

“Quodam frater hungarus ordinis minorum de observantia”

Osualdus de Lasko’s Identity as a Preacher and Author of Sermons

Abstract

Osualdus de Lasko (OFM Obs, ca. 1450–1511) composed two sermon collections, which were published in print at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. However, the readers of his books did not know the name of the author, who was only introduced as “quodam frater hungarus ordinis minorum de observantia”. This paper considers this option for anonymity as a premise for further investigating Osualdus’ identity as an author of sermons and as a preacher, intending to answer questions such as: How is Osualdus presenting or representing himself as an author/preacher? For what reasons and purpose did he compile these sermon collections? How were his homiletic works related to real preaching? Which was his ideal of a preacher? How relevant are the Franciscan affiliation and Hungarian origins for his identity? Grounded on the idea that the author is embedded in his text, this essay explores the prologues of Osualdus’ works and three of his sermons that discuss precisely about preaching’s agents, role, and beneficiaries. The analysis emphasizes that Osualdus’ vision of the ideal preacher and self-representation as author of sermons is shaped by Franciscan concepts of humility, renunciation and *imitatio Christi*.

Anonymity is also presented as a possible sign of humbleness, in the spirit of Franciscan values. Similarly, his understanding of the goal of spreading the Word of God follows the mission of the Friars Minor in general, and their actions in Hungary in particular: fighting heterodox beliefs, converting heretics and schismatic, defending and strengthening faith at the margins of Christendom. Osualdus’ concern for the catechization of simple people might have also been a consequence of the local experience of Franciscans and their contact with the peasantry in their rural convents. The paper concludes that in Osualdus’ case anonymity is not intended to hide or disguise his identity, which is clearly defined around the two elements used as a signature: the Hungarian origins and the Franciscan affiliation. His authority as a preacher and author of sermons resided in his special commission as a member of the Order of Friars Minor and his messages were mainly intended for the local public and for the safeguard of his homeland. The name of the author/preacher was most probably known to his primary audience. Only for the distant readers of his texts the author became anonymous, but they were made aware of the essential components of its identity, representative for the content as well.

Keywords

Franciscan Observance, Hungarian Kingdom, model sermon collections, medieval preaching, authorship, anonymity

Iste insuper Pater Vicarius devotissimus Frater Osualdus laborando in sacra scriptura pro aedificatione fidelium et devotione, praedicatoribus edidit plurimos libros, quod *Biga Salutis* nominavit, videlicet de Tempore, de Sanctis, et Sermones Quadragesimales de praeceptis comportavit et aliud opus valde utile, quod *Gemma Fidei* intitulatur.¹

With these words was described the contribution brought to preaching by Osualdus de Lasko (ca. 1450–1511), a Hungarian Observant Franciscan, by the chronicle of the Friars Minor from Bosnia and Hungary. His biography is not entirely elucidated, as there are no data concerning the first part of his life. The first mention of his name occurs in 1474, when he began his studies at the University of Vienna.² Although nothing is known about the context in which Osualdus became a Friar Minor, his activity within the order is better documented from the last decade of the fifteenth century. Balázs Kertész recently summarized and updated the results of previous researches in order to reconstruct his career, emphasizing that he was guardian of the convent in Sălard and *visitor* of the custody of Esztergom (1493), guardian of the convent in Pest (1497, 1506) and three times vicar of the Hungarian Franciscan province (1497–1499, 1499–1501, 1507–1509).³ From that position, he most probably compiled the constitutions of the Observant Franciscans in Hungary, sanctioned in 1499 at the chapter held in Atya.⁴ In addition, he compiled two model sermon collections: *Biga salutis*, in three parts (*de tempore*, *de sanctis*, and *quadragesimales*), and *Gemma fidei* (a Lenten cycle), as well as the fourth volume of *Aureum Sacrae Theologiae Rosarium*, initiated by Pelbartus de Themeswar (OFM Obs, ca. 1435–1504), the more famous Hungarian preacher and sermon author,⁵ sometimes acknowledged as Osualdus' professor.⁶

In the cited chronicle, Osualdus' figure was to be remembered primarily for the office he held within the Franciscan province, being recorded as its thirteenth vicar, but his literary and homiletic input was relevant enough to not be omitted. Were it not for this brief, but precise account, the authorship of the two books published in print at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries might be still unclarified, debated or simply erroneously identified. The colophon

¹ “Blasii de Zalka et continuatorum eius Cronica fratrum Minorum de. Observantia Provinciae Boznae et Hungariae”, in *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, ed. by F. Toldy, Buda 1867, pp. 252–253.

² *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien. Im Auftrag des Akademischen Senats herausgegeben vom Archiv der Universität Wien*, vol. 2: 1451–1518/I, ed. by F. Gall, W. Szaivert, Graz 1967, XXII, 146.

³ B. Kertész, “Two Hungarian Friars Minor (Franciscian Observants) in the late Middle Ages: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko”, in *Infima aetas Pannonica: Studies in late medieval Hungarian history*, ed. by P.E. Kovács, K. Szóvák, Budapest, 2009, pp. 60–78, especially pp. 66–75.

⁴ B. Kertész, “The 1499 Constitutions of the Hungarian Observant Franciscan vicariate”, *Chronica* 15 (2017), pp. 176–180.

⁵ Z.J. Kosztolnyik, “Pelbartus of Temesvár: A Franciscan Preacher and Writer of the Late Middle Ages in Hungary”, *Vivarium* 5 (1967), no. 2, pp. 100–110; *id.*, “Some Hungarian Theologians in the Late Renaissance”, *Church History* 57 (1988), no. 1, pp. 8–18; Kertész, “Two Hungarian Friars Minor”, pp. 62–66.

⁶ R. Horváth, *Laskai Ozsvát*, Budapest 1932, p. 8.

and the title page of both works were discreet about their author's identity. They did not reveal his name and only distinguished him by affiliation to the Order of the Friars Minor and by origins as 'quodam frater hungarus ordinis minorum de observantia', also locating him 'in conventu Pesthiensis'.⁷ Consequently, librarians and bibliographers who centuries later held in their hands copies of these preaching aids assigned them either to the better-known Hungarian friar and sermon writer Pelbartus of Themeswar or to the more mysterious Michael de Hungaria⁸ or simply described them as anonymous works.⁹ In the second half of the nineteenth century catalogues of Hungarian collections started making Osualdus justice. It was also at that time when the bibliography of old Hungarian books listed and described for the first time all the editions of Osualdus de Lasko's works,¹⁰ while at the beginning of the twentieth century Kálmán Timár thoroughly discussed the authorship and the history of all misattributions, finally settling the issue.¹¹

It was probably the same anonymity that stimulated scholars who explored the content of the two sermon collections to trace personal, biographical details, and features which would individualize the author. Kálmán Timár detected an additional work presumably composed by Osualdus, currently lost – probably a biography or *vita* of Johannes de Capestrano, including a list of his miracles.¹² In search of further arguments in support of Osualdus' authorship, Timár emphasized the unusual choice to dedicate parts of the sermons 'De Sancta Maria ad nives' to St Osualdus, both feasts being celebrated on the same day. On his turn, Richárd Horváth highlighted the many references to the patron saint of the author,¹³ and, corroborating different pieces of information from the text and the colophon of *Gemma fidei*, he revealed that Osualdus was the guardian of the convent in

⁷ The first printed volume of his works informs on the title page: "Sermones de sanctis perutiles a quodam fratre hungaro ordinis minorum de obseruantia comportati Biga salutis intitulati feliciter incipiunt", while the colophon adds: "Sermones perutiles de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati, a quodam fratre hungaro, in conventu Pesthiensis fratrum minorum de observantia comportati", [Osualdus de Lasko], *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 27 July 1497 (ISTC no. io00117600; GW M23217).

⁸ G. Borsa, *Michael de Hungaria élete és művének nyomtatott kiadásai*, Budapest. 1997; *id.*, "Ki lehetett Michael de Hungária?", in *Jubileumi csokor Csapodi Csaba tiszteletére: tanulmányok*, ed. by M. Rozsondai, Budapest 2002, pp. 59–64.

⁹ For instance, L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*, vol. 2, part 1: H–O, Stuttgart 1831, nos 9051–9056.

¹⁰ K. Szabó, Á. Hellebrant, *Régi magyar könyvtár*, vol. 3: *Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480–tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve*, Budapest 1896, nos 37, 39, 47, 48, 89, 107, 108, 135, 136, 137, 141, 199, 210, 211, 7518. Recent records and descriptions of the editions at D. Göcking, "Beschreibung der Druckausgaben der Werke des Franziskaner-Observanten Oswald de Lasco", *Kirchliches Buch- und Bibliothekswesen. Jahrbuch* 1 (2000), pp. 23–33; B. Gedeon, "Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt műveinek megjelentetői", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 121 (2005), pp. 1–24.

¹¹ K. Timár, "Laskai Osvath es a bibliografia", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 18 (1910), pp. 122–153.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 150–152.

¹³ Horváth, *Laskai Osvát*, p. 28.

Pest in 1506, when he was compiling the mentioned cycle.¹⁴ Various studies recovered different aspects of the intellectual profile of the author from his texts: his theological knowledge, his readings, his familiarity or even affinity with certain authors,¹⁵ acquaintance with the works quoted as sources, especially with Hungarian historiography,¹⁶ his general interest in history,¹⁷ his methods of compiling sermons.¹⁸

The present paper is placed in the mentioned historiographical lineage, grounded on the idea that the author is embedded in his text. However, instead of searching evidence for the ascribed authorship, I will briefly discuss the option for anonymity, and instead of looking for clues about Osualdus' biography, I will focus on his (self) representation as sermon author and preacher. Anonymity is, therefore, considered as a premise for further investigating Osualdus' identity, in order to answer questions such as: How is Osualdus presenting or representing himself as an author/preacher? What reasons and intentions motivated him to compile these sermon collections? Which was his ideal of a preacher? How relevant are the Franciscan affiliation and Hungarian origins for his identity? These topics will be tackled in connection with the prologues of Osualdus' works and three of his sermons, which discuss precisely about preaching's agents, role, and goals.

It is usually assumed that sermon authors were also preachers, their written collections mirroring or at least originating in spoken discourses. If model-sermons are literary texts rather than records of oral addresses, they are still thought to be based on the author's experience, encapsulating his style and supposedly containing remnants of delivered speeches.¹⁹ Concerning the relation between the model-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁵ L.P. Berhidai, "Bonaventura-hagyomány Laskai Osvát prédikációiban", in *Misztika a 16–18. századi Magyarországon*, ed. by J. Bogár, Piliacsaba 2013, pp. 31–39.

¹⁶ B. Kertész, "A turul-monda Laskai Osvát egyik Szent István-napi prédikációjában", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 120 (2004), pp. 374–384; *id.*, "Laskai Osvát a magyarok pannóniai bejövételéről. Anonymus gesztájának utóéletéhez", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 121 (2005), pp. 373–384; *id.*, "A honfoglalás története Laskai Osvát második Szent István-sermójában", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 122 (2006), pp. 464–468; L. Holler, "Ismerte-e Laskai Osvát Anonymus gesztáját? Reflexiók a Magyar Könyvszemlében megjelent három dolgozatra", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 125 (2009), pp. 83–88.

¹⁷ Kertész, "Two Hungarian Friars Minor", pp. 72–74.

¹⁸ I. Bárczi, *Ars compilandi. A késő középkori prédikációs segédkönyv forráshasználata*, Budapest 2007; B. Kertész, "Középkori krónikáink és legendáink használatának problémája Laskai Osvát prédikációiban", *Sermones Compilati. Plaustrum I*, http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=315tan_plaus_kebalazs (accessed on 30 Oct. 2022).

¹⁹ B.M. Kienzle, "Introduction", in *The Sermon*, ed. B.M. Kienzle, Turnhout 2000, pp. 170–173; *Die Predigt im Mittelalter zwischen Mündlichkeit, Bildlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*, ed. by R. Wetzel, F. Flückiger, Zürich 2010, pp. 14–15, 27–28; K. Ruh, "Mittelalterliche Predigtbücher", in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Predigt. Vorträge und Abhandlungen*, ed. by H. Reinitzer, Hamburg 1981, pp. 11–30; L. Landmann, "Über das Nachschreiben der Predigen im Mittelalter", *Archiv für Stenographie* 55 (1903), pp. 1–6; H. Petzold, "Die altdeutsche Predigt als geschriebenes und geschprochenes Wort", *Theologie und Philosophie* 44 (1969), pp. 196–232; O. Müller, "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit der deutsche Predigt des Mittelalters", in *Beiträge zur Schriftlinguistik. Festschrift Dieter Nerius*, ed. by P. Ewald, K.-E. Sommerfeldt, Frankfurt-am-Main 1995, pp. 191–200.

sermons proposed to fellow preachers by Osualdus de Lasko and his own homiletic activity, the prologues of his collections are informative to a certain degree. Two of the volumes that form *Biga salutis*, i.e. the Sunday sermons and the Lenten cycle, as well as the *Gemma fidei* collection open with such an introduction. The preface of *Quadragesimale Bige salutis* attests indeed that the sermons collected in the cycle were previously preached by their author: “mei coequalibus sermones de singulis divinis perceptis quattuor **predicavi** ac in scriptis utcumque redegī.”²⁰ The other two prologues suggest that Osualdus only gathered useful materials and composed imaginary, exemplary discourses to inspire his confreres and other priests, who did not have access to the necessary texts or enough time to study the same amount of sources on their own. The portrait sketched in the aforementioned chronicle does not reveal his oratorical talent, nor refers to certain occasions when his sermons would have reached a clerical or lay audience. Still, a different manuscript copy of the text briefly describes Osualdus as ‘praedicator optimus.’²¹ Richárd Horváth argued that such a large literary production and the dense argumentation conducted by Osualdus demonstrate that he was very capable of preaching and make the full detachment of the written sermons from any performative contexts inconceivable.²²

Hints about Osualdus’ approach and vision about preaching can be traced in the expressed aspirations and recommendations for readers/users formulated in the aforementioned prologues. While commonplaces and stereotypical formulation of authorial intentions specific for such introductory texts²³ reveal his alignment with a certain preaching paradigm, other ideas seem to reflect more personal concerns. Furthermore, the present paper will examine his written sermons about preaching, intending to identify the meaning he assigned to it and the principles which might have guided his own activity as a preacher. The topic is addressed in the first three sermons of the Lenten cycle entitled *Gemma fidei*,²⁴ therefore I will insist on this particular collection, which also focuses on a narrower subject, suggesting a more personal approach. As a homiletic cycle for Lent it was intended to support a period of intensified preaching, in preparation for the annual communion and for the greatest Christian feast of the year. Although these contextual coordinates implied a penitential thematic frame, the treatment of this generic topic left space for author’s options and original, creative solutions.

²⁰ [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Bige salutis*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1501 (VD16 O 1418; USTC no. 688967), f. [a1]v.

²¹ München, Bayerische Staats Bibliothek, Clm 9071: *Annotationes ex chronica fratrum minorum in duobus regnis Boznae et Hungariase habitantium*, f. 19r, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00017411?page=40,41> (accessed on 12 Nov. 2022).

²² Horváth, *Laskai Ozsvát*, p. 33.

²³ N. Bériou, “Les prologues de recueils de sermons latins, du XII^e au XV^e siècle”, in *Les prologues médiévaux: actes du Colloque international organisé par l’Academia Belgica et l’École française de Rome avec le concours de la F.I.D.E.M: Rome, 26–28 mars 1998*, ed. by J. Hamesse, Turnhout 2000, pp. 395–426.

²⁴ [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulum*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1507 (VD16 O 1421; USTC 693629).

Anonymity vs. identity

As the works of Osualdus were published directly in print, the author's name was not lost within an intricate manuscript tradition, involving compilers' or scribes' options and errors, variations and 'mouvance'.²⁵ However, the new medium of text transmission involved a negotiation between 'la main de l'autor et l'esprit de l'editeur', to quote Roger Chartier. Unfortunately, no details are known concerning the arrangements discussed by Osualdus de Lasko and Johannes Rynmann, on whose expenses Heinrich Gran printed the preaching aids. Chartier proved that usually the author had a word in the final product.²⁶ Given that the same editor took care of publishing the works of Pelbartus and the author's name was not omitted there, one might assume that Osualdus himself decided to remain anonymous.

Although in this case the absence of the author's name had nothing to do with the mediaeval manuscript transmission of texts, it might still be connected with the mediaeval understanding of authorship or author-function. There were also other preaching aids published anonymously or under what could currently be considered a pseudonym. Two popular examples are the works known as *Sermones Amici* and *Sermones Discipuli*. In the first case, the author was completely unknown, but the authority of the collection was built on its sources, acknowledged in the title: 'ex doctoribus eorumque dictis, sparsim hincinde collecte'.²⁷ The person who gathered such useful materials for preachers was, therefore, simply a compiler, not an author, if we consider the well-known categories proposed by St Bonaventure.²⁸ His name remained silent, for the 'doctors' to enjoy the deserved prizing. Consequently, the endeavour of compiling sermon collections seems to have sometimes been perceived in the Middle Ages as inferior to the work of an author, who was necessarily an authority.²⁹ Self-effacement could be an expression of recognizing the lesser status of the compiler. At the same time, especially for someone producing religious texts, it would have implied the assumption that the writer is simply an instrument of God, the primary 'efficient cause', the Author *par excellence*.³⁰ On this line, in Osualdus' sermons about preaching God is also designated as 'auctor mundi', 'sacre scripture auctor', and 'verbis dux et magister predicantium'.

²⁵ Concerning the concept of 'mouvance' see P. Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paris 1972, pp. 70–75; regarding the interference of textual flexibility with authorship in the manuscript culture, see also L. Rösl, S. Gropper, "Introduction", in *In Search of the Culprit: Aspects of Medieval Authorship*, ed. by L. Rösl, S. Gropper, Berlin 2021, pp. 10–12. For an example of scribal interventions in the transmission of a sermon cycle, see S. Morrison, "Scribal Performance in a Late Middle English Sermon Cycle", in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell*, ed. by M.W. Driver, V. O'Mara, Turnhout 2013, pp. 117–132.

²⁶ R. Chartier, *The Order of Books Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, transl. by L.G. Cochrane, Stanford 1994, pp. 53–54.

²⁷ *Sermones Amici dicti*, Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1495 (ISTC no. ia00563000; GW 1616).

²⁸ *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition*, ed. by A.J. Minnis, A.B. Scott, D. Wallace, Oxford 1991, p. 229.

²⁹ A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia 2010, pp. 10–12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

In the second instance, the author – usually identified as Johannes Herolt – hid under the name ‘discipulus’, interpreted as a sign of modesty. Ian D.K. Siggins, the scholar who thoroughly investigated his sermons, affirms: “Herolt called himself simply ‘a discipul’. [...] Modestly, he claimed no authorship, merely the task of a loyal compiler”.³¹ Also in the case of Osualdus, Richárd Horváth considers anonymity as a sign of humility. Remarking that only the first edition of the fourth volume of *Aureum Rosarium Sacrae Theologiae* rightly mentions the name of Osualdus in the colophon, while the subsequent reprints ascribed it to Pelbartus de Themeswar together with the first three tomes, Horvath argues:

Why didn't he put his name on his writings? Out of humility. He almost declares this himself when he says: *Johannes fuit humilis. Nam ex quo divina secreta fuerunt ei revelata et per eum conscripta, nusquam nomen suum expressit, ut nos arrogantiam vitandam doceret.*³²

The quoted phrase emphasizes precisely the conviction that the human writer is just an intermediary of the Word of God. If this was believed of an evangelist, it could have also been applicable to preachers and sermon writers, who undertook the same mission of imparting the divine message. Indeed, Osualdus presented preaching as a duty of those gifted with intelligence and knowledge and an act of humbleness in the service of God: ‘tanto ergo esse humilior atque ad serviendum Deo promptior’, following Christ who ‘dat exemplum predicatoribus ne in suis predicationibus laudem requirant’.³³

Besides this common mediaeval perception of God as the primary author and the typical display of modesty,³⁴ in the case of Osualdus the self-effacement rhetoric could have been also inspired by the precepts of the Franciscan Observance, which instructed friars, and especially preachers, to avoid exposure to possible sources of vanity.³⁵ By extension, rendering sermons in writing must have had the same meaning and convey the same indebtedness of humility. The prologue of *Sermones Dominicales Bigae salutis* announces four reasons which determined Osualdus to compose his homiletic anthology, illustrative for the intentions of the author and for his views as a preacher.³⁶ Explaining he aimed to help fellow friars, as well as other preachers,

³¹ I.D.K. Siggins, *A Harvest of Medieval Preaching: The Sermon Books of Johann Herolt*, Bloomington 2009, p. 4.

³² Horváth, *Laskai Ozsvát*, p. 26 (personal translation from Hungarian).

³³ [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, f. b4r.

³⁴ Concerning the involvement of the rhetoric of humility in medieval sermon collections, see Bériou, “Les prologues”, p. 411.

³⁵ The rule of St Francis instructed: “Unde deprecor in caritate, quae Deus est, omnes fratres meos praedicatores, oratores, laboratores, tam clericos quam laicos, ut studeant se humiliare in omnibus, non gloriari nec in se gaudere nec interius se exaltare de bonis verbis et operibus, immo de nullo bono, quod Deus facit vel dicit et operatur in eis aliquando et per ipsos, secundum quod dicit Dominus: Veruntamen in hoc nolite gaudere, quia spiritus vobis subiciuntur [...]. Omnes ergo fratres caveamus ab omni superbia et vana gloria. Et custodiamus nos a sapientia huius mundi et a prudentia carnis”, *Fontes franciscani*, ed. by E. Menestò et al., Asissi 1995, pp. 200–201.

³⁶ [Osualdus de Lasko], *Sermones dominicales Biga salutis intitulati*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 22 January 1498 (GW M23202; ISTC no. io00117400), f. 2r–v, online edition by I. Bárczi et al.,

providing them with useful materials, the author also advises how one shall use the model-sermons and engage in preaching. In addition to several recommendations concerning the preparation and delivery of a discourse, in a pure Franciscan spirit, Osualdus instructs preachers to act humbly, to not seek praise for their labour, to not let fame or infamy affect or distract them, and to speak with the same eagerness to all their listeners, indifferent of their status. Furthermore, in one of his sermons for the feast of St Francis, Osualdus highlights the embracement of poverty and humility as virtues undertaken by the saint, imitating Christ. In this context, quoting St Bonaventure, he speaks about St Francis' preference for disgrace and criticism, instead of praise, asking to be called 'idiota, simplex et rusticus'.³⁷

Whatever the reason for which the author's name was not disclosed, it seems more significant that the option for anonymity did not imply an intention to hide or disguise the author, since biographical details and personal insights are scattered throughout the texts and paratexts.³⁸ Similarly, the Lenten cycle of Johannes Meder, *Quadragesimale de filio prodigo*, only referred to the author as 'quodam frater minor de observantia in inclita civitate Basiliensi'.³⁹ The author did not have a name, but he had a quite well defined, even recognizable identity: he was an Observant friar minor active in a specified area. Such a portrayal appears to match what Sebastian Sobecki defined as a sociocentric self-perception specific to pre-modern individuals and what he calls an 'indexical self' of the author:⁴⁰

To borrow a household term from sociology and clinical psychiatry, fifteenth-century persons were quintessentially sociocentric in their self-perception, that is, they viewed themselves primarily as embedded in society and thus delimited by it, rather than as independent agents free to attach or detach themselves from societal constructs.⁴¹

<http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/laskaiosv/bigasalutis/OD/000prologus.htm> (accessed on 12 Nov. 2022).

³⁷ "Quarto insuper beatus pater noster intrinsece fuit similis Christo Domino nostro in sui humiliacione. Sicut enim Christus in suis verbis et actibus tam humilis exstitit, ut omnibus exemplar se proponeret. [...] De quo sanctus Bonaventura sic ait: *Omnium virtutum custos et decor humilitas, sic virum Dei sui iuris effecerat, ut quamvis multiplici virtute fulgeret, tamen minorum minimus sibi videbatur, propterea laudes abhorrebat hominum, sed gaudebat in vituperiis et opprobriis, si aliquando a populo laudabatur, tunc se a socio vilipendi procurabat, qui cum violenter diceret ei: Tu es unus idiota simplex et rusticus, ipse autem benedicebat pro his dicens: Benedictus sis, frater, in veritate ita est [...]*", [Osualdus de Lasko], *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 14 July 1499, Sermo XCIII, online edition by I. Bárczi, <http://sermones.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/laskaiosvat/index.php?file=os/os093> (accessed on 12 Nov. 2022).

³⁸ As Stephan Pabst highlights, identification is not only possible through the name, but through the circumstances of the publication and paratextual elements, see S. Pabst, "Anonymität und Autorschaft. Ein Problemaufriss", in *Anonymität und Autorschaft. Zur Literatur- und Rechtsgeschichte der Namenslosigkeit*, ed. by S. Pabst, Berlin 2011, p. 5.

³⁹ J. Meder, *Quadragesimale de filio prodigo*, Basel: Michael Furter, 1495 (ISTC no. im00421000; GW M22498) and Basel: Michael Furter, 1497 (ISTC No.im00422000; GW M22502). It must be highlighted, however, that only the first two editions hide the name of the author.

⁴⁰ S. Sobecki, *Last Words: The Public Self and the Social Author in Late Medieval England*, Oxford 2019, pp. 1–14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Considering this perspective, the way Osualdus is introduced on the title page seems to reflect his self-perception and self-representation primarily as a member of the Order of Friars Minor. Osualdus was a representative of the order of St Francis and of the Observance, his sermons communicated the message of the order, fulfilled the mission entrusted to the friars and were to be used by fellow Franciscans. More than that, his authorial identity depended on this position, since his authority as a preacher resided in the special commission received by the order. The first sermon of his cycle *Gemma fidei*, explaining who was allowed to preach, mentions two types of commissions: an ordinary one, for the Pope, bishops and priests, and an exceptional (‘*ex privilegio*’) assignment, in the case of the friar preachers and friars minor.⁴² An additional component of his identity was similarly related to the environment in which he lived and preached. Besides being a Franciscan friar, Osualdus belonged to the Hungarian society.

These two features would have sufficed both the author’s concern for self-representation and the public’s need to be acquainted with the author of a book they buy or read. Firstly, for the contemporary Hungarian and/or Observant Franciscan audience, the available information about the author could have been enough to allow his identification. The fact that Osualdus’ name is associated with his sermon collections in the chronicle of the Bosnian and Hungarian Observant friars stands as clear proof. Secondly, for the readers placed outside these geographical and cultural coordinates to whom Osualdus’ books became available by means of the printing technology the name of the author might have been less significant. However, the Franciscan affiliation would have provided the guaranty of authority, and, together with the information about the author’s origins, would have also inform about the cultural background of the sermons, setting an horizon of expectations for their content, while preserving an aura of humility around the author. The formula that introduces Osualdus on the title pages of his homiletic works seem to encapsulate the essence of the preacher/author’s identity. The Observant Franciscan ideal and the Hungarian ethos appear as the strongest identity markers involved in Osualdus’ self-representation. Are these markers also traceable in his discourse about sermon writing and preaching?

Authorial intentions and preaching functions

The prologues of Osualdus’ works are mostly stereotypical in structure and content. This is especially true for the liminal texts preceding the Sunday sermons and the Lenten cycle of *Biga salutis*. In the first case, after explaining the title of the collection, the author discloses four purposes of his work and reasons which determined

⁴² [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulum*, f. bv.

him to compile the homiletic compendium. Firstly, Osualdus perceived his work as a means to praise God. Secondly, he was driven by the love for people, intending to help them obtain salvation. Thirdly, Osualdus aimed to help the fellow friars, as well as other preachers providing them with useful materials. Fourthly, the author declares that by compiling the sermon collection he worked towards his own salvation. The second prologue elaborates a justification of the chosen topic, the Ten Commandments. These expositions allowed Osualdus to also touch on various elements identified by Nicole Bériou as common subjects in the prologues of sermon collections: the beneficiaries, the functions and characteristics of the work, recommendations for its use.⁴³ Although they involve several *topoi* – such as the excuse of possible errors,⁴⁴ or the reference to lack of time to study of the preachers to which the work is addressed⁴⁵ – the insistence on certain topics catches the attention.

Osualdus put a great emphasis on his wish to impart the doctrine especially to those of humble condition, ‘praesertim villanae seu rusticanae’, who were deprived of the deep and subtle truths. Teaching them the Christian precepts, meant allowing them the possibility of salvation. In this sense, sermons were conceived as food for the souls, nurturing them in order to survive eternally. This concern might have been a consequence of the immediate contact of the Friars Minor in Hungary with the peasantry in their rural convents,⁴⁶ making them aware of the deficient catechization of the lower strata of society. The recurrent mentions of the poor and ignorant peasants in need of better religious instruction express a critique of the pretentious discourse of the learned men of church, which remained vain and empty words, as long as they were unable to edify the common men and women.⁴⁷ This idea stresses both a call to humbleness and the importance of the efficiency of preaching, which Osualdus sought to obtain through explaining subtle contents in an accessible, unpretentious manner.⁴⁸ In line with this concern for teaching the doctrine to those neglected Christian, Osualdus chose to use the Lent for preaching about the Ten Commandments. He motivates his catechetical endeavour as the easiest and most compendious approach directed at guiding people towards perfection.⁴⁹ The prologue of *Quadragesimale Bige*

⁴³ Bériou, “Les prologues”, pp. 409–416.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 414–415; Kertész, “Two Hungarian Friars Minor”, p. 70.

⁴⁶ M.M. de Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l'expansion à la débâcle: vers 1450–vers 1540*, Roma 2008, pp. 51–54.

⁴⁷ Such an intention is further emphasized by the following passage: “Sicut hisdem retroactis temporibus experti nonnullos inflata scientia, fallerata eloquentia et ostentata ferventia cum degeneri vita in sui auditorumque perniciosum scandalum praecipites dedit in horrida publice crimina prolapsos”, [Osualdus de Lasko], *Sermones dominicales Biga salutis intitulati*, f. 2v.

⁴⁸ “Sincero revera intuens dilectionis affectu plebis, praesertim villanae seu rusticanae, perutilem et necessariam doctrinationem simplici et rudi indigentem salutis alimento, quia eisdem alta, subtilia seu profunda desipiunt. Ex quo ea ad plenum capere nequiunt. Quorum salutis permotus amore, inculto stilo etiam perspicaciora et difficiliora complanando eisdem, quasi pulmentum pabulum vitalis vitae in his congeSSI sermonibus, quibus plerumque exercitati in lege Domini delectabiliter poterunt recreari, dummodo vere fuerint humiliati”, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ “In nomine sanctissime et ineffabilis trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, unius veri et summi Dei qui est ultimus et quidem desideratus vite humane terminus. Ad quem dum solerti varioque causare

salutis also emphasizes the author’s intention to adopt an ‘incultus stylus,’ appropriate for an audience made of simple people.⁵⁰ The addition of a collection of *exempla, sive miracula* at the end of the Lenten cycle served the same purpose.⁵¹

Insisting on sobriety and simplicity and addressing people of all conditions, Osualdus’ understanding of the mission of preachers followed the ideal of humility set by St Francis, prompted the evangelical approach of spreading the Word to everyone, and mirrored the conception of St Bonaventure, insisting on Christ’s model of addressing those in need of guidance, the sinners, not the righteous.⁵² Moreover, the option for clear, unsophisticated, short sermons is characteristic for the popular preaching of the Observant Franciscans in the fifteenth century in direct connection with a constant concern for the effectiveness of their discourses.⁵³ Pelbartus in his own prologues also refers repeatedly to simple people as the ultimate audience of his written sermons, explaining that he attempted to impart the divine message in a simple style.⁵⁴ Bernardino da Siena, who inspired the revival of preaching as a powerful instrument of spiritual reform,⁵⁵ promoted such a straightforward approach, insisting abstract concepts have to be made intelligible to all members of the audience.⁵⁶

quatererque cogitate quomodo facilius et compendiosius cunctis pateret aditus, certis tandem deprehendi sacrorum codicum diffinitionibus, nullum tam indevium ad hunc iter quam divinatorum devotam observantiam mandatorum”, [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Bige salutis*, f.[a]1v.

⁵⁰ “Idcirco simplex ipse inculto ad modum stilo simplicibus (ut ita dixerit) mei coequalibus sermones de singulis divinis perceptis quattuor predicavi ac in scriptis utcumque redegii, cum certis exemplis et sanctorum miraculis in fine adiunctis”, *ibid.*

⁵¹ Regarding this collection of *exempla*, see K. Benedek, “*Exempla sive miracula*: L’usage des exempla dans les Sermones quadragesimales d’Osualdus de Lasko (1498)”, in *Les exempla médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives. Actes du Colloque du C.N.R.S. et de l’Ecole normale supérieure, Saint-Cloud 27–28 sept. 1994*, ed. by J. Berlioz, M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu, Paris 1998, pp. 293–307.

⁵² De Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois*, p. 245; Ch. Mouchel, ‘S. Bonaventure et la rhétorique de la condescendance’, *Helmantica: Revista de filología clásica y hebrea* 50 (1999), no. 151–153, pp. 513–541, especially pp. 533–535.

⁵³ I. Checcoli, R.M. Dessi, “La predicazione francescana nel Quattrocento”, in *Atlante della Letteratura italiana*, vol. 1: *Dalle origini al Rinascimento*, ed. by A. De Vincentiis, Torino 2010, pp. 464–476, especially pp. 469–470; A. Ghinato, “La predicazione Francescana nella vita religiosa e sociale del Quattrocento”, *Picenum Seraphicum* 10 (1973), pp. 50–55; F. Mormando, *The Preacher’s Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy*, Chicago 1999, pp. 7–12; L. Pellegrini, “Faire en disant: Aspects performatifs de la prédication à l’automne du Moyen Âge”, in *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by M.G. Muzzarelli, Turnhout 2014, pp. 21–45.

⁵⁴ “Ut ergo pro simplicium capacitate populorum in hoc opere utilius pariter et placibilis procedam, brevi et simplici stylo (quantum libuit pro unaquaque materia curandum) decrevi scribere”, Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis I. [Pars hiemalis]*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 1499 (ISTC no. ip00250000; GW M30532), online edition by I. Bárcki, <http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=ph/ph000> (accessed on 13 Feb. 2023).

⁵⁵ C. Delcorno, “L’Osservanza francescana e il rinnovamento della predicazione”, in *I Frati osservanti e la società in Italia nel sec. XV. Atti del XL Convegno internazionale in occasione del 550° anniversario della fondazione del Monte di pietà di Perugia, 1462, Assisi – Perugia, 11–13 ottobre 2012*, Spoleto 2013, pp. 3–53; C. Muessig, “Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation”, in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. by J.D. Mixson, B. Roest, Leiden 2015, pp. 185–203.

⁵⁶ C. Delcorno, “Introduzione”, in Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, ed. by C. Delcorno, Milano 1989, pp. 5–51; Mormando, *The Preacher’s Demons*, pp. 12–13, 21–22.

The power and fruitfulness of preaching also depended on how the sermons were delivered. A popular preacher *par excellence*, Bernardino made use of various methods to arouse emotions in order to ensure the success of his discourses.⁵⁷ His model was followed by other famous preachers, like the charismatic John of Capestrano, and familiar to the Hungarian friars.⁵⁸ Osualdus also advises how one shall use the model-sermons and engage in preaching. Before proceeding to talking in front of an audience, one is instructed to think thoroughly about what he will say and to ruminate the words, recommending the sermon to memory. Then, the preacher shall pray fervently and piously for him and for the congregation, begging for divine grace, which gives power and efficiency to words. Recommendations are also made concerning the actual delivery of the sermon ‘cum devotionis dulcore, cum honestae demonstrationis gestus ardore, et cum pronuntiationis verbi honore’, highlighting the importance of non-verbal and para-verbal communication, alongside the style and content of the discourse.

The second Lenten sermon collection compiled by Osualdus, *Gemma fidei*, has a somewhat different approach.⁵⁹ The prologue itself stands out as atypical and full of pathos, expounding at length on two pages the author’s concerns and the work’s purposes and contents. The book comprises a cycle of 71 sermons, providing speeches with rich theological and doctrinal content, more similar to short treatises than model sermons,⁶⁰ but with a clear pastoral purpose. Advertised as being composed at the request of his confreres, the work was meant to offer them effective demonstrations to refute all errors, corrupted beliefs and practices, which were threatening true faith. The author himself was aware that such a dense content might not meet the expectations of his readers, so he advised them how to proceed. Such work involved patient study, not reading the volume from cover to cover, but examining it carefully little by little, ruminating every idea, in order to uncover its ‘utilitas et suavitas’. Thus, the written sermons were not intended to be delivered in the same form, but to teach, inspire and support preachers in composing their own speeches. In doing so, they were also instructed not to omit the *exempla* and miracles included in the text, illustrative and able to convince the listener.⁶¹ At this point, Osualdus de Lasko

⁵⁷ Delcorno, “Introduzione”, *passim*; Mormando, *The Preacher’s Demons*, pp. 17–21; C. Delcorno, “Lexemplum multiforme di Bernardino da Siena. Tra fonti scritte e canali di informazione”, in *Quasi quidam cantus: studi sulla predicazione medievale*, ed. by C. Delcorno et al., Firenze 2009, pp. 203–242; *id.*, “Modelli retorici e narrativi da Bernardino da Siena a Giacomo della Marca”, in *Quasi quidam cantus*, pp. 291–326; V. Berardini, “Discovering Performance Indicators in Late Medieval Sermons”, *Medieval Sermon Studies* 54 (2010), pp. 75–86.

⁵⁸ O. Gecser, “Predicazione, formazione scolastica e modelli culturali nell’Osservanza francescana ungherese alla fine del medioevo”, in *Osservanza francescana e cultura tra Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento: Italia e Ungheria a confronto*, ed. by F. Bartolacci, R. Lambertini, Roma 2014, pp. 33–52, especially pp. 39–41.

⁵⁹ [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*.

⁶⁰ De Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois*, p. 249.

⁶¹ “Suadeo denique, ne spernantur exempla iisdem sermonibus connexa populo referenda, predicatore forte titubante sic realiter fuisse, quia absque consciencie scrupulo in sermonibus visa ut visa, audita ut audita, scripta etiam prout conscripta plebi sane recitamus intentione dummodo recta et mente devota

reaffirmed his Franciscan apprehension of preaching, stating that by using *exempla* one imitates Christ, who employed miracles and parables in his ministry,⁶² and aligned once again with the homiletic rhetoric of the Observant popular preaching.

The topic chosen by Osualdus for his new *quadragesimale* suggests that the author intended to continue his catechetical program, initiated with the teachings on the Ten Commandments. However, the prologue discloses a superior intention. While explanations concerning the articles of faith, good deeds, virtues, sins, and vices were able to provide basic instruction to a congregation, the focus on ecclesiological matters, pagan threats, orthodox, heterodox, and unorthodox doctrines narrows the addressability. The primary intended audience consisted of members of the Roman Church inhabiting the Hungarian Kingdom, whose faith ought to be strengthened not only because of their decadent spiritual state, but because it needed support in front of the constant assaults coming from other religious orientations.

This thematic option and what seems as a more personal approach aroused scholarly interest. Edit Madas edited the prologue of this work and brought its specificity to attention, analysing Osualdus' expressed intentions and the sense of national responsibility conveyed in his introductory text.⁶³ Recently, Pietro Delcorno examined the Lenten cycle as a means of constructing religious identity, focusing again on its prologue as well as on the sermons regarding the Muslims. Osualdus' approach is compared to that of Johannes Meder, proving a shared concern for *renovatio* of the two Observant Friars Minor handled with divergent methods, according to personal and historical circumstances.⁶⁴ In Osualdus' case, these sermons appear as a reaction to the geopolitical and historical context in which the author lived and exercised his mission. The main coordinates of this setting were the internal admixture of populations of different ethnicities, languages, religions, rites or customs, and the surrounding dangers, mainly the Ottoman threat. In these circumstances, the author clearly identifies himself as a (proud) Hungarian⁶⁵ – the dominant and the bravest nation within the Kingdom⁶⁶ – and as a (militant) Catholic Christian, determined

ad magni dei honorem ac proximi utilitatem. Quibus quippe exempla et miracula vivida quasi sunt documenta”, [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, f. a2v. The prologue was edited in: E. Madas, “A prédikáció magvetésével a magyar nemzet védelmében (Laskai Osvát Gemma fidei című prédikációskötetének előszava)”, in *Religió, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban*, ed. by I. Bitskey, A. Görömbei, Debrecen 2004, pp. 55–58.

⁶² “Vestigia itaque exemplaris vite Christi imitantes, qui in plerisque passibus evangelicis interseruit miracula et frequentius parabolarum prodigmata”, [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, f. a2v.

⁶³ Madas, “A prédikáció magvetésével”, pp. 50–54.

⁶⁴ P. Delcorno, “Strategie «identitarie» divergenti? I quaresimali di Johannes Meder e Osvát Laskai”, in *L'Observance entre normalisation et répression (XV^e–XVI^e sec.)*, ed. by S. Duval et al., Roma, forthcoming. I would like to thank the author for providing me the manuscript of this study.

⁶⁵ The Hungarian historiography has insisted on what it defines as patriotism or nationalism. J. Szűcs, “Nép és nemzet a középkor végén”, in *id.*, *Nemzet és történelem: tanulmányok*, Budapest 1974, pp. 569–581; A. Tornai, “A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik”. *Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest 1984, p. 98; Madas, “A prédikáció magvetésével”, pp. 50–54.

⁶⁶ “Ipsum siquidem, ut dominatrix ceterarum omnium, gens incluta incolit olim scythica hunorum, nunc vulgariter hungarica vocitata, fide preclara, magnanimis, robusta pariter et animosa, et ob id armis

to defend his country and the Holy Roman Church. His model-sermons intended to instil this ethos to fellow preachers and to equip them with the contents necessary for the safeguarding of true faith, in order to put an end to God's punishment. They epitomize the goals of the Franciscan mission in the Hungarian Kingdom, constantly directed towards conversion, responsible of inquisition and, during Osualdus' tenure, of promoting the Crusade.

Preaching is perceived as missionary work, promoting the Christian values and doctrine among pagans, heretics or 'schismatic', as mobilising instrument, able to incite Christians to join forces and act against the enemy, and as catechetical instruction and pastoral guidance, fostering the righteous beliefs and practices, amending deviances and preparing believers to resist and reject false religious teachings. All these functions were further clarified by Osualdus in the first three sermons of this cycle.

The ideal preacher between universal apostolate and local challenges

The meaning, goals, and purpose of the *Gemma fidei* collection are further emphasized in the first three speeches, dealing with preaching's agents, content, and beneficiaries. All three sermons have the same *themata*: "Euntes in mundum universum predicate evangelium omni creature. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit" (Mark 16: 15–17). However, each of them further elaborates on a distinct sequence of the quotation, although to a certain degree all encourage preachers to fulfil their mission and their audience to listen and accept their message, displaying the necessity and usefulness of preaching. Opening a homiletic cycle announced to be dense and complicated, the three texts had the role to encourage and offer additional assistance to preachers in their challenging endeavour of transmitting the contents to broader audiences.⁶⁷ As prolongations of the prologue, they abound in *topoi* usually present in introductions to sermon collections, Biblical commentaries or theological works, as well as in *artes predicandi*.⁶⁸ However, the specific concern for the local challenges identified by Osualdus in Hungary are also addressed.

As an opening sermon, the first one sets the stage for the entire cycle, beginning with an evaluation of the importance of preaching for spreading and consolidating true faith by shortly explaining the entire passage from Mark's Gospel. It is interpreted as a call to evangelization, to preaching the divine message in the entire world, to all

strenue dedita, numerositate, merito et dignitate omnium precellens nationum cis regnum copiam", [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulum*, f. a2r.

⁶⁷ Madas, "A prédikáció magvetésével", p. 54.

⁶⁸ Bériou, "Les prologues", pp. 404–406; S. Wenzel, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicandi': A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure*, Toronto 2015.

people, in order to provide them the chance of salvation, which can only be achieved by accepting God’s word and being baptized. The reverse means remaining in a state of ‘infidelitas’ which brings damnation, being the origin of all evil and sins. The next paragraph continues on explaining the importance of preaching as one of the three causes of true faith. It is considered to act as an exterior cause, similarly to assisting to miracles, but more broadly available. It is viewed as supplementing the superior cause, God’s revelation, and efficient in conjunction with the interior cause, ‘mentis assensio ad credenda’. The topic allows Osualdus to make a digression in order to oppose heretics, one of the main targets of his Lenten cycle. In this case, he addresses the pelagian proposition that faith only stems from free will, arguing that this inner cause is necessary but insufficient.

After this introduction, the text develops the idea that preachers continue the work of evangelization of the Apostles, and details their mission.⁶⁹ First of all, it explains who is allowed to preach, mentioning the two types of commissions: ordinary and ‘ex privilegio’. This discussion leads to another reference to heretics, who deliver sermons without permission, without being ordained, asserting they are sent by God Himself and therefore committing a mortal sin. The authorized, righteous mission is then described as a hard, but fruitful work. It is laborious precisely because it is a universal apostolate, “unde predicatorum debent discurrendo predicare ubique”,⁷⁰ to which preachers are compelled by “sacra scriptura, rationis censura, periculi iactura, premiatio futura”. Various neo-testamentary references are brought together to demonstrate the biblical roots of the word ministry, committed not only to the Apostles, but to subsequent generations as well. The undertaking of this task is supported by three reasons: the love of neighbour (since willing him good means giving him access to salvation), the obligation to fructify the science and wisdom received as divine gifts, and the choice of the greatest good. Explaining the last point, Osualdus – in line with Thomas Aquinas, whom he quotes – argues that for those capable of preaching this activity is preferable to other virtuous deeds and is more meritorious than baptising and listening to confessions, because it has collective benefits and its message (‘doctrina Dei’) is the most respectable one, a topic elaborated in the second sermon. Finally, preaching has to be exercised in order to avoid damnation and to achieve salvation. Resuming an idea expressed in the prologue of *Biga salutis*, Osualdus highlights that depriving someone of preaching means depriving him of spiritual nourishment, which is comparable or even worse than homicide, since it

⁶⁹ In the very beginning, Osualdus builds on the metaphor of the laborers in God’s vineyard, assimilated with both the Apostles and the preachers in general, affirming “ut salutis eterne uberrimum offerret fructum, operarios misit in eam sanctos apostolos et alios predicatorum ut excolant et ipsius salutiferam ubique disseminent fidem”. After the digression concerning the essential aim of preaching, which is true faith, the text re-states that preachers continue and bring the apostolic mission into present: “soli Deo est gloria in secula seculorum, qui Spiritu Sancto repletos apostolos in mundum misit tunc et quotidie mittit predicatorum”. Later on, mentioning the many places in the New Testament where the apostolic mission is endorsed, Osualdus warns that “non solum tunc apostolis, sed et nunc predicatoribus dicit prefata verba”, [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, ff. br–b2r.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, f. b2r.

leads to the death of the soul. Conversely, hearing the word of God edifies the soul and opens the door to eternal life. Under this aspect, Osualdus resembles Bernardino de Siena considering that preaching ‘anime fidelium lucrantur et salvantur’.⁷¹

The third and last part of the sermon explains how one shall preach effectively. The attitude and behaviour of a good preacher are related to the characteristics of three animals: the lion, the rooster, and the ram, metaphors for Christ, the apostolic preachers, and the pastors of the church. Following a clear Franciscan Christocentric vision, the model of preacher *par excellence* is Christ; therefore, announcing the Gospel meant not only transmitting His words, but also imitating His actions. Osualdus de Lasko highlights three qualities of the preaching exemplified in the most exquisite manner by Christ. Stepping on His footprints, preachers are called to act with wisdom (‘sapienter’), zeal (‘ferventer’), and patience (‘patienter’).⁷² This meant that preachers were to learn, before teaching others, to refrain from expecting praise for their words, to speak from their heart and tirelessly. Once again the virtue of humility surface the discourse of the Hungarian friar. Besides the perfect model offered by the Son of God, the right form and method of preaching were illustrated by the Apostles. They are presented as examples of renunciation and self-mortification, practising the virtues before recommending them to people, therefore preaching by words and deeds as the Franciscan tradition demanded.⁷³ Comparing the apostolic preacher with the rooster, Osualdus found the way to support his more specific concern in announcing the true faith and combating erroneous beliefs, heresies, and sins. As the figure of the rooster stands on the pinnacles of churches with his mouth open against the wind, so the preacher, as a crier of the truth, has to be ready to speak against vices.⁷⁴ Finally, preachers were called to follow the example of ‘sanctus ecclesiarum rector’, assimilated to the ram, for he leads the flock.

The second sermon deals with the object of preaching, which is the Holy Writ and the Gospel, establishing their superiority to any other text or law. Overall, the demonstration is similar to other mediaeval sources, such as prologues of Biblical commentaries,⁷⁵ involving several *topoi*. The dignity and nobility of the Bible is firstly proved by authorities. Osualdus quotes Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Jerome, John Chrysostom, as well as Albert the Great, who emphasise the usefulness and necessity of the Holy Scripture for salvation and for acknowledging God’s will. Further on, in order to substantiate these ideas the author builds a ternary argument, asserting that the Holy Writ excels other writings because of its subject, because

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, f. b3r. Muessig, “Bernardino da Siena”, pp. 187–188.

⁷² [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadagesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, f. b3v. The same argument was previously exposed *in extenso* by Osualdus in the 25th sermon of his Sunday cycle.

⁷³ “Regula non bullata”, in *Fontes franciscani*, pp. 200–201; A. Thomson, *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography*, Ithaca 2012, p. 98.

⁷⁴ “[...] supra pinaculum figura galli frequenter reponitur aperto ore se contra ventum contrarium voluendo, ut ex hoc innuat quod prece veritatis contra populi vicia clamare sit paratus”, [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadagesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, f. b4r.

⁷⁵ Osualdus himself quotes the prologue of Nicolaus de Lyra, *ibid.*, f. b7r.

of its multiple meanings, and because of the multiplicity of methods of proceeding it involves. The Bible is presented as the book of life, since it treats about God who is the essence of life, while theology, the study of the Bible, is more worthy and pleasant than all sciences, as its ultimate goal is eternal life. Following the ideas of St Bonaventura, expressed in *Principium theologie*, Osualdus puts the Holy Writ in antithesis with texts and sciences that comprise and promote doctrinal errors and superstitious beliefs, defining them as instruments of the devil, whose teachers deserve excommunication, therefore placed outside the confines of true faith. Then, the Holy Scriptures and theology are compared to ‘licit sciences’, which they surpass, addressing not only the mind, but also the soul, illuminating the intellect, but also arousing the feelings, and conducting to the supreme good. In the same line of thought, through its ‘quadriplice sensum’ the Bible has multiple functions: it teaches doctrine and beliefs, guides actions and morals, and directs aspirations. As a multifaceted source of wisdom, it also implies various manners of proceeding, “modos proprios secundum varias inclinationes animorum diversimode alios inclinantes”.⁷⁶ A third demonstration of the nobility of the Holy Scripture is conducted by means of comparison. Borrowing once again an argument of St Bonaventura, the Bible is assimilated to “cor Dei, os Dei, lingua Dei, calamus Dei,”⁷⁷ indicative for Osualdus perception of authorship.

Among all the parts of the Bible the Gospels are the most dignified, perfecting the message and commandments announced in the Old Testament. The second part of the sermon develops this idea. First, it distinguishes the pre-eminence of ‘sacra evangelia’ in relation to pagan writings and sybil’ prophecies. In this context, Osualdus warned preachers on the lack of value and authority of astrology and similar forms of cognition, which are useless for the care of souls,⁷⁸ and on the difference between ‘auctoritatem prophetarum et curiositatem sacrilegiorum’. Still, not all pagan texts are refuted, since all wisdom and knowledge come from God. Osualdus himself cites Aristotle recurrently. Further on, the author emphasises the exceptional character of the Gospel as a law of love, directly communicated by Christ and imprinted in people’s hearts, not transmitted in writing. In support of the command to spread the ‘good news’ received from Christ, he then explains the fruitfulness of the neo-testamentary law and, implicitly, of preaching it, confirming its superiority to the law of Moses and to human, earthly laws. The Gospel extirpates vices, directs morals, leads to happiness, and convey the truth. All these desired effects make Osualdus exclaim in the end: “O, igitur, quam beatus qui te predicat, quam felix qui te audit, sed quam felicis simus qui te sectatur et pro te ad Deum verum venire meretur”!⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, f. b7v.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f. b8r.

⁷⁸ “Astrologiam et alia huiusmodi que despecta sunt quod nihil valent ad salutem, sed mittunt in errorem et, dum his student curam anime non habunt, qui vero Christum novit thesaurum sapientie et scientie invenit quod illud novit quid utile est”, *ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, f. cv.

Less explicit in what concerns the preacher's duties, this sermon still reveals Osualdus' Franciscan approach to communicating the word of God, perceived as a work of evangelization, an imitation of Christ and a continuation of the Apostle's mission. He shares most of his opinions with St Bonaventure, whom he seems to know well, quoting extensively from *Principium theologiae*, *Breviloquium* and *Collationes in Hexaemeron* (cited as *Luminaria ecclesiae*).⁸⁰ Discussing about the Bible and the Gospels, he also exploits the opportunity to refute pagan and heretic teachings, the superstitious beliefs they encourage, and the Mosaic Law, proving them false or inferior to the Christian message. In doing so he further stresses the challenges of the preacher acting in a liminal area, from defensive positions, and reaffirms his special concern for his homeland.

Finally, the third sermon addresses the state of the audience, exhorting the listeners to pay attention to the preacher, to make sure to fix his message in the memory, and to practice what they're told, to let or make the message transform their souls. Osualdus' discourse mirrors the observant Franciscan idea promoted by Bernardino da Siena, who asserts that preaching facilitates salvation, which can be achieved through cooperation between the preacher and the listener.⁸¹ The sermon comprises two parts, each of them focusing on one of the two actors working together in pursuit of the final, supreme goal. Questioning what encourages the audience to effectively receive the word of God, Osualdus indirectly provides preachers with three types of argumentative techniques: citing authorities, especially the Holy Scriptures, offering rational arguments, and making comparisons or using similarities. The great authority of the Bible, whose content is being disclosed and explained through sermons, commands respect. The revealed truth and wisdom of God is, therefore, the most effective argument. Starting from these premises, Osualdus further elaborates on the necessity of listening the word of God with benevolence, which implies receiving it with devotion and observing it diligently.⁸² In doing so, the audience of a sermon has access to many benefits, since the divine message pleases the soul, allows one to know God, prepares and inclines one to receive grace, and helps avoiding dangers. At these point, Osualdus emphasizes the consequences for those who do not hear and listen the word of God. They are to expect 'multa mala et pericula'. Hence, although he does not explicitly says that, preaching is the solution for eradicating all the threats and dangers and God's ire that hovers over Hungary, because:

Felix terra et beata regna, civitates et castella ubi resonant verba Dei, ubi seritur vestra doctrina. Et e contrario, maledictum illud regnum et Dei omnipotentis ira dignum quid vestri pedes non conculcant et ubi vestre predicationes non insonant.⁸³

⁸⁰ Berhidai, "Bonaventura-hagyomány", p. 35.

⁸¹ Muessig, "Bernardino da Siena", pp. 191–203.

⁸² Benigne audiendum est devote suscipendum, sollicite conservandum quicquid ad animarum salutem pertinetet non sicut verbum hominum, sed sicut est vere Dei verbum, [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, f. c3r.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Resuming the display of the benefits of listening to preaching, Osualdus compares God's word to seeds, which transform and bear fruits, attract humidity like the Christ's message attracted the Apostles, and, nonetheless, have the ability to nourish, cure and delight. Among all these virtues, the author insists on the nutritive nature of preaching, already alluded in the first sermon. This time, besides stating that it is a spiritual food, Osualdus emphasizes the dangers it implies. Just like when one abhors and declines all food, he risks death, the rejection and despise of religious teachings brings the death of the soul. The second danger resides in the failure to retain nutrients, which spiritually is assimilated to listening to sermons without preserving their message in the memory.⁸⁴ Thirdly, as the body is endangered when the ingested food is not digested, so the soul is deprived of the benefits of preaching, when the listener does not follow and practice what he was taught. Analysing the use of this metaphor in medieval Central European sermons, Krzysztof Bracha concludes that it implied a symbolism related to reform, that could fit the message of Osualdus too:

The nourishment metaphor reflected the idea of the sermon as an instrument of instruction for the faithful and a vehicle for evangelical messages that changed human attitudes. Like a seed or grain, a sermon was supposed to contain nourishment in the form of new values.⁸⁵

Finally, the last part of the sermon uses another interesting comparison. Presenting the word of God as a precious gift, it parallels the Gospel ('verbum Dei') to the body of Christ.⁸⁶ If Christ precedes Gospels in terms of 'essentie dignitate', they are equal as representations of God, and the divine message is superior through its effects, 'illuminatio et mundatio peccatis'. Hence, Osualdus concludes that preaching has better outcomes than the body of Christ, being able to convert sinners. In the same line of thought, earlier in the text the author argued that in case one cannot attend both the mass and the sermon, the last one is to be chosen. The same arguments are invoked by Pelbartus de Themeswar,⁸⁷ who on the footsteps of Bernardino da Siena⁸⁸ affirms that preaching is more important than attending the mass. Besides proving a shared Observant Franciscan understanding of the value of preaching, in

⁸⁴ Regarding Bernardino de Siena's demand for listeners to ruminate what they are told, see S. Oguro, "From Ears to Hand, from Hand to Heart: Writing and Internalizing Preaching in Fifteenth-Century Florence", in *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by M.G. Muzzarelli, Turnhout 2014, pp. 47–64, especially pp. 57–58.

⁸⁵ K. Bracha, "Nourishment and Correction: Preaching and Reform in Central-Eastern Europe in the Later Middle Ages", *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 22 (2016), pp. 201–229, here p. 209.

⁸⁶ This comparison is invoked by other authors as well, underlining the dignity of preaching, Bériou, "Les prologues", p. 418.

⁸⁷ In his fourth sermon for *Dominica Sexagesimae*, from his cycle *de tempore*, Pelbartus states that the privation of preaching is more harmful to the soul and faith than not participating in the liturgy, explaining that for this reason the Church allows those excommunicated or under interdict to attend sermons, but not the mass. Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore I. [Pars hiemalis]*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1498, online edition by I. Barczy *et al.*, <http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=th/th043> (accessed on 12 Nov. 2022).

⁸⁸ Muessig, "Bernardino da Siena", p. 198.

Osualdus case this idea highlights once more the author's concern for correcting errors and converting sinners.

Therefore, within these sermons preaching is treated in a quite stereotypical manner, reiterating powerful ideas related to the mission of the preacher and the significance of the divine word, mostly from the Franciscan repertoire. In the particular sense imprinted by the prologue, preaching is defined as evangelization and persuasion towards conversion, towards embracing and practising true faith, hence, the preacher is a teacher and a defender of orthodoxy, matching quite well the mission of the Friars Minor in general, and their actions in Hungary in particular.

Conclusive remarks

In the light of his prologues and his metatextual sermons, Osualdus de Lasko's understanding of preaching appears to be strongly influenced by Franciscan values and ideals. Christ is the ultimate model: the wise, zealous, patient and humble preacher, who came to rescue the sinners, not the righteous, who taught the New Law in simple terms, making it intelligible and moving hearts through *exempla* and miracles. If Christians in general were called to imitate His life, preachers had to replicate his word ministry. Their mission was to continue the work of the Apostles and Evangelists, imparting the Word of God *ubique* and following their example of renunciation. A simple style, the use of parables, and an expressive discourse were to ensure the effectiveness of sermons, impressing the audience, helping listeners to fix the messages in the memory, and rendering them intelligible to uneducated peasants.

In the same time, the local experience of the order in Hungary had a significant impact of Osualdus' messages and approach, evident especially in *Gemma fidei*. The targets of the Franciscan mission in this periphery of the Latin Christian World are epitomized in Osualdus' homiletic cycle: conversion of pagans and 'schismatic', fighting heresies, support of Catholics in resistance to conversion, preaching the Crusade against the Ottomans.⁸⁹ As a vicar of the Hungarian province, Osualdus was not only well aware, but also responsible of putting such desiderates into action. In this regard, he considered preaching a useful, efficient tool, following in the footsteps of two of the pillars of the Observance, James of the Marches and John

⁸⁹ De Cevins, *Les franciscains observants hongrois*, pp. 31–43, 231–274; N. Berend, "The Mendicant Orders and the Conversion of Pagans in Hungary", in *Alle frontiere della cristianità: i frati mendicanti e l'evangelizzazione tra '200 e '300; atti del XXVIII convegno internazionale; Assisi, 12–14 ottobre 2000*, Spoleto 2001, pp. 253–279; G. Galamb, "Francescani, eretici e repressione antieretiale nell'Ungheria del 15. secolo", *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History of the University of Szeged* 2 (2002), pp. 39–56; I.M. Damian, "L'Osservanza francescana e le Crociate contro I Turchi: da Eugenio IV a Pio II", *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged* 15 (2017), pp. 45–60.

of Capestrano, who held the inquisitorial office and strived to eradicate heterodox beliefs in the Hungarian lands.⁹⁰

His self-made auctorial identity brings forward the same elements and even the option for anonymity can be related to the virtues of humility and renunciation, professed by the Friars Minor. Osualdus de Lasko considered himself above all a member and an exponent of the Franciscan order, or at least this was the position from which he was preaching and writing sermons and from which his authority was emanating.⁹¹ At the same time, he identified himself as Hungarian, another element of his sociocentric self-perception. The formula with which the author is introduced on the title page also says something about the author’s message and primary audience. To that public to whom the sermons were delivered the author, as the preacher in front, was not unknown. Thus, the absence of a name can be understood as a sign that the author was implied. No previous or parallel handwritten transmission of his sermons is available to reveal more about the public awareness of the author’s identity, but the chronicle cited in the beginning proves that at that moment Osualdus was known as the author of the two sermon collections, at least in the specific circle of Hungarian Friars minor. Only for the distant readers of his written sermons the author became anonymous,⁹² but they had access to the essential components of its identity, representative for the content as well.

Bibliography

Primary sources

“Blasii de Zalka et continuatorum eius Cronica fratrum Minorum de. Observantia Provinciae Boznae et Hungariae”, in *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, ed. by F. Toldy, Buda 1867, pp. 213–305.

Fontes franciscani, ed. by E. Menestò et al., Asissi 1995.

[Johannes Meder], *Quadragesimale de filio prodigo*, Basel: Michael Furter, 1495 (ISTC no. im00421000; GW M22498).

Die Matrikel der Universität Wien. Im Auftrag des Akademischen Senats herausgegeben vom Archiv der Universität Wien, vol. 2: 1451–1518/I, ed. by F. Gall, W. Szaivert, Graz 1967.

München, Bayerische Staats Bibliothek, Clm 9071, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00017411?page=40,41> (accessed on 12 Nov. 2022).

⁹⁰ G. Galamb, “San Giacomo della Marca e gli eretici di Ungheria”, in *San Giacomo della Marca nell’Europa del ’400: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Montepandone 7–10 settembre 1994*, ed. by S. Bracci, Padova 1997, pp. 211–220; I.M. Damian, *Ioan de Capestrano și Cruciața Târzie*, Cluj-Napoca 2011.

⁹¹ The first sermon previously analysed provides the explanation for the author’s source of authority, when it refers to mendicants’ authorization and commission to preach.

⁹² As Sobiecki affirms “Anonymity was the result of the widening of a text’s audience beyond its primary target”, Sobiecki, *Last Words*, p. 6.

- [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Bige salutis*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1501 (VD16 O 1418; USTC no. 688967).
- [Osualdus de Lasko], *Quadragesimale Gemma fidei intitulatum*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1507 (VD16 O 1421; USTC 693629).
- [Osualdus de Lasko], *Sermones de sanctis Biga salutis intitulati*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 27 July 1497 (ISTC no. io00117600; GW M23217).
- [Osualdus de Lasko], *Sermones dominicales Biga salutis intitulati*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 22 January 1498 (ISTC no. io00117400; GW M23202).
- Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis I. [Pars hiemalis]*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran for Johannes Rynman, 1499 (ISTC no. ip00250000; GW M30532).
- Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Sermones Pomerii de tempore I. [Pars hiemalis]*, Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1498 (ISTC no. ip00254000; GW M30552).
- Sermones Amici dicti*, Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, 1495 (ISTC no. ia00563000; GW 1616).

Secondary sources

- Bárczi, I., *Ars compilandi. A késő középkori prédikációs segédkönyv forráshasználata*, Budapest 2007.
- Benedek, K., “*Exempla sive miracula*: Usage des exempla dans les Sermones quadragesimales d’Osualdus de Lasko (1498)”, in *Les exempla médiévaux. Nouvelles perspectives. Actes du Colloque du C.N.R.S. et de l’Ecole normale supérieure, Saint-Cloud 27–28 sept. 1994*, ed. by J. Berlioz, M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu, Paris 1998, pp. 293–307.
- Berardini, V., “Discovering Performance Indicators in Late Medieval Sermons”, *Medieval Sermon Studies* 54 (2010), pp. 75–86.
- Berend, N., “The Mendicant Orders and the Conversion of Pagans in Hungary”, in *Alle frontiere della cristianità: i frati mendicanti e l’evangelizzazione tra ’200 e ’300; atti del XXVIII convegno internazionale; Assisi, 12–14 ottobre 2000*, Spoleto 2001, pp. 253–279.
- Berhidai, L.P., “Bonaventura-hagyomány Laskai Osvát prédikációiban”, in *Misztika a 16–18. századi Magyarországon*, ed. by J. Bogár, Piliscsaba 2013, pp. 31–39.
- Bériou, N., “Les prologues de recueils de sermons latins, du XII^e au XV^e siècle”, in *Les prologues médiévaux: actes du Colloque international organisé par l’Academia Belgica et l’École française de Rome avec le concours de la F.I.D.E.M: Rome, 26–28 mars 1998*, ed. by J. Hamesse, Turnhout 2000, pp. 395–426.
- Borsa, G., “Ki lehetett Michael de Hungária?”, in *Jubileumi csokor Csapodi Csaba tiszteletére: tanulmányok*, ed. by M. Rozsondai, Budapest 2002, pp. 59–64.
- Borsa, G., *Michael de Hungaria élete és művének nyomtatott kiadásai*, Budapest 1997.
- Bracha, K., “Nourishment and Correction: Preaching and Reform in Central-Eastern Europe in the Later Middle Ages”, *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 22 (2016), pp. 201–229.
- Cevins de M.M., *Les franciscains observants hongrois de l’expansion à la débâcle: vers 1450–vers 1540*, Roma 2008.
- Chartier, R., *The Order of Books Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, transl. by L.G. Cochrane, Stanford 1994.
- Checconi I.D., Rosa M., “La predicazione francescana nel Quattrocento”, in *Atlante della Letteratura italiana*, vol. 1: *Dalle origini al Rinascimento*, ed. by A. De Vincentiis, Torino 2010, pp. 464–476.

- Damian, I.M., “L'Osservanza francescana e le Crociate contro I Turchi: da Eugenio IV a Pio II”, *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged* 15 (2017), pp. 45–60.
- Damian, I.M., *Ioan de Capestrano și Cruciada Târzie*, Cluj-Napoca 2011.
- Delcorno, C., “Introduzione”, in Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, ed. by C. Delcorno, Milano 1989, pp. 5–51.
- Delcorno, C., “Lexemplum multiforme di Bernardino da Siena. Tra fonti scritte e canali di informazione”, in “*Quasi quidam cantus*”: *studi sulla predicazione medievale*, ed. by C. Delcorno et al., Firenze 2009, pp. 203–242.
- Delcorno, C., “L'Osservanza francescana e il rinnovamento della predicazione”, in *I Frati osservanti e la società in Italia nel sec. XV. Atti del XL Convegno internazionale in occasione del 550° anniversario della fondazione del Monte di pietà di Perugia, 1462, Assisi – Perugia, 11–13 ottobre 2012*, Spoleto 2013, pp. 3–53.
- Delcorno, C., “Modelli retorici e narrativi da Bernardino da Siena a Giacomo della Marca”, in “*Quasi quidam cantus*”: *studi sulla predicazione medievale*, ed. by C. Delcorno et al., Firenze 2009, pp. 291–326.
- Delcorno, P., “Strategie «identitarie» divergenti? I quaresimali di Johannes Meder e Osvát Laskai”, in *L'Observance entre normalisation et répression (XV^e–XVI^e sec.)*, ed. by S. Duval et al., Roma, forthcoming.
- Galamb, G., “Francescani, eretici e repressione antieretiale nell'Ungheria del 15. secolo”, *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History of the University of Szeged* 2 (2002), pp. 39–56.
- Galamb, G., “San Giacomo della Marca e gli eretici di Ungheria”, in *San Giacomo della Marca nell'Europa del '400: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Montepandone 7–10 settembre 1994*, ed. by S. Bracci, Padova 1997, pp. 211–220.
- Gecser, O., “Predicazione, formazione scolastica e modelli culturali nell'Osservanza francescana ungherese alla fine del medioevo”, in *Osservanza francescana e cultura tra Quattrocento e primo Cinquecento: Italia e Ungheria a confronto*, ed. by F. Bartolacci, R. Lambertini, Roma 2014, pp. 33–52.
- Gedeon, B., “Laskai Osvát és Temesvári Pelbárt műveinek megjelentetői”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 121 (2005), pp. 1–24.
- Ghinato, A., “La predicazione Francescana nella vita religiosa e sociale del Quattrocento”, *Picenum Seraphicum* 10 (1973), pp. 50–55.
- Göcking, D., “Beschreibung der Druckausgaben der Werke des Franziskaner-Observanten Osvald de Lasco”, *Kirchliches Buch- und Bibliothekswesen. Jahrbuch* 1 (2000), pp. 23–33.
- Hain, L., *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*, vol. 2, part 1: H–O, Stuttgart 1831.
- Horváth, R., *Laskai Osvát*, Budapest 1932.
- Kertész, B., “A honfoglalás története Laskai Osvát második Szent István-sermójában”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 122 (2006), pp. 464–468.
- Kertész, B., “A turul-monda Laskai Osvát egyik Szent István-napi prédikációjában”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 120 (2004), pp. 374–384.
- Kertész, B., “Középkori krónikáink és legendáink használatának problémája Laskai Osvát prédikációiban”, *Sermones Compilati. Plaustum* I, http://sermones.elte.hu/?az=315tan_plaus_kebalaz (accessed on 30 Oct. 2022).

- Kertész, B., “Laskai Osvát a magyarok pannóniai bejövételéről. Anonymus gesztájának utóéletéhez”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 121 (2005), pp. 373–384.
- Kertész, B., “Two Hungarian Friars Minor (Franciscian Observants) in the late Middle Ages: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko”, in *Infima aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. by P.E. Kovács, K. Szovák, Budapest 2009, pp. 60–78.
- Kertész, B., “The 1499 Constitutions of the Hungarian Observant Franciscan vicariate”, *Chronica* 15 (2017), pp. 176–180.
- Kosztolnyik, Z.J., “Pelbartus of Temesvár: A Franciscan Preacher and Writer of the Late Middle Ages in Hungary”, *Vivarium* 5 (1967), no. 2, pp. 100–110.
- Kosztolnyik, Z.J., “Some Hungarian Theologians in the Late Renaissance”, *Church History* 57 (1988), no. 1, pp. 5–18.
- Landmann, L., “Über das Nachschreiben der Predigen im Mittelalter”, *Archiv für Stenographie* 55 (1903), pp. 1–6.
- László, H., “Ismerte-e Laskai Osvát Anonymus gesztáját? Reflexiók a Magyar Könyvszemlében megjelent három dolgozatra”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 125 (2009), pp. 83–88.
- Madas, E., “A prédikáció magvetésével a magyar nemzet védelmében (Laskai Osvát Gemma fidei című prédikációskötetének előszava)”, in *Religió, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban*, ed. by I. Bitskey, A. Görömbei, Debrecen 2004, pp. 50–58.
- Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition*, ed. by A.J. Minnis, A.B. Scott, D. Wallace, Oxford 1991.
- Minnis, A.J., *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia 2010.
- Mormando, F., *The Preacher’s Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy*, Chicago 1999.
- Morrison, S., “Scribal Performance in a Late Middle English Sermon Cycle”, in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell*, ed. by M.W. Driver, V. O’Mara, Turnhout 2013, pp. 117–132.
- Mouchel, Ch., “S. Bonaventure et la rhétorique de la condescendance”, *Helmantica: Revista de filología clásica y hebrea* 50 (1999), no. 151–153, pp. 513–541.
- Muessig, C., “Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation”, in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. by J.D. Mixson, B. Roest, Leiden 2015, pp. 185–203.
- Müller, O., “Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit der deutsche Predigt des Mittelalters”, in *Beiträge zur Schriftlinguistik. Festschrift Dieter Nerius*, ed. by P. Ewald, K.-E. Sommerfeldt, Frankfurt-am-Main 1995, pp. 191–200.
- Oguro, S., “From Ears to Hand, from Hand to Heart: Writing and Internalizing Preaching in Fifteenth-Century Florence”, in *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by M.G. Muzzarelli, Turnhout 2014, pp. 47–64.
- Pabst, S., “Anonymität und Autorschaft. Ein Problemaufriss”, in *Anonymität und Autorschaft. Zur Literatur- und Rechtsgeschichte der Namenlosigkeit*, ed. by S. Pabst, Berlin 2011.
- Pellegrini, L., “Faire en disant: Aspects performatifs de la prédication à l’automne du Moyen Âge”, in *From Words to Deeds: The Effectiveness of Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by M.G. Muzzarelli, Turnhout 2014, pp. 21–45.

- Petzold, H., “Die alteutsche Predigt als geschriebenes und geschprochenes Wort”, *Theologie und Philosophie* 44 (1969), pp. 196–232.
- Die Predigt im Mittelalter zwischen Mündlichkeit, Bildlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*, ed. by R. Wetzel, F. Flückiger, Zürich 2010.
- Rösli, L., Groppe S. “Introduction”, in *In Search of the Culprit: Aspects of Medieval Authorship*, ed. by L. Rösli, S. Groppe, Berlin 2021, pp. 9–16.
- Ruh, K., “Mittelalterliche Predigtbücher”, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Predigt. Vorträge und Abhandlungen*, ed. by H. Reinitzer, Hamburg 1981, pp. 11–30.
- The Sermon*, ed. by B.M. Kienzle, Turnhout 2000.
- Siggins, I.D.K., *A Harvest of Medieval Preaching: The Sermon Books of Johann Herolt*, Bloomington 2009.
- Sobecki, S., *Last Words: The Public Self and the Social Author in Late Medieval England*, Oxford 2019.
- Szabó, K., Hellebrant, Á., *Régi magyar könyvtár*, vol. 3: *Magyar szerzőktől külföldön 1480-tól 1711-ig megjelent nem magyar nyelvű nyomtatványoknak könyvészeti kézikönyve*, Budapest 1896.
- Szűcs, J., “Nép és nemzet a középkor végén”, in J. Szűcs, *Nemzet és történelem: tanulmányok*, Budapest 1974, pp. 569–581.
- Thomson, A., *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography*, Ithaca 2012.
- Timár, K., “Laskai Osvath es a bibliografia”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 18 (1910), pp. 122–153.
- Tornai, A., “A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik”. *Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest 1984.
- Wenzel, S., *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure*, Toronto 2015.
- Zumthor, P., *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paris 1972.

PAULA COTOI

🏠 Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
 @ paula.cotoi[at]bcucluj.ro
 🆔 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2144-1086>

Paula Cotoi – Special Collections Librarian at the Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca. Research interests: mediaeval sermon studies, book history, medieval history, history of Transylvania. Recent publications: “*Cum oratis, dicite*: Sermons on Prayer in Late Medieval Transylvania and Hungary”, in *Prayer Books and Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe/ Gebetbücher und Frömmigkeit in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. by V. Leppin, U.A. Wien, M. Crăciun, K. Luffy, Göttingen 2023; A. Dincă, P. Cotoi, “Latin Manuscript and Printed Sermons in Late Medieval Transylvania (1470–1530)”, in *Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Catholic Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)*, ed. by V. O’Mara, P. Stoop, Turnhout 2023.