictine Abbey from Tegernsee, one of the most important religious house in Bavaria, secularized in 1803⁵³. Two copies of the works of Osualdus from the Central University Library in Cluj come from *Conventus Szakolczensis*, the Observant Franciscan convent from Skalica, in West Slovakia⁵⁴, while a copy of *Stellarium* was previously part of the book collection pertaining to the Benedictine Abbey from Seon⁵⁵. These volumes and a few others with diverse provenance got the attention of bibliophiles from Transylvania, who afterward either decided to open their collections to the public⁵⁶ or donated them to incipient cultural institutions of their homeland⁵⁷.

⁴⁹ Mihály Spielmann-Sebestyén, Lajos Balázs, Hedvig Ambrus and Ovidia Mesaroş, *Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum Bibliothecae Teleki-Bolyai. Novum Forum Sicularum*, Tom. II, (Târgu-Mureş: Lyra, 2001), 45, nr. P47.

⁵⁰ Erzsébet Muckenhaupt, *A Csíki Székely Múzeum "Régi Magyar Könyvtár"-a I. (1498–1710)* (Old Hungarian Library Collection of the Szekler Museum of Ciuc I: 1498–1710) (Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc: Csíki Székely Múzeum/Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului, 2009), 81, nr. 41.

⁵¹ Jeffrey Garrett, "Klostersturm and Secularization in Central Europe: What Happened to the Libraries?", *Theological Librarianship* 8 (2015): 61-69.

⁵² Appendix: nr. 26, 27, 31, 32.

⁵³ Max Fuchs, *Geschichte des ehemaligen Klosters Tegernsee* (München: s.n., 1876), 45-46. Appendix: nr. 18, 19.

⁵⁴ Majláth Béla, "A Szakolczai ferenczrendi könyvtár XVII. Századi történetéhez", *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 7, 5-6 (1882): 289-305. Appendix: nr. 1-2.

⁵⁵ Appendix: nr. 4.

⁵⁶ It is the case of Samuel von Brukenthal (one copy of *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Appendix: nr. 36), Samuel Teleki (one copy of *Quadragesimale Bige salutis* authored by Osualdus de Lasko, Appendix: nr. 17) and Ignác Batthyáni (all of the volumes comprising sermons of the two authors preserved within the Batthyaneum Library, Appendix: nr. 25-32).

⁵⁷ For the collections of the Central University Library in Cluj, mostly inherited from the Library of the Transylvanian Museum Society, initiated in 1859, one of the most significant donations is that of Mikó Imre, including two volumes authored by Osualdus de Lasko (Appendix: nr. 1, 2). Similarly, within the holdings of the Teleki-Bolyai Library there are four copies of sermon collections of Pelbartus de Themeswar, bounded in two volumes, donated in 1892 by Molnár Gábor, praetor of Târgu Mureş and later director of the town library (Appendix: nr. 18-22). They are joined by two volumes bequeathed to the same library from Târgu Mureş by count Andor Teleki, which only entered the collections in 2003

In the light of the presented data some remarks can be made regarding the reception of the works of Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osualdus de Lasko in Transylvania. Preserved volumes do not suggest that their homiletic works were of a greater interest than those of other authors to the members of the clergy from this province. Different unfortunate events are known to have affected medieval libraries, but losses could not have been selective and involve larger amounts of the works of these two authors. The case from Braşov, although singular and, thus, probably not entirely representative, provides an example of a lost book collection that seems to mirror the situation outlined by the preserved material. In such conditions, for the reception of their works the fact that these two Friars Minor activated in the immediate proximity of Transylvania does not seem to have played a crucial role, especially as their works were not printed in the same vicinity and, hence, the routes of book distribution were not shortened. For those copies which reached Transylvania despite of the distance, the popularity enjoyed all over Europe by the sermon collections of the two Hungarian authors is more likely to have been decisive. Regarding the contexts in which they were used, Marie Madeleine de Cevins might be right to assume that Hungarian Franciscans must have had access to these sermon collections. The preserved volumes displaying signs of local circulation seem indeed to point towards the mendicant milieu, predominantly Franciscan, but then again the information is too scarce to allow statistics and firm conclusions in this direction. What can be more certainly affirmed is that their current presence in Transylvanian libraries should no longer be perceived as a possible clue for a consistent reception during Middle Ages. Various annotations, ownership inscriptions and other marks revealing details about their provenance clearly emphasize that many of these volumes only arrived here in the Modern Times. Hungarian bibliophiles and libraries from Transylvania purchased copies of these sermon collections during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries as treasures of the national written heritage, the works of Pelbartus and Osualdus being rediscovered and valued as literary monuments of the Hungarian literature⁵⁸.

(Appendix: nr. 23, 24). I would like to express my gratitude, for signaling me these two copies, to Ms. Réka Bányai, librarian at Teleki-Bolyai Library.

⁵⁸ Pál József, "Alcune considerazioni sulla storia della critica letteraria di Pelbárt Temesvári in Ungheria", *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History of the University of Szeged* 15 (2017), 269-286.

<i>Library</i>	<i>Pelbartus de Themeswar</i>	<i>Oswaldus de Lasko</i>
Lucian Blaga Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca	14	2
Teleki-Bolyai Library, Târgu Mureş	7	1
Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia	5	3
Library of the Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu	6	1
Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca	6	0
Sekler Museum of Ciuc, Miercurea-Ciuc	4	1
Zaharia Boiu Municipal Library, Sighişoara	2	0
TOTAL	44	8

Table 1. Distribution of copies of the sermon collections authored by Pelbartus de Themeswar and Oswaldus de Lasko in current Transylvanian libraries

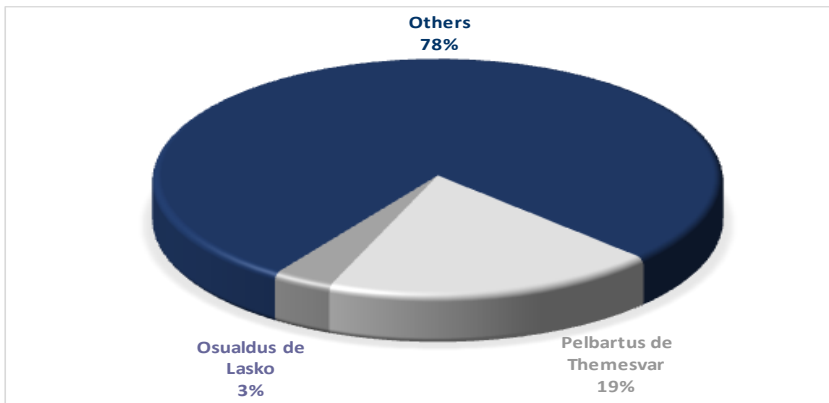


Chart 1. Printed sermon collections preserved in Transylvanian libraries

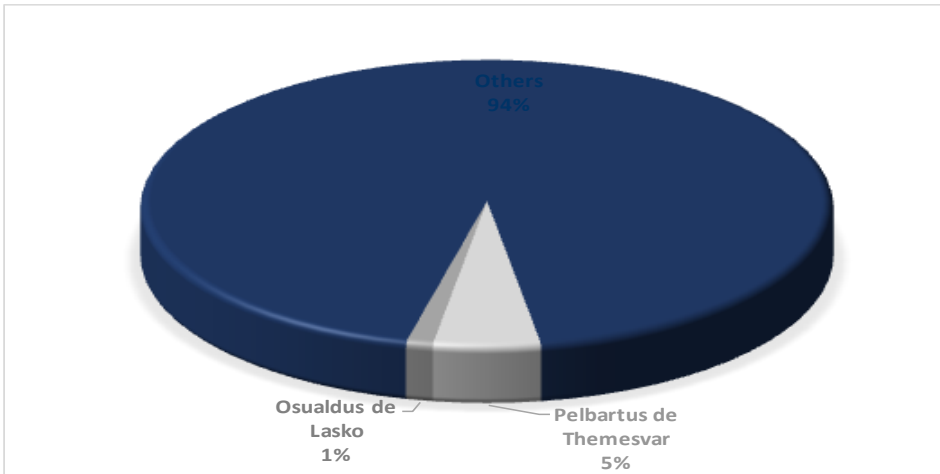


Chart 2. Printed sermon collections with medieval Transylvanian circulation

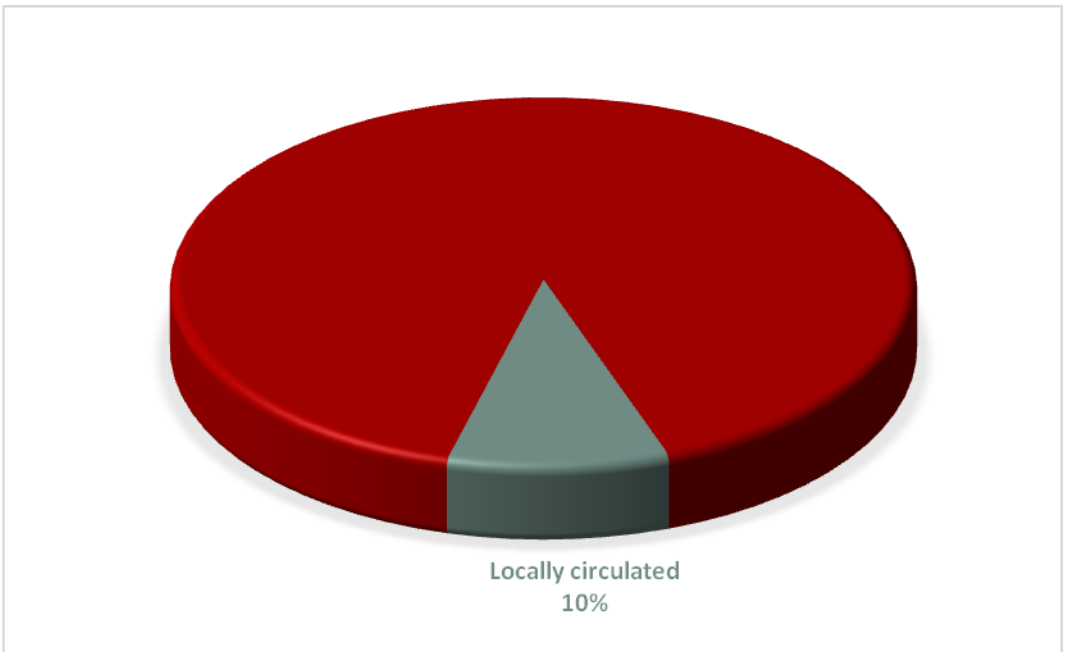


Chart 3. The ratio between the sermon collections of the two authors currently preserved in Transylvanian libraries and those locally circulated at the end of the Middle Ages

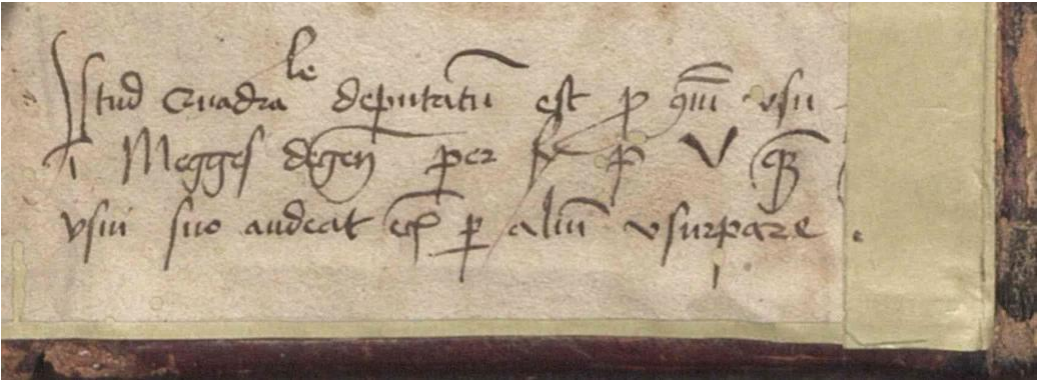


Fig. 1. Ownership inscription: *Istud quadragesimale deputatum est pro communi usu [fratrum] in Megges degentium per Reverendum Patrem Vicarium quod [nullus] usui suo audeat etiam per alium usurpare.* (Appendix: nr. 34)

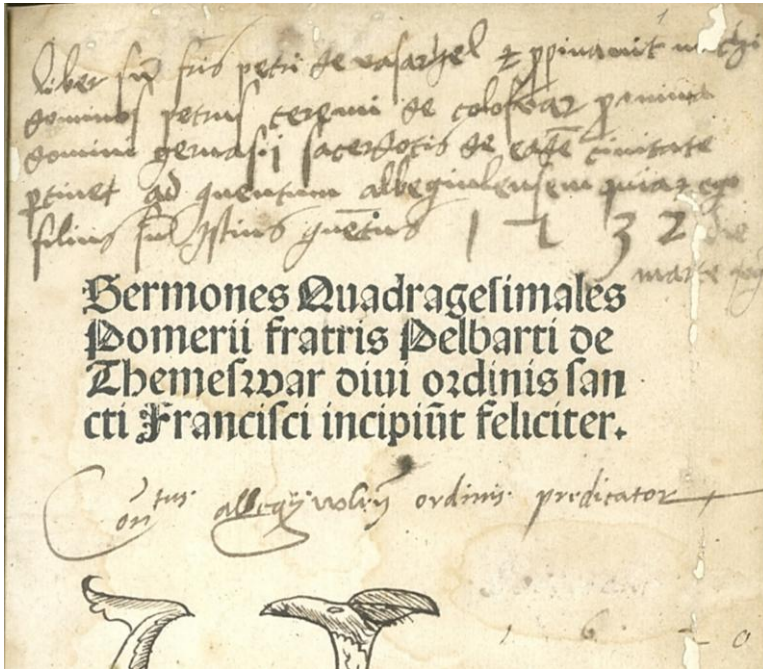


Fig. 2. Ownership inscription: *Liber sum fratris Petri de Vasarhel et proprinavit michi domino Petrus Teremi de Colosvar pro anima domini Gervasii sacerdotis de eadem civitate. Pertinet ad conventum Albegiulensem quia et ego filius sum istius conventus 1532 die Marie virginis.* Later manuscript note: *Conventus Albegywlense ordinis predicatorum 1620.* (Appendix: nr. 6)

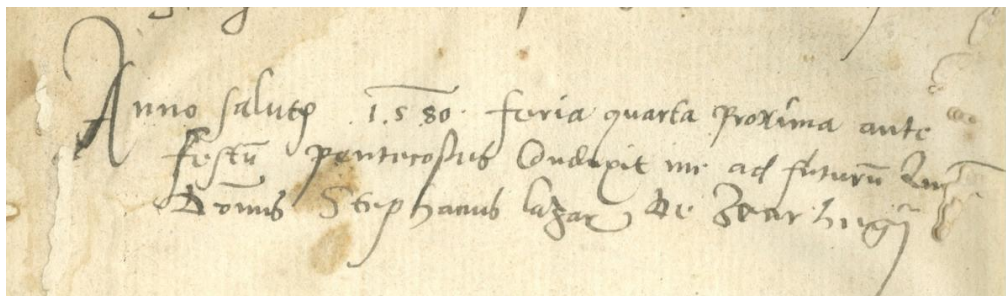


Fig. 3. Manuscript note: Anno salutis 1580 feria quarta proxima ante Pentecostes duxit me ad futurum annum dominus Stephanus Lazar de Zaarhegy. (Appendix: nr. 6)

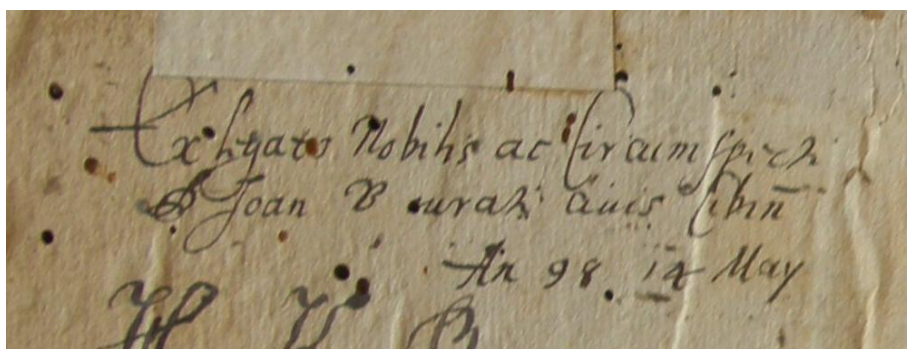


Fig. 4a

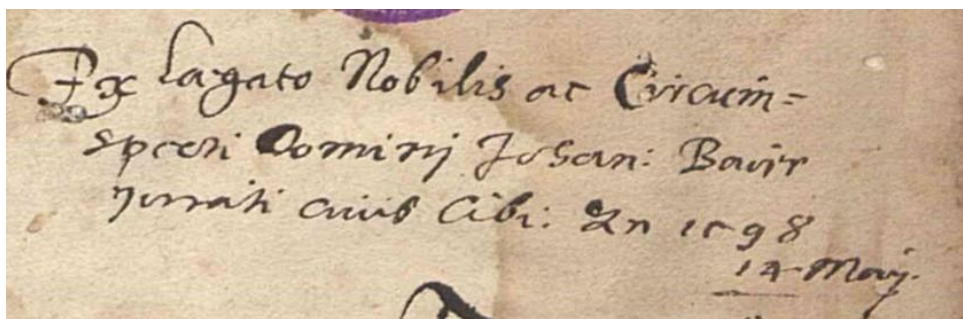


Fig. 4b

Manuscript notes recording the donation made by Johannes Baier



Fig. 5. The coat of arms of Sibiu stamped with hot iron on the edge of the book (Appendix: nr. 38-39)

Appendix.

The Copies of Sermon Collections Authored by Pelbartus de Themeswar and Osualdus de Lasko Preserved in Transylvanian Libraries

Lucian Blaga Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca

1. Osualdus de Lasko, *Sermones dominicales per utiles Biga salutis intitlati*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 22. I. 1498, 4°. GW M23202, ISTC io00117400, Mosora-Hanga 49. - Shelfmark: BMV 20. Prov: OFM Convent, Skalica (sec. XVIII?); Mikó Imre (sec. XIX); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum (sec. XIX²).
2. Osualdus de Lasko, *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitlatus*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 6. VI. 1507, 4°. VD16 O 1421, USTC 693629. - Shelfmark: BMV 59. Prov: OFM Convent, Skalica (sec. XVIII?); Mikó Imre (sec. XIX); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum (sec. XIX²).
3. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de Sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 8. VI. 1500, 2°. GW M30537, ISTC ip00252000, Mosora-Hanga 56. - Shelfmark: BMV 32. Prov: *Ego [...] natus de Marpurgh [...] Lodovico nomine* (1505/1522?); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum (1905).
4. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium Corone Mariae Virginis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 8. IV. 1501, 2°.

- VD16 P 1207, USTC 694649. - Shelfmark: BMV 40.
Prov: OSB Monastery, Seon (Sec. XVIII?); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum (1914).
5. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones quadragesimales Pomerii*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 10. VI.1501, 2°.
VD16 P 1193, USTC 693636. - Shelfmark: BMV 45 (Coll. BMV 44).
Prov: Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
6. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones quadragesimales Pomerii*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 30. IV.1501, 4°.
VD 16 P 1192, USTC 693776. - Shelfmark: BMV 46.
Prov: ?*Petrus Teremi*, Cluj; OP Convent, Alba Iulia (1532) – *Petrus de Vasarhel*; ?*Stephanus Lazar de Zaarhegy* (1581); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
7. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 3. VIII. 1501, 2°.
VD16 P 1180, USTC 693762. - Shelfmark: BMV 44 (Coll. BMV 45).
Prov: Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
8. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de sanctis*, Augsburg: Johann Otmar pro Johanne Rynmann, 1502, 2°.
VD16 P 1166, USTC 684737. - Shelfmark: BMV 41.
Prov: Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
9. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de tempore*, Augsburg: Johann Otmar, 1502, 2°.
VD16 P 1181, USTC 684738. - Shelfmark: BMV 42.
Prov: Jesuit Residence, Alba Iulia (sec. XVII-XVIII?); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
10. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium quadragesimales*, Augsburg: Johann Otmar, 31. X. 1502, 2°.
VD16 P 1194, USTC 684739. - Shelfmark: BMV 43.
Prov: Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
11. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 25. IX. 1503, 4°.
VD16 P 1183, USTC 684751. - Shelfmark: BMV 48.
Prov: Transylvania (sec. XVII^{med}); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
12. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 25. IX. 1503, 4°.
VD16 P 1183, USTC 684751. - Shelfmark: BMV 49.
Prov: *Ex libris Gregorii Zegedi* (sec. XVII?); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.
13. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium de beata virgine vel Stellarium Corone*, Lyon: Johannes Cleyn, [1509], 4°.
RMK III 160. - Shelfmark: BMV 68.
Prov: *Loci Mol. Rodii*. (sec. XVIII?); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum.

14. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium Corone benedictae virginis Marie*, Lyon: Jean Sacon pro Anton Koberger, 8. VIII. 1509, 2°. VD16 ZV 24944, USTC 694647. - Shelfmark: BMV 152. Prov: *Parochiae Camern.* (sec. XVIII?).
15. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium Sermonum de Beatae Virgine*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 27. X. 1511, 2°. VD16 P 1215, USTC 684730. - Shelfmark: BMV 85.. Prov: Martin Reisenr, parish priest in Leiblfing (1593); Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum (1907).
16. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium Sermonum de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, XII. 1515, 2°. VD16 P 1175, USTC 684733. - Shelfmark: BMV 90. Prov: Library of the Transylvanian Society Museum (1898).

Teleki-Bolyai Library

17. Osualdus de Lasko, *Quadragesimale Bige salutis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 24. XII. 1501, 4°. VD 16 O 1418, USTC 688967, Cat. Libr. XVI: O7. - Shelfmark: T q-132e. Prov: Samuel Teleki.
18. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore. Pars aestivalis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 27. VII. 1498, 4°. GW M30552, ISTC ip00254000, Cat. Inc. Teleki: 28. - Shelfmark: B. 22697. Coll. 1. Prov: Tegernsee (1499); Gábor Molnár (1892).
19. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 20. II. 1499, 4°. GW M30532, ISTC ip00250000, Cat. Inc. Teleki: 27. - Shelfmark: B. o-22697. Coll. 2. Prov: Tegernsee (1499); Gábor Molnár (1892).
20. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae Virginis Mariae*, Basel: Jacobus Wolff, c.1499, 4°. GW M30564, ISTC ip00257000, Cat. Inc. Teleki: 31. - Shelfmark: B. o-22698. Prov: *Monachii ad [...] Franciscanos pro Bibl.*; Gábor Molnár (1892).
21. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 22. II. 1500, 2°. GW M30557, ISTC ip00255000, Cat. Inc. Teleki: 29. - Shelfmark: B. q-208. Coll. 1. Prov: Gábor Molnár (1892).
22. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii quadragesimales*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 10. VII. 1500, 2°. GW M30518, ISTC ip00256000, Cat. Inc. Teleki: 30. - Shelfmark: B. q-208. Coll. 2. Prov: Gábor Molnár (1892).
23. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 8. VI. 1500, 2°.

GW M30537, ISTC ip00252000. - Shelfmark: 0-52642.

Prov: Count Andor Teleki.

24. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae Virginis Mariae*, Augsburg: Johannes Otmar pro Johanne Schönsperger, 1502, 2°.

VD 16 P 1208, USTC 694645. - Shelfmark: 0-56018.

Prov: Count Andor Teleki.

Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia

25. Osualdus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 27. VII. 1497, 4°.

GW M23217, ISTC io00117600, Kulcsár: 404. - Shelfmark: Inc. IV. 42.

Prov: *Matheus H.*

26. Osuladus de Lasko, *Sermones de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 14. VII. 1499, 4°.

GW M23219, ISTC io00117700, Kulcsár: 405. - Shelfmark: Inc. VII. 9 Coll. 2.

Prov: *Johannis Sommerfelt sum.*

27. Osualdus de Lasko, *Sermones de tempore*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 28. XI. 1499, 4°.

GW M23205, ISTC io00117500, Kulcsár: 403. - Shelfmark: Inc. VII. 9 Coll. 1.

Prov: Levoča.

28. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis, Pars hyemalis et aestivalis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 20. II. 1499, 4°.

GW M30532, ISTC ip00250000, Kulcsár: 427. - Shelfmark: Inc. IV. 48.

Prov: *Wolfgangus maydl de Schremperg; Klosterneuburg (1655).*

29. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii quadragesimales* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 10. XI. 1499), 4°.

GW M30514, ISTC ip00255500, Kulcsár: 428. - Shelfmark: Inc. VII. 1.

Prov: *Odenburg; C. Martini Jurisch; Klosterneuburg (1655).*

30. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 22. II. 1500, 2°.

GW M30557, ISTC ip00255000, Kulcsár: 426. - Shelfmark: Inc. VIII. 60.

Prov: *Luebeckische Stadt Bibliothek; Ex libris Bibliothecae Fogorassyanae.*

31. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 22. II. 1501, 4°.

VD 16 P 1179, USTC 693761, Mârza: 241. - Shelfmark: XIII. 64.

Prov: Levoča.

32. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 14. VI. 1501, 4°.

VD 16 P 1164, USTC 693756, Mârza: 242. - Shelfmark: XIV. 60.

Prov: Levoča.

Library of the Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu

33. Osualdus de Lasko, *Sermones dominicales perutiles*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 9. VII. 1516, 4°.

VD 16 O 1428, USTC 693627. - Shelfmark: V. II. 211.

Prov: Johannes Baier, Sibiu (1598); Library of the Lutheran Gymnasium, Sibiu.

34. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii quadragesimales*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 10. XI.1499, 4°.

GW M30514, ISTC ip00255500, Jugăreanu: 236. - Shelfmark: Inc. 38.

Prov: Convent OFM Mediaș (sec. XV²-XVI¹); Johannes Baier, Sibiu (1598); Library of the Lutheran Gymnasium, Sibiu.

35. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae Virginis Mariae*, Basel: Jakob Wolff, c. 1499, 4°.

GW M30564, ISTC ip00257000, Jugăreanu: 237. - Shelfmark: Inc. 26.

Prov: Library of the Lutheran Gymnasium, Sibiu.

36. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 8. VI. 1500, 2°.

GW M30537, ISTC ip00252000, Jugăreanu: 235. - Shelfmark: Inc. 112b.

Prov: Brukenthal personal collection.

37. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 1. VII. 1511, 2°.

VD 16 P 1174, USTC 694205. - Shelfmark: V. III. 694.

Prov: *Philippus Homersdord - Georg Martinianus* (1600); Library of the Lutheran Gymnasium, Sibiu.

38. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Lyon: Bernard Lescuyer for Johannes Koberger, 14. VI. 1514, 2°.

VD 16 ZV 25164, USTC 693748. – Shelfmark: V. III. 566. Coll. with V.III.567.

Prov: Library of the Lutheran Gymnasium, Sibiu.

39. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium coronae benedictae Mariae virginis*, Lyon: Bernard Lescuyer for Johannes Koberger, 12. VII. 1514, 2°.

VD 16 ZV 25913, USTC 694648. - Shelfmark: V. III. 567. Coll. with V.III.566.

Prov: Library of the Lutheran Gymnasium, Sibiu.

Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca

40. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis, Pars II*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 20. II. 1499, 4°.

GW M30532, ISTC ip00250000, Crișan: 65. - Shelfmark: Inc. 49.

Prov: Library of the Roman-Catholic Gymnasium, Cluj.

41. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium Sermonum de Beata Virgine*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 1509, 4°.

VD 16 P 1214, USTC 684728, BMV Bibl. Acad.: 450. – Shelfmark: C 370.

Prov: frater Benedictus, Sâniob (1529); Library of the Jesuite Gymnasium, Cluj (1604?); Library of the Roman-Catholic Gymnasium, Cluj (1832).

42. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Lyon: Anton Koberger, 3. IX.1509, 2°.

VD 16 ZV 24943, USTC 693763, BMV Bibl. Acad.: 641. – Shelfmark: U 542.

Prov: Melchior Kleselius, Vienna (1613); Library of the Unitarian Gymnasium, Cluj.

43. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium Sermonum de sanctis*, Lyon: Bernard Lescuyer pro Johanne Koberger, 14. VI. 1514, 2°.

VD 16 ZV 25164, USTC 693748, BMV Bibl. Acad.: 451. – Shelfmark: C 367.

Prov: Library of the Jesuite Gymnasium, Cluj (1717); Library of the Roman-Catholic Gymnasium, Cluj (1833).

44. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium Sermonum quadragesimalium*, Lyon: Bernard Lescuyer pro Johanne Koberger, 26. VII. 1514, 2°.

VD 16 ZV 25922, USTC 684752, BMV Bibl. Acad.: 452. - Shelfmark: C 364/b. Coll. 364/a

Prov: *Ex bibliotheca Welegradensis* (sec. XVI); Library of the Jesuite Gymnasium, Cluj (1717); Library of the Roman-Catholic Gymnasium, Cluj (1833).

45. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Lyon: Bernard Lescuyer pro Johanne Koberger, 24. III. 1514, 2°.

VD 16 ZV 25921, USTC 693765, BMV Bibl. Acad. 453. – Shelfmark: C 364/a. Coll. 364/b.

Prov: *Ex bibliotheca Welegradensis* (sec. XVI); Library of the Jesuite Gymnasium, Cluj (1717); Library of the Roman-Catholic Gymnasium, Cluj (1833).

Sekler Museum of Ciuc, Miercurea-Ciuc

46. Osuladus de Lasko, *Sermones dominicales Biga salutis intitulasi*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 22. I. 1498, 4°.

GW M23202, ISTC io00117400, Mukenhaupt: 1. - Shelfmark: inv. 6591.

Prov: *Emericus de Gienges* (1570); OFM Convent, Şumuleu Ciuc (sec. XVII?).

47. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 27. VII. 1498, 4°.

GW M30552, ISTC ip00254000, Mukenhaupt: 2. - Shelfmark: Inv. 8582 Coll. 1.

Prov: OFM Convent, Şumuleu Ciuc.

48. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 20. II. 1499, 4°.

GW M30532, ISTC ip00250000, Mukenhaupt: 3. - Shelfmark: Inv. 6582 Coll. 2.

Prov: OFM Convent, Şumuleu Ciuc.

49. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis, Pars I*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 20. II.1499, 4°.

GW M30532, ISTC ip00250000, Mukenhaupt: 4. - Shelfmark: T86 (P.1).

Prov: OFM Convent, Şumuleu Ciuc.

50. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis, Pars II*, Hagenau: Henricus Gran pro Johanne Rynman, 20. II. 1499, 4°.

GW M30532, ISTC ip00250000, Mukenhaupt: 5. - Shelfmark: T107 (P.1).

Prov: OFM Convent, Şumuleu Ciuc.

Zaharia Boiu Municipal Library, Sighișoara

51. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Stellarium corone Benedicte virginis Marie*, Nurnberg: Johannes Stuchs pro Anton Koberger, 25. XII. 1518, 2°.

VD 16 P 1217, USTC 694646. - Shelfmark: F 70 Coll.2.

Prov: *Simon Elgyes - Bibliotheca Scholae Schaesburgensis* (1695).

52. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Pomerium Sermonum de sanctis*, Nurnberg: Nürnberg, Johann Stuchs, Johann Koberger, VIII. 1519, 2°.

VD 16 P 1176, USTC 684740. - Shelfmark: F 70 Coll.1.

Prov: *Simon Elgyes - Bibliotheca Scholae Schaesburgensis* (1695).

Abbreviations

GW Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>

ISTC Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, <https://data.cerl.org/istc/>

VD 16 Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts, www.vd16.de

USTC Universal Short Title Catalogue, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk>

BMV Bibl. Acad. *Catalogul colecțiilor Biblioteca Maghiară Veche a Bibliotecii Academiei Cluj-Napoca* (The Catalogue of collections of the Old Hungarian Library within the Academy Library in Cluj-Napoca), eds. Mária Kovács, Eszter Kuszálík, Emese Sántha, Gábor Sipos and Imola Szőke (Cluj-Napoca: Scientia Kiadó, 2004).

Cat. Inc. Teleki *Catalogus Incunabulorum Bibliothecae Teleki-Bolyai* (Târgu-Mureș: Biblioteca Teleki-Bolyai, 1971)

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