# ACTA MEDIAEVALIA

## Series Nova

# The John Paul II Catholic University Of Lublin
# Centre for Medieval Studies

Centre for Medieval Studies

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Volume I

# From *Acta Mediaevalia* to *Acta Mediaevalia*. *Series Nova*

We are happy to present the first volume of the new academic journal *Acta Mediaevalia. Series Nova*, published by the Centre for Medieval Studies at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). In 2021, scholars from over a dozen Polish academic institutions, who had joined forces to establish the Centre, started discussing the projects that the Centre should pursue. They agreed that alongside its research projects, the Centre should publish its own journal. The original intention was to make it multi- and interdisciplinary, widely open to Polish and international scholars. Our underlying idea is to be open to various research centres, and to works mostly by medievalists not affiliated with the Centre. Apart from research papers, we seek to publish book reviews and source materials. We are determined to make the journal a platform for sharing research and addressing pressing questions of medieval studies. This is why each volume will have its own, well-chosen topic. The first focuses on "The Age of Transition: Crisis, Reform and Renewal in Late Medieval Central and Eastern Europe." Our aim was to invite contributors to discuss and overview the roots of the crisis symbolised by the Great Western Schism, which undermined the very foundations of the late medieval Church and sent shock waves all across Christendom. We sought papers dealing with the origins and implications of the crisis, and in particular the way it had its impact on political, social and cultural developments in Central and Eastern Europe, described by Jerzy Kłoczowski as "Younger Europe." In addition, we were interested

particularly in publishing papers discussing reactions to the crisis at various levels and in different social settings. The papers published in this volume largely meet those expectations.

It is worth mentioning that our journal continues the *Acta Mediaevalia* series not by title alone. The old series was launched by the Inter-Faculty Department for the History of Culture in the Middle Ages, founded in 1965 (later renamed the Institute for the History of Culture in the Middle Ages, and currently known as the Centre for the History of Culture in the Middle Ages). *Acta Mediaevalia* was initiated by the founder of the Department, Prof. Marian Rechowicz, with a view to publishing research findings of the Department's members, as well as works of Polish and foreign medievalists who cooperated with him. In the years 1973–2016, 25 volumes were released in the series.

The very beginnings of the *Acta Mediaevalia* series were challenging due to the hostile reaction of the communist regime, which tried to curb the activities of KUL by imposing restrictions on publishing. In our times, the challenges with obtaining paper and printing machines that Marian Rechowicz had to tackle may seem hard to comprehend. That is why it is worth recalling Rechowicz's words in his letter to the Rector of KUL, Prof. Wincenty Granat, dated 20 April 1967. He wrote: "Considering the planned publication of two journals – *Bulletin du Centre de Recherches de Civilisation Médiévale* and *Acta Mediaevalia Catholicae Universitatis Lublinensis* – by the Inter-Faculty Department for the History of Culture in the Middle Ages, I respectfully request that efforts be made to obtain permission from the Central Office for Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances to print the journals on a mechanical printer." Before the state authorities granted larger numbers of publishing sheets, the KUL Learned Society slightly lowered the print run of some other journals to facilitate the release of the planned series *Acta Mediaevalia* within the existing limits. Thanks to this, the first volume in the series subtitled *Acta Mediaevalia Catholicae Universitatis Lublinensis* was published as a part of *Annales Theologico-Canonicae* in 1973. The subsequent volumes of *Acta Mediaevalia* were issued at irregular intervals, depending on the materials collected for publication. In the years 2011–2016 three final volumes of *Acta Mediaevalia* (nos 23–25) were released and after that the editors – not having enough financial resources – had no choice but to suspend the publication.

The works published in the series were focused on the history of science, in particular dealing with natural philosophy, logic, metaphysics, anthropology and philosophical psychology, as well as theology, especially medieval biblical studies. Most works offered critical editions of commentaries on the writings of Aristotle or the Bible. The list of medieval authors whose writings were published in critical editions in the entire series of *Acta Mediaevalia* includes: Jan Elgot, Jan of Dąbrówka, Benedykt Hesse, Nicolaus Peripateticus, Stanisław of Zawada, Jan Isner, Stanisław of Skarbimierz, Jan of Kęty, Maciej of Łabiszyn, Conrad of Soltau, Henryk of Hesse, Andrzej of Kokorzyn, Alexander of Hales, Michael Falkener of Wrocław, Johannes of Raciborsk, Nicolaus of Dinkelsbühl, Johannes of Dambach, Jan of Słupcza and Augustinus of Ancona. These modern critical editions upheld the highest academic standards and gained international recognition for their quality. This is testified by the award granted by Commissio Leonina to Lucyna Nowak in 1997 for her edition of *Quaestiones disputatae super octo libros "Physicorum" Aristotelis cum glossis Ioannis Isneri*, published in the volume no. 9 of *Acta Mediaevalia* (1996). Apart from the critical editions of medieval writings, fourteen volumes of the *Acta Mediaevalia* series offered collections of studies including 186 research papers produced by 70 Polish and foreign scholars.

In September 2022, the director of the KUL Faculty of Philosophy agreed to hand *Acta Mediaevalia* over to the newly founded Centre for Medieval Studies, which intended to transform this respectable series into a journal. In April 2023, Prof. Mirosław Kalinowski, the Rector of KUL, appointed Prof. Paweł Kras, the Director of the Centre, as editor-in-chief of *Acta Mediaevalia. Series Nova*. His work on the new academic journal is supported by the International Scientific Council, which comprises 16 medievalists from 11 countries, and the Advisory Board with 10 scholars from 7 Polish and foreign institutions. As mentioned earlier, during the meeting of the International Scientific Council, we decided that the first volume would focus on the crisis and reforms of Christianity in Central and Eastern Europe during the 'long' fifteenth century.

We are pleased that our first call for papers attracted a number of authors, both senior and younger researchers, who submitted their contributions to the first volume. We are content that the papers accepted for publication are not exclusively historical, but also deal with philosophy, theology, canon law and literary studies. Some texts are

concerned directly with the crisis of the late Middle Ages, discussing its origins and presenting various efforts to counter it. A brilliant paper by Joëlle Rollo-Koster addresses the concept of tyrannicide, which stirred heated debates among key European intellectuals and was used to legitimise the deposition of feuding popes. Stephen Lahey's article offers a refreshing insight into the approach of Stanislav of Znojmo, a leading Prague philosopher at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to John Wyclif's metaphysics, analysing his treatise *De vero et falso*. In his splendid overview, Thomas M. Izbicki traces the evolution of Aristotle's argument of the need for one ruler in various historical settings, starting from the debates during the Great Western Schism, when Thomas Aquinas's interpretation prevailed, and ending with the confrontation between Protestant leaders and Jesuits (Cajetan, Robert Bellarmin), when Aquinas's reading of Aristotle's arguments was challenged. In the first volume of our journal, there are also two case studies focused on the transmission of reforming ideas in selected fifteenth-century writings. Carolin Gluchowski's paper analyses the Easter Prayer Book produced in 1408, currently held in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen (Ms GKS 3452), showing how this devotional writing reflects religious transformations taking place during the 'long' fifteenth century in the Cistercian nunnery in Medingen, where the manuscript was written. Wojciech Baran examines two manuscripts with commentaries on the fourth book of *Sentences* by Peter Lombard, preserved in the Archive and Library of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter (Ms 113) and the Jagiellonian Library (Ms 1721) and demonstrates the transfer of theological ideas from Prague to Kraków via Leipzig. The paper of two Hungarian scholars, István Pánya and Bernát Rácz, presents the religious and organisational developments in the friary of Augustinian canons in Bátmonostora fostered by their patrons. Mateusz Zimny discusses the role and strategies of the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit *de Saxia* in promoting indulgences in Poland, Lithuania, Silesia and Prussia.

Our journal is also a forum for exchanging opinions on recently published works by researchers from various countries. The first volume includes seven book reviews submitted mostly by Polish medievalists, though the very first one is written by a French scholar, Marie-Madeleine de Cevins who offers an insight into Nora Berend's book on Hungarian King Stephen the Great and the way his legend had been

produced and developed over centuries. Radosław Biskup presents Rafał Kubicki's recent study on the rural society, production relations and the organisation of agriculture in the Teutonic State in Prussia. Sobiesław Szybkowski takes a closer look at Tomáš Homol'a's book on the foreign policy of Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus in 1458–1471. Krzysztof Bracha's work on the Marian piety in the so-called collection of sermons by Piotr of Miłosław is reviewed by Ewelina Kaczor. Agnieszka Maciąg-Fiedler discusses the findings of Katarzyna Jasińska, Dorota Kołodziej and Mariusz Leńczuk who researched two Latin *rosaria*. The critical edition of the register of the Gniezno vicars general from the mid-fifteenth century published by Adam Kozak is discussed by Paweł Kras, who demonstrates how important these source materials are for the research on the religious practice and morals in late medieval Poland. Thanks to Marcin Polkowski's review our readers can also learn more about the collective volume on some popular fictional narratives circulating in early modern Europe edited by Rita Schlusemann, Helwi Blom, Anna Katharina Richter, and Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga.

The publication of the first volume of *Acta Mediaevalia. Series Nova* crowns the intensive work of reviewers, copyeditors and the personnel of the Publishing House of the Catholic University of Lublin. We are very thankful to everyone who cooperated with the Editorial Board, but above all we express our gratitude to all of the authors who submitted their papers, and who have worked with us on them over recent months.

New thematic volumes will be presented in the years to come. We hope that, with each one of them, our community of readers and authors will continue to grow.

Wanda Bajor,
editor-in-chief of the *Acta Mediaevalia* series

Paweł Kras,
editor-in-chief of the *Acta Mediaevalia. Series Nova* journal

# ARTICLES

Joëlle Rollo-Koster[*]

# Deposing Popes and Kings: the Praxis of Tyranny during the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)[1]

**Abstract:** This essay summarises the evolution of the concept of tyranny from classical antiquity through late medieval Europe, examining its application to both secular and ecclesiastical figures. Beginning with Aristotle's characterisation of tyranny as unconstitutional rule, the essay explores how classical definitions influenced early Christian thought, particularly through the writings of Isidore of Seville. Isidore's adaptation of tyranny to ecclesiastical contexts paved the way for later medieval thinkers like John of Salisbury and Bartolus de Sassoferato to articulate theories of illegitimate power in both secular and religious spheres. The essay then delves into the Great Western Schism (1378–1417), during which the papacy was divided between rival claimants, leading to accusations of tyranny against popes and secular rulers alike. Through detailed analysis of historical sources and contemporary accounts, the essay demonstrates how charges of tyranny were leveraged to justify the deposition or elimination of political and religious figures, including Pope Urban VI, King Richard II of England, King Wenceslaus of Germany, and Pope Benedict XIII. I conclude with the case of King Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland. Drawing parallels between these cases, the article highlights common themes found in accusations of tyranny, such as abuse of power, financial mismanagement, refusal of counsel, and religious dissent.

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By examining the rhetoric and political dynamics surrounding these events, the essay argues that the concept of tyranny served as a powerful tool for legitimising political action and shaping public discourse.

Tyranny, as defined in classical antiquity, derived from secular political models. To the ancient Greeks, it signified the acquisition of power through unconstitutional means. Aristotle imparted a negative connotation to tyranny by contrasting it with ideal rulership, namely kingship. Subsequently, Romans maintained this unfavourable perception, regarding tyranny as a malignant element within the otherwise superior 'Republican' body politic.[2]

Eventually, in late antiquity, Christianity adopted and adapted the definition of tyranny. Isidore of Seville's (ca. 630s) definition of tyranny still retained its classical roots. In his *Etymologies* he emphasised the difference between kings and tyrants, "For instance, one asks what the difference between a 'king' and a 'tyrant' is: we define what each is by applying a differentiation, so that 'a king is restrained and temperate, but a tyrant is cruel.' Thus, when the differentiation between these two has been given, then one knows what each of them is."[3] Still he recognised that tyrants and kings were synonymous in the past, "Tyrants (*tyrannus*) in Greek are the same as 'kings' in Latin, because for the ancients there was no distinction between a king and a tyrant, as

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[2]   See for example the numerous works of Cary J. Nederman, including "Tyranny," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Henrik Lagerlund (Dordrecht: Springer, 2017), 1–4; "Three Concepts of Tyranny in Western Medieval Political Thought," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 14.2 (2019): 1–22; "A Duty to Kill: John of Salisbury's Theory of Tyrannicide," *The Review of Politics* 50.3 (1988): 365–389. Regarding medieval political theory touching on tyranny and good/bad governance see for example: Jürgen Miethke, *Mittelalterliche Politiktheorie: Vier Entwürfe des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007), that explores four works from the High and Late Middle Ages, that is Atto von Vercelli's *Politicum*, the *Norman Anonymous*, Henry de Bracton, and Lupold von Bebenburg. See also *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Miethke (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1992) that examines the reception and audience of political theory in the fourteenth century.

[3]   Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 55.

(Vergil, *Aen.* 7.266);" but no more. "Now in later times the practice has arisen of using the term for thoroughly bad and wicked kings, kings who enact upon their people their lust for luxurious domination and the cruellest lordship."[4]

While, according to Cary Nederman, "There Are No 'Bad Kings'," only their counsellors are bad, Isidore of Seville managed to be one of the first authors to define "bad bishops."[5] He transitioned tyranny from a solely secular context to an ecclesiastical one, a move that might have posed theological challenges. In his *Sententiae,* Isidore addressed the issue of corrupt bishops, portraying them as shepherds who tyrannically oppress the people, seeking personal glory rather than serving God. These are, to quote *Sententiae* III. 41. 2, "Proud pastors, however, tyrannically oppress the common people. They do not guide them, and they demand of their subjects not the glory of God but their own."[6] Here Isidore did not equivocate, and he tied tyranny to episcopal charge, some bishops could be bad. Thus, it was possible that a Christian shepherd could err.

But more to the point, Isidore framed tyranny and episcopal duties around a set of bad behaviours. In a binary presentation of bishops, Isidore argued that the "ecclesiastical man [*vir*] ought to be crucified to the world through the mortification of his own flesh, and he should receive the administration of the ecclesiastical order, if he has been promoted to it through the will of god, not desiring anything himself, but governing in humble manner." (*Sententiae* III. 33. 1).[7] Therefore, a lack of humility identified Isidore's bad bishop as a tyrant.

Isidore argued further that "they must not be promoted to the governance of the Church who are still subjects to vices" (*Sententiae* III. 34. 1), offering the example of David who was constantly warring.[8] In addition, he condemned those wallowing in corruption, who were

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[4]   Barney, Lewis, Beach and Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* 201.
[5]   Cary J. Nederman, "There Are No 'Bad Kings': Tyrannical Characters and Evil Counselors in Medieval Political Thought," in *Evil Lords: Theories and Representations of Tyranny from Antiquity to the Renaissance,* ed. Nikos Panou and Hester Schadee (New York: Oxford Academic, 2018), 137–156.
[6]   Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae,* trans. Thomas L. Knoebel. Ancient Christian Writers 73 (New York: The Newman Press, 2018), 190. The section on bad bishops is in book III, 33–46.
[7]   Ibidem, 184.
[8]   Ibidem, 185.

unable to teach the correct ways (*Sententiae* III. 34. 2).[9] *Sententiae* III 34. 5 addresses those bad clerics who accepted the charge for their own advantages and ambitions "to become rich and honored."[10] A bad clergyman was also uneducated, and as such he had the potential to corrupt his flock since teachers led by example; a bad one was worthless, even when the teaching was fine, as in "the tongue of teachers who teach well and live badly is like a treacherous bow" (*Sententiae* III 37. 2).[11] Bad examples could be catastrophic: "When the head is languishing the other members of the body are infected" (*Sententiae* III 38. 4).[12] In *Sententiae* III 40. 1 and 40. 2 Isidore especially condemned 'irascible teachers,' who teach by fear, "convert the method of their instruction into a frightfulness of cruelty by the wrath of their furor."[13] They are proud teachers who lack humility and are arrogant: "proud teachers know how to wound people rather than make them better" (*Sententiae* III 41. 6).[14] And again, the teacher who has been chosen for governance should shine in humility: "The one who is elevated to governance ought to offer himself for the discipline of his subjects in such a way that he shines forth not only in authority but also in humility" (*Sententiae* III 42. 1a).[15] Altogether, Isidore offers his reader an understanding of competent/incompetent ecclesiastical leadership grounded in charity, poise, humility, and altruism in opposition to tyrannical greed, wrath, pride, and cruelty.

Cary Nederman, reflecting on tyranny for the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, emphasises the lasting imprint of Isidore's reflection. The later Middle Ages did not innovate much, that is until John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. John of Salisbury (1120–1180) offered a way out of tyranny styled in the old Roman ways. A tyrant who was violent and oppressive, evil in short, could be killed if necessary. However, in John's organic conception of tyranny, the body tyrant could only exist with the support of the body's limbs, so it seemed that the entire body was corrupted. Tyrants remained in place with the support of bad people.[16]

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9    Ibidem.
10   Ibidem, 186.
11   Ibidem, 187.
12   Ibidem, 189.
13   Ibidem, 190.
14   Ibidem, 191.
15   Ibidem.
16   See Nederman, "Tyranny," passim; Idem, "A Duty to Kill," 365–389.

Nederman succinctly encapsulates the late medieval conception of tyranny as power wielded arbitrarily, oppressively, and violently. Tyrants epitomised malevolent rulership, governing in a manner that was devoid of virtue and religious principles.[17] By the fourteenth century, Bartolus de Sassoferato (1313–1357), one of the foremost thinkers of his era, delineated tyranny as the illegitimate acquisition or usurpation of power. He categorised tyranny into two distinct forms: tyranny *quoad executionem*, denoting a ruler with a rightful title to the throne but governing tyrannically, and tyranny *quoad titulum*, referring to a usurper. Bartolus made a clear distinction "between power unlawfully acquired and power unlawfully exercised."[18] He differentiated between the ones who held power *ex defectu tituli* and *ex parte exercitii*, that is, between usurpers and despots.

In Bartolus's *On Tyranny*, a usurper was one *ex defectu tituli* (who lacked a sound title), one who governed arbitrarily, who was of a proud spirit, who was 'chosen unlawfully,' 'crowned without being elected', and who 'did not rule according to law' (*non jure principatur*).[19] This form of tyrant, described as wallowing in pride (*superbia*), illegitimately seized power from 'regular, established government.'[20] We can recognise here some of Isidore's language.

In any case, late medieval political theoreticians frequently formulated definitions of inept secular rulers, yet there was scarcely an opportunity to address the issue of bad religious figures wielding significant power. Questions regarding how to handle a 'tyrannically' bad bishop, cardinal, or pope remained largely unexplored. The *Summoner's Tale* and the *Pardoner's Tale* in the *Canterbury Tales*, Dante's portrayal of bad popes and bishops condemned to hell, the criticisms voiced by ecumenical councils against priests' materialism or immoral behaviour, all showed contemporary awareness of misbehaving ecclesiastics. However, beyond occasional exceptions like the conflict between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII, few entertained the notion of justifying an

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[17]  See Nederman, "Three Concepts of Tyranny," 1–22; Idem, "A Duty to Kill," 365–389.
[18]  Maude V. Clarke, *The Medieval City State: An Essay on Tyranny and Federation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 137.
[19]  See Bartolus's edition as found in Ephraim Emerton, *Humanism and Tyranny: Studies in the Italian Trecento* (Gloucester: P. Smith, 1964), 127.
[20]  Ibidem, 128.

attack against a religious figure as politically sound.[21] If attacks took place, they were framed in the language of canon law and heresy. Excommunication remained the most common punishment.

Still, a momentous event took place in 1378. A couple of years earlier, on 13 September 1376, after approximately seventy years spent in Avignon on the banks of the Rhône, the papacy returned to its traditional location, Rome, thereby ending the so-called Babylonian captivity, the Avignon papacy. By 1376, the circumstances that had kept the papacy away from its historical seat – including rebellions in Rome and the Papal States, and the Hundred Years' War – had improved. This liberation allowed Gregory XI, who had long desired to return the papacy to its rightful location, to actualise the move. Pope Gregory died shortly thereafter, on 27 March 1378. The first Roman conclave in close to a century – the last one having elected Nicholas IV in 1287 – commenced a few days later. Sixteen cardinals were present, of whom eleven were French, four Italian, and one Spanish. Despite internal divisions and a vocal crowd outside chanting demands for a Roman or Italian pope, the conclave successfully concluded its task. It selected Bartolomeo

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[21]  See for example: Jean Coste, *Boniface VIII en procès: Articles d'accusation et dépositions des témoins (1303–1311)* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1995); Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Bonifacio VIII* (Torino: Einaudi, 2003); Julien Théry, "The Pioneer of Royal Theocracy. Guillaume de Nogaret and the Conflicts between Philip the Fair and the Papacy," in *The Capetian Century, 1214–1314*, ed. William Chester Jordan and Jenna Rebecca Phillips (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 219–259; Julien Théry, "A Heresy of State: Philip the Fair, the Trial of the 'Perfidious Templars,' and the Pontificalization of the French Monarchy," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 39.2 (2013): 117–148. It is of note that a recent article offers an interesting interpretation of medieval tyranny. Karl Ubl, using examples drawn from literature and art of the 1300s, such as the tragedy *Ecerinis* by Albertino Mussato and a fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, illustrates how tyrants were depicted as demonic figures devoid of humanity. He suggests that tyrants, who were viewed as rulers lacking legitimacy and embodying vices, became targets for both critique and potential justifications for tyrannicide. However, Ubl seeks to understand whether the discourse on tyranny served a subversive purpose or if it was also a strategy of power stabilisation. He suggests that while the critique of tyranny could be used to challenge rulers, it also played a role in defining and legitimising the power of non-tyrannical rulers. See Karl Ubl, "Die Figur des Tyrannen. Herrscherkritik im Zeitalter Philipps des Schönen (1285–1314)," in *Gewalt und Widerstand in der politischen Kultur des späten Mittelalters*, ed. Martin Kintzinger, Frank Rexroth and Jörg Rogge. Vorträge und Forschungen 80 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015), 211–246.

Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, as Pope Urban VI. Though a capable curial servant, Urban had never been a member of the College of Cardinals.[22]

Crowned on 10 April 1378, Prignano was known for his strictness and integrity, yet he could also display a volatile temperament. His rebukes quickly alienated most of the French cardinals, leading them to withdraw from Rome and settle in Anagni. On 2 August 1378, the non-Italian cardinals publicly contested his election. On 9 August 1378, they declared Urban illegitimate due to alleged coercion and violence during the election process. They labelled him an intruder (usurper) and anathematised him.[23]

On 21 September 1378, while seeking refuge at the court of Onorato Caetani in Fondi, in the Kingdom of Naples, thirteen dissenting cardinals convened their own conclave and elected pope, Robert of Geneva, who took the name Clement VII. Clement was crowned in Fondi a month later, on 31 October, with the papal tiara brought from Castel Sant'Angelo by Gregory XI's former camerlengo, Pierre de Cros, who had joined his side. Upon learning of his rival's election, Urban VI responded by reshaping his College of Cardinals, appointing twenty-five new candidates.

This act solidified the Schism. For the first time in its history, the papacy had two popes, two courts, and two obediences, arising not from external intervention but from within its own rank. Nearly two generations experienced and became accustomed to a dual, and later even triple, papacy. When the Council of Pisa (1409) elected a new pope, it sought to resolve the crisis by deposing both Clementist and Urbanist popes, but they vehemently opposed these efforts. Clement VII (1378–1394) led the Clementist faction, succeeded by Benedict XIII (1394–1423, who never acknowledged his multiple depositions by the Councils of Pisa and Constance). The Urbanist faction was initially headed by Urban VI (1378–1389), followed by Boniface IX (1389–1404), Innocent VII (1404–1406), and Gregory XII (1406–1415). The later Pisan faction began with the election of Alexander V (1409–1410), followed by

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[22]  For details of this election see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Raiding Saint Peter: Empty Sees, Violence, and the Initiation of the Great Western Schism (1378)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008).

[23]  On the historiography of the Schism see *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas Izbicki (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

John XXIII (1410–1415). Unity was eventually restored when the Council of Constance (1414–1418) elected Martin V as the sole pope recognised by all on 11 November 1417. Prior to this, the Council had deposed the Pisan pope John XXIII in May 1415, accepted the resignation of Gregory XII in July 1415, and anathematised Benedict in July 1417, before initiating the conclave that elected Martin in November.[24]

The Schism unleashed a floodgate of vitriol between opposing factions, leading to a proliferation of invectives. In the case of Urban VI, was the pope considered a tyrant? I contend in *The Great Western Schism, 1378–1417: Performing Legitimacy, Performing Unity* that he was commonly labelled as an intruder or usurper. For instance, Pope Gregory XI's 'second biographer' exhibited no hesitation in employing the term 'usurper' liberally throughout his text.[25] He explains how despite Urban's prohibition that cardinals leave the city, they surreptitiously left Rome, soon after the election, "two one day, one the other, one with permission and one without," and reached Anagni to "initiate [a] procedure against this usurper who wanted the papacy so badly that he did not fear using violence."[26] It is important to note, as seen previously, that the use of violence characterised the performance of tyranny. When the biographer's narrative reaches the declaration of 9 August, he explains

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[24] On these events, see for the most recent, Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism, 1378–1417: Performing Legitimacy, Performing Unity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Idem, *Avignon and Its Papacy (1309–1417): Popes, Institutions, and Society* (Lanham: Rowman, 2015); Idem, "Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism," in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, 9–66. The letter dated 2 August is found in Étienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat, *Vitae paparum avenionensium: Nouvelle édition et étude critique* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1914–1922), IV: 174. It is translated and analysed by Walter Ullmann in a chapter entitled "The Case of the Cardinals," as is the 9 August letter; see Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1948), 69–89. The 9 August letter is in Baluze, *Vitae*, 1: 450. On the responsibility of cardinals, see Stefan Weiss, "Luxury and Extravagance at the Papal Court in Avignon and the Outbreak of Great Western Schism," in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, 67–97.

[25] On the value of this testimony, see Guillaume Mollat, *Étude critique sur les vitae paparum avenionensium* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1917), 43.

[26] "Duo una die, unus alia, unus cum licentia, alter sine licenti [...]. Volentes procedere contra dictum intrusum, qui sic violenter voluit tenere papatum." Baluze, *Vitae*, 1: 448.

that it was pronounced in Anagni cathedral, "and after the sermon they had a cleric read the declaration against the usurper."[27]

A passage of Dietrich of Niem exemplifies Urban's tyranny with his irrationality and uncontrollable fits of anger,

> Sed frustra hec loquebar, quia quanto plura dixit, tanto magis ipse dominus Urbanus irascebatur, et facta est facies eius tandem de iracundia quasi lampas ardens seu flammea et guttur eius raucedine replebatur.

> (So I [Dietrich] was speaking in vain, because the more he spoke, the more Lord Urban became angry, and his face finally became like a burning lamp or fiery flame from anger, and his throat was filled with hoarseness.)[28]

Missed 'performance' also defined illegitimacy and thus tyranny. Urban VI was not only a usurper in name but he behaved like someone who had no legitimacy. The anonymous author of Gregory XI's second life adds that the usurper "travelled (rode) like a fool, without a cross or the Host preceding him, and accompanied by none of the cardinals, he went to a city, which is called Tivoli."[29] Here the performative clue was visual. No papal cortege would deign travel with such a level of inadequacy; only a false pope who did not know what he was doing could travel so unceremoniously.

The French insistence on using strong wording such as *intrusus* facilitated a slide into the vocabulary of tyranny. While the word *tyrannus* itself was not often uttered toward the 'illegitimate' Urban, the association of 'fear' with 'usurpation' led audiences down that path. To strike fear was one aspect of the performance of tyranny. Here again we revisit Isidore's definition. For the largely French Clementist obedience, *intrusus* was the accepted designation for the 'illegitimate' pope, Urban VI. A subtler means of delegitimisation, was to un-name Pope Urban and revert to his first name or former title of bishop of Bari.

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[27] "Post sermonem fecerunt legere per unum clericum declarationem contra intrusum." Baluze, *Vitae*, 1: 450.

[28] Dietrich of Nieheim, *De Nyem de scismate libri tres*, ed. Georg Erler (Leipzig: Veit & Comp., 1890), 85.

[29] "Et videns dictus intrusus sic omnes cardinales recessisse, exivit Romam et die xxvj junii equitavit quasi stultus sine cruce precedente et sine corpore Christi et sine illo cardinali, et ivit ad unam civitatem que vocatur Tiburis." Baluze, *Vitae*, 1: 448.

Un-naming belonged to the panoply of humiliation.[30] A copy of a letter from Queen Joanna of Naples employs similar language, calling Urban "the usurper from Naples, formerly bishop of Bari."[31]

Urban was also accused of financial mismanagement, again a sign of tyranny. He had reneged on the usual electoral gift that a new pope made to his College, an enormous sum ranging between 75,000 to 100,000 florins, usually shared amongst all the cardinals. He proposed to set a moratorium on the amount of money foreign authorities offered cardinals and attempted to limit cardinals' accumulation of benefices. He then named twenty-nine new cardinals. This large number allowed him to outweigh the old College – and its resistance to his reforms – and force the College into sharing revenues amongst a larger pool. The latter reform may have been the last straw: new cardinals were named on 18 September and the rebellious cardinals elected Clement on 20 September 1378. In summary, the pope did not honour cardinals as expected. He did not perform as a pope should and that made him a tyrant.[32]

If we examine Table 1 below comparing accusations against the popes and Richard II, we can indeed discern parallels in the rhetoric employed against Urban VI, John XXIII, and Benedict XIII, and the deposition of Richard II, for instance.[33] Delving deeper into cases brought before the Council of Constance, we observe that poor political leadership was often linked with themes such as fear/violence, breach of oaths, financial mismanagement, incorrigibility, and rejection of counsel. In my book, I drew parallels between events such as

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[30] See Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 151–159 where I develop these examples.

[31] "Sane credimus in toto regno nostro Sicilie et in omnibus regnicolis nostrisque comitatibus Provincie et Forqualquerii manifestum [...] quod etiam ad partes totius Ytalie ac ad remotas et varias mundi partes transivit notitia qualiter occupata Sedes apostolica contra canonicas sanctiones per intrusum illum de Neapoli, olim episcopum Barense." Baluze, *Vitae*, 1: 455. For further examples, see the lives of Gregory XI in Baluze, *Vitae*, 1: 450, 452–53, 456–57, 459.

[32] Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 157.

[33] See Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 173, for the sources used, mainly Baluze, *Vitae*, 1: 450–55; David R. Carlson, *The Deposition of Richard II: "The Record and Process of the Renunciation and Deposition of Richard II" (1399) and Related Writings* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007); *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. Norman Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), I: 417–418, and 437–38.

the murder of Louis of Orleans and its justification by Jean Petit, as well as the deposition of Richard II, which were contemporaneous and thematically related to the Schism. Additionally, I would like to propose two further cases, although not covered in the book, that can be considered within this framework, that is, the deposition of Wenceslaus and the attacks against Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland. Again, because of the lack of space I only want to initiate discussion to suggest how both fit the model.

During the Schism, an unprecedented rupture in ecclesiastical leadership, the rhetoric of tyranny permeated political discourse in a manner previously unseen. Remarkably, this language seamlessly transitioned from the secular to the ecclesiastical realm and back again. As Martin John Cable noted in his review of my book for H-France Review,

> [o]ne could argue, for example, that the schism exercised a sort of social detoxifying effect which made it easier for tyranny to be identified and tackled elsewhere. Lawyers, for example, may have known all about the theory, but the schism rehearsed for them what addressing tyranny would feel like, rendering it more acceptable in that very human way by which it becomes easier for one group to accept something if others have experienced it already.

This suggests that the Schism served as a catalyst, providing a precedent for recognising and combatting tyranny across various spheres of society.[34]

Indeed, there was an infusion of language and rhetoric across different contexts. The table comparing the rhetoric used against Popes Urban VI, John XXIII, Benedict XIII, and English king Richard II for their depositions underscores a striking similarity of language. This parallelism emphasises how the discourse surrounding political authority and legitimacy transcended geographical and temporal boundaries during this tumultuous period.[35] But these cases were not isolated.

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[34]  Martin John Cable, "[Review of] Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism, 1378–1417. Performing Legitimacy, Performing Unity*," *H-France Review* 23 (2023): 2, https://h-france.net/vol23reviews/vol23_no165_Cable%20LT.pdf.

[35]  See Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 172–173 for a more encompassing discussion.

Table 1: Comparative Rhetoric during the Schism

| | French Cardinals' Declaration in Anagni. 9 August 1378: Deposition of Urban VI | Parliamentary Assembly at Westminster. 30 September 1399: Deposition of Richard | Constance: Session 12 29 May 1415: Deposition of John XXIII | Constance: Session 37 26 July 1417: Deposition of Benedict XIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proceedings | **Legitimacy** of plaintiffs. 12 cardinals present in Rome at the time of Gregory's death and present at conclave. Cardinals now physically separated from pope. Protected by their mercenaries. Act for the good of the Church and in the name of orthodox faith. | **Legitimacy** of parliamentary assembly. Informed of and accepted Richard's resignation. | **Legitimacy** of council. | **Legitimacy** of council and biblical quotes to legitimise sentence. |
| Proceedings | **Mass of Holy Spirit** officiated by Italian Patriarch of Constantinople. **Sermon** by the same. | Review of Coronation oath. | Review of the case. | Canonical inquiry. |
| Charges | **Illegitimacy.** papal title obtained by uncanonical means. | **Rejection** of counsel. | John's departure from council = Unlawful, scandalous, damaging (**disobedience**). | **Persecuted and disturbed** all people and universal Church, **fostered division, refused counsel, breach of oath.** |
| Charges | Election = results of **cardinals' fears.** | **Intimidation of judges** (*metus*). | **Breach of his oath** to Church and council. | **Caused scandal.** |
| Charges | Large crowds in Rome pressured cardinals to elect a Roman or an Italian under **threats** of death. | **Attacks on barons.** | **Simoniac, destroyer of goods and rights.** | **Promotor of schism.** |

| | French Cardinals' Declaration in Anagni. 9 August 1378: Deposition of Urban VI | Parliamentary Assembly at Westminster. 30 September 1399: Deposition of Richard | Constance: Session 12 29 May 1415: Deposition of John XXIII | Constance: Session 37 26 July 1417: Deposition of Benedict XIII |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Charges** | **Lack of protection** for cardinals and **lack of conclave's secrecy, security, and enclosure.** | **Unjust fines.** | **Evil administrator.** | **Obstructor of peace and unity.** |
| **Charges** | **Tyranny** (*ipsum papatum tirannice occupare*). | **Obsession against his enemy** (Henry). | **Detestable and dishonest life and morality.** | **Heretic, incorrigible and unworthy.** |
| **Charges** | | **Papal intercession.** | **Obstinacy.** | |
| **Charges** | | **Defaulted on loans**, extortion, abuse and disrespect of civil and ecclesiastic law, dissimulation, fraud and perjury. | **Incorrigibility.** | |
| **Results** | Anathema and freed all from his obedience. Declared the **papal seat vacant** (*dicta apostolica Sede vacante*) = **deposed.** | **Deposed.** | Deprived and **deposed.** Freed Christians from allegiance to him. Safeguarded by Sigismund. Council reserves rights to additional punishments. | Cut off from Catholic Church. Deprived, **deposed**, cast out. Absolved his obedience and forbid new obedience. |

Another example can further illustrate the easy slide from discontentment to deposition. Wenceslaus (1361–1419) of the House of Luxembourg is ranked by *Die Welt* as the worst king of Germany for several reasons: he never attempted to receive the imperial crown, he preferred hunting to ruling, and he was constantly surrounded by his

pack of hunting dogs, to the point that in 1386, one killed his wife Joan of Bavaria. Following this tragedy, he spiralled into heavy drinking and fits of rage. In 1393, he reportedly broke with the Archbishop of Prague and had some of his advisors arrested and tortured. On Wenceslaus's orders, the vicar-general, Jan of Nepomuk, was tied to a wooden cross and drowned in the Vltava/Moldau on 20 March 1393, giving rise to the legend of St Nepomuk, who allegedly died for refusing to reveal the queen's secret. Wenceslaus was also accused of closely associating with his executioner. He obviously fit the 'definition' of a tyrant, and indeed as Christian Oertel labels him, he was depicted as 'Wenceslaus alter Nero.'[36] Eventually, electors united forces and deposed him on 20 August 1400 as a "useless, indolent, careless divider and unworthy owner of the empire." Count Palatine Ruprecht was elected in his place. Wenceslaus fought back and was eventually captured in 1402 by his half-brother Sigismund, imprisoned and deposed by the Urbanist obedience.[37]

Of course, Wenceslaus paid the price of political expediency, and for living during the Great Western Schism. He served as King of Germany from 1376 until 1400 when he was deposed but retained the title of King of Bohemia from 1378 to 1419. His father, Charles IV, stands as a pinnacle of imperial rule for the House of Luxembourg, having held sway over Hungary and Prague. The son may have inherited his father's talents along with a profound passion for hunting and, notably, drinking, in which he openly indulged.

Michel Pintoin, the *religieux de Saint-Denis,* recounts in his eighteenth book that in March 1397, Wenceslaus decided to visit his beloved cousin, the King of France, to discuss the union of the church. Charles requested that his brother, the Duke of Orleans, escort Wenceslaus from the kingdom's border to Reims, where they were to meet. They made a grand entrance into the city, with squires dedicated to pushing back the curious crowd. Wenceslaus was escorted to the Abbaye of Saint-Denis, where he was royally accommodated. On that day, the King

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[36] Christian Oertel, "Wenceslaus alter Nero. Die Darstellung Wenzels IV. in der Historiographie des späten 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 75 (2018): 673–702.

[37] See "Wenceslaus," in *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, 2nd ed., vol. 16 (Gale, 2004), 201–202. Gale eBooks, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3404706806/GVRL?u=rhode&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=2be31dc5.

of France invited his cousin to dinner the following day, an invitation Wenceslaus accepted. According to the *religieux*

> The following day, while the mass of the Sunday of the Annunciation was celebrated, the illustrious dukes of Berri and Bourbon went to fetch the king by deference but came back to the king rather confused and riled, announcing that he could not join Charles. The motif for his absence was rather unglamorous; still the dukes told the truth. This prince of rude and unbalanced morals did not really care about the courtesy/etiquette that is attached to kings, and to satisfy his gluttony and drunkenness, he participated daily into horrible orgies. On that day, he fell asleep after having stuffed himself as usual and could not as such attend the sumptuous meal that the king had ordered in his honour. I heard from many at the court that his absence cost a pretty penny to the court.[38]

His life's history is, of course, marred by propaganda. As Christian Oertel argues, Wenceslaus was portrayed as an *alter Nero* because it suited the political consciousness of the time.[39] Depicting him as a tyrant provided a convenient excuse to remove him from the throne, in line, as I have argued elsewhere, with the spirit of the Schism. His father, Charles IV, had divided his lands among his sons and relatives, leaving Wenceslaus vulnerable to threats from various quarters, including his half-brother Sigismund (King of Hungary and eventually his heir), the nobility in Bohemia, and his own chancellor, Jan of Jenstein.

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[38] *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys: Contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, ed. and trans. Louis-François Bellaguet and Bernard Guenée. Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (Paris: Impr. de Crapelet, 1994), II: 569 (my translation). It is somewhat ironic, that Sigismund too, seemed to have carried the stigma of drunkenness. He was awarded the Golden Rose twice (in 1415 by John XXIII and in 1418 by Martin V) but could not fully participate in the celebrations because he was in bed sick, according to some, or drunk according to others. See Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 110. On gluttony as a feature of bad rulers, see Gábor Klaniczay, "Representation of the Evil Ruler in the Middle Ages," in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Richard A. Jackson and David Sturdy (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 72–79. Duke Louis of Orleans was also accused of gluttony, see Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, "Le tyran à table: Intertextualité et reference dans l'invective politique à l'époque de Charles VI," in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Université du Maine les 25 et 26 mars 1994*, ed. Joël Blanchard, postface Philippe Contamine (Paris: Picard, 1995), 49–62.

[39] Oertel, "Wenceslaus alter Nero," 673–702.

Wenceslaus supported the Urbanist Pope Boniface IX and tended to protect Jan Hus and his followers, the so-called Wyclifites, who succeeded in expelling Germans from the University of Prague in 1409. Following his encounter with French representatives, Wenceslaus leaned towards deposing both popes and electing a new one. By failing to claim his coronation ceremony, he was accused by his electors of failing to resolve the Schism and maintain peace. Wenceslaus ignored their summons to court, and this led to his deposition and replacement by Rupert. Wenceslaus died of maybe a heart attack in 1419 while hunting, apparently after hearing the news about the Hussite rebellion in the New Town of Prague led by Jan Želivský.

John, the Archbishop of Mainz, drafted the acts of accusations against Wenceslaus on 20 August 1400, detailing the articles of his deposition.[40] After a lengthy introduction detailing Wenceslaus' failure, negligence in protecting the Church, his indecent and disgraceful lifestyle, and his inability to maintain the dignity of the crown, he was accused of the following:

1. Failing to assist in maintaining peace within the Church.
2. Disrupting the Holy Roman Empire and selling Milan to the Visconti.
3. Losing the obedience of numerous cities in Germany and Italy.
4. Allowing his friends to use his imperial seal for financial gain and issuing documents in his name.
5. Failing to prevent wars in Germany, resulting in significant damage and devastation, including fires, homicides, pillaging, and neglecting the protection of ecclesiastics, seculars, peasants, and merchants.
6. Contributing to the deaths of many ecclesiastics.

In summary, he was deposed with accusations strikingly reminiscent of those levelled against King Richard II and any other tyrants, as well as, to some extent, those levied against Pope Benedict XIII of the Clementist obedience (see Table 1: Comparative Rhetoric during the Schism).

In 1386, a 'Commission of Governance' was set up in England to supervise Richard II after the 'Wonderful Parliament' attempted to control the king's expenses and his perceived failures of obtaining victory in the Hundred Years War. Richard lived through the 'Merciless

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40   *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter König Wenzel (1397–1400)*, ed. Julius Weizsäcker (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1877), 260–264.

Parliament' of 1388, saw his supporters eliminated, was temporarily deposed but managed to rebuild his support over the next few years. Still, in a proactive move, in the summer of 1397, the king ordered the three great Appellants arrested: Gloucester and Arundel died, while Warwick lost his property; Richard grew more authoritative during his alleged 'tyranny' (1397–1399) finishing off with the banishment and disinheritance of Henry Bolingbroke. We know the rest, Bolingbroke came back in June, deposed the king, and put the crown on his own head.[41]

In 1399, 'The Record and Process' of Richard's deposition itemised the charges against him in 33 articles that run from the king's rejection of counsel, his arrest of earls, the murder of Gloucester, Richard's Cheshire malefactors, his fines for receiving pardon, his solicitation of papal intervention, his disinheritance of Henry, illegal elections of sheriffs, his default on loans, taxation, and dissipation, his use of blank charters, extortion of support from religious authorities, his abuse of council, misappropriation of public goods, royal dissimulation and mutability, abuses of due process, royal infringement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, fraudulent impeachment of Archbishop Arundel, and his impeachments of the dukes of Gloucester and Warwick.[42]

Still, a few years earlier in Avignon, in the wake of Clement VII's death on 16 September 1394, a conclave convened and unanimously elected Pedro de Luna, Cardinal Deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, who assumed the papal name Benedict XIII on 28 September. Prior to the conclave, the cardinals drafted a decree stipulating that the newly elected pope would strive to end the *pestiferum scisma* (the pernicious schism). However, Pope Benedict XIII was not particularly enthusiastic about this endeavour. He remained steadfast in his belief that he was the rightfully appointed pontiff and insisted that his rival should be the one to resign.

Meanwhile, in Paris, the University, along with an initial council or synod of Paris, advocated for a solution to the Schism. Their approach was straightforward: once the popes lost their respective obedience, including financial support, they would be compelled to act in the interest of unity by resigning. Presented with these options, Benedict

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[41] The following recapitulation of my discussion is in Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 164–172.

[42] See Carlson, *The Deposition of Richard II*, passim.

XIII hesitated, suggesting alternative measures, such as a meeting between the two popes.

As France convened two additional councils, the country began to withdraw its obedience from Benedict XIII. Charges of procrastination, corruption, involvement in scandals, and the fear instilled in others by the pope were cited as evidence of tyranny, further complicating efforts to resolve the schism.[43]

Jan of Moravia, a student in theology, went as far as to preach that to solve the issue both popes should be killed. A University of Paris' letter of 6 June 1394 asserted that a pope refusing to accept one of its three ways of union was schismatic and a heretic who merited death.[44] Benedict was not killed, but on Sunday, 28 July 1398, the Subtraction was proclaimed in front of a large crowd. Within a couple of years late medieval history was rewritten, a pope and two kings were deposed.

To conclude this 'series of unfortunate events' I would like to highlight the case of Władysław II Jagiełło, King of Poland and Grand (Supreme) Duke of Lithuania (*rex Polonie, Lithuanieque princeps supremus*).[45] In a manner akin to Richard or Wenceslaus, there were calls for the

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[43] See Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 164–169, and "The Politics of Body Parts: Contested Topographies in Late Medieval Avignon," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 78.1 (2003): 66–98.

[44] Howard Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud: De substraccione obediencie* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1984), 47. The original words from the scholar from Moravia are found on page 112, "Et hoc forsan volebat dicere de Moravia, qui predicabat tempore Clementis quod ambo mactarentur."

[45] See for a documentary example: "Vladislaus […] rex Polonie, Lithuanieque princeps supremus […]". The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, https://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/2559. As Professor Kras kindly reminded me, the position of Jagiełło in Lithuania was complex. In 1377 he succeeded his pagan father Algirdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania. He maintained this position until 1401 when he made a compromise with his cousin Vytautas. Vytautas ruled Lithuania as Grand Duke until his death in 1430, and Jagiełło was given the title of Supreme Duke (*dux supremus).* Jagiełło never conceded his hereditary right to the Lithuanian throne. For easily available sources see: Tomas Baranauskas, "Medieval Lithuania – Sources 1283–1386," https://web.archive.org/web/20220-408111626/http://viduramziu.istorija.net/en/s1283.htm (in English and Latin). See also Sebastiàn Provvidente, "The Causa of Johannes Falkenberg and Synodal Praxis at the Council of Constance (1414–1418): Between Council and Pope," *Filosofiya. Zhurnal Vysshey shkoly ekonomiki* 6.4 (2022): 61–98; Přemysl Bar, "A Tortuous Path to Reconciliation and Justice: Sigismund of Luxembourg as Arbiter in the Dispute between the Teutonic Knights and Poland (1412–1420)," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 66.1 (2017): 3–40.

deposition of King Jagiełło of Poland. He was married to Jadwiga of Anjou, the youngest daughter of Louis the Great, King of Hungary (1342–1382) and Poland (1370–1382), crowned 'king' of Poland in Kraków in 1384. This coronation had allowed Polish lords from Lesser Poland to exert control over Jadwiga's eventual husband and prevent him from ascending to kingship without their consent. They negotiated Jadwiga's Polish coronation and manoeuvred the union with Lithuania based on the marriage of Jadwiga with Jagiełło of Lithuania. Louis the Great had also arranged the marriage of Jadwiga's sister, Mary, to Sigismund of Luxembourg. Thus, we can observe the interconnectedness of these late medieval histories.[46]

After numerous deliberations, the marriage was consummated in 1386, when Duke Jagiełło converted to Christianity, along with his duchy, and was crowned king of Poland as the husband of Jadwiga. However, the Teutonic Knights, engaged in colonial conquests, were displeased with this development and viewed the marriage as a pretext for invasion. They alleged that it had been forced and they decided to invade Lithuania. When Mary, Jadwiga's sister, died childless in 1395, Jadwiga inherited her sister's titles in Hungary. However, there was strong opposition to the idea of a union between Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania. Jadwiga was accepted as heir, but only in name. Meanwhile, tensions persisted under the lead of Konrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights.

New negotiations were initiated, with Jadwiga aiming to avoid conflict while her husband, Jagiełło, petitioned Boniface IX to appoint his cousin Vytautas as king of Lithuania and Ruthenia. In 1399, Jadwiga died postpartum at the age of 25, her infant daughter named Bonifacia, having passed away shortly before her. By 1401, Vytautas was ruling over a Christianised Lithuania that no longer required the presence of the Teutonic Knights.[47]

In 1409, a rebellion erupted in Samogitia, a still pagan Lithuanian region that had been assigned to the Knights. The Teutonic Knights

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[46]  A detailed analysis of the background of the Polish-Lithuanian union and the marriage between Jadwiga of Anjou and Jagiełło has recently been offered by Robert I. Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland-Lithuania*, vol. 1: *The Making of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[47]  Giedrė Mickūnaiė, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke of Lithuania* (New York: Central European University Press, 2006).

claimed that the revolt was incited by Vytautas, leading to the famous Battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald) on 15 July 1410, where the Order suffered a crushing defeat.[48]

Despite their defeat, the Teutonic Order persisted, accusing Jagiełło and Vytautas of colluding with schismatics (Orthodox Christians) and pagans. With no resolution in sight, the matter was brought before the Council of Constance.[49] However, due to the tardiness of the Polish delegation's arrival, the Teutonic Order took advantage of the situation and launched an opening salvo to defame the Polish-Lithuanian crown.[50] The Dominican Johannes Falkenberg entered the fray, signing his famous *Satira*.[51] Previously, he had engaged in debates against figures like Jean Gerson regarding the justification of the murder of Orléans.[52] Falkenberg asserted that:

> King Władysław II Jagiełło was idolatrous and a heretic and even a pagan who had faked his conversion and baptism in order to destroy the Church and thus, he had to be eliminated. He argued that the Church could not defend itself against hypocrisy because it could not see what went on in people's hearts. In addition, in his conflict with the Order, the king had allied with pagans, committed numerous atrocities, and had rebaptised

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[48]  Paul W. Knoll, "Religious Toleration in Sixteenth-Century Poland: Political Realities and Social Constraints," in *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen and Franz A. J. Szabo (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 30–52 (here at 37).

[49]  The magisterial treatment of Poland's participation in the Council of Constance remains the study of Thomas Wünsch, *Konziliarismus und Polen: Personen, Politik und Programme aus Polen zur Verfassungsfrage der Kirche in der Zeit der mittelalterlichen Reformkonzilien*. Konziliengeschichte. Reihe B: Untersuchungen 7 (Paderborn: Brill Schöningh, 1998).

[50]  Provvidente, "The Causa of Johannes Falkenberg," 61–98.

[51]  According to Tomasz Kalisz, *Ego praedicator. Zarys biografii Jana Falkenberga OP* (Kraków: Dominikański Instytut Historyczny, Wydawnictwo W drodze, 2021), Jan Falkenberg had a complex relationship with the Teutonic Knights. He was often perceived as a collaborator with the Knights against the Kingdom of Poland, a view that was strongly held by many of his contemporaries, including the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, who referred to him disparagingly as a 'scourge'. Falkenberg was also accused of being a spy for the Teutonic Knights, sent to Kraków to gather intelligence. His involvement with the Teutonic Knights led to his reputation as a contentious and adversarial figure in the eyes of Polish historians.

[52]  Kalisz, *Ego praedicator*, 83–88 for Falkenberg's activities at the Council of Constance and his controversy with Polish delegates.

(orthodox) Ruthenians. The accusation of heresy and the need to have it rooted out was expanded to all Poles as they had not rebelled against their king but many of them had been members of his armies. For that reason, it was the Christian princes' obligation to rise against Władysław and the Poles and punish them with death; otherwise, they would deserve eternal damnation and all those who fought against them would, on the contrary, obtain salvation.[53]

History often carries a layer of irony. Falkenberg's theses were condemned as heretical by the *natio gallicana*, but not by the entire Council of Constance, leaving the issue unresolved. The Falkenberg case, along with the Jean Petit affair and the rationalisation of the murder of Louis of Orleans on the orders of the Duke of Burgundy, were significant discussions at the Council of Constance.[54] Contrary to Jean Petit, Falkenberg justified his attacks on Jagiełło solely in religious terms. However, within a short span, figures such as Richard, Wenceslaus, Louis d'Orléans, Jogaila, Benedict XIII, Gregory XII, and John XXIII were all condemned and deposed, or even physically eliminated. These actions were often executed under the guise of so-called violence, intimidation, financial corruption, breach of oath, pride, refusal of counsel, and loosely defined

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[53]  Provvidente, "The Causa of Johannes Falkenberg," 67–68. Falkenberg presented his arguments against King Władysław Jagiełło in his ironic treatise, *Satira contra hereses et cetera nephanda Polonorum et eorum regis Jaghel*, written between 1410 and 1412, which was discussed at the Council of Constance. The *Satira* is preserved in two versions published respectively by Zofia Włodek, "La Satire de Jean Falkenberg: Texte inédit avec introduction," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 18 (1973): 51–96 and Heinrich Boockman, *Johannes Falkenberg, der deutsche Orden und die polnische Politik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 312–353. See also Krzysztof Ożóg, "*Poloni […] sunt Deo odibiles heretici et impudici canes*: Refleksje nad poglądami Jana Falkenberga OP († ok. 1435) o Polakach i Polsce," in *Dominikanie o Polsce i Polakach od XIII do XX wieku*, ed. Tomasz Gałuszka and Katarzyna Matyja (Kraków: Dominikański Instytut Historyczny and Wydawnictwo W drodze, 2020), 141–155; Andrzej Niewiński, "The Teutonic Propaganda and the Activity of the Polish Diplomacy at the Beginning of the 15th Century," in *War in History: The History of Polish and General Military Science*, ed. Andrzej Niewiński (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Episteme, 2017), 65–83.

[54]  Serena Masolini, "Public Authority and Right to Kill in the 'Petit' and 'Falkenberg' Affairs' at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 67.2 (2020): 383–412. See also my discussion in Rollo-Koster, *The Great Western Schism*, 174–186. Of note, the recent Ph.D. thesis of Karol Skrzypczak, *Occire le tyran. Présentation et édition critique des textes sur la justification du duc de bourgogne* (1408–1410), (PhD diss., Université d'Orléans, 2022).

heresy. Although not all of them were explicitly labelled as tyrants, their actions were considered tyrannical by their contemporaries. This was rationale enough to depose or eliminate them.

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Stephen Lahey[*]

# Stanislav of Znojmo Explains Wyclif's First Principles

**Abstract:** The reception of John Wyclif's philosophical thought in late fourteenth-century Prague began as an embrace of his metaphysics and philosophy of language, known today as propositional realism. At the core of his philosophical approach is the identification of Truth and Being, which Wyclif describes in the first treatises of his *Summa de ente*. Stanislav of Znojmo was foremost among Wyclif's expositors and he articulates this identification in the first several chapters of his treatise *De vero et falso*. This article describes this articulation and elements in which Stanislav departed from Wyclif.

**Keywords:** Stanislav of Znojmo, John Wyclif, philosophy of language, theory of truth, complex significabile

When Archbishop Zbynec ordered Wyclif's books to be burned in 1410, an obstreperous group of young theologians staged public defenses of some of these works between 26 July and 6 August. Simon of Tissnow stood with a copy of Wyclif's *Logica continuacio* in hand on 29 July and interrogated the accused text: "Have you attacked the corruption of the clergy? Do you rail against simony? Do you enjoin priests to a life of poverty? What have you done, little book?"[1] Perhaps using a puppeteer's voice, the treatise was

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1    Johann Loserth, *Wyclif and Hus*, trans. M. J. Evans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), 309ff, my version abbreviated. The author is grateful for the very helpful suggestions of the two reviewers of this article.

made to respond, "I have been given to innocent youths that they may learn to prove propositions and am made to overcome their sweet sensibilities by showing and teaching how universals, as much affirmative or negative for particulars may be established by logical rules [...] doubtless I am sent, innocent, to this place of damnation and burning [...]." Jakoubek of Stříbro in turn defended Wyclif's treatise on the Decalogue, *De mandatis divinis*, Procop of Pilsen defended *De ideis*, Zdislav of Zvířetice spoke on behalf of *De universalibus*, Jan of Jičín for *De materia et forma* and Hus for *De Trinitate*. Simon's defense is the most amusing, effectively showing the silliness of condemning books about logic and metaphysics as heretical.[2]

This essay will explore one element of the Bohemian reception of Wyclif's philosophical theology, specifically, that of Stanislav of Znojmo, his foremost expositor. Stanislav was initially the most able and prolific teacher of Wyclif's thought in Prague, responsible for at least four treatises engaging with a range of subjects associated with the Oxford don. After his encounter with ecclesiastical opponents of Wyclif in 1409, Stanislav became a dedicated opponent of Wycliffism, or at least, the ideas within it judged to be theologically dangerous. The nature of Stanislav's reversal, and the reasons for it, are both complex

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[2]   František Šmahel, "*Universalia realia sunt heresis seminaria.* Filosofie pražského extremního realismu ve svetle doktrinálne institucionální kritiky," *Československý časopis historický* 16 (1968): 797–818 is the landmark study of the hereticisation of Wyclif's logic and metaphysics, which Šmahel has developed and expanded into a set of articles entitled *Universalia realia* in his *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 467–598. See also his "Der Kampf um Wyclif und die Stimmenmehrheit an der Universität" in František Šmahel *Die Hussitische Revolution*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, vol. 43.2, ed. Alexander Patschosvky, trans. Thomas Krzenck (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002), 788–831. Many of Šmahel's articles surveying the reception of Wyclif have appeared in German as well as Czech. Vilém Herold's *Pražská Univerzita a Wyclif* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1985) contains a wealth of philosophical detail not included in Šmahel's studies. More recent studies include Martin Dekarli: "Jsou Insolubilia pulchra (*Modus solvendi insolubilia secundum magistrum Johannem Wyclif*) autentickým dílem Stanislava ze Znojma (d. 1414?)," *Studie o rukopiscch* 49.2 (2019): 105–130; "New Texts Relevant to the Reception of John Wyclif," in *Wycliffism and Hussitism: Methods of Thinking, Writing and Persuasion, c. 1360 – c. 1460*, ed. Kantik Ghosh and Pavel Soukup (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021); *Wyclif, Páleč a nominalisté na pražské univerzitě v pozdním středověku* (Praha: Středověk, 2023); Miroslav Hanke, "Řešení sémantických parodoxů v *De vero et falso* Stanislava ze Znojma," *Časopis pro studium řecké a latinské filosofické tradice* 7 (2012): 115–144.

topics, better left for analysis elsewhere; our interest today will be to describe his earlier position, with interest in his development of Wyclif's philosophy of language. This appears most fully in his *De vero et falso* (from here on: *DVF*), which seems to be about logic, the rules and structures by which we reason about things.[3]

Wyclif and Stanislav believed that there is a direct, natural correspondence between sentences we use to express our thoughts and the way things are in the world.[4] Many problems arise in philosophy that are the result of misunderstanding how the structure of propositions relates to how things are in the world, how terms refer to things, how verbs function in relation to nouns, and so on. But at issue is more than just how words function in propositions. There are two points of departure possible for a philosopher intent on describing the structure of reality: first, from the things that make up reality as we perceive it, and second, from the standpoint of 'ultimate reality.' The first was dominant in late medieval metaphysics, since it is Aristotle's beginning point, while the latter had been the starting point for earlier scholastics. It will not be surprising, then, that theologians intent on recovering the earlier approach begin from the latter standpoint. Rather than beginning with individual substances and describing how the Aristotelian categories predicable of them are their attributes, Wyclif and Stanislav begin with God and the divine understanding of what there is.

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[3]    Nathan Bulthuis, "Propositions," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Richard Cross and JT Paasch (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), 5–18; Stanislav of Znojmo, *"De vero et falso."* Studie a prameny k dějinám českého myšlení, ed. Vilém Herold (Praha: Ústav pro filosofii a sociologii ČSAV, 1971). See also Stanislav Sousedík, "Tractat Stanislava ze Znojma *De vero et falso,"* *Filosofický časopis* 63 (2015): 831–857; Stanislav Sousedík, "Stanislaus von Znaim (d. 1414) Eine Lebenskizze," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 17 (1973): 37–56; Monica Brinzei, "Stanislav of Znojmo and the Arrival of Wyclif's Remanence Theory at the University of Vienna," in *Wycliffism and Hussitism*, 245–274.

[4]    See Alessandro Conti, "Logica intensionale e metafisica dell'essenza in John Wyclif," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 99.1 (1993): 159–219; Laurent Cesalli, *Le réalisme propositionnel: Sémantique et ontologie des propositions chez Jean Duns Scot, Gauthier Burley, Richard Brinkley, et Jean Wyclif* (Paris: Vrin, 2007); Alessandro Conti, "Significato e Verita in Walter Burley," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 11 (2000): 317–350; Mark Thakkar, "Wyclif's Logica and Logica Oxoniensis," in *Before and After Wyclif: Sources and Textual Influences*, ed. Luigi Campi and Stefano Simonetta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

Stanislav stipulates that metaphysical certainty cannot come from unaided reason, but from a conviction that divine illumination is a necessary precondition for understanding. With this established, the mind naturally desires to understand as God wills it, and so begins with the relation of the divine ideas to created being. It is difficult to know whether Wyclif began this way, although a standard *Sentences* commentary has this structure, and several treatises in his *Summa de ente* suggest origins as sections of a commentary on Peter Lombard.[5] The first treatise of *Summa I*, *De ente in primo*, begins with recognition that any understanding of a substance begins with knowledge of its being, which points to a transcendent being. Likewise, in his treatise on the being of the predicables, *De ente predicamentali*, Wyclif points out that we cannot recognise there to be a plurality of things in the created world unless we admit that we are implicitly contrasting it with the concept of unity: "Just as all the other predicables are reduced to the genus of substance as primary, thus the first of this genus simply is the first of any genus, and so God is the first simply of any gens."[6] So it seems likely that Wyclif had intended his readers and followers to begin from the recognition that God's being is prior to created being. This has the philosophical structure of Aristotelianism, in that it begins with thinking of what is immediately evident and proceeds rationally to membership in a species, a genus, establishing a connection with what is ontologically prior.[7] While the structure is Aristotelian, though, the approach is more evocative of early scholasticism, in which the mind seeks God and begins with the most fundamental thing that is evident, which is being. A belief that divine illumination is necessary for our understanding of creation allowed Wyclif and Stanislav to order their

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[5]  Wyclif also suggests this in the beginning of his *Quaestiones et dubia super viii libros physicorum* (Venice Bib. S. Marc Lat. VI. 173): "Philosophia realis dividitur in tres partes in primam scienciam divinam theologiam vel metaphysicam que absolute considerat de ente sic quod non solum de substantia accidente corporale quantitate vel accidente alie assignando secundum dicitur omni ente et suis quidditatibus facit quantum est possibile mencionem."

[6]  "[Q]uod sicut alia omnia predicamenta reducuntur ad genus substantie tanquam primum, sic primum simpliciter illius generis est primum simpliciter cuiuslibet alterius generis […]". John Wyclif, *De ente praedicamentali*, ed. Rudolf Beer (London: Trübner, 1891), 27–30.

[7]  See Rega Wood, "The Subject of the Aristotelian Science of Metaphysics," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Robert Pasnau and Christina van Dyke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 609–621.

philosophical reasoning to the theologically defined order of God to creation. This was a position that had been common in early scholasticism, but was rarely held by the late fourteenth century.[8]

Wyclif's philosophy of language and logic had been innovative, a challenge to the Ockhamist propositional theory familiar to the German students in Prague. Its threat seemed to be the ontology it supported. While the Ockhamist approach had reduced metaphysics to an austere minimum, a world consisting only of substances and our thoughts about them, Wyclif's approach revived the rich Platonism of the twelfth-century French schools, with universals, particulars, aggregates, real relations and propositions existing apart from linguistic and conceptual formulations of them. But Wyclif was not the first English logician to stimulate Bohemian students. Richard Billingham (1344–1361) had written a popular textbook on proving propositions, that is, establishing truth in the premises of arguments. The importance of *probation* lies in identifying what is signified by a spoken proposition and what makes the proposition true. This makes his *Speculum puerorum* the beginning point for the questions Stanislav tackles in *De vero et falso*, as it was earlier for Wyclif in his *Logica continuacio*.[9] Šmahel estimates Billingham's treatise had arrived in Prague by the 1360s, providing a base for the reception of Wyclif's logical treatises in the early 1390s. Wyclif had also inspired several logicians in Oxford to pursue his approach and several of their works, commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, found their way to Prague, as is clear in Šmahel's analysis of Narodní Knihovná Codex VIII F 16.[10] Here we will begin an analysis of Stanislav's reading of Wyclif by discussing his explanation of how propositions reveal truth.

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[8]    Timothy Noone, "Divine Illumination," in *The Cambridge History*, 369–383.

[9]    Richard Billingham, "Terminus est in quem sive Speculum puerorum," in *Some Fourteenth Century Tracts on the Probationes Terminorum (Martin of Alnwick O.F.M., Richard Billingham, Edward Upton and others)*, ed. Lambertus M. de Rijk (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 45–186.

[10]   František Šmahel, "Eine Hussitische *Collecta de Probationes Propositionum*," in *Die Präger Universität im Mittelalter: gesammelte Aufsätze / The Charles University in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 581–598. The codex VIII F 16 also contains works by William Milverley and Roger Whelpdale (Whelplade in Ms.).

In *Metaphysics* 8, Aristotle had said:

Now being and nonbeing are used: first, according to the types of categories; secondly, according to power or actuality of their contraries; and commonly, according to the true or the false. This use depends on things being combined or dissociated; so that he who thinks that what is dissociated is dissociated, and what is combined is combined, holds the truth, whereas he whose thought is contrary to the state of affairs is in error. When, therefore, is there or is there not what is called truth or falsity?[11]

The characteristic scholastic attention to the details of words and sentences in reasoning about theology has its roots in the development of the 'modern logic' of the twelfth century, when Aristotle's logical works were used as the basis for innovative philosophy for the first time in centuries. By the mid-fourteenth century, William Ockham pioneered a new style of philosophical reasoning, known at the time as 'Modern.' Rather than study Aristotle's logic and metaphysics using long-established presuppositions about the terms in them, he advocated a different approach. The familiar phrase 'Ockham's Razor' describes his use of Aristotle's Principle of Parsimony, which exhorts philosophers not to use many ideas to explain something when only a few are needed. The result was a pared-down understanding of how concepts, words and things are related and how they function. At the center of his approach was the understanding that the words we use and the sentences we construct with them are signs of our thoughts, which themselves are signs of our perceptions and reasoning about things. For example, the word 'cat' signifies a concept we use to think about cats, the name we've given to the feline beings who tolerate us. A sentence like "The cat is hungry" expresses an idea we have about the cat that is behaving in a manner consistent with our previous encounters with it and what makes the sentence true is our grasp of the cat's behavior and how we understand it.

This approach placed a great deal of emphasis on the relation of propositions to thought and to things in the world. Recognising truth and falsity demanded painstaking analysis of how words, terms and names express how things are in the world and in our thoughts.

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[11]    Aristotle, *Metaphysics,* trans. Richard Hope (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952), c. 101051a37-b6.

A division arose within the Modern movement about the terms and names we use to refer to groups of related beings, or kinds of things. This division was an outgrowth of a much older argument about the being of 'universals', but it was less about ontology than about how propositions describe it.[12] The shift in focus to how terms function in propositions to express truth resulted in a corresponding move away from speculating about universals as things with beings beyond their particulars, to how one could use the names that refer to them and hope to say something true. Were propositions about universals true because of their applicability to all beings, the universal term 'Humanity', names? Is such a proposition about many things – human beings in this case – or about one thing: Humanity? And if a true proposition like "Humanity is a kind associated with Animality" is about one thing, Humanity, and its relation to another, Animality, what makes it true?

Ockham's followers answered by saying that such true statements were made true by our concepts 'Humanity' and 'Animality,' which naturally signify our ideas about large numbers of beings that they name. We conceptualise these groups by coining new names, 'Humanity' and 'Animality', but there really are no such things to which those names refer beyond our own concepts. Ockham's opponents were not so quick to dismiss terms such as 'Humanity' or 'Animality' as mere conceptual constructs. It is possible that such terms refer to something real that provides Human and Animal natures to people, what Aristotle called 'secondary substances' in his *Categories*. There were various ways of explaining this reality, many of which today are classified as 'moderate realism.' Wyclif represented a departure from the conventional reasoning of the 'moderate realists', most of whom were not quite prepared to admit that there is such a thing as Humanity or Animality having being other than the forms of individual people as we perceive them. Wyclif's approach, which Stanislav artfully explains in *DVF*, is to ask about the reality of the propositions we use to express the truths we understand. Are the truths about the things in the world an intermediary class of beings connecting our minds and the things outside of us? Ockham, and

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[12]    See Alessandro Conti, "Realism," in *The Cambridge History*, 647–660; Stephen Read, "Logic in the Latin West in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Logic*, ed. Catarina Dutilh Novaes and Stephen Read (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 142–165; Guyla Klima, "Nominalist Semantics," in *The Cambridge History*, 159–172.

almost everyone else at the time, would have ridiculed such an idea as there being mind-independent truths 'out there' beyond our thinking them. This was Wyclif's position, though, and Stanislav explores it in detail in the treatise.

It will be important to clarify some terms. A proposition is a statement using two kinds of terms, a subject term and a predicate term. It has the form 'x is F,' normally abbreviated Fx. The subject term may be simple, like 'Socrates' in 'Socrates sits,' or complex, like 'The father of Pamphilius sits on the ground.' It is the same for the predicate term, which is simple in the former case or complex in the latter case. Affixing a predicate term to a subject term is 'predication,' and for Wyclif, this is something more than making word-strings that make sense. If a predication is true, this is because the predication is expressed in the being of the subject named by the subject term. That is, 'Socrates is the father of Pamphilius' describes a real relation arising from the connection of Socrates to Pamphilius that is described by the name 'paternity.' Socrates being the father of Pamphilius matches Pamphilius being the son of Socrates, which is the relation between the two people. The being of the two people 'bespeaks' or expresses this relation, which when Socrates is the subject, is the predicate 'is the father of Pamphilius', and when Pamphilius is the subject, is the predicate 'is the son of Socrates.' Explaining this use of terms and how Stanislav explains its connection to truth is the subject matter of the treatise.

Stanislav appears to have developed *DVF* as an introduction to Wyclif's approach, and may well be evidence, along with his Commentary on Wyclif's *De universalibus,* of the substance of his lectures on Wyclif in Prague in the 1390s and 1400s. The treatise plunges into explaining truth and falsity in things and in propositions. Each chapter develops a problem associated with linking propositional structure directly to ontological reality and God's understanding of it.

The entire treatise is divisible into three sections. The first two chapters introduce the relation of Being to God in true propositions, establishing that God is the basis for all truth and for all being simultaneously. The next seven chapters introduce kinds of propositions and the elements of truth they describe, including truths about relations and necessity, privation and negation, conditional statements and how each corresponds to God's understanding and willing about creation. Finally, the last chapters discuss falsity and how truths without corresponding

ontological content can make some kind of sense. Because of the tie between God's knowledge and created truth, each chapter contains elements of Wyclif's description of God's knowing, understanding and willing, as well as to Wyclif's thoughts on the differing kinds of propositions that he describes in the logic treatises. We will restrict our discussion to the first section of the treatise.

## God and the truth of propositions

The introductory chapters of *DVF* cover some very important ground. Elements of Wyclif's thought from several different treatises crop up in Stanislav's overview of the point of departure for philosophical reasoning, suggesting that Stanislav regarded this first part of the treatise as a general introduction to Wyclif's philosophical project. He begins innocently enough with the concept of truth, which will soon be revealed to be conjoined to Being, the subject of metaphysics. "We use the word 'true' to describe both statements and things," Stanislav begins.

> We speak of a 'true man' or 'true gold' and of a 'true sentence' or a 'true proposition'. What do they have in common that leads us to identify them with truth? What does a lump of gold have in common with a collection of terms organised into a proposition? Metaphysical truth, as expressed in 'true gold', demands understanding of how the glistering lump of metal has properties that make it gold rather than iron pyrite. In metaphysical terms, the substance has form with essential and accidental properties that determine it as 'being gold.' What connects its 'being gold' to being true gold?

Stanislav argues that it is the place where being and truth have their foundation, which is God.

This is based on an assumption that statements or propositions have the same structure as what they describe. That is, 'This lump is true gold' and this lump being true gold have the same structure: subject (this lump) and predicate (being true gold.) Stanislav says, "the truth of a being is the way in which we speak of a true God, a true man, true gold, and so on. The truth of a proposition is held either when it is somehow true, or the truth is in it, in which it refers to the truth beyond it, which

is a true being [...]."[13] This position is propositional realism, in which the whole of created being is divided into facts, or individual realities, the way a computer screen is divided into pixels, with each fact having a subject and a predicate the way a pixel has a shape, intensity, and color. Laurent Cesalli effectively describes this position, developed by Walter Burley, Richard Brinkley, and Wyclif in *Le réalisme propositionnel*. Stanislav's approach is to begin with this briefest of comparisons of things and propositions and move quickly to the connection of being and truth. Gabriel Nuchelmans explains that "we might even say that a propositional or logical truth is the ontological truth or fact insofar as it is apprehended in a propositional manner by the human mind."[14]

This isomorphism between true propositions and the reality of things in the world is at odds with most scholastic thinking. After all, we may think about the things we encounter in the world by distinguishing between the being of the things and the being of what is so about those things, but why would we conclude that the way we form ideas about things naturally reflects the way things really are, outside of our thinking about them? The metaphysical structure of something in the world might be formulable into propositions we construct by converting our impressions and ideas into terms that we string together, but what allows us to be certain that reality is strung together the same way? While many medieval thinkers regarded the ideas we describe with linguistic propositions as somehow naturally connected, and that the ideas we formulate come from perceptions that naturally reflect how things are in the world, they thought that assuming that things are arranged in the world in the same way as we formulate linguistic propositions was questionable.

Stanislav provides a helpful analogy in *DVF* c. 9, suggesting that the relation of form to matter in substance functions the same as the relation of predicate to subject in a proposition. A proposition realizes a truth, and is expressed by a substantial reality, so that x being

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[13]  "Verum entis modo, quo dicimus verum Deum, verum hominem, verum aurum, etc. Verum autem proposicionis ponitur ipsa proposicio vera. Sive quidam modus in proposicione, quo ipsa denominatur vera, ultra hoc, quod ipsa est verum ens [...]." *DVF*, 31.

[14]  Gabriel Nuchelmans, "Stanislaus of Znaim (d. 1414) on Truth and Falsity," in *Mediaeval Semantics and Metaphysics: Studies Dedicated to L. M. de Rijk*, ed. Egbert P. Bos (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 313–338, citation on page 315.

F bespeaks 'Fx,' in which F is so of x. Take 'The cat is white.' The cat is like the matter and being white is like the form. Being white is not something that can simply be realised without having a material thing as its ontological basis, so the material being of the cat functions as the subject in which being white is manifest. This analogy, Stanislav warns, is simply to explain how propositions function in articulating truth; the ontological subject remains the cat, and the ontological predicate is its being white, which is what is expressed in 'The cat is white.' It is only when thinking about the proposition that we can consider subject and predicate being related as matter and form.[15]

But this does not explain why a fact is true. Here Stanislav directs the reader to the nature of the Trinity, in which the being of a thing has its origin in God the Father, as power, the truth of the thing in God the Son, as Word, and the goodness of the thing from God the Holy Ghost, as divine will.[16] Nuchelmans explains:

> Since the truth that every man is a man can be nothing but Humanity as it is common to every man, God's saying that every man is a man amounts to his being the exemplary cause according to which the universal form of humanity is in every man [...] Since God's conceptions determine what there is and in particular that the things which have being are what they are, the truth that is said by God coincides with the metaphysical truth that consists in the fact that a thing is what it is.[17]

So if we take Fx, x being F, as grounded in God's being, then if being F were necessary for x for x to exist, God would know 'Necessarily Fx' before Fx were true in creation. But God's understanding is not mediated by propositions the way our understanding is. We know Fx by saying or thinking 'Fx,' while God eternally understands Fx.[18] So what is the intelligibility of Fx in God? As we know from the matter of divine ideas, this intelligibility is nothing other than the divine essence existing intentionally.[19]

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[15]   *DVF,* 159–170.
[16]   Ibidem, 33.
[17]   Nuchelmans, "Stanislaus of Znaim," 316.
[18]   *DVF,* 45–46.
[19]   Ibidem, 53. Stanislav discusses the divine ideas at greater length in *De Universalibus,* 3–16. See John Wyclif, *Miscellanea philosophica,* ed. Michael Henry

What are we to do with this? As presented, this leads to many questions. If God is the ultimate truth foundation for all understanding, it is one thing to say that this lump is true gold because God understands the true gold to have N essential properties and understands that this particular quantity of matter is arranged as 'N.' But what about truths with more complexity, like 'There are no chimeras,' 'Antichrist will come,' 'Peter will lie before the cock crows,' or 'If it is raining, the streets are wet'? This is the subject matter of Stanislav's treatise and its purpose is to provide a reliable account of how more complex truths reflect created reality as well as how their truth is connected to God's understanding. So *De vero et falso* is not simply a logic treatise; it explores the implications of Wyclif's thought in several of his philosophical works, including *Logica continuacio*, *De logica tractatus tercius*, the first three treatises of the first part of the *Summa de ente,* namely *De ente in communi* [I.i], *De ente primo in communi* [I.ii] and *Purgans errores contra veritates in communi* [I.iii] and four treatises on God from the second part of the *Summa de ente: De ideis, De sciencia Dei, De intelleccio Dei,* and *De volucione Dei.*

## What Stanislav assumes you already know about Wyclif

But there remain many basic questions to which answers are assumed to allow it to be taken as a starting point for understanding created being and truth. Why are being and truth necessarily identified within God and does this mean that the first created truth is created being? Stanislav plunges ahead into the question about negative facts like 'No man is an ass' and what makes them true, leaving these underlying issues unaddressed. Accordingly, we need a reliable account of the nature of Being as such before we can begin to make connections between the truth and the false.

It is likely that Stanislav presupposes the contents of the first three treatises of the *Summa*, of which there is only one manuscript in Europe, Wien ONB 4307, dated to 1433.[20] There may have been an earlier one

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Dziewicki, (London: Trübner, 1905), II, in which the treatise is incorrectly attributed to Wyclif.

[20] Franz Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1401 bis 1450*. Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich (Wien: Böhlau, 1971), II: 87–88.

in Prague, but if so, no evidence remains. The three treatises together amount to 26 folio pages of some of the most dense texts Wyclif wrote. They may have been notes for a commentary on *Metaphysics* VI, Aristotle's discussion of the scope and subject matter of metaphysics, as they make references to some of the same questions posed by Aquinas and Scotus in their respective commentaries on this book. The three treatises introduce the fundamental principles of Wyclif's thought but demand familiarity with the Aristotelian commentary tradition.

S. Harrison Thomson edited the first treatise of the first part of the *Summa, De ente in communi,* and published it with the second treatise of the first part, *De ente primo in communi,* in 1930. Wyclif's readers have long grumbled about the difficulties involved in reading his Latin works but this first treatise may well win the prize for being the most opaque of all his philosophical works. Thomson provided a summary of the argument in his edition, which accurately describes the structure of the treatise, but explains very little about its subject. It may be that Wyclif intended this treatise to do for his philosophical project what *De esse et essentia* did for Thomas's metaphysics. That is, it begins where Aristotle begins his explanation of the starting point of metaphysics and lays out all the most basic elements of this, the most basic science. In his *De esse et essentia,* Thomas described the three ideas with which he begins: first, being is the most basic of things to be known, second, being can refer to things or to truth in propositions, and third, there are other basic principles with which we begin to reason aside from knowledge about being.[21] Thomas describes the first basic principle as Aristotle does in *Metaphysics* I c. 2, 982a 25, saying that it is best to begin with simple things and proceed to the complex ones. Wyclif's first chapter has the same structure, even if his reasoning is different from Thomas's.

Whenever we say something about a thing, Wyclif begins, we are really doing two things. We are saying, 'There is this thing, and here is something true about it.' We know this because when we perceive a thing and form knowledge about it, we import an idea about something while doing so, namely that there is something rather than nothing about which we are thinking. This imported idea is what Wyclif calls

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[21]    Joseph Bobik, *Aquinas on Being and Essence: A Translation and Interpretation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 21–44.

'Being to be in common' (*ens esse in communi*).[22] Say that we see a horse, and say, 'That is a lovely horse.' We are doing several things. First, we perceive the horse as something in the world and identify it with equinity, an idea we already have in our minds, thanks to our knowledge about kinds of animals. Next, we compare what we perceive of this horse against our previous experiences with horses and decide that this is a lovely specimen. So, we express our decision by indicating the perceived horse with the word 'that' and predicate 'is a lovely horse' about it. But tedious and exact as this description may be, it needs to be slowed down even more. First, we perceive that there is something there rather than nothing. Next, like other beings we have encountered, it falls into a general classification scheme, it has a body, it seems to be alive, so it is an animal of some kind. In this case the animal kind is one we've already encountered; it is a horse. In order to run down the list of 'being, in a body, living, animal, horse,' we have to recognise that this fits into the general class of something rather than nothing. This horse must first be seen to have being, which makes 'having being' our first indicator that something is there. If we imagine that we see something out of the corner of our eye and turn and perceive that there isn't anything there, we say, 'Oh, it was nothing.' This is another way of saying that the subject of the sentence that seemed to be there turned out to be an illusion, not really anything.

This is what Wyclif refers to with his phrase, "Being to be in common." If something is 'in common,' it is shared by many things. Universals are shared by many – is Being a universal? It is one thing for something to have being, but is there Being apart from individual somethings? Here, Scotus's reasoning helps to clarify Wyclif's position. In his first question on *Metaphysics IV*, Scotus takes up the assertion that "There is a science that investigates being as being." (1003a21).[23] He notes that Avicenna distinguished between saying that something has being, and that a property of something has being. Saying Socrates exists is not the same as saying that Socrates's whiteness exists, but they have something important in common: for both Socrates and

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[22]   John Wyclif, *Summa de ente: libri primi, tractatus primus et secundus*, ed. Samuel Harrison Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 7.14.

[23]   John Duns Scotus, *Questions on the "Metaphysics" of Aristotle*, trans. Girard J. Etzkorn and Allan B. Wolter (Saint Bonaventure: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1997), I: 255.

his whiteness, we can correctly say that they exist. This, Scotus says, is the most basic predicate, *esse existere*, to be existing. Suppose we say, 'Diaphaneity exists,' without knowing to what the term means. Diaphaneity is being held to be something, whether substantial or accidental we do not yet know. All we can say is that *esse existere* is true for Diaphaneity, even if all else is confusion.[24] If the next thing that we do is think about the nature of Diaphaneity, whether or not it is substantial or accidental, we concentrate our attention on the *esse quid* of Diaphaneity. But in doing so, we have introduced a sharper focus on it. Without that focus, without wondering whether it is a substance, quality, relation, action, or whatever, all we are left with is recognition that Diaphaneity is something rather than nothing. This is what Wyclif means when he says, "I know this to be, therefore I know this to be what this is, consequently, I know being to be *esse existere* in this way, so I know being to be."[25]

It was a commonplace among scholastics to distinguish between the 'order of being' and the 'order of knowing.' Simply, if we describe the world as it is, we engage in a description based on the order of being, while if we describe the world based on how we encounter it, we are describing according to the order of knowing. Aristotle, Wyclif explains, holds that the natural way to proceed using reason, innate within us, is to begin with what is prior and most common in nature. We have just reasoned that the most basic beginning point is Being and this is the starting point both for the order of being as well as for the order of knowing.

In linking the orders of being and knowing to Being, Wyclif introduces the convertibility of being and truth. Aquinas made this case in *De Veritate* Q. 1 a. 5, establishing God as both primary Being and first Truth.

> If we conceive of truth for the truths of true creatures that inhere within us, as we come upon them in the world, and in the created understanding, this truth is not eternal...if we consider the truth of true creators, which are designated true for all, just as an extrinsic measure, which is the first Truth [...] this first Truth cannot be for all things unless it is one.[26]

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[24]    Ibidem, 274–275.
[25]    Wyclif, *Summa de ente*, 1.22–23.
[26]    See: Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, trans. Robert W. Mulligan (Chicago: Henry Regenry Company, 1952), p. 5. Q. 1 a. 5.

But Wyclif's argument proceeds differently. It seems as though he moves from discussing Being as we encounter it as the first object of science, to Being as the basis for our knowledge of things, which exists in common across all beings that we recognise as the basis for our knowledge of beings.[27] Wyclif uses the convertibility of being and truth to describe the ontology that lies behind his propositional realism, so he may sound like Thomas Aquinas or Scotus, but he is using their approaches to his own end.

His end was startling to his contemporaries. If Being and Truth are convertible terms, and Truth is propositionally structured, then so is Being. This he describes in *De logica* c. 5 with a distinction between five kinds of propositional being. The first three are familiar. There are mental propositions (concepts), vocal propositions (spoken statements) and written propositions (statements made in written language.) Then there are real propositions, such as this man or this stone, because in this man there is a person who is a subjective part of the human species. This man has a human nature and since this relationship holds for as long as this man is a man, having a human nature is so for him. If it is so, it is true, so this man having a human nature is a truth, and so, is a real proposition. This is not the same as it is to say the being of this man expresses something existing having a human nature. Such an expression is a manifestation of the real proposition, a truth signified distinct from the thing, which corresponds to a *complex significable*.

## Rejecting the *complex significable*

Two of Wyclif's contemporaries, Adam Wodeham and Gregory of Rimini, argued that when I think to myself, 'It's true that the road is slippery,' I am recognising the truth about reality – that the road is slippery – which signifies a slippery road. The ontological status of 'that the road is slippery' is different from my thinking 'that the road

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27    That is, he seems to begin with Aquinas's equation of Being with Truth in *De veritate* and shift to an univocal understanding of a common Being shared by all in existence, creature and creator, as Scotus had argued in his commentary on *Metaphysics*. Because we are not tracing the Thomism or the Scotism in Wyclif's thought, all that we need to do here is indicate that his approach takes aspects of each in formulating an approach to Aristotle's concept of Being.

is slippery' and agreeing with it, and from the being of the icy road. Wodeham argued that this fact is what I am agreeing with and that it is what is so about the icy road, distinct from the road itself. Gregory expanded the definition to include false propositions as well. That is, if I think 'That painting is not a Caravaggio' when I see it labelled as by him, I am denying the truth of 'This is a Caravaggio' that is expressed by the label's having 'by Carravagio' written on it. That there could be a falsity existing apart from my thought as a *complex significabile* was also Wyclif's position. He held that a true proposition refers to the *complex significabile* expressed by what the proposition is about and that a false proposition refers to the *ens logicum* corresponding to the absence in the world that is incorrectly described by the proposition.[28] The principle difference between Wyclif and Stanislav is the latter's rejection of *complex significabiles*, which, as we will see, makes his articulation of Wyclif's position difficult. The absence of the *ens logicum* to which our true statements about the world correspond is explicable by Stanislav's semantics of propositions, to which we will now turn.

The metaphysically true statement 'Fx' comes from x being F, and understanding this requires understanding the relation between substantial forms, and accidental positive and privative forms. Wyclif held that created beings express, or bespeak their truth, and God is the foundation of the being of every created truth. 'Fx' is true because God understands that x is F; if it were necessary to x's being that it be F, without which x could not exist, God would know that it is absolutely necessary that Fx even before x becomes F in time. This understanding, Stanislav explains, does not occur through the mediation of words or propositions, as ours does, but God is capable of articulating understanding in this fashion for our revealed truths in Scripture. The intelligibility of Fx to God is nothing in itself because the divine essence is absolutely unified, yet this intelligibility has intentionality towards created being. The question that follows for Stanislav, is whether our reference to Fx as a truth about the world, when we say 'Fx is true,' is

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[28]    Laurent Cesalli, *Le réalisme propositionne*, 381: "Une proposition vraie a pour signifié premier un ens logicum vrai parce qu'instancié dans le monde, cette instanciation étant son signifié second et la cause de sa vérité. Une proposition fausse a comme signifié premier un ens logicum faux parce que dépourvu d'instanciation dans le monde." See also Laurent Cesalli, "Propositions: Their Meaning and Truth," in *The Cambridge Companion*, 260–261.

the reference to the *complex significabile* 'Fx' or is it just to Fx? A *complex significabile* is not God, and it is not a creature, so it has no place in the discussion. Yet there are so many kinds of true propositions that do not correspond directly to things that exist in the world, things that God knows eternally and that we come to know, that there must be a way of understanding how they are true. For example, 'There was a first moment of Time' is true but it doesn't refer to anything that exists now. What makes it true?

The answer, Stanislav begins, is by organising the truths we recognise about things. This organisation process was a familiar element of medieval logic, in which truths are classified as Categorical if they are about a subject and a predicate, and Hypothetical if they are two categorical truths joined by a mediating particle. Stanislav has primarily been talking about categorical truths thus far and will return to them for a large part of the book, but he begins with Hypothetical truths. Wyclif describes the reason why there are seven kinds of Hypothetical truths in his *De logica tractatus tertius*, explaining that the first eternal truth is God's existence. When the first caused truth occurs, namely that being in common exists, the basis for the first Hypothetical truth is established, namely the conjunction of 'God exists' and Being in Common exists. This leads to the recognition that there are two distinct truths, which leads to the possibility of creating disjuncts (a or b). These allow us to construct copulative and disjunctive statements and to recognise that, in the example of God's being and Being in common coming into existence, the former causes the latter, making for causal truths (because of a, b). With this relation established, we can recognise a basis for comparing truths because God's being has to precede Being in common's existence. Thus far, there are four kinds of Hypothetical truths: copulative, disjunctive, causal and comparative. Finally, Wyclif concludes, God can create if desired, when desired, and where desired, allowing for conditional, temporal and location Hypothetical truths.[29]

Stanislav begins his explanation by observing that we easily recognise truths about relations between things and divide them into

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[29]  John Wyclif, *Tractatus de logica*, ed. Michael Henry Dziewicki, 2 vols. (London: Trübner, 1897). This edition is from one Ms. only and is generally recognised to be faulty. I have used Prague IX E 3, 1r, in addition, but understand that the manuscript of the Assisi Biblioteca Communale 662 is likely to be the most reliable version.

conjunctions (a and b) and disjunctions (a or b). For conjunctions, both of the truths must be so for the union to be so, and for disjunctions, both may be true but one must be true for the combination of the two to be true. These disjunctions are confusing because there are cases, like 'Socrates speaks' or 'Socrates does not speak,' in which only one of the two propositions can be true at any given time. This suggests the basic distinction between 'inclusive disjuncts' and 'exclusive disjuncts.' This is the difference between 'Do you want the salad or the dessert, or both?' and 'Are you married or single?' There are a number of truths that are structured this way. There are truths that have a place in common, or a time in common or a causal relationship in common. All have these two senses, they can be understood as two truths that are consonant with one another, as in 'This is so or this is so' and 'This is so and this is so.' Or they can be understood as consonant by virtue of how they agree, as in 'At this place, this is so and this is so,' or 'Right now, this is so or this is so' or 'This is so because this is so.' The difference between these two senses by which to take such truths is the difference, Stanislav says, between matter and form in a substance.[30]

Consider a substance, say a golden bell. We distinguish between what it is made of, its matter, gold, and its form, bell-shaped. If the golden bell is analogous to a true proposition, there is that which is what the proposition is about and the form of the proposition, the gold and the bell-shape, respectively. The gold considered in itself is malleable, able to take any number of forms by which it could be defined. Now if we have two bells, a golden bell and a silver bell, we have two bells at once. This possibility is one thing, called 'There being two bells at once' and we already have two other things, namely 'To be a gold bell' and 'To be a silver bell.' Certainly, nobody would say that there are three bells. What distinguishes these statements is that we have added 'and' to the two categorical propositions: 'This is a gold bell' and 'This is a silver bell.' By constructing 'This is a gold bell and a silver bell,' I have suggested a new kind of being by introducing a new form, namely a conjunction. What the new statement signifies is not one thing, but an aggregate. Is the aggregate something other than the two things?

This is not as simple an issue as it may appear, particularly for a follower of Wyclif. There being a golden bell is a truth signified by

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30    *DVF*, 60–66.

the golden bell and it is the same for there being a silver bell. What is signified by the truth 'There is a golden bell and a silver bell'? Is it just the two bells or is it the union of the two that is signified by the proposition? One might say that there is no difference between saying 'Look, there is a gold bell. There is a silver bell.' But if there were no difference, why is the syncategorematic term introduced, if not to suggest a combination of the two truths? Stanislav is using this simple species of hypothetical proposition, the conjunction, to suggest that there is something really different about all of these species of hypothetical propositions. They all seem to suggest that they are about something more than the two subjects involved. Take the causal proposition: 'The streets are wet because it just rained.' What is being signified by the combination of these two facts? Is it something other than the two facts alone? We might want to say so, because the statement could be in response to the question, 'Did somebody open a fire hydrant again?' Wyclif believed the *complex significabile* of a causal truth, formulated as the hypothetical proposition 'The streets are wet because it rained,' is something apart from it having rained and wet streets. Stanislav is arguing that nothing new has been brought into being by introducing a syncategorematic term like 'because' to unite the two categorical propositions. One might as well say that the combination of two people makes a third person, which is the force of Stanislav's analogy between a categorical proposition and a substance.

## Where is the truth?

At this point, Stanislav appears to recognise that the time has come to reveal what lies behind the questions about True and False he has been discussing. There appear to be two texts directing his reasoning, the first is Scotus's Commentary on *Metaphysics* VI and the other is Anselm's *De veritate.* This is not an odd combination; both describe how truth is in things and how that truth reflects in our statements about them. Stanislav is explicit in his comments on the former and never mentions the latter text. I will argue that the last part of *De vero et falso* is best understood as his attempt to do as Wyclif has already done in I.i and I.ii, namely yoke Anselm and Scotus into a philosophical team.

In *Metaphysics* VI c. 4 Aristotle distinguishes between the true and what is true, saying that the latter are not things in themselves but are only in the mind. Otherwise, what is good would be true and what is evil would be false. When we use our concepts of things, we combine and separate them in our minds, and this is where truth and falsity arise. Stanislav responds, saying that these statements arising from combination and separation are still metaphysical truths. "[…] so to be true and truly to be that every good is good is a truth metaphysically said, and truth thus said is a metaphysical object holding itself distinct from the existence of the thing."[31] There is a complex commentary tradition on the *Metaphysics* VI from which this discussion arises, to which Stanislav nods when he cites Thomas's position. Laurent Cessali's *Le réalisme propositionnel* traces this effectively, showing how Wyclif's position arose from Scotus's response to Aquinas as well as from Burley and Richard Brinkley's response to Scotus. This is a complex issue, and the best we can do in this section is to describe Aquinas and Scotus as well as Stanislav's version of Wyclif's position. Stanislav introduces the discussion this way.

Consider four speech acts performed by four different people: Peter says, 'Esse,' Paul says 'Est,' John says 'Esse est' and James says 'Esse non est.' Nobody would say that Peter and Paul are saying anything to which we can assign a truth value but people could say that what John says is true, while what James says is false. The truth and falsity arises from composition and division, which is what the intellect does when it moves from the name of a subject to saying something about the subject. In his commentary on 1027b29-29, Thomas says that while the understanding contains within itself an image of something known, just because it has used that image, it does not follow that the intellect analyses it until it uses it by combination or division in reasoning. Just having the image of a man in mind does not yield a truth; it is when one takes that image and combines it with a predicate, say 'Man is a rational animal,' that truth or falsity becomes associated with the

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[31] "[I]deo proprie vere esse et verum esse, quod omne bonum est bonum, est veritas methaphysice dicta, et veritas sic dicta est obiectum metaphysicum a parte existencie rei se tenens." *DVF*, 146.

image. "Hence it is evident that truth is not found in things, but only in the mind, and that it depends upon combination and separation."[32]

In his *De veritate*, Aquinas explains that it may seem that truth is said of a thing, which acts upon the human understanding when we recognise the thing, suggesting that the truth is in the thing before it is in our minds, but this is a mistaken ordering. Truth arises in our minds when we understand the thing and then recognise that what we understand matches how the thing is. Augustine, he reflects, recognised that there are many things of which we have no understanding, but which are knowable. The reason for this, Aquinas continues, is that these things are understood in the divine mind and that our minds thereby have the *potentia* to understand them.[33]

Thomas explains that truth and falsity may be said to be in things when a statement is made about them that either does or does not articulate in words the proper from that is within the being. But truth and falsity is not really something in the thing; it is the product of a statement about it. Scotus summarises Thomas's position in his commentary on 1027b29-34, beginning with Thomas's position from *ST* Ia IIae Q. 3 a. 7. The intellect is naturally drawn to what is so, so it regards the truth as bespeaking the being that is its subject. Given what Aquinas says in his *Metaphysics* commentary, Scotus understands Thomas as having said that the understanding develops the true from a cognition and its combination or separation within a proposition.[34] We form the proposition and are drawn to true ones, from which we recognise that something is so, making propositional truth prior to the being of the subject of the proposition. That is, I perceive the cat sitting by the door and construct a proposition reflecting that reality as well as understand the proposition to be true, from which we understand the being of the cat sitting by the door.

This cannot be the way things work, Scotus says, not least because when we understand the cat sitting by the door as something comprehensible, we have already recognised the being of the act of the intellect representing that fact. It is better to distinguish between truth in reality and truth in the intellect. Truth in general is in a thing when we

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[32]  Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's "Metaphysics,"* trans. John P. Rowan (Notre Dame: Dumb Ox Books, 1995), 422, 1236.

[33]  Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, Q. 1 a. 2.

[34]  Scotus, *Questions on the "Metaphysics" of Aristotle*, 60–62.

consider the thing in relation to its exemplar in the mind of its maker. In our example, the truth is in the cat at the door by virtue of its being a likeness to its exemplar in the divine ideas. If the cat were not sitting, but hovering, then the truth would presumably not be in the cat, given that God did not create cats to hover.

There is also a sense in which truth is in the thing in comparison to the intellect that understands the thing. This sense is the closest Scotus comes to the starting point of Wyclif's position. There are three ways a thing is true when it is considered by the understanding but prior to the truth being in the intellect. First, when I perceive the cat, I am perceiving it as a cat in the state of being a cat. "It manifests itself as to what it is, to any intellect able to know it as such."[35] Second, it is true insofar as it can be received as such by the intellect, so the cat being a cat is something that can be perceived as true by our minds. Third, once the intellect has made it an object of understanding, the cat is something known by us.

Now consider how the truth is in me, knowing the cat to be sitting by the door. I recognise that anybody else would understand that there is a cat sitting by the door, then I recognise this as something that can be turned into a knowable proposition by the understanding, and finally, having done that, I perceive the fact of the cat sitting by the door as something I know. This makes six senses in which there is truth in the thing, three in which the truth arises from a relationship between the thing and what makes the thing so and three in which the truth arises from the relation between the thing and what understands the thing to be so. Scotus notes that if the thing were not understood to be so, the first three senses would still apply, "each thing according to its entity would be suited to manifest itself."[36]

In the next part, truth is in the intellect in two ways corresponding to the two operations of the understanding, simple apprehension and judgment.[37] In the former, falsity is not an option; we are not in a place to decide whether or not something is so because either we apprehend

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[35] Ibidem, 65.
[36] Ibidem, 66. This means that a tree falling in the forest would certainly make a sound, if there were somebody there to hear it, it would be heard, but if not heard, it would still be a sound. Cesalli explains this very lucidly in his *Le réalisme*, 145–154.
[37] Scotus, *Questions on the "Metaphysics" of Aristotle*, 67.

it as so or we remain ignorant of it altogether. We make judgments about the truth or falsity of a proposition about the thing only after the proposition is formed through composition or separation. Can something 'be false' in reality? No, because "The false is that which lacks identity to that which appears to be, and falsity is the non-identity of the being as manifested to the being […]".[38] The simple object signified by the simple concept is not, in itself, simple at all. But as the significate of a concept, it has no existence beyond its being as such. When we connect the simple object to a predicate of some kind, we are doing nothing to the being of the thing as such, because if the proposition is true, all it is doing is reflecting what is so. Truth and being are not both objects of metaphysics, then; truth considered as in the intellect is not the concern of the metaphysician, but unlike the being that is the subject of composition or separation, the truth that results from such a proposition is a product of the intellect. In summary, Scotus admits to there being three senses in which truth is in extramental being, in that it is something open to the intellect, but the mind that understands the extramental being is the primary location of truth. Falsity arises when there is an absence of identity between what is declared to be and what is. The false statement does not signify a not-being; it arises from composition or separation in the mind that fails to capture the being of the subject. Because there are no 'false beings,' there is no concern for significates of false statements beyond the intellect that formulates them.

Returning to Stanislav's discussion of Peter, James, John and Paul's speech acts, it seems that he is endorsing Scotus's position because the falsity in James's statement arises from his failure to understand. The question of whether there is falsity in 'Esse non est' does not arise. Further, Stanislav has rejected the idea of a complex significable. What is signified by a false proposition, thereby making it false? 'Chimera exists' is not about anything but what about 'God does not exist?' These are two different statements about two different beings but neither say nothing. To say and believe the former is simple foolishness but to say and believe the latter is a sin. What is false in a proposition that fails to express what is so functions in our thought, Stanislav says, the way that the truth of 'Peter is at fault' does. There is a propositionally

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[38]    Ibidem, 70.

structured statement that fails to correspond to a propositionally structured extramental reality. While 'Peter is at fault' does not refer, 'that Peter is at fault is true' does; likewise, while 'God does not exist' signifies nothing, 'That God does not exist is false' is a truth, signifying God's necessary existence.

Consider a related statement: 'God cannot refer to this, which is insignificable.' If the opposite were true and God could refer to such a thing, a contradiction would arise. So what does the statement signify? Stanislav suggests that we compare this to the use of a zero in math, a sign used to stand for a value used only to define other numbers. As mentioned, a sin has secondary being as a means whereby God can implement justice. False propositions are like this; they lack a primary being to reflect, yet they do not say nothing. So they have a secondary signification, giving truth to other propositions. Stanislav suggests that we think of this secondary signification as arising from a proposition primarily lacking representation of truth, a propositionally structured absence. He suggests that such truths 'designify' rather than signify. In holding 'God does not exist,' if we were to think that it primarily signifies God's non-existence, then God's non-existence must be real somehow. But this cannot be so. So we should think that the statement has several senses. Since 1) 'God does not exist' does not signify God not existing, it fails, but 2) 'God does not exist' thereby signifies an emptiness, and this second signification arises from the falsity of the primary signification. It is a designification of the truth, rather than a signification of falsity.

Returning to 'God cannot refer to this, which is insignificable,' the term 'insignificable' does not primarily signify what cannot be signified because if it could, the insignificable would be significable. So 'insignificable' designifies the significable, which allows it to signify what cannot be signified without contradiction. This is not simple word trickery; Stanislav's point is not to invent a 'behind the back' signification system. His regular comparisons to sinning as analogous to falsity suggest a broader truth about error. If a false proposition designifies the true, which means that the proposition appears to function by signifying one thing, but instead signifies its negation, then our use of them must arise from a similar act within us. That is, when we will evil, what we are really doing is putting a falsity in the place of a truth and

expressing our affirmation of it. That affirmation is not real willing, it is sin, or false willing.

This is not Stanislav's innovation; Anselm explains this in *De casu diaboli* to show how, when we talk about what is ontologically nothing, we are saying something rather than nothing. Let us say that 'Fx' signifies if x is F, but it designifies if ~Fx is so, because the proposition does not say nothing, but it does not say what is so. The signification of 'Fx' is empty but functions as a placeholder for the act of signification, as Stanislav has explained. If 'Fx' designifies ~Fx and I say, 'Fx' intending to deceive, I choose falsity over truth, which is not a true choice but false, evil willing. This false choice seems to be as much an act as true choice is because both are acts of the will. Anselm begins to address this false willing by saying that 'falsity' and 'evil' do not fail to signify, so even if what they signify are absences, they still signify. "How, then, is evil nothing if what the name 'evil' signifies is something?," Anselm's student asks. The Teacher develops the question, "Given that there is no difference at all between being nothing and not being something, how can one say what that something, which is not something, is?"[39] There is no way to signify that which is absent. In 'No dogs are fish' one must use the term 'dog' to rule out being a fish as predicable of them. So when we think about the falsity 'Fx,' it does not signify Fx because there is no 'x being F,' yet 'Fx is False' is a truth. How is this so? "It signifies by excluding; it does not signify by including […] it is not necessary that nothing be something just because its name signifies something in a certain way."[40]

This may describe what is happening when we use words to signify what is not there, but it does not explain why this signification works this way. There is no fault in correspondence of proposition to fact, even if there appears to be one. "You see, the form of the expression often does not match the way things are in reality."[41] Some verbs inherently deceive us into thinking that something is being acted upon when, in fact, there is no action. 'I fear bees' seems to have me having some active relation to bees, but the truth is, 'Bees cause fear to arise within me' is more accurate. Again, 'I ignore tulips' suggests that I am actively

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[39]   Anselm of Canterbury, *De casu diaboli*, in *Anselm: Basic Writings*, trans. Thomas Williams (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997), 183–184, c. 10.

[40]   Ibidem, 185.

[41]   Ibidem, 186.

doing something to tulips, when in fact I am not doing anything at all; I am simply not paying any attention to tulips. The structure of the language, Anselm explains, suggests that activity is occurring when the opposite is true. In the same way, 'No dogs are fish' does not suggest that there are 'no dogs' somewhere to which being a fish applies. The connection to the apparent being of what lacks being depends upon signifying what is absent, rather than what is present. To say 'Fx is True' when ~Fx, is to make a false statement. What is said is not nothing but really signifies what is not present, namely a statement of the form '~Fx is True.' Using Anselm's reasoning this way, Stanislav develops this idea of designification to explain negative affirmations and to show how false propositions function.

## Conclusion

While the association of John Wyclif with the beginnings of the Hussite movement is usually articulated in terms of ecclesiology, eucharistic theology and other practically applicable issues, the reception of his philosophical thought has received less attention outside of Czech scholarship. Stanislav of Znojmo's reputation in this has most commonly been restricted to a small part in the criticism of Jan Hus and his associates. In this essay I hope to have introduced the reader to the philosophically complex reading of Wyclif that Stanislav taught in Prague before 1409, and in so doing, shed light on a part of the resurgence of interest in Platonism as it was interpreted in light of fourteenth-century thought. The reaction against Ockham has been described in Czech literature but a detailed analysis of the logic and philosophy of language that typified Prague philosophy in this period must begin with Stanislav of Znojmo's *De vero et falso* and *De universalibus* considered as articulations of Wyclif's *Summa de ente*. I hope to have provided the reader egress into these treatises.

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# AN ARISTOTELEAN ARGUMENT FOR UNITY OF REGIMES IN DOMINICAN AND JESUIT PAPALIST WRITINGS

**Abstract:** Aristotle, arguing for the 'Unmoved Mover' in the *Metaphysics*, quoted Homer on the need for one leader. The *Metaphysics*, in Latin, included that quotation. Thomas Aquinas used examples from daily life in interpreting the *Metaphysics*. However, Dominicans, followed by the Jesuits, reversed this argument, saying Aristotle indicated the need for a single ruler in any polity. According to them, that ruler was the pope in the Church. In the sixteenth century this argument was attacked by John Calvin. Robert Bellarmine replied, rejecting Calvin's interpretation of Aristotle's text. However, in the seventeenth century, the entire argument from the *Metaphysics* ceased to have a place in political discourse.

**Keywords:** Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, medieval papalism, Dominicans, Jesuits

Medieval writings on ecclesiastical and temporal politics depended on two types of argument, often employing a mix of both. An argument might be advanced on the basis of cited authorities, or it could depend on reason. The authorities cited could be Judeo-Christian or they could derive from classical Antiquity. The classical texts most often cited as evidence of universal principles were the works of Cicero, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, and Aristotle,

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the influence of the last-mentioned postdating that of the others.[1] These arguments could be reinforced with Aristotelean syllogisms. Thus, the Dominican theologian Juan de Torquemada, in an oration delivered at the Council of Florence in 1439, argued for the superiority of monarchy with a major premise borrowed from the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, and a minor premise from a text attributed to John Chrysostom and from the *Catena aurea* of Thomas Aquinas. He followed these premises with others derived from Aristotle and Isidore of Seville, before concluding that the argument for papal power was valid.[2]

These arguments were used most frequently to support some form of Christian polity, whether with the pope, a general council or a Christian prince holding supreme power. However, another approach was possible. Marsilius of Padua argued for a lay polity to which the priesthood was subordinate and Christian orthodoxy was not allowed to be imposed by coercive means. This polemic was supported in *Dictio I* with logic and non-religious sources. However, *Dictio II* offered a rigorous and lengthy refutation of papal power based on Christian authorities.[3] This reveals how either form of argument could be used to undermine ideas of Christendom, especially in a papalist form.[4]

No one authoritative author or book sufficed in medieval writings on politics. Even where a single author was often cited, as was Aristotle, no one work of that author served all purposes. Thus, when the *Politics* and the *Ethics* did not say what a polemicist wanted, he could appeal to other works by the Philosopher. Cary Nederman has underlined the ways in which the *Rhetoric* was used by John Fortescue. Marsilius, reaching even farther, employed Aristotle's tract on the motion of

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[1]   Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300–1450* (London: Routledge, 1996), 110–134; Cary J. Nederman, "Nature, Sin and the Origins of Society: The Ciceronian Tradition in Medieval Political Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49 (1998): 3–26.

[2]   Juan de Torquemada, *Oratio synodalis de primatu*, ed. Emmanuel Candal (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1954), 23–24.

[3]   Cary J. Nederman, *Lineages of European Political Thought: Explorations along the Medieval / Modern Divide from John of Salisbury to Hegel* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 160–189; Vasileios Syros, *Die Rezeption der aristotelischen-politischen Philosophie bei Marsilius von Padua: Eine Untersuchung zur ersten Diktion des Defensor pacis* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[4]   Conal Condren, "Marsilius of Padua's Argument from Authority: A Survey of Its Significance in the *Defensor pacis*," *Political Theory* 5 (1977): 205–218.

animals in the *Defensor pacis*.[5] One of the more interesting examples of Aristotelian argument derives not from works focused on human action or the lives of animals but the most abstract of the Philosopher's texts, the *Metaphysics*. This argument reads, in the Latin of William of Moerbeke: "Entia vero non volunt disponi male, nec bonum pluralitas principatuum. Unus ergo princeps."[6]

This Aristotelean text, especially the phrase *pluralitas principatuum*, can be translated in different ways. Note these English versions 'plurality of principates,' 'power to rule' or 'plurality of sovereignty.' However understood, the phrase was used by certain Dominican papalists and some Jesuits to show that papal monarchy was the best regime for the Church Militant.[7] Despite such uses in polemics, the phrase *pluralitas principatuum* was derived from a passage in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* which originally had nothing to do with either politics or law.

This passage appears in book XII of the *Metaphysics* (XII, 10, 1076a.),[8] where Aristotle discussed the term substance in relation to its principles and elements. In section ten, near the end of that book, the Philosopher focused on the possibility of a plurality of principles in the universe, arguing for the necessity of a prime mover. He criticised those who gave primacy to mathematical number in the generation of all things, saying: "They give us many governing principles; but the world refuses to be governed badly. The rule of many is not good; one ruler let there be." The conclusion of this quotation is taken directly from book II of Homer's *Iliad*, an exhortation by Odysseus to the Argive host, urging unity in the face of Trojan enmity: "In no way will we Achaeans all be

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[5]  Cary J. Nederman, "Aristotle as Authority: Alternative Aristotelian Sources of Late Medieval Political Thought," *History of European Ideas* 4 (1987): 31–44.

[6]  *Aristoteles Latinus* XXV 3.2 1995, digitised as https://www.hs-augusburg.de/harsch/ Chronologia/Lspot13/GdeMorbecca/gui_1219.html. Two different readings*, nolunt* and *non volunt*, appear in quotations from this Latin translation.

[7]  For example, *Conciliarism and Papalism*, ed. J. H. Burns and Thomas M. Izbicki (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 211: "plurality of sovereignty is bad." The phrase was translated as "power to rule" at *Conciliarism and Papalism*, 230.

[8]  The English is quoted from the translation by W. D. Ross, ed., *Aristotle's Metaphysics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), XII (http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/metaphysics.12.xii.html). The Greek, including the reference to Homer, *Iliad*, ii, 204, can be found in Aristotle, *Metaphysics, Volume II: Books 10–14. Oeconomica. Magna Moralia*, trans. H. Tredennick (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 174–175.

kings here. No good thing is a multitude of lords; let there be one lord, one king, to whom the son of crooked-counseling Cronos has given the scepter and judgments, so that he may take counsel for his people."[9] Although Aristotle was not dealing with human regimes, as he did in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Politics*, the statement about plurality of lords being bad reveals the possibility of its use, out of its context in the *Metaphysics*, in arguments for unified sovereignty.

As noted above, when William of Moerbeke translated the *Metaphysics* he rendered the relevant passage as "Entia vero non volunt disponi male, nec bonum pluralitas principatuum. Unus ergo princeps." It was in this form that most Western writers of the Middle Ages first encountered it. However, as will be seen below, Thomas Aquinas, Petrus de Paludanus, John of Ragusa and Juan de Torquemada used the alternative form *Entia nolunt*. So too did Dante in his *Monarchia*. In either form, this translation had echoes of the phrase *princeps legibus solutus*, found in Justinian's *Digest* [*Dig.* 1.3.31]. Its combination of legal and philosophical principles was potentially useful to apologists for rulers challenged by subjects, as the popes were challenged by apologists for general councils beginning in the fifteenth century.[10] This was not lost on Thomas de Vio Cajetan, who quoted the legal dictum about papal judicial immunity in his defense of Pope Julius II against an effort by a rebel council in Pisa (1512–1517) to depose him.[11] What was lost in translation was the fact that the Philosopher was quoting Homer in the context of battles fought in front of the walls of Troy.

The passage from the translated *Metaphysics* did not enter political thought immediately. A bridge can be found, however, in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. His commentary on the *Metaphysics* borrowed from ideas related to housekeeping and politics, arguing that these examples demonstrated that it was necessary to have a single ruler (*princeps*) of the universe, the prime mover, just as different families with their respective heads could not share a single house. The whole

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[9]    Homer, *Iliad*. Books 1–12, trans. A. T. Murray and William F. Wyatt. Loeb Classical Library 170 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 174–175.

[10]   Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarism Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300–1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 649–650; Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968), 650.

[11]   *Conciliarism and Papalism*, 35.

universe, in fact, was like a single principate (*principatus*) or a single kingdom under a unified rule, the rule of God.[12] Aquinas thought that human regimes cast light on the nature of the universe, at least in the context of a commentary on Aristotle's first philosophy.

Thomas took a related approach in the first part of the *Summa theologiae*. Question 103 focused on the government of creatures, especially their government under God. The *Prima pars* focuses on divine nature, not just on human affairs. Specifically, the third article inquires whether the whole world is governed by a single entity. The objections to this proposition underline the lack of unity in temporal affairs, leading to dissension. They suggested inexperience, foolishness or impotence, "which are far from God" (*quae a Deo sunt procul*).[13] Aquinas presented a counter argument that there was one God, one Lord, to whom governance of subjects pertained.[14] The answer to this question emphasised the proper end of government, the good. This required the best government of the world, which Thomas described as government by one.[15] Thus disunity was contrary to the proper end of rule.[16] Nor did the Angelic doctor allow a place in this context for a mixed constitution. Thomas concluded that the best government of the world had to be unified. This conclusion was justified by a reference to the *Metaphysics*, the now familiar saying "Entia vero non volunt disponi male, nec bonum pluralitas principatuum. Unus ergo princeps."[17]

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[12] "Unde relinquitur quod totum universum est sicut unus principatus et unum regnum. Et ita oportet quod ordinetur ab uno gubernatore. Et hoc est quod concludit, quod est unus princeps totius universi, scilicet primum movens, et primum intelligibile, et primum bonum, quod supra dixit Deum, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum," https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/cmp12.html.

[13] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Summa theologiae… tomus primus, complectens primam partem* (Ottawa: Studii Generalis O. P., 1953), 616b.

[14] Ibidem, 616b, "Quorum utrumque ad gubernationem pertinet, nam ad Dominum pertinet gubernatio subditorum […]."

[15] Ibidem, 616b, "Cum enim finis gubernationis mundi sit quod est essentialiter bonum, quod est optimum, necesse est quod mundi gubernatio sit optima. Optima autem gubernatio est quae fit per unum."

[16] Ibidem, 617a, "Nam unum quodque intantum est, inquantum unum est; unde videmus quod res repugnant suae divisioni quantum possunt, et quod dissolutio uniuscuiusque rei provenit ex defectu illius rei."

[17] Ibidem, 617a, "Relinquitur ergo quod gubernatio mundi, quae est optima, sit ab uno gubernante. Et hoc est quod Philosophus dicit in xii *Metaph.*: "Entia nolunt disponi male; nec bonum pluralitas principatuum; unus ergo princeps.""

Ptolemy of Lucca, one of the Angelic Doctor's immediate successors, took a somewhat different approach. Arguing that all dominion comes from God, this friar resorted to the *Metaphysics* to show that a multitude of those exercising lordship is reducible to one, the king. This reduction to one resembles the way in which nature is reducible to God as Prime Cause. Ptolemy also compares the universe to an armed multitude making up a single army.[18] Elsewhere, Ptolemy argues that all lordship comes from God, the Prime Mover, and exists to promote a good end. In Aristotelian terms, this meant being moved by the Prime Cause to promote beatitude or at least "to act according to virtue."[19]

The fourteenth-century Dominicans leaned heavily toward papalism. Thus, Hervaeus Natalis, without citing Aristotle, argued in his tract on papal power for the existence of a universal prince able to correct errors and move all his subjects toward the good of the republic.[20] Guillelmus Petri de Godino, another Dominican friar, appealed directly to the *Metaphysics*. He used the argument from "plurality of principates" not being good to conclude that "therefore, there is one prince" (*unus ergo princeps*). Christ would have provided badly for the Church if He had subjected it to twelve princes (the Apostles) or fourteen rather than to one sovereign, Peter and his successor, the pope.[21]

Petrus Paludanus, a friar preacher who depended heavily on the thought of the Angelic Doctor,[22] resorted to the same argument in his *Tractatus de potestate papae*. He employed the argument against "plurality of principates" when discussing the preeminence of the pope in

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[18]  Ptolemy of Lucca, *On the Government of Rulers, De regimine principum*, trans. James M. Blythe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 147.

[19]  Ibidem, 152–153.

[20]  Hervaeus Natalis, *Hervei Natalis Britonis in quattuor libros sententiarum commentaria* (Farnborough: Gregg, [1647] 1966), 369B, "Sciendum quod cum cum praesidentia principis in omni principatu ordinetur ad hoc quod moueat omnes subditos illius principatus ad bonum, seu finem reipublicae… ."

[21]  William D. McCready, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Fourteenth Century: Guillaume de Pierre Godin, "Tractatus de causa immediata ecclesiastice potestatis"* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1982), 148, "Non est similiter dicendum quod subiecerit omnes omnibus, quia pluralitas principatuum non est bona, ut dicitur 12 *Metaphysice,* et ideo concluditur ibidem: unus ergo princeps." Godin concludes with a reference to John 10:16: *Fiet unum ovile, et unus pastor.*

[22]  Jean Dunbabin, *A Hound of God: Pierre de la Palud and the Fourteenth-Century Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 70–91.

the Church, with authority over it. An essential aspect of that teaching was the belief that "the Church, ruled by the Holy Spirit, could not be badly ordered. Therefore, the Church, among all the world's communities, should be the best ordered."[23] Paludanus went on to say that "the Church's polity" (*politia ecclesiae*) had to have "one prince and ruler" (*unum principem et rectorem*).[24]

To support that teaching, Paludanus drew an argument from the history of ancient Rome. The Romans realised that the republic needed only one consul and thus they decided, on the basis of experience, that they needed one emperor to rule over them all. In support of the need for one *imperator*, Petrus quoted the argument in the *Metaphysics* about the evil of having a plurality of rulers.[25] Paludanus later added an argument that any army needed only one commander, referring to biblical generals like Joab together with France, which, although having two marshals, had only one constable (*unus connestabulus*).[26] Petrus returned to the argument from Aristotle as proof of a minor premise of a syllogism on papal power. Once again he argued that the world would not be well ordered in spiritual matters without one man in charge. Perhaps by going back to Aquinas' original argument, the friar reminded his readers that all things, to be well ordered, needed rule by one [God, the Prime Mover]. Paludanus concluded with a full quotation of the key passage from the *Metaphysics*.[27]

Like most authorities, a phrase like *nec bonum pluralitas principatuum* could be used in more than one way, as long as unity was maintained.

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[23]   Petrus Paludanus, *Tractatus de potestate papae (Bibl. de la Ville, 744)*, ed. Petrus T. Stella (Zürich: Pas-Verlag, 1966), 123, "Maior patet, quia ecclesia, que regitur Spiritu sancto, non potest esse male ordinata; immo inter omnes communitates mundi ecclesia debet esse Melius ordinata."

[24]   Ibidem, 123–124.

[25]   Ibidem, 124, "ad ultimum per experientiam cognoverunt quod necesse erat reipublice per unum consul… . Unde fecerunt ex tunc imperatorem, qui solus super omnes regnaret. Unde in XII *Metaphysice,* Pluralitas principantium non est bona, unus ergo princeps."

[26]   Ibidem, 140.

[27]   Ibidem, 139–140, "Minor patet quantum ad primam partem, scilicet quod mundus non esset bene ordinatus in spiritualibus et consequentibus, nisi in eis haberet unum hominem presidentem. Quia, sicut mundus non esset bene ordinatus in entibus, nisi haberent unum ens omnibus entibus presidens, propter quod concluditur in fine XII *Metaphysice* Entia nolunt male disponi; pluralitas, autem, principatuum non est bona; unus ergo princeps."

Outside the Order of Preachers, the Augustinian Hermits produced some of the most forthright papal apologists of the later Middle Ages. One of these was Augustine of Ancona, known as Augustinus Triumphus. Michael Wilks, writing about this friar's *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica*, argued that this papalist treated "unity and monarchy as different aspects of the same principle." The need for a single ruler was buttressed by a reference to the *Metaphysics*, our familiar saying about "plurality of principates." As Wilks noted, the opposite conclusion would leave a regime as "a hydra-headed monstrosity."[28]

A different conclusion can be found in Dante's *Monarchia*, with its argument for universal rule by the emperor, especially by Henry VII of Luxemburg. The poet argued that there had to be judgment where conflicts existed and that neither God nor nature would have left temporal regimes lacking this vital role, otherwise conflict could arise between princes without a judge able to correct their faults or those of their subjects.[29] Dante argued that this proved the necessity of monarchy, and quoted Aristotle to buttress this conclusion: "Therefore, monarchy is necessary for the world. And the Philosopher understood this reasoning when he said: 'Things hate to be in disorder; but a plurality of principalities is disorder; ergo, there is but one prince'."[30] Dante's emphasis on imperial sovereignty contradicted Augustinus' high papalism, but both arguments could be supported by quoting Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.

The phrase from the *Metaphysics* could even be used by Marsilius of Padua to set up a straw argument for hereditary monarchy because it resembles God's universal monarchy. The Paduan did this only to argue that an elected ruler was more likely to be chosen for virtue

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[28] Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages: The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 45. The text is cited in Augustine of Ancona, *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* (Lyon: Petrus Ungarus, 1484), q. XII ad tertium.

[29] Anthony K. Cassell, *The Monarchia Controversy: An Historical Study with Accompanying Translations of Dante Alighieris Monarchia, Guido Vernanis Refutation of the Monarchia composed by Dante and Pope John XXIIs Bull, Si fratrum* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 118.

[30] Ibidem, 119; Dante, *Monarchia,* trans. Richard Key (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998), 8–9, "Est igitur Monarchia necessaria mundo. 6. Et hanc rationem videbat Phylosophus cum dicebat, 'Entia nolunt male disponi; malum autem pluralitas principatuum: unus ergo princeps'."

and thus more fully resembled "the ruler of the universe."[31] Marsilius, moreover, used *principatus* as a synonym for the *pars principans*, the ruling element in the polity.[32]

Subsequent to the Western Schism (1378–1417) challenges to papal sovereignty arose. Thus, in the context of the Council of Basel's revolt against Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447), the Dominican theologian John of Ragusa supported council against pope. Nonetheless, although he was a conciliarist, John defended the place of the pope, Peter's successor, in his role as head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. To support this contention, the friar argued that the Church had a beautiful order under the rule of one supreme prince. This argument was reinforced with the quotation from the *Metaphysics* which is our subject.[33]

This was the background of Juan de Torquemada's argument for papal sovereignty within the Church. Even when he was not writing polemics about papal power, he was sensitive to the possible meanings of the terms *princeps* and *principatus*. In fact, when composing questions based on the gospel for the feast of Peter's Seat or *cathedra*, Torquemada argued that there was an excellent reason to move Peter's seat from Antioch to Rome: it was done in honor of the faith. He said, citing Gratian's *Decretum*, that Rome had the principate of the nations. It once was the seat of superstition, holding the principate of the gentiles; that regime had been replaced with the principate of the Church, the papacy.[34] Likewise, he argued, reporting to the Council of Basel on a dispute over the orthodoxy of the Augustinian friar Agostino Favaroni,

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[31]   Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of Peace: The Defensor Pacis*, trans. Alan Gewirth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 79–80.

[32]   Unn Falkheid, *The Avignon Papacy Contested: An Intellectual History from Dante to Catherine of Siena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 58–59, 72.

[33]   John of Ragusa, *Tractatus de ecclesia*, ed. Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb: Hrvatska Dominikanska Provincija, 1983), 129–130 at 129, "Entia nolunt disponi male; nec bonum pluralitas principatuum; unus ergo princeps." Conciliarism had deep roots in the West, although it was uncommon in the Order of Preachers; see Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).

[34]   Juan de Torquemada, *Questiones spiritualis conuiuij delicias preferentes super euangeliis tam de tempore quam de sanctis* (Lyon: Gueynard, 1509), f. clxxxvi[ra-b], "sed translatio ista de antiochia in romam fuit optima ratione facta propter honorem fidei Christiane et gloriam apostolice sedis et **ecclesiastici principatus**. Unde. ii. q. vii. Beati [c. 37] 'in vrbe roma' petrus et paulus martyrium pertulerunt. que **principatum et caput obtinebat nationum**. vt vbi erat caput superstitionis. illic

that the ecclesiastical principate was not founded by divine wisdom if it was subject to uncertainty and fallible.[35]

Torquemada did not employ the quotation about "plurality of principates" drawn from the *Metaphysics* in his earliest polemics,[36] he only resorted to it when the Council of Basel was trying to depose Eugenius IV. In the autumn of 1439, Pope Eugenius started a counteroffensive against the council. To accompany a bull entitled *Moyses vir Dei* (4 September), condemning conciliar claims to supremacy, the pope staged a debate on the relative powers of the pope and general council. Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, the former president of the Council of Basel, was charged with defending the conciliar cause. Torquemada upheld papal primacy. One argument he refuted was that that there could be "a supreme power different from that of the pope." Torquemada was charged with replying to Cesarini by upholding papal power. He also turned to Aristotle's *Metaphysics* to prove supreme power could not be shared: "Secondly, it is not a good thing to have a plurality of princes. And if a thing is not good, we must not believe it to have been instituted by Christ in his church."[37] Torquemada's actions and writings, on behalf of Pope Eugenius, were rewarded later that year with a promotion to the College of Cardinals.

In 1441, Torquemada wrote a commentary on the bull *Laetentur coeli*, issued by Eugenius IV for the Council of Florence, which declared the Greek and Latin churches reunited, however temporarily. This text included a reaffirmation of papal primacy. In support of this contention, he cited Aristotle's *Metaphysics* once more to demonstrate that "plurality

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caput quiesceret sanctitatis. et vbi **gentilium princeps** habitabat. illic **ecclesiarum princeps** moraretur" [emphasis mine].

[35] Gian Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio*. (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, [1901–1927] 1961), henceforward quoted as Mansi, XXX: 1032, "Quia ergo decebat firmatum esse robur ecclesiastici principatus, & non incertitudinis fallibilitatisve confusione jactari, divina sapientia non fundavit illum super rebus incertis." See also Mansi, XXX: 1034.

[36] He referred to the need for one ecclesiastical principate; see Mansi, XXX: 1032, "Quia ergo decebat firmatum esse robur ecclesiastici principatus, & non incertitudinis fallibilitatisve confusione jactari, divina sapientia non fundavit illum super rebus incertis." See also Mansi, XXX: 1034.

[37] Torquemada, *Oratio synodalis de primatu*, 12. Similarly, Petrus de Monte appealed to the *Metaphysics*, wrongly citing book XI, in Mansi, XXX: 1190, to prove that a multitude is better governed by one.

of principates" was bad.[38] Torquemada added another argument from nature, the unity of a hive under a king bee and the conformity of migrating cranes to their leader, an argument drawn from the canon *In apibus* in Gratian's *Decretum* [C. 7 q. 1 c. 41].[39]

The remainder of Torquemada's career was mostly spent in the Roman curia, participating in public affairs, promoting ecclesiastical reform and writing on a variety of issues. The most important of his writings was the *Summa de ecclesia*. Completed in 1453 and dedicated to Pope Nicholas V, the book offered a defense of the ecclesiastical institution, as well as a systematic argument for the superiority of pope over council. In defense of the papacy, Torquemada argued that there had to be a single unifying power, a rector and prince, presiding over the Church.[40] One of his arguments to this end was an appeal to nature. It was more natural for one to rule many than for many to rule one. "Nature," he said, "loves singularity." To support this contention, Torquemada cited book XII of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as rejecting "plurality of principates" in the Church. Unlike most polemicists, the friar noted that the original argument of Aristotle was a proof of the unity of the first principle, not of communities.[41]

In the *Summa de ecclesia*, Torquemada also addressed the relationship between spiritual and temporal power within Christendom. Here he cited Aristotle's *dictum* about "plurality of principates" being bad; but he denied that this meant there was only one power in Christendom,

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[38] Juan de Torquemada, *Apparatus super decretum Florentinum unionis Graecorum*, ed. Emmanuel Candal (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1942), 97.

[39] Ibidem. For a previous Dominican writing on the king bee, see Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* (Douai: ex Typographia Baltazaris Belleri, 1627). See also Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus*, ed. Hermann Stadler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920), II: 1172–1181, 1580–1581, which mentions at 1580 an opinion of Aristotle that this 'king' is actually the mother of all the bees in a hive. Thomas Kaeppeli and Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi* (Rome: ad S. Sabinae, 1970–1993), IV: 352–355 no. 3775.

[40] Juan de Torquemada, *Summa de ecclesia* (Venice: Michael Tramezinus, 1561), f. 118v.

[41] Ibidem, f. 119v, "Primo, quia naturalior est principatus unius in multos quam possit esse multorum in unum. Natura enim principiorum amat singularitatem, ut ait beatus Augustinus. Primo de nuptiis & concupiscentia. Hinc Aristoteles probans unitatem primi principii 12. metaphysice ait. Entia nolunt male disponi, neque bonum pluralitas principatuum; unus ergo princeps." Torquemada also repeated the argument from nature from Gratian's c. *In apibus* [C. 7 q. 1 c. 41].

with the papacy controlling lay rulers directly. Instead, he argued that secular principates were subject in a certain way to "the power of spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction."[42] This was a more complex use of Aristotle than in the debate with Cesarini, the *dictum* from the *Metaphysics* being used to defend lay powers while still maintaining the Church's spiritual superiority. Torquemada was giving princes their own sphere but under the higher directive force of the Roman pontiff.

As early as his critique of Agostino Favaroni, however, Torquemada had pointed out that the members of a political body could not be united as the members of the mystical body were joined to Christ. Head and members simply did not share a single life-giving spirit.[43] Jacques Maritain rightly saw in Torquemada's *Summa* a predecessor of the argument of Robert Bellarmine that the papacy had only indirect power in temporal affairs.[44]

Torquemada's last polemic was the *Opusculum ad honorem Romani imperii et dominorum Romanorum* (1468). It was a reply to the writings of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo which argued that the Roman Empire had usurped royal rights. Writing in haste, the elderly cardinal defended the legitimacy of the Empire.[45] In this context, Torquemada appealed twice to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. One argument was that monarchy was based on eternal wisdom, which was manifested by the natural principle that "plurality of principates" was not good.[46] The other was that God was

[42]  Ibidem, f. 99r, "Pluralitas principatuum quorum unus non subest alteri, non est bona, sed non sic est in proposito, quoniam inter Christianos principatus potestas principatus secularis aliquomodo subest potestati iurisdictionis spiritualis sive ecclesiasticae... ." This is an answer to an argument advanced at ibid, f. 98r.

[43]  Mansi, XXX: 1032, "Membra autem corporis politici non sic; non enim in eis unus spiritus omnia membra vivificans & regens communis est capiti, & membris, sicut in corpore ecclesiae; & ideo non possunt habere talem unitatem, quam membra corporis habent cum Christo."

[44]  Jacques Maritain, *The Things That Are Not Caesar's*, trans. James Scanlan (London: Sheed & Ward, 1930), 75–78.

[45]  *Three Tracts on Empire: Engelbert of Admont, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Juan de Torquemada*, ed. Cary J. Nederman (Bristol: Thoemmes, 2000), 31–35, 118.

[46]  Hubert Jedin "Juan de Torquemada und das *Imperium Romanum*," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 12 (1943): 247–278 at 272, "et idem Philosophus dicit XII. Metaphysice: Entia nolunt male disponi; pluralitas principatuum non est bona; unus ergo princeps."

the universal prince, on whose rule, as stated by Aristotle, nature and regimes were modeled, which fit within natural law.[47]

Cajetan, who was influenced by Torquemada's papalism, employed Aristotle's *dictum* in his *Apologia*. He had written it on behalf of Pope Julius against the rebel council at Pisa. Jacques Almain replied on behalf of the Sorbonne, which had been prodded into action by King Louis XII of France, one of the pope's foes. Cajetan's *Apologia* was a reply, in turn, to Almain's polemic. The context of this exchange was the biblical passage Matthew 18:15–20 saying that the Church could correct an erring brother, the power to bind and loose being conferred on all the apostles, not on Peter alone. Almain had quoted Jean Gerson as saying that these verses empowered a general council.[48] Cajetan replied that both the pope and the Church could not have supreme power and there was not a third power to intervene between them. Cajetan's reply was grounded in Aristotle but looked at the complexities afflicting the faithful if there were two competing powers, each claiming supremacy. Thus, he said: "However, it is not appropriate that there be [two] powers of jurisdiction in the Church without a third power in it superior to both of them; plurality of sovereignty is bad."[49]

Having discussed conflicting commands issued by rival powers, Cajetan concluded that either the pope had supreme jurisdiction over the Church, or no one had it. If neither the pope nor the community of the Church had jurisdiction over the other, this created the threat of chaos. He quoted Aristotle a second time before saying that Christ, "eternal wisdom," would not have instituted such a "plurality of principates" because of its malign results.[50]

In his commentary on the *Summa theologiae*, Cajetan discussed the argument for a unitary government of the created world. He accepted the need for government as a promoter of the good and argued for the necessity of unity by appealing to both reason and authority. The argument from reason ran: government is intended for an end; therefore,

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[47]  Ibidem, 273, "Ergo quod unus post deum super omnes homines visibili conversatione principetur, est conveniens iure naturali." See also the reference to c. *In apibus* at Jedin, "Torquemada und das *Imperium Romanum*," 273. *Three Tracts on Empire*, 120.

[48]  *Conciliarism and Papalism*, 155–156.

[49]  Ibidem, 211.

[50]  Ibidem.

it is intended for the good; and, therefore, it is one. This unity arises from a natural appetite, and thus it resists being divided. Dissolution of unity would arise from a defect in any being, and so a divided regime is defective. Cajetan's argument from authority in this context is derived from the same passage from Aristotle used by Aquinas in the text of the *Summa theologiae* and by Torquemada in his *Summa de ecclesia*. Unity is essential for the survival of a regime, and therefore nature, which abhors a vacuum, cannot accept divided or shared sovereignty. This unity is derived, in Aristotle's thought, from the prime mover. Here Cajetan and his Dominican predecessors invoke a line of thought as old as the *Iliad* to resist any threat to the survival of a regime operating in this world. This was especially true for Cajetan because of the papacy which had been threatened by a conciliar revolt at Basel, attempting to impose reforms on the Roman pontiff and to depose him when he resisted. It was also threatened by the assembly at Pisa.[51] Torquemada, before him, had seen this revolt against the background of Hussite dissent, which threatened the visible unity of "the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church."[52]

The use of this text by Dominicans did not stop with Torquemada and Cajetan. In his *relectio* on civil power, Francisco de Vitoria, the leading light of the School of Salamanca, defended papal monarchy as the best regime for the Church. One of his arguments for this was in the first *Relectio de potestate ecclesiastica* (1532), which states that the unifying rule of one was necessary. The Church was not just a commonwealth, it was a single body. Thus, it would be bad for there to be a multitude of rulers in the Church. A body with many heads, princes or prelates, would be monstrous. There was to be one administrator in ecclesiastical affairs, just as in secular matters.[53] In his second *relectio*

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[51]  Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia* (Rome: Editio Leonina, 1889–2000), V: 455–456.

[52]  Mansi, XXX: 567, "Magnus autem error & periculosus toto corpori ecclesiae esset error circa potestatem papae capitis ecclesiae." Torquemada had said this was an error of many *& nunc per Bohemos*; see Mansi, XXIX: 776, "Ecclesia catholica est illa ecclesia, quam fideles profitentur in symbolo tam apostolorum quam Nicaeno, cum dicitur: Credo in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, & iterum: Et unam sanctam catholicam, & apostolicam ecclesiam."

[53]  Francisco de Vitoria, *Relectiones theologicae R. P. Fr. Francisci Victoriae* (Madrid: Manuel Martin, 1765), I: 9, "Multitudo principatuum esset mala: ergo non expedit in Ecclesia esse varias, & distinctas potestates, maxime cum Ecclesia sit non solum una respublica, sed unum corpus... . Et sic habere multos Principes, aut Praelatos, videtur quasi habere multa capita unius corporis: quod mon-

on ecclesiastical power, Vitoria returned to the same line of argument to prove that there was one ecclesiastical fold with one shepherd. Otherwise, there would be plurality of rulers, which Aristotle had dismissed as pernicious.[54] Rule by one, monarchy, was best, he said, referencing the *Metaphysics*, *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. This explained why Peter and his successors alone ruled the Church by Christ's ordaining.[55]

This line of argument had some influence among the Jesuits. Thus, Francisco Suárez, in his *De legibus*, presented an argument for monarchy without rejecting popular sovereignty entire. The Jesuit theologian admitted that monarchy might be best for civil regimes, according to Aristotle in the *Metaphysics*, as well as from the example of Christ in founding the Church. It also was frequently used as a form of government among the nations. However, Suárez argued that other forms of regime were not bad. Natural law did not require humanity to give power to one, few or the entire community. The choice between these forms of government necessarily fell to human will.[56] However, once power had been transferred, the community retained no leverage over

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struosum est: ergo potius convenire videretur, ut unus, atque idem res seculares, & Ecclesiasticas administraret." See also Francisco de Vitoria, *Political Writings*, ed. and trans. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 54–56. Vitoria cited the *Metaphysics*, with its quotation from Homer, in this *relectio*; see Vitoria, *Political Writings*, 54 n. 14. The same text was cited in the commentary on Thomas' *Summa*; see Vitoria, *Political Writings*, 19, which says that to rule by many would result in confusion.

54   Vitoria, *Relectiones theologicae*, I: 92, "Multitudo enim Principum est perniciosa, ut Arist. etiam dicit…," see also Vitoria, *Political Writings*, 134.

55   Vitoria, *Relectiones theologicae*, I: 100, 143; Vitoria also said of Christ, "cujus est summa sapientia, & providentia."

56   Francisco Suárez, *Selections from Three Works*, ed. Thomas Pink (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 37–38, "Stando ergo in iure naturali non coguntur homines eligere determinate unum ex his modis gubernationis. Quia licet inter eos monarchia sit melior, ut Aristoteles late ostendit et colligi potest ex gubernatione et providentia totius universi, quam oportet esse optimam, et inde conclusit Aristoteles (XII *Metaphysicorum* in fine) esse monarchiam dicens: Unus ergo princeps, idemque ostendit exemplum Christi Domini, in institutione et gubernatione suae Ecclesiae, ac denique id etiam suadet frequentior usus omnium nationum, licet hoc (inquam) ita sit, nihilominus alii modi gubernandi non sunt mali, sed possunt esse boni et utiles; ideoque ex pura lege naturae non coguntur homines habere hanc potestatem in uno vel pluribus vel in collectione omnium. Ergo haec determinatio necessario fieri debet arbitrio humano."

the ruler.[57] The one exception to this supremacy was a lapse by the ruler into tyranny.[58]

Although he allowed for the possibility of other regimes than the monarchic to be created, Suárez had little to say otherwise about such things. He allowed for the possibility of power being delegated to other rulers or even to cities (*aliquibus civitatibus*), but not to those subordinate regimes having their own power.[59] The closest the Jesuit came to addressing the nature of polities was a contention that "a temporal republic or a temporal kingdom" (*rempublicam temporalem vel regnum temporale*) could not promote "peace and political happiness of a republic" (*pacem et felicitatem politicam reipublicae humanae*) by "natural honesty" (*de honestate naturali*). Only embracing the Catholic faith could promote the happiness of any temporal regime.[60]

A late but important use of this argument, omitting Aristotle's name but turning directly to Homer, can be found in a chapter of Calvin's *Institutes* to which the Jesuit cardinal Robert Bellarmine replied. The original argument is found in book IV of the *Institutes*, in which the Geneva reformer discussed the true and false Church. In Chapter 6 he attacked the papacy, denying the universal primacy of the Roman see. Among the traditional papalist arguments refuted were those for unity based on nature. Calvin answered some of these by denying they were universal in scope. Answering a citation of the canon *In apibus*, without citing its source, he denied that all bees throughout the world had chosen one king. Moreover, every migrating flock, he said, had its own leader, not just a single leader of all.[61]

Refuting arguments from civil government, Calvin, without mentioning Aristotle, went directly to the quote from the *Iliad* in Greek. Here he claimed that the quote, attributed to Odysseus, applied only to unity within one kingdom, which could not tolerate two kings or a partnership between two princes. It did not require a monarch for the whole world:

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[57]   Ibidem, 49.
[58]   Ibidem, 44, "nisi fortasse in tyrannidem declinet."
[59]   Ibidem, 48–49.
[60]   Ibidem, 166.
[61]   John Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis* (Geneva: apud Iacobum Stoer, 1618), 394; Idem, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. John Allen (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1909), II: 375.

They quote an observation of Homer, that it is not good to have many governors, with similar passages of other profane writers in commendation of monarchy. The answer is easy; for monarchy is not praised by Ulysses in Homer, or by any others, from an opinion that one king ought to govern the whole world. Their meaning is, that one kingdom does not admit of two kings, and that no prince can bear a partner in his throne.[62]

The Jesuit cardinal Robert Bellarmine replied to this and other Protestant arguments in his *Controversiae*. Calvin was the chief target of this polemical *magnum opus*; but it also criticised such figures as Luther, Schwenckfeld, the Magdeburg Centuriators, Zwingli, Theodore Beza and Michael Servetus (Bellarmine 1856–1862, I: 1–575, e.g. 19A–20A, 23A–B, 31A, 40A–B, 322A, 336A, 338A, 342A). Among the Catholic theologians to whose authority Bellarmine appealed on various issues were Torquemada, Vitoria, Domingo de Soto and Melchor Cano.[63] In reply to Calvin's argument from Homer, Bellarmine too cited the *Iliad* in Greek, without mentioning Aristotle as an intermediary source.[64] The *Metaphysics* in the Latin translation by Moerbeke had fallen out of Reformation-era polemics by the time of Calvin. New translations of Aristotle, including those of the *Metaphysics* by Cardinal Bessarion and Marco Antonio Flamminio, were displacing older ones; but Calvin and Bellarmine read Greek.[65]

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62  Calvin, *Institutio*, 375, 394, "Ad ciuilia deinde exempla nos vocant, citant Homericum illud Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω & quae eodem sensu in monarchiae commendationem leguntur apud profanos scriptores. Facilis est responsio. non enim hoc sensu vel ab Homerico Vlysse, vel ab aliis laudatur monarchia, quasi vnus debeat totum orbem imperio regere: sed indicare volunt, regnum duos non capere: & potestatem (vt ait ille) impatientem esse consortis)." The English translation is from Calvin, *Institutes*, II: 2, 375.

63  E. g. Robert Bellarmine, *Opera omnia* (Naples: apud Josephum Giuliano, 1856–1862), I: 19A–20A, 23A–B, 31A, 40A–B, 322A, 336A, 338A, 342A.

64  Ibidem, 312B, "Denique ex Poetis, Homerus in 2. Lib. Iliados sententillam protulit ab omnibus pene scriptoribus celebratam, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω. Ad quod Homeri testimonium quod solum ex tam multis adversus sententiam suam object, respondet Calvinus lib. 4. Instit. cap. 6, § 8. *Facilis est.* inquit, *responsio: non enim hoc sensu vel ab Homerico Ulysse, vel ab aliis laudatur monarchia, quasi unus debeat totum orbem imperio regere; sed indicare volunt, regnum duos non capere, et potestatem (ut ait ille) impatientem esse consortis.*"

65  Andrew Taylor, "Introduction: The Translations of Renaissance Latin," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 41 (2014): 329–353 at 333–334; Paul Botley, *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo*

The cardinal's reply to Calvin on the quotation from Homer deserves some attention. His critique begins with a summary of Calvin's position, including a quotation from the *Institutes*. Bellarmine accuses Calvin of using ambiguity to confuse those who are unprepared in the treatment of this topic.[66] His reading of Homer was that the text referred to the rule of a multitude. If Calvin had read the text that way, they would agree on its meaning, valuing monarchy over polity or aristocracy for governing a multitude. Such a group was not well ruled by many and power is impatient with collaboration.[67] If Calvin was referring to the rule of a province or region, he had not properly understood what Homer says. The text referred to the rule of an entire army drawn from many parts of the Achaean people to attack Troy. Such a multitude could only be ruled well by one, a monarch.[68] No one can doubt that Bellarmine meant this argument to apply to the multitude of the Church governed by the Roman pontiff.

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*Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 45, 76–77.

[66] Bellarmine, *Opera omnia*, I: 312B, "At certe si facile fuit Calvino respondere, facilius nobis erit responsionem ejus refutare. Nam vel nihil dicit, vel quod nos dicimus dicit, vel falsum dicit, et sibi contradicit. Si enim, cum ait unum regnum non capere duos, vim facit in verbo *regnum*, et vult dicere, regnum proprie dictum non capere duos, quia si duo sint, non erit regnum proprie dictum, cum regnum proprie sit unius hominis summa potestas: tum nihil omnino dicit, sed solum ambiguitate verborum offundit tenebras imperitis. Nam eo sensu dicere, regnum non capit duos, idem significat ac si aliquis diceret, regimen unius non est regimen duorum: et unus homo non sunt duo homines; ad quod pronuntiandum nihil opus est sapientia Ulyssis."

[67] Ibidem, I: 312B, "Si vero non vim in verbo facit, sed per regnum intelligit multitudinem, quae regi debet: tum idipsum dicit, quod nos dicimus. Idcirco enim asserimus monarchiam praestare politiae et aristocratiae, quod multitudo non commode regatur a multis, et potestas impatiens sit consortis."

[68] Ibidem, I: 312B–3A, "Si denique vult intelligi per regnum, non quamvis multitudinem, sed unam aliquam provinciam, sive unum exiguum regnum: ut sensus sit, uni provinciae unum esse regem attribuendum, non tamen idem esse judicium de toto orbe terrarum: tum et falsum dicit, et sibi ipsi contradicit. Nam Homericus Ulysses non disputat de constituenda republica in aliqua una provincia, sed concionatur ad universum exercitum Graecorum, qui tunc pugnabat ad Trojam, in quo exercitu multae nationes erant, multi principes, aliquot etiam reges, atque affirmat non oportere eam omnem multitudinem a multis regi, sed ab uno. Itaque sensus ejus celeberrimae sententiae non aliud esse potest, quam in quavis una multitudine unum esse debere rectorem primarium: quod quidem aeque locum habet in exiguo regno, et in maximis imperiis; non enim uni regno exiguo unus debetur rex, quod illud regnum sit exiguum, sed quod sit unum."

With this polemical exchange, the argument from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* was cast off the central stage of Western political debate. It was too far removed from the proper use of authorities cited in context to survive. Even Calvin and Bellarmine had abandoned the *Metaphysics* by directly quoting from the Greek. The fading of this argument is well illustrated by referring to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Hobbes twice criticised Cardinal Bellarmine's arguments in favor of papal power, arguing that Christ had not left to the Church such coercive power as the Jesuit theologian attributed to the pope.[69]

Hobbes was also critical of Aristotle's political ideas, including the belief in government by laws, mere words on paper that lack enforcement with swords.[70] Hobbes says that the quotation from Homer is concerned with bees and ants, which he described in Aristotelean terms as political creatures. Having presented this argument, Hobbes went on to dismiss it as irrelevant to political life, especially to unitary sovereignty enforceable by coercive means. The orderly life of insects came from nature, Hobbes said, but human regimes depend on the artificial arrangements their people have made. Insects lack reason and real judgment in the natural order, therefore, they are incapable of founding a true polity.[71] Thus, the argument from natural order in the form derived from the *Metaphysics* ceased to have a place in political thought. Note that the argument vanished without any significant dissent, even by leading Dominicans and Jesuits.

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[69]  Hobbes' references to Homer have no political content; see Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan or the Matter, Forme & Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 49, 76, 152, 364–365, 406–409.

[70]  Ibidem, 505–506. Hobbes also rejected Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as repugnant to reason; see Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 497.

[71]  Ibidem, 502–507.

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Carolin Gluchowski[*]

# Religiöse Transformationen im Spiegel der materiellen Überlieferung des langen 15. Jahrhunderts. Eine Annäherung an das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale Ms GKS 3452-8°

**Zusammenfassung:** Das Oster-Orationale Ms GKS 3452-8° in der Königlichen Dänischen Bibliothek in Kopenhagen markiert den Beginn einer etwa 150 Jahre andauernden Produktion lateinischer und niederdeutscher Handschriften im Zisterzienserinnenkloster Medingen bei Lüneburg. Die rund 65 derzeit bekannten Handschriften spiegeln das lange 15. Jahrhundert der Nonnen wider, das sich von den frühen 1400er Jahren bis in die 1550er/1570er Jahre erstreckt. Das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale, das 1408 von der Medinger Nonne und späteren Priorin Cecilia de Monte fertiggestellt wurde, gewährt einen Einblick in die Anfänge dieser Tradition an der Zeitenwende 1400. Der vorliegende Artikel stellt die Handschrift sowie ihre Schreiberin genauer vor und plädiert für eine intensivere Erforschung der sich um Cecilias Oster-Orationale gruppierenden Handschriften, um Kontinuitäten und Alteritäten in der Medinger Handschriftenproduktion im Verlauf des langen 15. Jahrhunderts zu konturieren. Ein solches Unterfangen verspricht, das Verständnis vorreformatorischer religiöser Texte von Frauen zu vertiefen und die Andachtskultur des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts zu erhellen.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Manuskript-kultur, Mönchtum, Spätmittelalterliche Frömmigkeit, Reform und Reformation, Mystizismus

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# Religious Transformations Reflected in the Material Traditions of the Long Fifteenth Century: A Study of the Copenhagen Easter Orationale Ms GKS 3452-8°

**Abstract:** The Easter prayerbook Ms GKS 3452-8° in the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, marks the beginning of a 150-year tradition of Latin and Low German manuscript production at the Cistercian convent of Medingen, reflecting the nuns' long fifteenth century. This period, documented by the 65 manuscripts in the Medingen corpus, lasts more than a century, from the early 1400s to the 1550s/1570s. Completed in 1408 by Cecilia de Monte, the Copenhagen Easter prayerbook offers a rare glimpse into the origins of this remarkable tradition around 1400. This article suggests that the manuscript may have served as a model for subsequent works and calls for further research on this group of manuscripts to explore continuities and changes in Medingen manuscript production throughout the long fifteenth century. This enterprise will greatly enhance the understanding of Pre-Reformation religious writing by women and shed light on the devotional culture of the early fifteenth century.

**Keywords:** manuscript culture, monasticism, late-medieval devotion, reform and Reformation, mysticism

> *Anno Domini m cccc viij. completus est*
> *liber iste in die Egidii abbatis,*
> *scriptus per manum Cecilie de monte,*
> *humilis ancille Christi.*
> (K4, 140r)[1]

„Im Jahre des Herrn 1408", so das zunächst unscheinbare Kolophon, „wurde dieses Buch am Tag des heiligen Abtes Ägidius (1. September) vollendet, geschrieben von der Hand Cecilias von dem Berge, einer demütigen Dienerin Christi" (Fig. 1). Diese Zeilen machen das 141

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[1] Zur besseren Übersichtlichkeit werden alle im Text erwähnten Handschriften aus Kloster Medingen mit Siglen wiedergegeben, welche in der Bibliographie aufgeschlüsselt werden. Eine vollständige Liste aller Medinger Handschriften und deren Siglen findet sich auf 'Medingen Blog', *St Edmund Hall, University of Oxford,* http://medingen.seh.ox.ac.uk/.

Pergament-Blätter umfassende Oster-Orationale K4, das heute in der Dänisch Königlichen Bibliothek in Kopenhagen aufbewahrt wird,[2] zu einer kleinen Sensation: bei dem kleinformatigen Andachtsbuch (14,4 × 11 cm) handelt es sich um die früheste, über das lateinische Kolophon sicher datierbare Handschrift aus dem 1228 gegründeten Kloster Medingen, einem der wichtigsten Zisterzienserinnenklöster Norddeutschlands.

Cecilias Oster-Orationale markiert den Beginn eines eigenen langen 15. Jahrhunderts[3] für die Medinger Nonnen. Dieses erstreckte sich im Spiegel der Medinger Handschriftenproduktion vom Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale bis in die 1550er/1570er Jahre, als die Me-



Fig. 1: K4, 140r. © Dänische Königliche Bibliothek, Kopenhagen

dinger Handschriften-Ära mit den derzeit spätesten datierten Andachtsbüchern aus dem Kloster, dem Hannoverschen Oster-Orationale HV2[4] und dem Göttinger Psalter GT4,[5] endete. In diesem Zeitraum ereignete
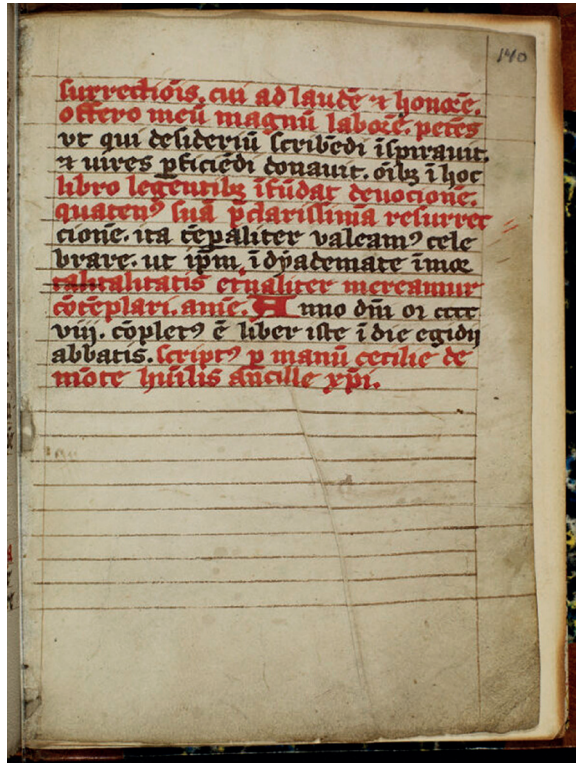
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[2] Eine Beschreibung der Handschrift findet sich in Ellen Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum medii aevi bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis* (Kopenhagen: in Aedibus Gyldendalianis, 1926).

[3] *'Langes' 15. Jahrhundert, Übergänge und Zäsuren: Beiträge der Tagung am 30. und 31. Oktober 2015 in Lippstadt*, Hrsg. Werner Freitag und Wilfried Reininghaus (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2017).

[4] Die Wasserzeichen im Hannoveraner Oster-Orationale HV2, geschrieben auf Pergament und Papier, datieren Teile der stark umgearbeiteten Handschrift nach 1541 (P PICCARD VII 694). Helmar Härtel und Felix Ekowski, *Handschriften der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover: Teil 1. Ms I 1 – Ms I 174* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 62–67.

[5] Der Einband des Göttinger Psalters wurde in der Werkstatt L. S. angefertigt. Die Platten auf Vorder- und Rückdeckel – Taufe Christi (EBDB p003782) und Opferung Isaaks (EBDB p003783) – finden sich auch auf dem 1572 erschienen Druck

sich eine Reihe tiefgreifender sozialer, gesellschaftlicher, politischer, theologischer und medialer Umbrüche. Wichtige Ereignisse waren die Klosterreform von 1479 sowie die Reformation von 1524/1554, in deren Zuge Medingen in ein evangelisches Frauenkloster umgewandelt wurde, als welches es bis heute fortbesteht.

Durch seine frühe Datierung gibt das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale Anstoß zu einer Neubewertung des lateinisch-niederdeutschen Medinger Handschriftenerbes, das heute aufgrund seiner Bedeutung für die norddeutsche Andachtskultur international bekannt ist, und eröffnet neue Perspektiven auf das religiöse Schrifttum von Frauen vor der Reformation. Derzeit umfasst das stetig wachsende Korpus 65 Handschriften, verteilt auf 29 Sammlungen in Deutschland, Dänemark, der Schweiz, den Niederlanden, Großbritannien und den USA. Die meisten dieser Handschriften entstanden im Zeitraum des „Reformationskontinuums"[6] zwischen der Klosterreform und der Reformation. Beim überwiegenden Teil der Medinger Handschriften handelt es sich um kleinformatige Andachtsbücher vom Typus Orationale, die liturgische Texte für die gemeinschaftliche Feier im Konvent mit persönlichen Gebeten, Andachten und Meditationen für die Zeiten zwischen Messe und Stundengebet kombinieren.[7] Aber schon im Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale stellte Cecilia alle wesentlichen Texte für die Osterzeit zusammen, beginnend mit Karsamstag, über Ostersonntag und die Osteroktav, bis hin zu den Sonntagen nach Ostern, was Cecilias Handschrift an den Anfang der Orationale-Produktion in Kloster Medingen stellt.

Cecilias Andachtsbuch eröffnet neue Perspektiven auf das religiöse Schrifttum von Frauen um die „Zeitenwende 1400"[8], eine Phase der

*In omnes epistolas quadragesimales homiliae* von Peter Bacherius in der Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Dz 5300).

[6]    Henrike Lähnemann, "Der Medinger 'Nonnenkrieg' aus der Perspektive der Klosterreform. Geistliche Selbstbehauptung 1479–1554," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 87.1 (2017): 91–116, hier 116.

[7]    Henrike Lähnemann, "*Saluta apostolum tuum*. Apostelverehrung in Kloster Medingen," in *Weltbild und Lebenswirklichkeit in den Lüneburger Klöstern, IX. Ebstorfer Kolloquium vom 23. bis 26. März 2011*, Hrsg. Wolfgang Brandis und Hans-Walter Stork (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2015), 41–64, hier 43.

[8]    So der Titel des gleichnamigen Ausstellungskatalogs Claudia Höhl und Gerhard Lutz, Hrsg., *Zeitenwende 1400: Hildesheim als europäische Metropole um 1400* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2019). Die Doppelausstellung im Dommuseum Hildesheim und dem Landesmuseum Hannover (1. Oktober 2018 bis 2. Februar 2020) präsentierte ausgewählte Kunstwerke aus der Zeit um 1400 und kontext-

Frömmigkeitsgeschichte, welche heute noch weitgehend unerforscht ist. Die vorliegende Untersuchung des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale ist ein Vorstoß, sich diesem Zeitraum über die Handschriftenproduktion des Klosters anzunähern.[9] Weitere Untersuchungen haben das Potenzial, das reiche kulturelle Erbe norddeutscher Frauenklöster zu beleuchten und die Andachtskulturen dieses Zeitraumes im Kontext des langen 15. Jahrhunderts neu zu perspektivieren. Es gilt, die Zeitenwende 1400 als Ausgangspunkt für die langfristigen sozialen, gesellschaftlichen, politischen, theologischen und medialen Transformationen dieses komplexen Jahrhunderts zu konturieren. Im Folgenden werde ich zunächst die Schreiberin der Handschrift und danach ihr Oster-Orationale vorstellen, um die Ergebnisse abschließend für die Forschung zum langen 15. Jahrhundert zu perspektivieren.

## Die Schreiberin des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale K4: die Medinger Nonne und Priorin Cecilia de Monte

Die Schreiberin des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale, die Medinger Nonne und spätere Priorin Cecilia von dem Berge (reg. 1435–1445),[10] stammte aus einer Lüneburger Ministerialenfamilie,[11] die seit dem 12. Jahrhundert nachweisbar und deren Name mit ihrem Besitz auf dem Kalkberg verbunden ist.[11] Diese weitverzweigte Familie, welche nicht mit den Lüneburger Patriziern von den Bergen verwechselt werden sollte,[12]

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    ualisierte sie mit Blick auf die zahlreichen religiösen, gesellschaftlichen, sozialen und politischen Umbrüche in dieser Zeit.

[9]   Gegenwärtig bereitet die Autorin eine Edition des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale mit englischer Übersetzung vor.

[10]  Grundlegend *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adelslexikon*, Hrsg. Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, 9 Bde. (Leipzig: Voight, 1859–1870), hier Bd. 1: Aa – Boyve, 340. Weiterführend Arnold von Weyhe-Eimke, *Die Äbte des Klosters St. Michaelis zu Lüneburg* (Celle: Schulze, 1862), 18; Johann Friedrich Pfeffinger, *Historie des Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Hauses, nebst den darin befindlichen Geschlechtern*, 3 Bde. (Hamburg: König und Richter, 1731–1734), hier Bd. 1, 358–363.

[11]  Wilhelm Reinecke, *Geschichte der Stadt Lüneburg*, 2 Bde. (Lüneburg: Selbstverlag des Museumsvereins, 1933), hier Bd. 1, 55.

[12]  Johann Heinrich Büttner, *Genealogiae oder Stam[m]- und Geschlecht-Register der vornehmsten Lüneburgischen adelichen patricien-Geschlechter* (Lüneburg: Schultze, 1704), Bl. Tttt (r); Hans Jürgen von Witzendorff, *Stammtafeln Lüneburger Patriziergeschlechter* (Göttingen: Verlag, 1952), 9f.; Wilhelm Havemann, *Geschichte der*

zählte zwischen 1215 und 1400 etwa 70 Mitglieder, deren verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen jedoch nur fragmentarisch rekonstruiert werden können,[13] sodass weite Teile des komplexen Stammbaum bis zum Aussterben des Geschlechts in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts heute nicht mehr zweifelsfrei zu erschließen sind.[14] Als Stammvater der Familie gilt Leuthard von dem Berge, welcher 1190 als Kommandant zu Lüneburg unter Herzog Heinrich dem Löwen (1129/30–1133/35) bezeugt ist.[15] Urkunden belegen, dass die Familie von dem Berge, die über ausgedehnte Besitzungen in Lüneburg und Danneberg verfügte,[16] das finanziell besonders einträchtige Erbamt des Schenken besetzte und im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert zur „Elite unter den welfischen Adelsfamilien des Lüneburger Raumes"[17] gehörte.

Besonders schwierig nachzuvollziehen sind die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse weiblicher Angehörige der Familie, da diese in Johann Friedrich Pfeffingers *Genealogische Kollektaneen*, einer wichtigen Quelle für die Familiengeschichte, nicht aufgeführt werden.[18] Cecilias familiäre Beziehungen sind daher nur über zwei Medinger Klosterurkunden zu erschließen: 1420 wird Cecilia als Schwester von Dietrich adressiert (UB Medingen Nr. 427: *Cillen miner sustere begheven in dem closter Medinghe*). 1386 wird Cecilias Bruder als Sohn Gebhards von dem Berge, gen. der Lange, geführt (UB Medingen Nr. 392: *Dyderich langen Geveredes sohne*); diese Angabe deckt sich mit Pfeffingers Stammbaum (Fig. 2–3, Detail Fig. 4). Als Tochter von Gebhards dem Langen stammte Cecilia somit aus einer einflussreichen Nebenlinie der Familie von dem Berge.

Aus Pfeffingers Familienstammbaum geht hervor, dass Cecilia noch einen dritten Bruder hatte, der nicht in den Medinger Urkunden erscheint, Borchard von dem Berge, der Geistlicher in St. Michaelis

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      *Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, 3 Bde. (Göttingen: Dietrichsche Buchhandlung, 1853–1857), hier Bd. 1, 488, Anm. 1.

13    Thomas Vogtherr, *Wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Wandel im Lüneburger Landadel während des späten Mittelalters* (Hildesheim: Lax, 1983).

14    Hermann Holthusen, "Urkunden und Nachrichten zur Genealogie der von dem Berge (de Monte)" (unveröffentlichtes Manuskript, 1950/1970), Exemplar im Nachlass Hans Mahrenholtz.

15    Pfeffinger, *Historie*, 359.

16    Havemann, *Geschichte*, 488, Anm. 1.

17    Vogtherr, *Wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Wandel*, 12.

18    Johann Heinrich Pfeffinger, *Genealogische Kollektaneen*, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 87.1–12, hier Cod. 87.5: Meltzing, 1 Regest; Monte, 9 Regesten; Odeme, 1 Regest, fol. 120.

Fig. 2: Pfeffinger, *Genealogische Kollektaneen*, 120 (links).
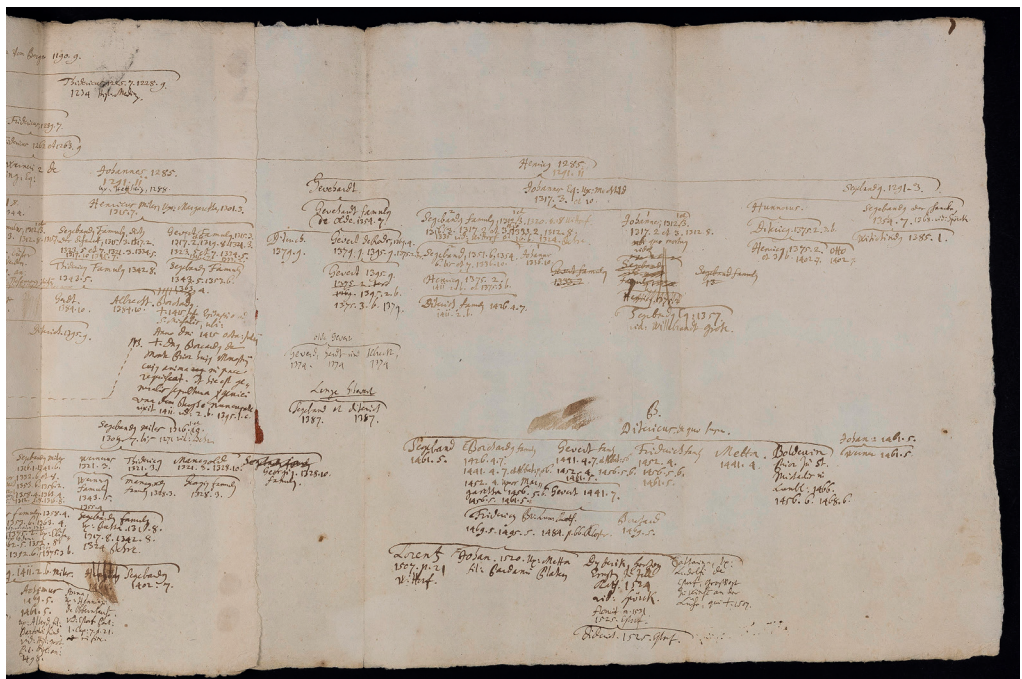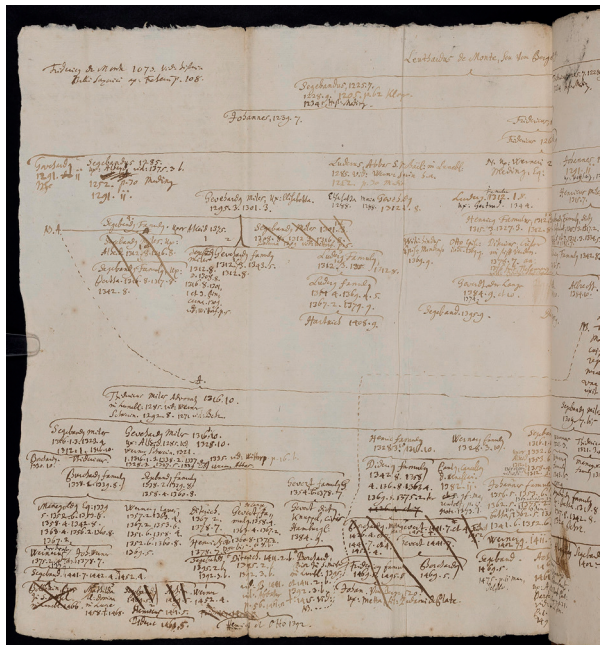© Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbütte





Fig. 3: Pfeffinger, *Genealogische Kollektaneen*, 120 (rechts).
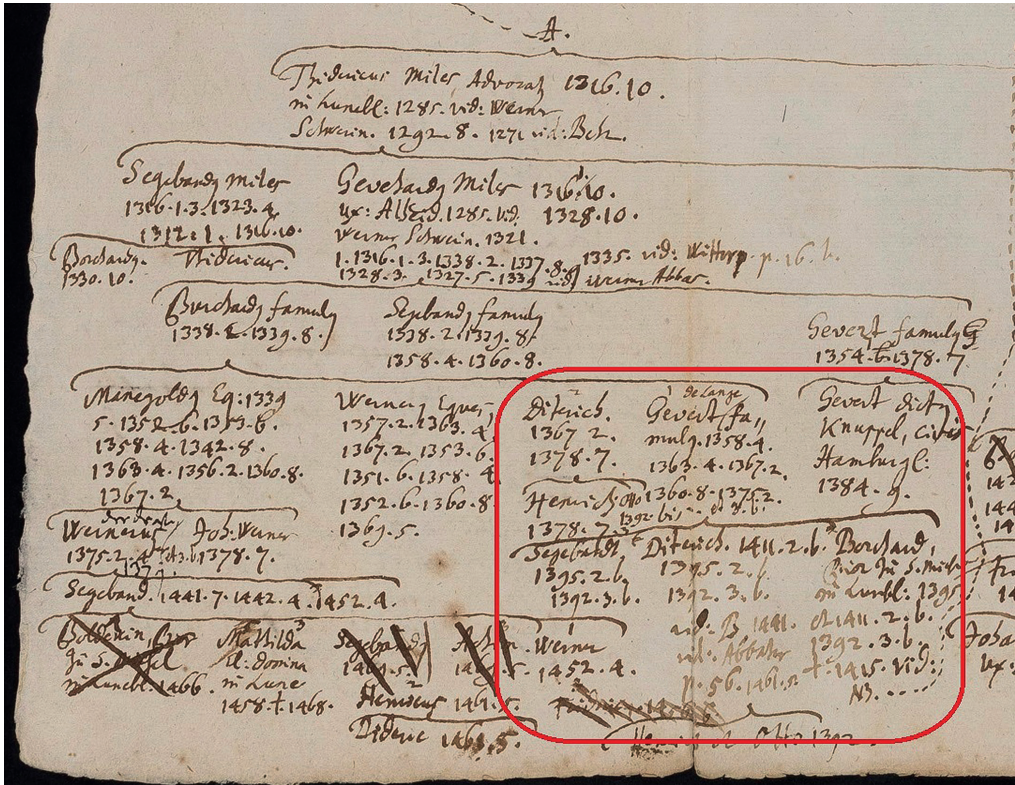© Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbütte

Fig. 4: Pfeffinger, *Genealogische Kollektaneen* (links; Detail).
© Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

in Lüneburg war, wo sich noch heute seine Grabplatte befindet.[19] Erstmals als Ordensgeistlicher tritt er 1387 in Erscheinung, als er sich in die Matrikel der Juristenfakultät in Prag eintrug. Ab 1392 ist er im Benediktinerkloster St. Michaelis in Lüneburg bezeugt, wo er rasch Karriere machte: 1400 und 1405 wird er hier als Präbendar genannt, ab 1413 erscheint er als Prior, als welcher er bis zu seinem Tode 1415 gewirkt hat. Sein Jura-Studium war vermutlich ausschlaggebend dafür, dass er zum Generalvikar des häufig abwesenden Verdener Bischofs Conrad von Soltau (um 1350–1407) berufen wurde – in dieser Funktion wird er in Urkunden gleich mehrfach genannt.

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[19]  Weiterführend Eckhard Michael, "DI 24, Lüneburg: St. Michaeliskloster, Kloster Lüne, Nr. 17," in *Die Inschriften des Lüneburger St.-Michaelisklosters und des Klosters Lüne*, ges. u. bearb. Eckhard Michael (Wiesbaden: Reichert 1984), 16.

Die Tatsache, dass in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts nicht nur Cecilia, sondern auch ihr Bruder Borchard führende Klosterpositionen besetzten, war sicher kein Zufall, sondern spiegelt strategisches Kalkül und machtpolitische Überlegungen wider. Vom 13. bis ins 15. Jahrhundert hatten Mitglieder der Familie von dem Berge wiederholt Schlüsselpositionen in geistlichen Institutionen des Raumes Lüneburg inne. Diese Praxis scheint sich im 15. Jahrhundert noch intensiviert zu haben. Besonders enge Beziehungen unterhielt die Familie zum St. Michaeliskloster in Lüneburg, welches als eine der Lüneburger Hauptkirchen über großen Einfluss in der Region verfügte. Hier diente Lüder von dem Berge (reg. 1282–1291) als erster namentlich bekannter Abt der Familie. Im 15. Jahrhundert folgten ihm Cecilias Bruder Borchard und Boldewin von dem Berge (reg. 1465–1468) als Prioren des Klosters.[20] Zudem pflegte die Familie enge Verbindungen zu weiteren religiösen Zentren, darunter das Stift Bardowick und das Zisterzienserkloster Scharnebeck.[21]

Auch für die sechs Lüneburger Frauenklöster, zu denen neben Medingen noch die Zisterzienserinnenklöster Isenhagen und Wienhausen und die Benediktinerinnenklöster Lüne, Ebstorf und Walsrode gehören und über deren Netzwerke die Familie Einfluss auf die norddeutsche Klosterlandschaft ausüben konnte, lässt sich veranschaulichen, dass die Familie von dem Berge verstärkt versuchte, Schlüsselpositionen mit weiblichen Angehörigen zu besetzten. Im 14. Jahrhundert dienten in Kloster Ebstorf zum Beispiel Adelheid von dem Berge (UB Ebstorf Nr. 165, Nr. 224, Nr. 252) und Ida von dem Berge (UB Ebstorf Nr. 165, Nr. 224) als Kämmerinnen. Für das 15. Jahrhundert sind dann gleich zwei Priorinnen aus der Familie bezeugt: neben Cecilia wirkte einige Zeit später noch eine weitere Verwandte, Mechthild von dem Berge, gen. Mette, als Priorin (reg. 145?–1468) im Nachbarkloster Lüne (UB Lüne Nr. 586, Nr. 587).[22] Mechthild wird auch in den Lüner Briefen

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[20]   *Niedersächsisches Klosterbuch: Verzeichnis der Klöster, Stifte, Kommenden und Beginenhäuser in Niedersachsen und Bremen von den Anfängen bis 1810*, Hrsg. Josef Dolle, 4 Bde. (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2012), hier Bd. 2, 959.

[21]   Vogtherr, *Wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Wandel*, 28. Die Familie scheint sich vor allem in der Gründungsphase des Klosters engagiert zu haben (UB Scharnebeck Nr. 1, Nr. 2, Nr. 11).

[22]   *Niedersächsisches Klosterbuch*, Bd. 2, 946.

genannt (Lüner Briefe Nr. 65, Nr. 72, Nr. 122, Nr. 124),[23] unter anderem im Zusammenhang mit der Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Konvent und Propst Nikolaus Graurock (reg. 1457–1493), in welche Mechthild verwickelt war. Daneben finden sich Angehörige verschiedener Familienzweige vom 13. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert als Nonnen ohne höheres Klosteramt in mehreren Lüneburger Frauenklöstern.[24]

Eine besonders enge personelle, spirituelle und geschäftliche Verbindung unterhielt die Familie von dem Berge aber zu Kloster Medingen. Vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert sind in den Medinger Urkunden 54 Familienmitglieder verzeichnet, darunter fünf Nonnen. Die Wurzeln dieser engen Beziehung reichen bis kurz nach der Gründung des Klosters Medingen im Jahr 1228 zurück. Die erste Erwähnung der Familie in Medinger Klosterurkunden datiert auf das Jahr 1271 (UB Medingen Nr. 28), als mehrere männliche Vertreter der Familie als Zeugen einer Memorialstiftung auftraten. In der Folgezeit fungierten immer wieder Familienmitglieder als Zeugen in wichtigen Rechtsangelegenheiten, was den juristischen Beistand der Familie für das Kloster betont. Von Anfang war aber auch die spirituelle Dimension dieser Verbindung unverkennbar. 1291 schenkten Dietrich von dem Berge und seine Frau Mechthild Kloster Medingen zwei Häuser in Wendisch Evern als Gegenleistung für das Abhalten von Seelenmessen nach ihrem Tod (UB Medingen Nr. 60). In keinem anderen Lüneburger Frauenkloster stiftete die Familie von dem Berge eine Seelenmesse, sodass sich aus dem Vorgang durchaus eine Vorrangstellung Kloster Medingens ableiten lässt.[25] Ein Großteil der übrigen Urkunden dokumentiert die geschäftlichen Beziehungen der Familie zum Kloster: so veräußerte zum Beispiel 1435 Cecilias Vater Gebhard von dem Berge seinen Hof in Becklingen an Propst Lüdinger, Priorin Cecilia und den Medinger Konvent (UB Medingen Nr. 443).

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[23] Aktuell werden die Lüner Briefe im Forschungsprojekt Die Netzwerke der Nonne ediert und untersucht. Nähere Informationen finden sich unter *Netzwerke der Nonnen. Edition und Erschließung der Briefsammlung aus Kloster Lüne (ca. 1460–1555)*, bearb. Eva Schlotheuber, Henrike Lähnemann, Simone Schultz-Balluff, Edmund Wareham, Philipp Trettin und Lena Vosding unter Mitarbeit von Philipp Stenzig, Timo Bülters und Konstantin Winters. Technische Umsetzung durch Wolfgang Seifert, Torsten Schaßan. Wolfenbüttel 2016–. http://diglib.hab.de/edoc/ed000248/start.htm.

[24] Das Ebstorfer Urkundenbuch verzeichnet 51 Mitglieder der Familie von dem Berge (UB Ebstorf). Das Urkundenbuch Lüne listet 40 Familien-Mitglieder auf, wovon 3 Nonnen in Kloster Ebstorf waren (UB Lüne).

[25] Vogtherr, *Wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Wandel*, 28.

Cecilias Herkunft prädestinierte sie für eine Laufbahn hinter Klostermauern, auch wenn sich die einzelnen Schritte ihrer Karriere anhand der Medinger Klosterurkunden nicht nachzuvollziehen lassen. Cecilia wird nur in vier Medinger Urkunden genannt (UB Medingen Nr. 402, Nr. 427, Nr. 443, Nr. 448), zwischen 1393 und 1443. Namentlich erwähnt wird sie bei dem Abschluss einer Gebetsgemeinschaft zwischen dem Benediktinerinnenkloster Arendsee und Kloster Medingen (UB Medingen Nr. 402). Cecilia erscheint als 43. der 89 nach dem Senioritätsprinzip aufgezählten Konventualinnen, sodass sie Anfang der 1390er Jahre schon einige Zeit in Kloster Medingen gelebt haben muss. Allerdings gibt die Konventsliste keine weiteren Informationen über die Position der aufgeführten Frauen im Konvent.

Auch wenn sich aus der Urkunde keine weiteren Informationen zu Cecilias Werdegang in Kloster Medingen gewinnen lassen, plausibilisieren die Angaben doch das Fertigstellungsdatum des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale. Für die Anfertigung einer derart komplexen Handschrift bedurfte es einer geübten Schreiberin, die über das für die Konzeption der Handschrift notwendige Wissen und die für die Ausführung des Andachtsbuches erforderlichen Fähigkeiten verfügte. Konzeption und Niederschrift des Andachtsbuches verlangten genaue Kenntnis der lateinischen Liturgie, der biblischen und patristischen Schriftgelehrsamkeit sowie der klostereigenen Andachtskultur, die es in der Handschrift auf kreative Weise zu verbinden galt. Zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts dürfte Cecilia als ausgebildete Konventualin aber über die nötigen Voraussetzungen zur Bewältigung der Aufgabe verfügt haben, welche sich die Nonnen in einer mehrjährigen Ausbildung in der Klosterschule erarbeiteten.[26]

Die Fertigstellung des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale 1408 fällt in eine Phase der Medinger Klostergeschichte, für die es sonst deutlich weniger Zeugnisse als für das spätere 15. Jahrhundert gibt. Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts standen Kloster Medingen Johannes Meyer (reg. 1396–1416) als Propst und Druda von Dagevörde (reg. 1399–1428) als Priorin vor;[27] über beide gibt es kaum konkrete Informationen. In sei-

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[26]   Carolin Gluchowski, "Custodians of Tradition. Reframing and Recycling in a North-German Prayerbook," in *Women in Arts, Architecture and Literature: Heritage, Legacy and Digital Perspectives*, Hrsg. Consuelo Lollobrigida und Adelina Modesti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), 83–100.

[27]   *Niedersächsisches Klosterbuch*, Bd. 3, 1044–1050.

ner 1772 veröffentlichten Chronik über das Kloster Medingen berichtet Pastor Johann Heinrich von Lyßmann von den Herausforderungen, mit denen Meyer konfrontiert war, darunter finanzielle Engpässe, die ihn jedoch nicht davon abhielten, notwendige Sanierungen an den Klostergebäuden vorzunehmen. Ein prägendes Ereignis war der Neubau des Viehhauses nach einem Brand.[28] Die Die Anfertigung von persönlichen Andachtsbüchern fällt nicht in die von der Chronik berichteten Ereignisse.

Doch gruppieren sich um das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale weitere, stilistisch ähnliche Handschriften, die vermutlich ebenfalls zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts angefertigt wurden und auf eine aktive Produktion von kleinformatigen, lateinischen Andachtsbüchern in Medingen um 1400 deuten: Erstens Fragmente eines heute verlorenen Oster-Orationale in der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg (Codex 220/14) und im Stadtarchiv Stralsund (HS 1004: 35–37); zweitens ein Fragment eines unbekannten Weihnachts-Orationale in den Columbia Libraries (Med Ren Frag. 068) und drittens ein vollständiges Weihnachts-Orationale in der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen (Ms GKS 3451-8°), das wohl gleichzeitig mit Cecilias Handschrift dahin gelangte. Alle diese Handschriften wurden bisher noch nicht eingehend untersucht, sodass mein Aufsatz ein erster Vorstoß zur weiteren Erschließung dieser Schicht Medinger Handschriftenproduktion ist.

Im Jahr 1435, 27 Jahre nach der Fertigstellung des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale, wurde Cecilia zur 14. Priorin des Klosters Medingen gewählt und hatte das Amt bis zu ihrem Tod 1445 inne. Über ihre Amtszeit ist wenig bekannt. In seiner Klosterchronik widmet Lyßmann Cecilias Priorat lediglich zwei Zeilen, die kaum mehr als die Eckdaten zusammenfassen.[29] Umfangreichere Berichte liegen erst für die Priorinnen bzw. Äbtissinnen nach der Klosterreform vor, beginnend mit Margarete Puffen (reg. 1479–1513). Die Analyse der Andachtstexte im Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale selbst können in ihrer Auswahl und Anordnung aber weiteren Einblick in die Andachtspraxis der Nonnen um die Zeitenwende 1400 geben.

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[28]  Johann Ludolph Lyßmann, *Historische Nachricht von dem Ursprunge, Anwachs und Schicksalen des im Lüneburgischen Herzogthum belegenen Closters Meding, dessen Pröbsten, Priorinnen und Abbatißinnen* (Halle: Gebauer, 1772), 45.

[29]  Ibidem, 118.

## Das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale K4: ein Andachtsbuch für mehr als nur eine Generation Medinger Nonnen

*Saluete, gaudete, et exultate,*
*o adoranda ac ueneranda et gloriosa,*
*sanctissima ac delicatissima*
*membra christi resurgentis,*
*per iocundissima resurrectione glorificata.*
(K4, 62v)

„Seit gegrüßt, freut euch und jubelt", so der Beginn einer lateinischen Andacht im Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale, „o anbetungswürdige und verehrungswürdige und ruhmreiche, heiligste und zarteste Glieder des auferstandenen Christus, verherrlicht durch die höchst erfreuliche Auferstehung." Gemäß der Rubrik auf der Vorderseite des Blattes sollte diese Salutation der „goldfließenden Glieder Christi" (*auriflua membra christi*) während der ersten Messe am Ostersonntag (*inter istam missam auream*) in tiefer Andacht des Herzens (*in intima cordis deuocione*) gesprochen werden, eine Feier so wie die Sonne aufgeht oder Orgelspiel einsetzt (*sicut organa clangebant*). Charakteristisch für den Handschriftentypus Orationale verbindet das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale hier standardisierte Elemente aus der lateinischen Liturgie mit kreativen Neuschöpfungen für die persönliche Andacht; Natur und Musik werden Stichwortgeber für die Andacht der einzelnen Nonne.

Eröffnet durch eine vierzeilige, blau-goldenen Initiale, die mit auffälligem roten Fleuronné verziert ist (62v, Fig. 5), begrüßt die lateinische Andacht in einer für die Lüneburger Frauenklöster typischen mystischen Sprache den Auferstandenen, dessen Glieder im Folgenden mit reichlich Superlativen von oben nach unten einzeln angesprochen werden: beginnend mit den Wundmalen (62v), gefolgt von Kopf (62v), Gehirn (62v), Gesicht (63r), Augen (63r), Ohren (63v), Nase (63v), Mund (63v), Zunge (64r), Stimme (64r), Hals (64v) und Nacken (64v), über Brust (64v), Rücken (65r), Seite (65r), Herz (65r) und Hände (65v), hin zu den Venen (65v), Knien (66r) und Füßen (66r), und abschließend zum Gesamtkörper und zur Seele (66v). Jedem Körperteil ist dabei ein eigener Abschnitt gewidmet, der durch alternierend blaue und rote Lombarden deutlich vom restlichen Text abgesetzt ist. Die einzelnen Abschnitte interpretieren
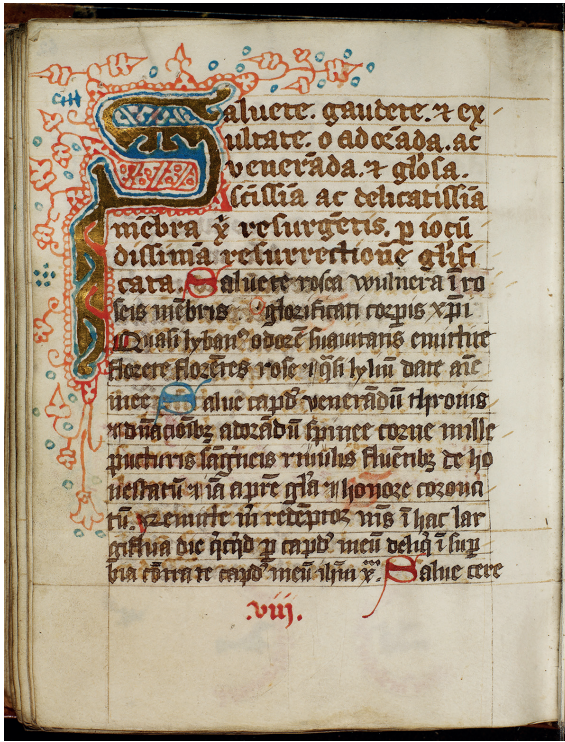
Fig. 5: K4, 62v. © Dänische Königliche Bibliothek, Kopenhagen

die Glieder Christi im Kontext von Passion und Auferstehung und heben ihre Bedeutung für das betende Ich hervor.

Der klar strukturierte Aufbau der Andacht ermöglicht es dem betenden Ich, die Gestalt des Auferstandenen Schritt für Schritt im Geiste zu visualisieren; wie ein Puzzle fügen sich die Glieder Christi vor dessen innerem Auge zusammen. Der Aufbau des Textes ermöglicht so die Immersion des betenden Ichs in die Andacht, um es diesem zu ermöglichen, in der innigen Andacht des Herzens die Auferstehung Christi nachzuvollziehen, welcher in einem abschließenden Absatz als Sohn des lebendigen Gottes (*ihesu fili dei viui*) angesprochen wird.

Erst auf dem zweiten Blick wird deutlich, dass diese Version des Textes das Ergebnis einer subtilen Umarbeitung ist: bei einem Großteil der Andacht, welcher an die am Anfang dieses Unterkapitels wiedergegebenen Eröffnungszeilen (62v, Zeile 1–7: bis *per iocundissimam ressurectionem glorificata*) anschließt, handelt es sich um ein Palimpsest. Überreste des ursprünglichen Textes sind im Digitalisat als blass-braune Verfärbungen erahnbar, ohne dass mit dem bloßen Auge eine Identifizierung konkreter Wörter möglich wäre, sodass der vorherige Text heute zumindest ohne Spezialuntersuchungen nicht mehr lesbar ist. Beginnend mit der Anrede der Wundmale Christi (62v, Zeile 7: ab *Saluete rosea wulnera in roseis membris glorificati corporis christi*) weicht das Schriftbild des aktualisierten Textes von den Eingangszeilen der Salutation ab: das merklich gebrochene, mit feinen Zier- und Abstrichen versehene Schriftbild des in schwarzer Tinte geschriebenen nachfolgenden Textes unterscheidet sich deutlich von der im Vergleich runderen, unverzerrten Schrift in brauner Tinte am Beginn des Textes.

Die Beobachtungen legen nahe, dass hier zwei Schreiberinnen zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten arbeiteten: die Eröffnungszeilen der Andacht, geschrieben in der abgerundeten Schrift in brauner Tinte, wurde mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit von Cecilia von dem Berge geschrieben, datieren also an den Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts. Das Schriftbild ist identisch mit dem Rest des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale und weist große Ähnlichkeiten mit den übrigen Handschriften aus dieser Gruppe auf. Der Folgetext bis zum Ende der Andacht (62v–67r) wurde vermutlich deutlich später, wahrscheinlich im letzten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts und damit im Kontext der Klosterreform geschrieben; zumindest deuten die merkliche Brechung der Schrift, die feinen Zier- und Abstriche sowie das Abkürzungsrepertoire – besonders die doppelt gestrichene et-Ligatur, welche sich nur in nachreformerischen Handschriften aus Kloster Medingen findet – auf diesen Zeitraum.

Dass dieser Eingriff in das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale nicht direkt ins Auge fällt, liegt auch daran, dass die zweite Schreiberin bemüht war, den umgearbeiteten Text so nahtlos wie möglich in das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale einzupassen, ohne durch ihre Umarbeitung störende strukturelle, textuelle oder visuelle Brüche zu erzeugen. Allerdings geriet sie gegen Ende ihrer Überarbeitung des Textes offensichtlich in Platznot, den von ihr überarbeiteten Text bündig mit dem Beginn des nachfolgenden Mariengebetes (67r–68r) abzuschließen. Die Schreiberin war daher auf 67r gezwungen (Fig. 6), das Ende des Textes, das nicht mehr in den zur Verfügung stehenden Platz passte, über den Textspiegel einzutragen.

Ich möchte hier vorschlagen, dass es sich bei dem Eingriff um eine gezielte Aktualisierung der
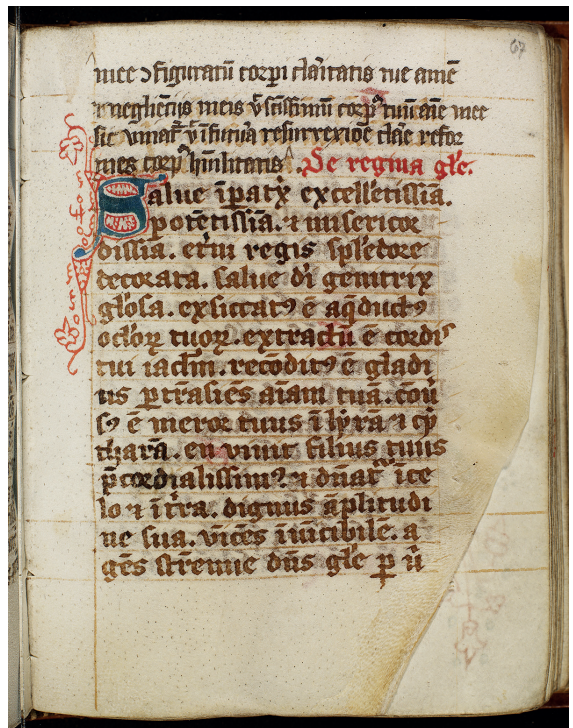


Fig. 6: K4, 67r. © Dänische Königliche Bibliothek, Kopenhagen

ursprünglich durch Cecilia von dem Berge verfassten Andacht handelt. Auffällig ist, dass die zweite Schreiberin die einleitende Rubrik sowie den vorherigen Textanfang beibehielt, vermutlich auch, weil letzterer mit einer auffälligen Initiale reich verziert war. Die von der zweiten Schreiberin vorgenommenen Änderungen beeinflussten also nicht die liturgische Struktur der Handschrift. Auch veränderten ihre Umarbeitungen nicht das Thema der ursprünglichen Andacht, denn vor wie nach dem Eingriff richtete sich die Salutation an die Glieder Christi. Die von der zweiten Schreiberin aktualisierte Version der Andacht findet sich in ähnlichem bzw. gleichem Wortlaut in mehreren Medinger Handschriften (zum Beispiel O1, 98v–106r; HI4 184r–191r), die im Kontext der Klosterreform entstanden sind, auffälligerweise aber auch gleich zweimal mit kleinen Variationen im Hildesheimer Oster-Orationale HI1 (192v–196v),[30] welches von der Medinger Nonne Winheid (von Winsen) im Auftrag des Propstes Tilemann von Bavenstedt als Modellbuch für die Reform-Handschriftenproduktion angefertigt wurde.[31] Womöglich handelt es sich bei der Andacht um einen Mode-Text, welcher im Zuge der Klosterreform nach Medingen kam und sich rasch großer Beliebtheit unter den Nonnen erfreute, sodass er zum Teil des dynamisch auf solche Veränderungen reagierenden Andachtsprofils des Medinger Konventes wurde.

Dies würde auch erklären, weshalb die zweite Schreiberin den ursprünglichen Text der Andacht in Cecilias Oster-Orationale aktualisierte. Aktuelle Untersuchungen zeigen, dass ein Großteil der Medinger Handschriften im Kontext von Klosterreform und Reformation umgearbeitet wurden.[32] Die Umarbeitung des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale ist insofern für das Medinger Handschriftenkorpus typisch, weil viele andere Medinger Handschriften in Gestalt und Inhalt umgearbeitet wurden,

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[30]  Renate Giermann und Helmar Härtel, *Handschriften der Dombibliothek zu Hildesheim*, 2. Teil: *Hs 700–1050; St. God. Nr. 1–51; Ps 1–6; J 23–95* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 177–184. Henrike Lähnemann erarbeitet gegenwärtig eine Edition des Hildesheimer Oster-Orationale mit Übersetzung der lateinisch-niederdeutschen Texte ins Englische.

[31]  Henrike Lähnemann, "Medinger Nonnen als Schreiberinnen zwischen Reform und Reformation," in *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten. Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern*, Hrsg. Britta-Juliane Kruse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2013), 37–42.

[32]  Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung: Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 272–296.

wie zum Beispiel das Oxforder Oster-Orationale O1. Heute enthält das lateinisch-niederdeutsche Andachtsbuch O1 Texte von insgesamt fünf verschiedenen Schreiberinnenhänden, welche über einen Zeitraum von c. 150 Jahren (1400–1550) an der Handschrift arbeiteten, um diese an die veränderten Koordinaten des Medinger Andachtsprofils anzupassen. Bei dem Eingriff in das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale hingegen scheint es sich um ein einmaliges Ereignis gehandelt zu haben.

Vergleicht man Cecilias Andachtsbuch mit dem genau 70 Jahre später im Reformkontext angefertigten Hildesheimer Oster-Orationale HI1, so fällt auf, dass Struktur und Inhalt beider Handschriften weitgehend übereinstimmen. Dieser Befund überrascht, bedenkt man die vielfältigen religiösen, politischen, ökonomischen, sozialen und medialen Umbrüche im langen 15. Jahrhundert, vor allem im Kontext der Klosterreform von 1479, welche das Leben in Kloster Medingen fundamental änderte.[33] Von der Handschrift ihrer Vorgängerin setzt sich Winheids Andachtsbuch lediglich in zwei Aspekten deutlich ab:

Erstens beinhaltet das Hildesheimer Oster-Orationale HI1 neben lateinischen auch deutlich mehr niederdeutsche Texte, was eine allgemeine Hinwendung zur Volkssprache im späten 15. Jahrhundert widerspiegelt. Im Gegensatz dazu enthält Cecilias Oster-Orationale vorwiegend lateinische Gebete, Andachten und Meditationen, mit nur einzelnen mischsprachigen Gedichten (z.B. 17v–18v) und den Incipits nur der bekanntesten deutschen Leisen (*Christ ist erstanden*, 95r). Nach den Klosterreformen des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde die Zweisprachigkeit zu einem markanten Merkmal der Medinger Handschriftenproduktion.[34] Vermutlich wurde die Aufnahme volkssprachlicher Elemente durch die Annäherung an die liturgischen Gebräuche der Zisterzienser im Kontext der Klosterreform begünstigt, da die Zisterzienserliturgie Raum für volkssprachliche Antworten durch die Gemeinde bot.[35] Obwohl die

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[33]  Ulrike Hascher-Burger und Henrike Lähnemann, *Liturgie und Reform im Kloster Medingen: Edition und Untersuchung des Propst-Handbuchs Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e. 18*, unter Mitarbeit von Beate Braun-Niehr (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

[34]  Henrike Lähnemann, "Bilingual Devotion in Northern Germany: Prayer Books from the Luneburg Convents," in *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, Hrsg. Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann und Anne Simon (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 317–341.

[35]  Johannes Janota, *Studien zu Funktion und Typus des deutschen geistlichen Liedes im Mittelalter* (München: Beck, 1968).

Integration volkssprachlicher Texte – vor allem von Leisen, kurzen einstrophigen Responsorien als Antwort auf liturgische Gesänge – im 15. Jahrhundert keine Neuheit darstellte, erhielt das Niederdeutsche in den nachreformerischen Andachtsbüchern aus Kloster Medingen als „language of intimacy"[36] einen einzigartigen Charakter.

Zweitens macht Winheids (Hildesheimer) Handschrift im Vergleich deutlich stärkeren Gebrauch von erläuternden Rubriken mit konkreten Andachtsanweisungen an das betende Ich, was auf das im Zuge der Klosterreform merklich gesteigerte Bedürfnis zurückzuführen ist, das eigene Andachtsprofil zu erklären und zu kommunizieren.[37] Der Begriff Andachtsanweisung bezeichnet in dem Zusammenhang „eine Form von Normentransfer […], die ein Schlüsselelement in den Orationalien der Medinger Nonnen ist."[38] Während das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale nur vereinzelt Gebrauch von lateinischen Andachtsanweisungen macht, schwellen diese im Hildesheimer Oster-Orationale HI1 als „komplexes Medium der Normvermittlung im Zusammenspiel von Wort, Bild und Musik"[39] zu längeren Texten an.

Die liturgische Struktur der Handschriften unterscheidet sich kaum, sodass Cecilias Oster-Orationale von späteren Generationen von Medinger Nonnen weitergenutzt werden konnte. Struktur und Inhalt bis hin zum Wortlaut einzelner Texte stimmen soweit überein, dass es gemeinsame Vorlagen gegeben haben muss. Wie die beiden Handschriften stemmatisch zusammenhängen und ob Cecilias Andachtsbuch als Vorlage für die Intensivierung der Handschriftenproduktion im Kontext der Klosterreform diente, quasi als Modellbuch für das Modellbuch, wird sich erst nach den vollständigen Editionen von K4 und HI1 klären lassen.

Einschränkend ist in diesem Zusammenhang auf das Fehlen der ersten Lage des Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale hinzuweisen, welche vermutlich Texte zur Ostervigil am Karsamstag enthielt, sodass die Handschrift heute mitten im Exsultet beginnt (Fig. 7), das von den

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[36] Peter Koch, und Wulf Oesterreicher, "Schriftlichkeit und kommunikative Distanz," *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 35 (2007): 346–375.

[37] Henrike Lähnemann, "Also do du ok. Andachtsanweisungen in den Medinger Orationalien," in *Text und Normativität im deutschen Mittelalter. XX. Anglo-German Colloquium,* Hrsg. Elke Brüggen, Franz-Josef Holznagel, Sebastian Coxon und Almut Suerbaum (Berlin/Boston: De Gryter, 2012), 438–451.

[38] Ibidem, 437.

[39] Ibidem, 439.

Medinger Nonnen als Teil der Vorbereitungen auf die Vigilfeier gesunden wurde. Dass die Lage im Kontext der Aktualisierung der Handschrift im Zuge der Klosterreform entfernt wurde, ist möglich. Denkbar wäre aber auch zum Beispiel, dass die heute fehlenden Blätter am Beginn der Handschrift zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt, als Cecilias Oster-Orationale nicht mehr vom Konvent gebraucht wurde, als Makulatur genutzt wurden; mehrere Beispiel aus den Lüneburger Frauenklöster zeigen, dass die Frauen durchaus versiert im Wieder- und Weiterverwerten wertvoller Ressourcen waren.[40] Möglich ist auch, dass die ersten Blätter der Handschrift zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt entfernt wurden, um zum Beispiel gesondert auf dem Auktionsmarkt verkauft zu werden.

Doch ist mit Blick auf die Medinger Gesamtüberlieferung auffällig, dass in vielen umgearbeiteten Medinger Oster-Orationalien – unabhängig ihrer weiteren Objekt-Biographien in unterschiedlichen internationalen Kontexten – gerade die ersten Lagen Ziel von Eingriffen waren (vergleiche zum Beispiel die beiden Hannoveraner Oster-Orationalien HV1, HV2). Das Fehlen der ersten Lage im Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale könnte also auf die Arbeit der Nonnen am Medinger Andachtsprofil zurückzuführen sein, welche sich auf materieller Ebene in den Umarbeitungen der Medinger Handschriften widerspiegelt, auch wenn das Entfernen einer ganzen Lage ohne Ersatz plump im Vergleich zu den nuancierten Umarbeitungen wirkt, die sich an anderer Stelle im
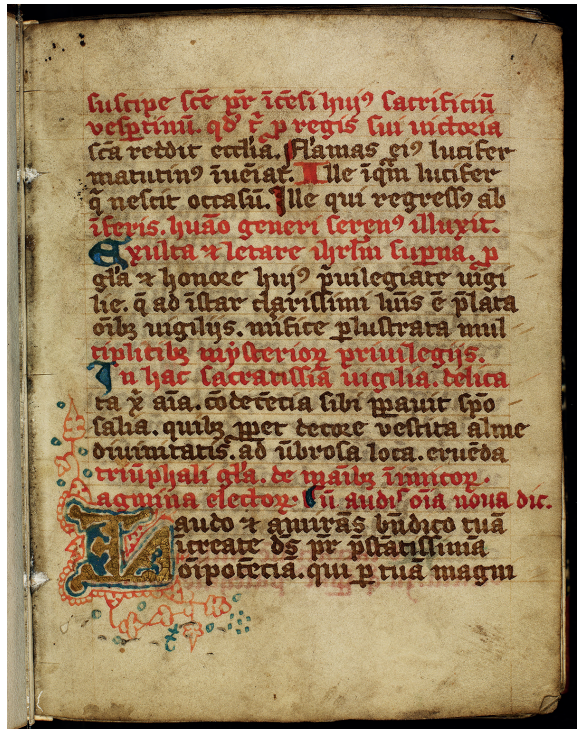


Fig. 7: K4, 1r. © Dänische Königliche Bibliothek, Kopenhagen

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[40]   Charlotte Klack-Eitzen, Wiebke Haase und Tanja Weißgraf, *Heilige Röcke: Kleider für Skulpturen in Kloster Wienhausen*, eingeleitet von Jeffrey F. Hamburger. Mit einem Beitrag von Henrike Lähnemann (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2013).

Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale artikulieren; als das Oxforder Propst-Handbuch O2 umgearbeitet wurde, wurde Ersatz für die entfernten vorderen Lagen geschrieben. Das Entfernung der ersten Lage aus Cecilias Oster-Orationale wäre dann so zu deuten, dass sich im Zuge der Klosterreform die Liturgie der Ostervigil so stark veränderte, dass ältere Handschriften nach der Reform nicht mehr genutzt werden konnten.

## Ausblick: das lange 15. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Medinger Handschriften-Überlieferung

Cecilias Handschrift markiert den Beginn einer rund 150 Jahre andauernde Produktion lateinischer bzw. niederdeutscher Handschriften im Zisterzienserinnenkloster Medingen, welche das eigene lange 15. Jahrhundert der Medinger Nonnen abbilden, von 1408 bis in die 1550er/1570er Jahre.

Das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale und die damit verwandten Handschriften gewähren einen Blick auf die Anfänge dieser erstaunlichen Tradition. Cecilias Handschrift zeugt von einer aktiven Produktion kleinformatiger Oster- und Weihnachts-Orationalien in lateinischer Sprache, deren weitere Erforschung neue Perspektiven auf die Medinger Gesamtüberlieferung verspricht, aber darüber hinaus Fragen nach Kontinuitäten in der Handschriftenproduktion einer Epoche anstößt, die von der Etablierung des gedruckten Buchs als dominantem Medium geprägt ist.

Das lange 15. Jahrhundert zeichnet sich im Spiegel der Medinger Handschriften durch Tradition aus, welche durch gezielte Innovationen bereichert wurde. Trotz des sich rasch verbreitenden Buchdrucks, der im Vergleich eine preiswertere und schnellere Produktion von normierten Andachtsbüchern ermöglichte, hielten die Medinger Nonnen für ihre Andachtsbücher am Medium der Handschrift fest.[41] Diese ermöglichte nicht nur eine für den Handschriftentypus „Orationale" charakteristische Mischung aus standardisierten und personalisierten Texten, sondern durch die dem Medium inhärente Flexibilität auch spätere

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41   Rüdiger Schnell, "Handschrift und Druck. Zur funktionalen Differenzierung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 32.1 (2008): 66–111.

Umarbeitungen, durch welche die Handschriften rasch an Änderungen im Andachtsprofil des Konventes angepasst werden konnten.[42]

Auch in Bezug auf den Bildungsrad der Nonnen und die Sprachkompetenzen in den Frauenklöstern eröffnet Cecilias Oster-Orationale neue Perspektiven auf das lange 15. Jahrhundert. Bisher lässt sich hier vor allem für das späte 15. Jahrhundert eine aktive Lateinkultur bei den Nonnen feststellen, die sich in den vielen lateinischen Titeln der Bibliothek sowie den vielen lateinischen Handschriften widerspiegelt.[43] Dass die norddeutschen Frauenklöster bereits vor den Klosterreformen über solide Lateinkenntnisse verfügten, galt lange als schwierig nachzuweisen, da „unsere Kenntnisse der inneren Verhältnisse in den Frauenklöstern vor der Reform des 15. Jahrhunderts in der Regel sehr bruchstückhaft sind"[44] Cecilias Oster-Orationale zeigt nun, dass die Medinger Schreiberinnen bereits zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts des Lateinischen mächtig waren, und ihre Sprachkompetenzen und ihr Bildungsgrad ausreichten, um ein derart komplexes Andachtsbuch wie das Kopenhagener Oster-Orationale anzufertigen.

Die Klosterreform von 1479 und die Reformation von 1524/1544 erscheinen vor diesem Hintergrund eher als Impulsgeber denn als markante Umbrüche – und das ist eine Erkenntnis, die sich auch für weitere Kreise einem Narrativ vom Herbst des Mittelalters entgegensetzen lässt. In ihren Handschriften banden die Nonnen beide Reformen in die kontinuierliche Arbeit am Andachtsprofil ihres Konvents ein, was sich besonders in den Umarbeitungen von Andachtsbüchern widerspiegelt. Das Schlagwort „Reformkontinuum" wird damit zu einem Schlüsselbegriff nicht nur für die Handschriftenproduktion der Medinger Nonnen seit 1408. Es bietet sich darüber hinaus als heuristisches Instrument an, die kontinuierlichen Transformationen des langen 15. Jahrhunderts besser in den Blick nehmen und historisch konturieren zu können.

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[42] Hannah Ryley, *Re-using Manuscripts in Late Medieval England: Repairing, Recycling, Sharing* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2022), passim.

[43] Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, passim.

[44] Eva Schlotheuber, "Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter*, Hrsg. Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlotheuber und Volker Honemann (Leiden: Brill 2004), 169–221, hier 191.

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Cu  *Columbia Fragment eines nicht mehr erhaltenen Weihnachtsorationale*, Pergament, 1 Bl. (beschnitten), 11,3 × 11,5 cm, lateinisch, Zisterzienserinnenkloster Medingen bei Lüneburg, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University in New York, Med/Ren Frag. 068.

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HV2  *Hannoveraner Oster-Orationale*, Pergament und Papier, 148 Bll., 15 × 11 cm, lateinisch/mittelniederdeutsch, Zisterzienserinnenkloster Medingen bei Lüneburg, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek Hannover, Ms. I 74.

HI1  *Hildesheimer Oster-Orationale von Winheid von Winsen* (HI1), Pergament, 214 Bll., 13,5 × 9 cm, lateinisch/mittelniederdeutsch, Zisterzienserinnenkloster Medingen bei Lüneburg, 1478, Dombibliothek Hildesheim, Ms. J. 29.

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Wojciech Baran[*]

# Les liens entre les questions sur le quatrième livre des *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard rédigées à prague (par l'auteur de l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus*), Leipzig (par un élève de Jean de Monsterberg) et Cracovie (par Matthias de Sąspów) au XVᴇ siècle

**Résumé :** Les recherches menées dans le cadre de cette étude montrent que le ms Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 transmet des questions sur le IVe livre des *Sentences* de l'élève de Jean de Monsterberg, rédigées à Leipzig dans les années 1409–1415 et conservées aussi au ms Kraków, BJ, 1721. Six des cinquante-sept questions contiennent des similitudes avec l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus qui vient de Prague*. Ce fait témoigne de la réception des idées théologiques pragoises au XVe siècle non seulement à Cracovie, mais aussi à Leipzig. En revanche, quarante-huit questions du commentaire de Leipzig ont été reprises par Matthias de Sąspów sans retouches importantes, ce qui confirme le rapport de dépendance entre ce dernier et les questions de Leipzig déjà observé par Zofia Włodek.

**Mots-clés :** Commentaire sur les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard, Jean de Monsterberg, *Utrum Deus gloriosus*, Matthias de Sąspów, XVe siècle, Université de Cracovie, Université de Leipzig, Université de Prague, Bibliothèque Jagellonne, Archives et Bibliothèque du Chapitre Cathédral de Cracovie

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# Links between Questions on the Fourth Book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Written in Prague (by the Author of *Utrum Deus gloriosus*), Leipzig (by John of Monsterberg's disciple) and Kraków (by Matthias of Sąspów) in the Fifteenth Century

**Abstract:** The research carried out in this article shows that the manuscript Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 uses the questions to Book IV of the *Sentences* composed by the student John of Monsterberg in Leipzig in 1409–1415, also conserved in the manuscript Kraków, BJ, 1721. Six of the fifty–seven questions contain similarities with the *Utrum Deus gloriosus*. This fact testifies to the reception of theological ideas known in Prague in the fifteenth century, not only in Kraków but also in Leipzig. Forty questions from this commentary were used by Matthias of Sąspów, a scholar from Kraków, without major changes, which confirms Matthias' dependence on the Leipzig questions, already noted by Zofia Włodek.

**Keywords:** Commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, John of Monsterberg, *Utrum Deus gloriosus*, Matthias of Sąspów, fifteenth century, University of Kraków, University of Leipzig, University of Prague, Jagiellonian Library, Archives and Library of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter

Aux Archives et à la Bibliothèque du Chapitre Cathédral de Cracovie[1] se trouve un manuscrit sur papier, le manuscrit Kraków, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej (désormais : AiBKKK), Ms 113 (141) contenant les questions sur le quatrième livre des *Sentences*

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[1] Sur le sujet des Archives et de la Bibliothèque du Chapitre Cathédral de Cracovie, cf. : Pierre David, "Biblioteka wikariuszów w katedrze krakowskiej," *Przegląd Biblioteczny* 2–4/5 (1931) : 137–148 ; Tadeusz Glemma, "Z dziejów archiwum kapituły krakowskiej," *Polonia Sacra* 4.4 (1951) : 381–399 ; Idalia Rusnaczyk, *Krakowska biblioteka katedralna w średniowieczu. Praca magisterska napisana na seminarium historii średniowiecza pod kierunkiem ks. dr. hab. Grzegorza Rysia* (MA diss., Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków, 2004); Jacek Urban, "Biblioteka Kapitulna na Wawelu," *Rocznik Biblioteki Kraków* 1 (2017) : 205–229 ; Ewelina Zych, *Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej. Od XVI wieku do 1879 roku*. Biblioteka Kapitulna na Wawelu 12 (Kraków : Księgarnia Akademicka, 2020) ; Jacek Urban, "Archiwum i biblioteka kapitulna na Wawelu," in Jacek Urban, *Katedra krakowska i archiwum kapitulne na Wawelu*. Biblioteka Kapitulna na Wawelu 15 (Kraków : Księgarnia Akademicka, 2023), 13–40.

de Pierre Lombard.[2] Le catalogue des manuscrits capitulaires d'Igna-cy Polkowski de 1884 n'identifie pas l'auteur de ces questions et il ne donne aucune autre information précise sur ce codex.[3] Ce manuscrit n'est mentionné ni par Friedrich Stegmüller[4] ni par Victorin Doucet[5] dans leurs répertoires.

Dans cet article, nous présenterons d'abord la description de ce manuscrit et ensuite le résultat des recherches qui ont permis d'établir : 1) qui est l'auteur du texte contenu dans le codex capitulaire, 2) quels liens unissent les questions sur les *Sentences* contenues dans le codex capitulaire et les questions sur les *Sentences* de l'anonyme pragois auteur de l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus* utilisé à Cracovie au XVe siècle, et 3) quel est le rapport entre les questions sur le *Sentences* contenues dans le codex capitulaire et les questions sur les *Sentences* de Matthias de Sąspów (1408–1473), professeur à l'Université de Cracovie.

Voici pour commencer quelques informations sur le codex. Le manuscrit *in folio* mesure 30,8 sur 20,8 cm et contient 285 feuillets en papier. Il se compose de 24 cahiers, pour la plupart des sexternions (I–XXIII⁶⁺⁶ (ff. 1–276); XXIV⁵⁺⁴ [ff. 277–285, f. 277 n'a pas le feuillet ju-meau]). À la fin des cahiers I, II, V, VII, VIII, IX [12v, 24v, 60v, 84v, 96v, 108v), les réclames ont laissé des traces, bien qu'elles soient rongées. Tous les cahiers ont des fonds de cahier de parchemin visibles au milieu des bifeuillets centraux. En plus, le cahier XXIV a un fond de cahier

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[2] Sur le sujet des *Sentences* du Lombard et sur la tradition des commentaires, cf. : Pierre Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, éd. Ignatius Brady, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata : Quaracchi, 1971–1981) ; *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (Novara : Instituto geografico de Agostini, 1957) ; Pierre Delhaye, *Pierre Lombard. Sa vie, ses œuvres, sa morale* (Paris : Vrin, 1961) ; Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols. (Leiden : Brill, 1994) ; Philipp W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's "Sentences"* (Peterborough : University of Toronto Press, 2007) ; *Pietro Lombardo. Atti del XLIII Convegno storico internationale, Todi, 8–10 ottobre 2006* (Spoleto : Fondazione Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2007) ; Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford–New York : Oxford University Press, 2011) ; *Mediaeval Commentaries on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard*, éd. Gillian R. Evans (vol. 1) and Philipp W. Rosemann (vols. 2–3) (Leiden : Brill, 2002–2015).

[3] Cf. Ignacy Polkowski, *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej* (Kraków : Drukarnia „Czasu" Fr. Kluczyckiego i Sp., 1884), I: 86–87.

[4] Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in "Sententias" Petri Lombardi* (Würzburg : Schöningh, 1947), désormais : RS.

[5] Victorin Doucet, *Commentaires sur les "Sentences." Supplément au Répertoire de F. Stegmüller* (Firenze : Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1954).

de parchemin visible à l'extérieur du bifeuillet extérieur. Un fond de parchemin est également visible entre les cahiers III et IV (entre les ff. 36v–37r). On distingue 4 filigranes sur les feuillets : 1) Tête de bœuf avec œils, au-dessus fleur sur barreau composé de deux lignes, au-dessus fleur, cahiers I–VIII, XIII–XVI (Wasserzeichein-Informationssystem, DE5655-PO-69666, 1462–63[6]) ; 2) Tête de bœuf avec œils, au-dessus barreau composé de deux lignes, au-dessus croix composée de deux lignes, au-dessus étoile, cahier IX–XII (Wasserzeichein-Informationssystem, DE8100-PO-68859, 1469[7]) ; 3) Tête de bœuf avec œils, au-dessous croissant, au-dessus fleur sur barreau composé de deux lignes, au-dessus couronne, cahiers XVII–XXIV (Briquet, no. 14602, 1464[8]).

Le texte est écrit sur deux colonnes de 24,3 cm de haut et de 6,4 cm de large chacune ; les colonnes comptent de 44 à 52 lignes. Le schéma de réglure est inscrit à l'encre. Comme l'atteste l'annotation au f. 277va, le manuscrit a été copié en 1470. L'annotation du f. 284va indique que le scribe s'appelait Pierre de Nowa Góra (*Petrus de Novagora*).[9] Le manuscrit est écrit en écriture gothique tardive soignée. Il ne contient qu'une seule initiale au f. 1ra *Circa*, rouge-bleu à l'encre à la hauteur de 4 lignes, et dans la marge supérieure du f. 1r, est également peint un décor végétal rouge-bleu à l'encre. Le codex est rubriqué jusqu'au f. 85r, il contient des lettres rehaussées au début des nouveaux éléments de raisonnement dans les questions, les titres et les nouveaux éléments de raisonnement sont écrits avec des caractères plus grands. Les marqueurs de certains éléments de raisonnement sont marqués dans les marges à quelques feuillets par une main différente de celle du scribe, principalement dans la première partie du codex (3r, 10r–11r, 12v–13r, 14r–v, 18v, 21v–22r, 23v, 26r, 27r, 29v, 32r–v, 38r–v, 39v, 43r–v, 45r, 47v–48r, 49v–51v, 56r, 57r–v, 72r–v, 73v–75r, 85v–86r, 89v–90v, 103r–104r, 119r, 121v–122v, 124r–v, 126r, 127r–v, 129r–v, 130v, 132r–v, 136r, 137r–v, 143r–v, 213r, 219v, 280r–v, 282v, 283v). Seuls quelques feuillets (f. 10r, 124r, 278r) conservent de petites notes dans les marges, ainsi que des manicules (f. 2r, 12r, 85r, 231v, 284r). Le manuscrit contient une reliure médiévale sur ais de bois, couverts de cuir clair ; le plat inférieur

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6   https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php?ref=DE5655-PO-69666.

7   https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php?ref=DE8100-PO-68859.

8   Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes,* vol. 4 (Paris : Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1907). On n'a pas trouvé ce filigrane chez Piccard.

9   Pierre ne s'est pas inscrit à l'Université de Cracovie. On ne sait rien de lui.

comporte les traces de deux fermoirs. Le codex est cousu avec 4 nerfs doubles visibles au dos de la reliure. Au-dessus du premier nerf se trouve un autocollant jauni portant l'inscription « Quaestiones circa initium IV libri Sententiarum », entre le troisième et le quatrième nerf se trouve une inscription écrite sur le cuir de la signature actuelle (113) et au-dessous du quatrième nerf se trouve un petit autocollant avec le numéro de signature (113), collé sur une annotation écrite sur le cuir d'une ancienne signature (141). Les contre-gardes sont réalisées en papier médiéval, la contre-garde supérieure présente un filigrane avec une tête de bœuf. Les gardes portent les inscriptions aux ff. Ir et IIv et proviennent d'un document sur parchemin émis en 1427 à Cracovie, après le 11 novembre. Le document est coupé dans la marge gauche et est donc difficile à reconstituer. L'auteur était associé aux églises de Wrocław, étant juge et défenseur des droits des abbayes cisterciennes,[10] s'adresse aux vicaires hebdomadaires de l'église Sainte-Marie de Cracovie et aux autres membres du clergé de la ville et du diocèse de Cracovie[11] et leur cite une correspondance antérieure sur les privilèges des abbayes cisterciennes créée dans le contexte de violations de ces droits. Le manuscrit ne comporte pas de notes de provenance médiévale, seuls le timbre moderne du Chapitre Cathédral de Cracovie sur la contre-garde supérieure et le timbre moderne des Archives et de la Bibliothèque du Chapitre Cathédral de Cracovie (2002) sur la contre-garde supérieure et aux f. Iv et f. 284v sont conservés.

On peut distinguer deux unités textuelles dans le manuscrit :

1.  ff. 1ra–277va : Disciple de Jean de Monsterberg,[12] Questions sur le IV<sup>e</sup> livre des *Sentences*
    *Circa inicium quarti libri Sentenciarum queritur primo utrum sacramenta in omni statu hominis necessaria ad salutem sint causa gracie effectiva. Arguitur quod non …><… Ad 3<sup>m</sup> dicitur, quod damnati voluntate seu appetitu naturali non possunt velle non esse, sed voluntate deliberativa possunt velle non esse, prout non esse est ablativum pene. Et sic est finis. 1470.*

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[10]  Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113, Ir : « … Wratislaviensium ecclesiarum nencnon iudex et subconservator iurium et privilegiorum venerabilis et regiligiosorum [*recte* : religiosorum] virorum dominorum abbatis et conventus monasterii… ».

[11]  Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113, Ir : « discretis viris vicariis ebdomadariis ad sanctam Mariam in Cracovia … ecclesiarum parochialium rectoribus ceterisque presbiteris curatis et non curatis per et infra civitatem et diocesim Cracoviensem ».

[12]  Cette attribution sera prouvée ci-dessous.

2.  ff. 277vb–284va : Disciple de Jean de Monsterberg, *Principium* sur le IVe livre des *Sentences*

*<I>n hoc actu per ordinem tria sunt facienda. Primo, gracia Sancti Spiritus erit invocanda, 2º, Sacre Scripture recommendacio restabit insinuanda, 3º, graciarum accio suberit concludenda. Quantum igitur ad primum, cogitante me de deitatis …><[f. 278ra]… ego pauper laudabo nomen Eius. Pro ipsius igitur brevi recommendacione occurrit michi hoc verbum, quod scribit beatus Lucas in Actibus Apostolorum, c. IIII [, 31]: Verbum Domini loquebatur (!) cum fiducia …><… quilibet [recte: quibus] omnibus et singulis humilem et benivolum in suis beneplacitis me offero servitorem. Gracia igitur Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi sit cum omnibus nobis. Amen. Et sic de aliis. Petrus de Novagora.*

3.  f. 285r–v – *vacua* avec un schéma de réglure

Ce texte était connu de Stegmüller, qui l'a trouvé dans le ms Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (désormais : BJ), 1721 (RS 469 et RS 469,1), bien qu'il n'ait pas vu la copie du manuscrit capitulaire.

Concernant l'auteur du texte, on peut trouver des informations sur l'auteur de ce texte, la date et le lieu de sa composition dans le *principium*[13] sur le IVe livre des *Sentences*, en particulier dans la *gratiarum actio*[14] :

« *Ex predictis duobus primis restat tercium, quod est finale, quia in omnibus referende sunt graciarum actiones, dicente Apostolo: gracias agite in omnibus, 1 ad Tess. 5 [, 18]. Gracias igitur ago Deo meo, primo Cor. 1, [, 4] … Deinde et eius gloriosissime Genitrici perpetue Virgini Marie, … denique domino rectori presenti huius alme universitatis,[15] demumque venerabili viro doctorique[16] eximio in sacra[17] theologia magistro Iohanni |AiBKKK, f. 284va|*

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[13]  Sur le sujet de *principia* sur les *Sentences* à l'université, cf. Nancy K. Spatz, *Principia: A Study and Edition of Inception Speeches Delivered before the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, ca. 1180–1286* (Ithaca : Cornell University, 1992) ; Wojciech Baran, "Medieval *principia* on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* by Theologians from the University of Cracow. Characteristics of the Genre and Bibliography of Sources," *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 39 (2023) : 153–189 ; *Principia on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard. Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic Philosophical Genre Across Europe*, éd. Monica Brinzei and William O. Duba (Turnhout : Brepols, 2024).

[14]  Sur le sujet de *gratiarum actio* dans les sermons universitaires au XVe siècle, cf. Ueli Zahnd, "Der Dank an die Meister. Anmerkungen zu einigen *gratiarum actiones* spätmittelalterlicher Sentenzenlesungen," in *Schüler und Meister*, éd. Andreas Speer and Tomas Jeschke. Miscellanea Mediaevalia 39 (Berlin–Boston : De Gruyter, 2016), 83–84.

[15]  universitatis] rectori *add. BJ, 1721*

[16]  doctorique] *correxi*, doctoreque *BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[17]  sacra] sacrat *a.c. AiBKKK, Ms 113*

*de Monsterberg, qui me lacte liberalium arcium benigne fovit, qui de beni-*
*gnitate sua me ad legendum cursum in theologia presentavit, et venerabilibus*
*doctoribus canonum*[18] *: domino Iohanni Slynicz preposito Budissinensi ac*
*Misnensi, Nubuenburgensis ac Merzeburgensis ecclesiarum canonico nostreque*
*alme universitatis succonservatori,*[19] *reverendo tandem domino decano facul-*
*tatis arcium, singulisque magistris facultatis eiusdem, quorum doctrinis sum*
*enutritus a puericia, preterea universis dominis universitatem studii Lypczen-*
*sis ac facultatem theologicam in persona mea honorantibus hunc actum visi-*
*tando, quibus*[20] *omnibus et singulis humilem et benivolum in suis beneplaci-*
*tis me offero servitorem. Gracia igitur Domini nostri Ihesu Christi sit cum*
*omnibus nobis. Amen. Etc.* ».[21]

L'auteur du *principium* remercie la communauté de l'université de
Leipzig, fondée en 1409, et en particulier Jean de Monsterberg (Io-
hannes von Münsterberg), qui fut le premier recteur de l'université de
Leipzig et le resta jusqu'à sa mort en 1416.[22] Le bachelier des *Sentences*
remercie également Jean II von Schleinitz (*Slynicz*), prévôt des églises
de Bautzen (*Budissinensis*), Meissen (*Misnensis*) et chanoine des églises
de Naumburg (*Nubuenburgensis*) et Merseburg (*Merzeburgensis*), puis
évêque de Naumburg de 1422 à 1434.[23] Tous les villages mentionnés
se situent pas loin de Leipzig. Comme l'indique Zofia Włodek, le ma-
nuscrit jagellonien était en possession de Jean Sneszewicz de Wrocław
(+1448), étudiant à l'université de Cracovie depuis 1415.[24] C'est donc la

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[18]   canonum] *p.c. AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[19]   succonservatori] *correxi*, succonservatore *AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[20]   quibus] *correxi*, quilibet *BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[21]   Kraków, BJ, 1721, f. 19v, Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113, ff. 284rb–284va.

[22]   Jean de Monsterberg (ca. 1350–1416) a étudié à Prague, est devenu bachelier des
arts en 1382 et maître des arts en 1387, puis il a étudié la théologie et est devenu
docteur en théologie. En 1398, il est devenu recteur de l'Université de Prague.
Après l'émission du décret de Kutná Hora par le roi Venceslas IV de Luxembourg
en 1409, il se rend à Leipzig, où il devient le premier recteur de l'université
nouvellement fondée, poste qu'il occupera jusqu'à sa mort. Cf. Josef Tříška,
*Životopisný slovník předhusitské Pražské Univerzity 1348–1409* (Praha : Univerzita
Karlova, 1981), 279–280; Feliks Krause, "Jan z Ziębic," in *Encyklopedia filozofii
polskiej*, éd. Andrzej Maryniarczyk et al. (Lublin : Polskie Towarzystwo Tomasza
z Akwinu, 2011), I: 565–568.

[23]   Cf. Tříška, *Životopisný slovník*, 306; Heinz Wießner, *Das Bistum Naumburg 1,2: Die
Diözese*. Germania Sacra N.F. 35,2 (Berlin–New York : De Gruyter, 1998), 888–895.

[24]   Zofia Włodek, "Maciej ze Sąspowa," *Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii
Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej* (désormais : *MSZHFSŚ*) 3 (1964) : 61–62. Jan Sneszewicz
z Wrocławia (+1448) a étudié aux universités de Leipzig, Prague et Cracovie, est

date *ante quam* pour la création du texte. Zofia Włodek exclut que Jean Sneszewicz ait été l'auteur des questions.[25] En résumé, les questions ont été composées par un élève de Jean de Monsterberg entre 1409 et 1415. Comme déjà indiqué, le manuscrit capitulaire a été copié en 1470 par Pierre de Nowa Góra, il semble donc avoir été préparé en Pologne. Il est donc possible qu'il ait été copié à partir du codex jagellonien.

Zofia Włodek a aussi noté que Matthias de Sąspów (*baccalaureus sententiarius* ca. 1455–1457)[26] (RS 534, 535[27]) utilisait le manuscrit jagellonien mentionné parmi d'autres manuscrits théologiques lorsqu'il composait ses questions sur les *Sentences* : Kraków, BJ, 1585, ff. 23r–106v (RS 500) (Livre I) ; BJ, 1438, ff. 97r–232r (RS 1061) (Livre II) ; Kraków, BJ, 1721, ff. 14ra–221va (RS 469) (Livre IV). Le texte contenu dans ces trois codex semble avoir été composé par un seul auteur, ce qui est confirmé par la similitude de la composition, les notes à la fin des codex, les

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devenu maître des arts à Leipzig avant 1416 et, après 1415, a enseigné les arts et étudié la théologie à Cracovie. Cf. Jan Sneszewicz z Wrocławia (Id : 2014564), in *Corpus Academicum Cracoviense (CAC)*, URL : http://cac.historia.uj.edu.pl/osoba/2014564_Jan_Sneszewicz_z_Wroc%C5%82awia.

[25] Włodek, "Maciej ze Sąspowa," 61–62; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, éd. Anna Kozłowska et al. (Kraków : Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), X: 32–33.

[26] Matthias de Sąspów (ca. 1408–1472) s'inscrit à l'université de Cracovie en 1426 ; il devient bachelier des arts en 1432 et maître des arts en 1437, puis en 1445, il commence ses études de théologie. En 1448–1449, il donne des cours sur la Bible et commente les *Sentences* vers 1455–1457. Il obtient sa licence en 1458 et deux ans plus tard, en 1460, il devient docteur en théologie. Cf. Włodek, "Maciej ze Sąspowa," 44–91 ; Zofia Włodek, "Filozofia a teologia. Wybór tekstów z krakowskich wykładów wstępnych do *Sentencji* Piotra Lombarda z XV w.," *Materiały do Historii Filozofii Średniowiecznej w Polsce* 1.12 (1970) : 167–168 ; Stanisław Bafia, "Maciej ze Sąspowa (ok. 1408–1472)," in *Złota księga Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej*, éd. Stanisław Piech (Kraków : Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 2000), 187–193; Zofia Włodek, "Maciej ze Sąspowa," in *Złota księga*, éd. Stanisław Piech, 17–18; Paul W. Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning". The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century* (Boston : Brill, 2016), 490 ; Maciej z Sąspowa (Id : 1995624), in *Corpus Academicum Cracoviense (CAC)*, URL : http://cac.historia.uj.edu.pl/osoba/1995624_Maciej_z_S%C4%85spowa. La liste des questions de quatre livres : Włodek, "Maciej ze Sąspowa," 87–91 ; Zofia Włodek en coopération avec Ryszard Tatarzyński, *Scripta manent. Textus ad theologiam spectantes in Universitate Cracoviensi Saeculo XV conscripti* (Kraków : Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 2000), 319–329.

[27] Stegmüller n'a pas connu le manuscrit contenant les questions sur le quatrième livre des *Sentences* de Matthias de Sąspów, ms Kraków, BJ, 1534.

commentaires et les listes de questions rédigées par la même main dans les trois manuscrits.[28]

La collation des titres des questions du commentaire au quatrième livre des *Sentences* contenu dans le ms Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 et dans le ms Kraków, BJ, 1721, indique que 48 des 57 questions se trouvent également dans les questions sur les *Sentences* de Matthias de Sąspów conservées dans le ms Kraków, BJ, 2241. En outre, six titres des questions coïncident avec celles du commentaire anonyme nommé *Utrum Deus gloriosus* écrit à Prague vers 1377–1387,[29] conservé dans le ms Kraków, BJ, 1534 (RS 1055)[30]. Les douze questions n'apparaissent dans aucun des commentaires mentionnés. Les liens entre 1) l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus,* ms Kraków, BJ, 1534, 2) le ms Kraków, BJ, 1721, 3) le ms Kraków AiBKKK, Ms 113, et 4) les questions de Matthias de Sąspów, ms Kraków, BJ, 2241, s'établissent comme suit :

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[28]   Cf. Włodek, "Maciej ze Sąspowa," 60–62; *Catalogus*, X: 37.

[29]   Les deux premiers livres de ce commentaire ont été édités par Włodek : Zofia Włodek, "Krakowski komentarz z XV wieku do *Sentencji* Piotra Lombarda. Cz. 1 : Wstęp historyczny i edycja tekstu księgi I i II," *Studia Mediewistyczne* 7 (1966) : 125–355. Włodek a réédité quelques questions du premier livre de ce commentaire en 2000 : Włodek en coopération avec Tatarzyński, *Scripta manent*, 43–59. Elle a aussi donné la liste des questions de deux livres suivants, Włodek, "Krakowski komentarz z XV wieku do *Sentencji* Piotra Lombarda. Cz. 1," 158–160, Włodek en coopération avec Tatarzyński, *Scripta manent*, 295–305. Cf. Zofia Włodek, "Krakowski komentarz z XV wieku do *Sentencji* Piotra Lombarda. W poszukiwaniu tendencji doktrynalnych na wydziale teologicznym Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XV wieku. Cz. 2 : Tendencje doktrynalne komentarza," *Studia Mediewistyczne* 9 (1968) : 245–291 ; Zenon Kałuża, "Un manuel de théologie en usage à l'Université de Cracovie : le commentaire des *Sentences* dit *Utrum Deus gloriosus*," in *L'Eglise et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-est et du Nord (XIVe–XVe siècles). Actes du colloque de Rome (27–29 janvier 1986)* (Rome : Ecole française de Rome, 1990), 107–124. Version polonaise de cet article : Zenon Kałuża, "Podręcznik teologii używany na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim: komentarz do *Sentencji* zwany *Utrum Deus gloriosus*," *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 17 (2011) : 235–254 ; Knoll, *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning,"* 472–483. Le texte de deux premiers livres du commentaire *Utrum Deus gloriosus* est accessible en ligne : http://magistersententiarum.com/.

[30]   Je remercie ici Ryszard Tatarzyński de m'avoir transmis ses notes sur le ms Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113.

| No. | Question[31] | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Principium* [invocatio, recommendatio Sacrae Scripturae, gratiarum actio] | *deest* | ff. 14ra–19vb | ff. 277vb–284va | *deest* |
| 1. | [Quaestio principii] *Circa inicium quarti libri Sentenciarum queritur primo utrum sacramenta in omni statu hominis necessaria ad salutem sint causa gracie effectiva. Arguitur quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 21ra–24vb | ff. 1ra–6ra | ff. 9v–14r |
| 2. | *Queritur 2° utrum fides parentum ante veterem legem et in ipsa lege circumcisio purgabat originale peccatum. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 25ra–27vb | ff. 6ra–9vb | ff. 14v–19r |
| 3. | *Queritur 3° utrum sacramenta nove legis habencia virtutem a passione*[32] *Christi sint tantum septem. Arguitur quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 27vb–30vb | ff. 9vb–13vb | ff. 19r–23v |
| 4. | *Queritur quarto utrum aliqua sit forma verborum ad baptizandum necessaria. Arguitur, quod non…* | cf. ff. 24r–25r[33] : *Utrum vocalis verborum expressio requiritur ad baptismum necessario. Arguitur, quod non…* | ff. 31ra–35ra | ff. 13vb–18rb | cf. ff. 23v–29v : *Utrum variacio forme baptismi impediat in baptisato effectum sacramenti. Et arguitur, quod non…* |

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[31]  La base de transcription : ms Kraków, BJ, 1721. Les lections differentes du ms Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 ont été notées.

[32]  passione] passio *BJ, 1721*

[33]  Foliation a été changée. Je donne la foliation actuelle différente de celle donnée par Zofia Włodek et Ryszard Tatarzyński.

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | *Queritur quinto utrum omnibus[34] baptizatis equaliter conveniat effectus baptismi. Arguitur, quod sic…* | *deest* | ff. 35va–38ra | ff. 18rb–21va | ff. 29v–35v |
| 6. | *Queritur sexto utrum clericus malus possit conferre sacramentum baptismi et peccata dimittere. Arguitur, quod non …* | *deest* | ff. 38ra–41ra | ff. 21vb–25rb | ff. 35v–41r |
| 7. | *Queritur septimo utrum baptisata pregnante, puer existens in utero recipiat caracterem. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 41ra–44ra | ff. 25va–29rb | ff. 41v–48r |
| 8. | *Queritur octavo utrum gracia in confirmacione collata sit ad salutem necessaria. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 44ra–45vb | ff. 29rb–32ra | ff. 48r–54r |
| 9. | *Utrum sacramentum eukaristie convenienter figuratum solum a ieiuno sit[35] sumendum. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 46ra–50va | ff. 32ra–37va | ff. 54r–62v |
| 10. | *Queritur nono utrum peccator mortalis vere sumens vel manducans in sacramento Corpus Christi, peccet mortaliter. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 50va–54ra | ff. 37va–42vb | ff. 63r–70v |
| 11. | *Queritur undecimo utrum Corpus Christi vere contentum sub specie sacramenti et existens in partibus hostie possit simul esse in diversis locis. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 54ra–57ra | ff. 42vb–47rb | ff. 71r–76v |

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[34]  omnibus] *rep. BJ, 1721*
[35]  sit] *correxi*, est *BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | *Utrum facta conversione seu transsubstanciacione in Corpus Christi non maneat substancia panis in sacramento eukaristie. Quod questio sit[36] falsa, arguitur sic…* | *deest* | ff. 57rb–61rb | ff. 47rb–53rb | ff. 76v–80v |
| 13. | *Utrum in sacramento eukaristie, quod sumpsit, dando omnibus suis discipulis, accidencia stent[37] sine subiecto. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 62ra–65va, (61rb–61va : repetitio fragmenti) | ff. 53rb–59rb | ff. 81r–87v |
| 14. | *Utrum substancia generetur corruptis accidentibus eukaristie delentis[38] peccata. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 65vb–68va | ff. 59rb–63rb | ff. 86v–92v |
| 15. | *Utrum omnis et solus sacerdos possit consecrando conficere Corpus Christi. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 68va–71ra | ff. 63rb–69ra | ff. 93r–96v |
| 16. | *An penitencia sit sacramentum reiterabile[39] in qualibet racionali[40] creatura existens. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 71ra–73vb | ff. 69ra–73va | ff. 97r–101v |
| 17. | *Utrum cuilibet peccato actuali correspondeat propria satisfactio. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 75ra–79vb | ff. 73vb–80va | ff. 102r–109r |
| 18. | *Utrum ieiunium et oracio cadens sub precepto sint[41] partes penitencie. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 79vb–83ra | ff. 80va–86vb | *deest* |

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[36]  sit] *rep. BJ, 1721*

[37]  stent] *correxi*, stant *BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[38]  delentis] dolentis *AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[39]  reiterabile] iterabile *AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[40]  racionali] *om. AiBKKK, Ms 113*

[41]  sint] *correxi*, sunt *BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. | *Utrum peccatum veniale, solitarie remissibile et omnis circumstancie peccati exigat confessionem. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 83ra–85vb | ff. 86vb–91rb | ff. 109v–114r |
| 20. | *Utrum dolor contricionis necesse ad iustificacionem impii debeat esse maximus dolor. Arguitur, quod non…* | cf. ff. 143v–145v : *Utrum dolor contricionis de necessitate requisitus in sacramento penitencie debet esse maior omnino altero dolore. Et videtur, quod sic [non a.c.]…* | ff. 85vb–89rb | ff. 91rb–96vb | *deest* |
| 21. | *Utrum omnis homo de necessitate salutis teneatur omnia peccata sua mortalia in quolibet anno semel confiteri. Arguitur, quod non…* | cf. ff. 145v–147r : *Utrum homo de necessitate salutis teneatur confiteri omnia peccata sua mortalia. Et videtur, quod non…* | ff. 90ra–94ra | ff. 96vb–103ra | ff. 114r–123r |
| 22. | *Utrum potestas clavium extendat se ad remissionem pene et culpe. Arguitur,*[42] *quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 94ra–97ra | ff. 103ra–108ra | ff. 123r–127v |
| 23. | *Utrum omnis et solus sacerdos habeat claves et omnis communicans excommunicato peccet. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 97ra–100va | ff. 108ra–114rb | ff. 128r–133v |
| 24. | *Utrum homo in extremo vite sue possit vere et salubriter penitere. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 100va–103rb | 114rb–118vb | ff. 134r–139v |

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[42]    Arguitur] *p.c. BJ, 1721*, responditur *a.c. BJ, 1721*, responditur *AiBKKK, Ms 113*

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25. | *Utrum omne peccatum confessum sit a peccatore celandum. Arguitur, quod non* | *deest* | ff. 105ra–108va | ff. 118vb–124ra | ff. 139v–145r |
| 26. | *Utrum peccata dimissa per penitenciam redeant in recidivante per[43] ingratitudinem. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 108va–112ra | ff. 124ra–128vb | ff. 145r–150r |
| 27. | *Utrum extrema unctio sit sacramentum nove legis iterabile. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 112ra–115rb | ff. 128vb–134ra | ff. 150v–154v |
| 28. | *Utrum tantum[44] septem sint ordines[45] sacramentales. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 115rb–118vb | ff. 134ra–138vb | cf. ff. 154v–158v : *Utrum in ecclesiasticis ordinibus sit precise septenarius numerus. Et arguitur, quod non…* |
| 29. | *Utrum ordinator exigens pecuniam ab ordinandis sit symoniacus. Arguitur, quod non…* | ff. 213r–214v | ff. 119ra–124ra | ff. 138vb–146ra | ff. 159r–165r |
| 29a.[46] | *Utrum vendens annexa spiritualibus sit simoniacus. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 124ra–124rb | ff. 146ra–146va | *deest* |

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[43]   per] *add. alia manu BJ, 1721*
[44]   tantum] *p.c. BJ, 1721*
[45]   ordines] *p.c. BJ, 1721*
[46]   Cette question est extraordinairement courte par rapport à d'autres questions et elle semble être une sous-question ou une glose de la question ; c'est pourquoi je lui ai donné le nombre ordinal 29a. De plus, la numérotation des questions 31, 39, 48 intégrée dans le texte confirme que cette question 29a ne devrait pas être considérée comme une question autonome.

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30. | *Utrum matrimonium sit sacramentum nove legis a Deo institutum sub precepto. Arguitur, quod non…* | ff. 219v–220v | ff. 124rb–127ra | ff. 146va–150vb | *deest* |
| 31. | *Queritur tricesimo primo utrum consensus efficiat matrimonium indissolubile per religionis ingressum. Arguitur, quod non. Consensus non est causa matrimonii,[47] quia institucio divina…* | *deest* | ff. 127ra–129va | ff. 150vb–154vb | ff. 169v–174v |
| 32. | *Utrum consensus per verba de futuro expressus vel temporalis aut clandestinus faciat[48] matrimonium. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 129va–131rb | ff. 154vb–158rb | ff. 174r–177v |
| 33. | *Utrum coactione voluntatis et consensu[49] condicionato matrimonium impediatur. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 131rb–133ra | ff. 158rb–162ra | ff. 178r–180v |
| 34. | *Utrum omnis error aut consensus propter causam inhonestam impediat matrimonium. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 134ra–136va | ff. 162ra–165vb | *deest* |
| 35. | *Utrum actus matrimonii excusetur per tria bona coniugii. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 136va–140rb | ff. 165va–170rb | *deest* |
| 36. | *Utrum quilibet coniugum semper teneatur alteri coniugi petenti reddere debitum. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 140rb–143rb | ff. 170rb–174ra | ff. 190r–194r |

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[47]  quod non consensus non est causa matrimonii] *add. sed del. AiBKKK, Ms 113*
[48]  faciat] *correxi*, faciet *BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*
[49]  consensu] consensus *a.c. AiBKKK, Ms 113*

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 37. | *Utrum quandocumque fu<er>it licitum uni viro habere plures uxores repudiabiles. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 143rb–147ra | ff. 174ra–va | cf. ff. 194v–199r : *Utrum licuit antiquis patribus uti pluribus uxoribus. Et arguitur, quod non…* |
| 38. | *Utrum matrimonium minus bonum virginitate habeat aliquod impedimentum. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 147ra–149vb | ff. 178va–183ra | ff. 199v–204v |
| 39. | *Queritur tricesimo nono utrum in causa divorcii vir et mulier debeant ad paria iudicari. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 150ra–152va | ff. 183ra–186rb | *deest* |
| 40. | *Utrum servus possit contrahere matrimonium sine consensu domini sui. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 152va–154rb | ff. 186rb–188vb | ff. 208v–212r |
| 41. | *Queritur utrum omnis ordo impediat matrimonium, in quo licet viro occidere uxorem suam adulteram. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 154rb–156vb | ff. 188vb–193ra | ff. 212v–217r |
| 42. | *Utrum omnis veritas seu bonitas sit propter scandalum dimittenda. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 156vb–160ra | ff. 193ra–198ra | ff. 217r–222v |
| 43. | *Utrum infidelibus coniugibus conversis ad fidem maneat matrimonium inter eos. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 160ra–162ra | ff. 198ra–201rb | ff. 223r–226r |
| 44. | *Utrum consanguinitas distincta secundum gradus et lineas impediat matrimonium secundum legem nature. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 162rb–165vb | ff. 201rb–204vb | ff. 226v–231r |

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 45. | *Utrum affinitas impediat matrimonium, extra quod nascuntur filii illegitimi. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 166ra–168vb | ff. 204vb–208vb | ff. 231v–236v |
| 46. | *Utrum cognacio spiritualis et legalis impediant matrimonium. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 168vb–172ra | ff. 208vb–212vb | ff. 236v–240v |
| 47. | *Utrum resurreccio a morte sit futura. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 172ra–175vb | ff. 212vb–218va | *deest* |
| 48. | *Queritur quadragesimo octavo[50] utrum quidquid fuerit[51] de veritate corporalis nature in homine resurget ipso resurgente. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 176ra–179vb | ff. 218va–224rb | ff. 246r–252v |
| 49. | *Utrum infernus, cuius igne corpora[52] cruciabuntur perpetue omnium[53] dampnatorum,[54] sit unum de receptaculis[55] animarum hominum defunctorum. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 179vb–183rb | ff. 224rb–229ra | *deest* |
| 50. | *Utrum animabus defunctorum prosint suffragia vivorum. Arguitur, quod non…* | ff. 331r–332r | ff. 183rb–188rb | ff. 229ra–235va | *deest* |

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[50]   octavo] quarto *a.c. BJ, 1721*
[51]   fuerit] fuit *BJ, 1721*
[52]   corpora] *p.c. BJ, 1721*
[53]   omnium] *p.c. BJ, 1721*, omnes *AiBKKK, Ms 113*
[54]   dampnatorum] *p.c. BJ, 1721*, damnati *AiBKKK, Ms 113*
[55]   receptaculis] *p.c. BJ, 1721*

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 51. | *Utrum Deo conveniant iusticia et misericordia. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 188rb–192vb | ff. 235va–241rb | cf. ff. 262v–269r : *Utrum in extrema iudicis sentencia misericordia possit simul stare cum iusticia. Et arguitur, quod non…* |
| 52. | *Utrum solus Christus in extremo iudicio iudicabit omnes creaturas racionales seculum purgando per ignem.*[56] *Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 192vb–197ra | ff. 241rb–246va | ff. 269r–275r |
| 53. | *Utrum post apparicionem Christi in iudicio sub forma hominis gloriosa celum moveatur. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 197ra–201rb | ff. 246va–252ra | ff. 275v–283r |
| 54. | *Utrum corporibus glorificatis et omnibus spiritibus beatis dotes conveniant. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 201rb–206ra | ff. 252ra–258ra | ff. 290v–298v |
| 55. | *Utrum beatitudo magis consistat*[57] *in actu intellectus quam voluntatis. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 206ra–211vb | ff. 258ra–265rb | ff. 283r–290r |
| 56. | *Utrum delectacio corporalis sit minus bona delectacione anime intelligentis post separacionem a corpore. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 211vb–216rb | ff. 265rb–271rb | ff. 298r–300v, 302r–207r |

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[56]  seculum purgando per ignem] purgando seculum per ignem *a.c. BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*
[57]  consistat] *correxi,* consistet *BJ, 1721, AiBKKK, Ms 113*

| No. | Question | *Utrum Deus gloriosus* (Kraków, BJ, 1534) | Kraków, BJ, 1721 | Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów (Kraków, BJ, 2241) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 57. | *Utrum damnati cognoscentes gloriam beatorum pocius vellent non esse quam esse. Arguitur, quod non…* | *deest* | ff. 216rb–221va | ff. 271rb–277va | ff. 307v–316v |

Passons maintenant à la comparaison des six questions du disciple Jean de Monsteberg, qui se trouvent également dans le commentaire l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus*. Dans six questions, les titres sont identiques dans les deux commentaires. On relève par ailleurs des réminiscences de l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus* dans l'enchaînement des raisonnements dans le commentaire de Leipzig :

| *Utrum Deus gloriosus* – Kraków, BJ, 1534 | *Discipulus Iohannis de Monsterberg* – Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 |
|---|---|
| \|f. 24r\|<br>*Utrum vocalis verborum expressio requiritur ad baptismum necessario. Arguitur, quod non…* | \|f. 13va\|<br>*Queritur quarto utrum aliqua sit forma verborum ad baptizandum necessaria. Arguitur, quod non…* |
| \|f. 24v\|<br>*Conclusio 2ᵃ. Pro integratione forme baptismi requiritur expressio actus baptizantis et persone baptizande, quod dicitur baptizantes…*<br><br>*Conclusio 3ᵃ. Licet expressio actus baptizandi et persone baptizande requiritur ad formam baptisandi necessario, non tamen est unus determinatus modus exprimendi…* | \|f. 14va\|<br>[Articulus 1]<br>*Conclusio 2ᵃ. Expressio actus baptisandi et persone baptizate est necessaria pro integritate forme baptismi…*<br><br>*Conclusio 3ᵃ. Licet necessario expressio actus et persone baptizate requirantur ad formam baptismi, tamen modus exprimendi unus et determinatus non est de necessitate talis forme…* |
| \|f. 143v\|<br>*Utrum dolor contricionis de necessitate requisitus in sacramento penitentie debet esse maior omnino altero dolore. Et videtur, quod sic [non a.c.]…*<br><br>\|f. 144r\|<br>[Articulus 2]<br>*Conclusio prima. Generalis contricio, qua homo simul et indistincte conteritur de omnibus peccatis suis, quibus aversus est a Deo et divinam voluntatem offendit, est necessaria ad hoc, quod peccata sibi remittantur et gracia Dei et caritas infundantur…* | \|f. 91rb\|<br>*Utrum dolor contricionis necesse ad iustificacionem impii debeat esse maximus \|f. 92va\| dolor. Arguitur, quod non…*<br><br>\|f. 93rb\|<br>[Articulus 2]<br>*Conclusio 2ᵃ. Generalis contricio, qua simul et indistincte conteritur homo de omnibus suis peccatis, quibus aversus est a Deo ipsum offendendo, necessaria est ad hoc, quod peccata mortalia post baptismum contracta de lege communi sibi dimittantur et gracia infundatur…* |

| *Utrum Deus gloriosus* – Kraków, BJ, 1534 | *Discipulus Iohannis de Monsterberg* – Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 |
|---|---|
| *Secunda conclusio. Huiusmodi generalis simultanea contricio ex parte penitentis sufficit ad sui iustificacionem…*<br>*Probatur, quia sicut ait poeta: ultra posse viri non vult Deus ulla requiri, sed sicut iam homo non potest habere simul displicenciam de quolibet peccato distincto, ergo in articulo necessitatis, ubi non potest haberi distincta consideracio peccatorum nec per consequens distincta detestacio…* | \|f. 93va\|<br>*Conclusio 3ᵃ. Talis contricio generalis et simultane[a] sufficit ex parte penitentis ad sui iustificacionem*<br>*Probatur, quia ultra posse viri non vult Deus nulla requiri, sed homo non potest simul habere distinctam displicenciam de quolibet peccato mortali, ergo in necessitatis articulo non potest habere distinctam detestacionem de quolibet peccati mortali…* |
| \|f. 145v\|<br>*Utrum homo de necessitate salutis teneatur confiteri omnia peccata sua mortalia. Et videtur, quod non…*<br><br>\|f. 146r\|<br>[Articulus 2]<br>*Conclusio prima. Confessio mentalis est de lege nature…*<br><br>*Conclusio secunda. Confessio cerimonialis, puta manifestare se peccasse, aliquo statuto et determinato sacrificio fuit de iure legis mosaice…* | \|f. 96vb\|<br>*Utrum omnis homo de necessitate salutis teneatur omnia peccata sua mortalia in quolibet anno semel confiteri.* \|f. 97ra\| *Arguitur, quod non…*<br><br>\|f. 98vb\|<br>[Articulus 2]<br>*Conclusio prima. Confessio mentalis est de lege nature…*<br><br>\|f. 99ra\|<br>*Conclusio 2ᵃ. Confessio ceremonialis fuit de iure legis mosaice…* |
| \|f. 213r\|<br>*Queritur utrum ordinator exigens pecuniam ab ordinatis sit simoniacus. Et videtur, quod non…*<br><br>[Articulus 1]<br>*De primo conclusio prima. Solus episcopus de iure communi potest ordinare seu sacramentum ordinis conferre…* | \|f. 138vb\|<br>*Utrum ordinator exigens pecuniam ab ordinandis sit simoniacus. Arguitur, quod non…*<br><br>\|f. 139rb\|<br>[Articulus 1]<br>*Conclusio prima. Licet ex privilegio spirituali alius ab episcopo possit licite ordinare, tamen de iure communi solus episcopus potest licite ordines conferre…* |
| \|f. 219v\|<br>*Queritur utrum matrimonium sit sacramentum. Et videtur, quod non…*<br><br>\|f. 220r\|<br>[Articulus 2]<br>*De 2ᵒ articulo conclusio prima. Matrimonium principaliter a Deo est institutum…* | \|f. 146va\|<br>*Utrum matrimonium sit sacramentum nove legis a Deo institutum sub precepto. Arguitur, quod non…*<br><br>\|f. 148rb\|<br>[Articulus 2]<br>*Sit prima conclusio ista. Licet matrimonium quantum ad personarum contrahencium determinacionem sit ab humana institucione, tamen ipsum matrimonium principaliter a Deo est institutum…* |

| Utrum Deus gloriosus – Kraków, BJ, 1534 | Discipulus Iohannis de Monsterberg – Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 |
|---|---|
| \|f. 331r\| *Utrum suffragia vivorum prosint animabus defunctorum. Quod non, arguitur sic…* | \|f. 229ra\| *Utrum animabus defunctorum prosint suffragia vivorum. Arguitur, quod non…* |
| \|331v\| [Articulus 4] *Quantum ad articulum 4^m sit prima conclusio ista. Vivi per suffragia bonorum operum subvenire possunt malibus defunctorum…* | \|f. 229rb\| [Articulus 1] *Conclusio prima. Vivi per sua suffragia seu per bona opera possunt defunctis subvenire…* |
| *Secunda conclusio. Opera vivorum regulariter solum prosunt illis animabus, que sunt in purgatorio…* | \|f. 229va\| *Conclusio 3ª. Suffragia vivorum solum prosunt pro defunctis qui purgantur pena purgatorii…* |

Dans six des cinquante-sept questions, il existe une similitude apparente entre le texte de l'élève Jean de Monsterberg et le commentaire pragois *Utrum Deus gloriosus*. Trois hypothèses sont donc possibles : 1) l'élève Jean de Monsterberg dépend directement du commentaire de Prague, 2) l'élève Jean de Monsterberg dépend indirectement du commentaire de Prague, 3) l'élève Jean de Monsterberg et le commentaire de Prague ont une source commune. Il est certain que les idées contenues dans l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus* étaient connues non seulement à Prague et à Cracovie au XVe siècle, mais aussi à Leipzig. Cela s'explique par le fait que le professeur de l'auteur des questions analysées, Jean de Monsterberg, a obtenu son doctorat en théologie à Prague et s'est rendu ensuite à Leipzig pour y fonder une nouvelle université, où il a importé les idées apprises à Prague.

Après avoir analysé la relation entre le commentaire de Leipzig et les questions pragoises de l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus*, il convient d'étudier l'influence du commentaire de Leipzig sur le théologien polonais Matthias de Sąspów. Zofia Włodek a établi la lien entre le commentaire de Leipzig et le commentaire de Matthias de Sąspów sur la base d'une comparaison de la question du II *principium*, de la question introductive du livre I et de la question 8 du livre I.[58] Elle a aussi montré que Matthias a repris la plupart des questions des commentaires de Leipzig susmentionnés dans ses questions. La comparaison suivante de trois

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[58]    Włodek, "Maciej ze Sąspowa," 68–72.

passages choisis au hasard dans trois questions différentes confirme les déductions de Zofia Włodek :

| Discipulus Iohannis de Monsterberg – Kraków, AiBKKK, Ms 113 | Matthias de Sąspów – Kraków, BJ, 2241 |
|---|---|
| |f. 6ra|<br>*Queritur 2° utrum fides parentum ante veterem legem et in ipsa lege circumcisio purgabat originale peccatum. Arguitur, quod non. Ante veterem legem fides non sufficiebat ad purgacionem originalis peccati, igitur etc. Antecendens probatur, quia ante veterem legem sacrificium requirebatur ad salutem in adultis, igitur etc. Antecedens est per Gregorium, IIII Moralium, ubi dicit …* | |f. 14v|<br>*Utrum fides parentum ante veterem legem et in ipsa lege circumcisio purgabat originale peccatum. Et arguitur, quod non, quia ante veterem legem fides non sufficiebat ad purgacionem originalis peccati, quia ante veterem legem sacrificium requirebatur ad salutem in adultis. Probatur per Gregorium in Moralibus, ubi dicit …* |
| |f. 103ra|<br>*Utrum potestas clavium extendat se ad remissionem pene et culpe. Respondetur, quod non, quia nulle sunt claves, igitur. Antecedens probatur, tamen una est, igitur. Antecedens probatur: in corporalibus una clavis sufficit ad claudendum et ad aperiendum, igitur etiam in spiritualibus…*<br>*Secundo, virtus finita non extendit se ad effectum infinitum, sed culpa mortalis est quodammodo infinita, quia inplicat offensam Dei infiniti et pena eius est infinita, quia perpetua…* | |f. 123r|<br>*Utrum potestas clavium extendat se ad remissionem pene et culpe. Et arguitur, quod non, quia nulle sunt claves Ecclesie. Probatur, quia tamen unica est clavis, igitur. Antecedens probatur, quia in corporalibus una clavis sufficit ad claudendum et ad aperiendum, igitur responditur, quod non est spirituale…*<br>*Secundo, virtus finita non extendit se ad effectum infinitum, sed culpa mortalis est quodammodo infinita, quia inducit offensam Dei infiniti et pena eius est infinita, quia perpetua…* |
| |f. f. 178va|<br>*Utrum matrimonium minus bonum virginitate habeat aliquod impedimentum. Arguitur, quod non. Matrimonium non est minus bonum virginitate, igitur. Antecedens probatur: virginitas non est melior matrimonio…*<br>*2°, matrimonium nullum habet impedimentum, igitur. Antecedens probatur: matrimonium est institutum in remedium concupiscencie…* | |f. 199v|<br>*Utrum matrimonium minus bonum virginitate habeat aliquod impedimentum. Et arguitur, quod non. Matrimonium non est minus bonum virginitate, igitur. Arguitur, quia virginitas non est melior matrimonio…*<br><br>*Secundo, matrimonium nullum habet impedimentum. Probatur, quia matrimonium est institutum in remedium concupiscencie…* |

En resume, les recherches menees dans le cadre de cette etude montrent que le ms Krakow, AiBKKK, Ms 113 transmet des questions sur le IVe livre des *Sentences* de l'eleve de Jean de Monsterberg, redigees a Leipzig dans les annees 1409–1415 et conservees aussi au ms Krakow, BJ, 1721. Six des cinquante-sept questions contiennent des similitudes avec l'*Utrum Deus gloriosus.* Ce fait temoigne de la reception des idees theologiques pragoises au XVe siecle non seulement a Cracovie, mais aussi a Leipzig. En revanche, quarante-huit questions

du commentaire de Leipzig ont ete reprises par Matthias de Sąspów sans retouches importantes, ce qui confirme le rapport de dependance entre ce dernier et les questions de Leipzig déjà observe par Zofia Włodek.

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István Pánya*, Bernát Rácz**

# A Brave New World: Crisis and Transition in the Late Medieval Great Hungarian Plain as Witnessed by the Friary of Bátmonostora and Its Patron Family

**Abstract:** The purpose of this study is to examine the historical development of the friary of Bátmonostora and the history of the family who possessed it. The rise and fall of this rural centre in the long fifteenth century illustrates the changes in this period in the society of the Great Hungarian Plain. The main subject of examination is the lay religious life at the friary and its eventual demise. While discussing this lay religiosity, we present the history of the previously unexamined monastic treasury of Bátmonostora, which was quite outstanding due to some of its special reliquaries. The fate of the family and their eventual alienation from the sacred objects show how the political and cultural changes completely transformed lay piety at the end of the period and led to the unfortunate fragmentation of the collection and the decline of the family.

**Keywords:** Lay piety, monastic treasury, Austin Hermits, family history, relic veneration

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## Introduction

In the Great Hungarian Plain,[1] much of the medieval intellectual network was represented by the private monasteries (Eigenkirche) dotting the landscape.[2] These were places that had multiple functions. Initially, many of them were established in the twelfth century to serve as imposing spiritual centres and burial sites for families. In this period, these were already important cultural hubs that had produced and stored documents and were responsible in some cases for the religious life of large populations. In the following, we will sketch the history of medieval Bátmonostora, its friary and its family to portray the changes that took place in this large area of East Central Europe in the long fifteenth century. The transition can be perceived at several moments in the site's history, most importantly, for example, in the evacuation of its treasury and its archives. In this period, the Ottoman expansion was unfolding in the southern parts of medieval Hungary and by the third decade of the 1500s the settlement of Bátmonostora became so exposed that the wealth of the family had to be transported to safer areas. The liturgical equipment described and mentioned in the first half of the sixteenth century, in connection with this evacuation, greatly illustrates the transformation of the society. Instead of finding peace in the 'embracing arms of the Mother Church,' the end of the Middle Ages brought chaos for the nobility as the artistic objects, formerly great representatives of an intellectual culture and participants of the mysteries of Catholic religion, became mere objects of value. Lay piety clearly survived, but the transition was so intense that the rebuilding of noble society took a very different, post-medieval turn, which the history of the site, the patron family and the objects illustrate perfectly.

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[1] This region is a large flatland (characterised by the so-called 'puszta' landscape) that today extends over parts of Hungary, Serbia, and Romania.

[2] István Petrovics, "Nemzetségi monostoraink problematikája," *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: acta iuvenum: sectio historica* 1 (1978): 11–24; Erik Fügedi, "*Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio*. A nemzetségi monostor," *Századok* 3 (1991): 35–68; Péter Levente Szőcs, "Private Monasteries of Medieval Hungary (Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries): A Case Study of the Ákos Kindred and Its Monasteries" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2014); Idem, "Monasteries Under Private Patronage Within the Social and Economic Topography: Centers, Residences, and Estates. Several Case Studies of Medieval Hungary," in *Monastic Life, Art, and Technology*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu (Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015), 161–70.

## Bátmonostora, a late medieval rural spiritual and economic centre

The first monastery of Bátmonostora flourished before the Mongol Invasion and after 1241 the ruined buildings stood uninhabited for several decades.[3] Yet the late Middle Ages, and particularly the long fifteenth century, brought prosperity to this site. At the site of the ruined monastery, a new late medieval centre developed, starting from the last decades of the thirteenth century.[4] The site was given to Emerich Becse by Charles I (1308–1342) in 1322, who started to reconstruct the rural centre.[5] Pope Clement VI (1342–1352), upon request, gave permission to the Archbishop of Kalocsa for the reconstruction of the monastery.[6] The change of the times, however, resulted in the invitation of the Austin Hermits.[7] In 1345, the pope gave permission for the establishment of a friary for twelve friars. These friars were brought in to be in close contact with the local population, but also to ensure the conversion of the region's Cuman population, brought there during the thirteenth century to repopulate the devastated landscape. Following

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[3] Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest: Arcanum, 2008), 12.

[4] Emese Tarjányi, "A Becsei-Báthmonostori család birtokainak kialakulása és gazdálkodása a XIV. században" (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1973); 1270: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltára, Budapest (The National Archives of Hungary, Archives of Diplomas and Charters, from here on: DL – reproductions of these are accessible in the www.hungaricana.hu online database) DL 87249; 1320: DL 86938; Piroska Biczó, "A Bátmonostor-Pusztafalu lelőhelyen végzett ásatás építészettörténeti-történeti értékelése" (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1993).

[5] 1322, 1323, 1364: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo*, ed. Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy and Dezső Véghely (Pest: Magyar Tört. Társulat, 1871), I: 221; Gyula Kristó, *Anjou–kori Oklevéltár. Documenta res hungaricas tempore regum andegavensium illustrantia* (Budapest and Szeged, 2000), VI: 151, DL 76308.

[6] 1345: Augustino Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, ed. Augustin Theiner (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), I: 689.

[7] The Augustinians appeared in Hungary very early. By the fourteenth century they established friaries in several other rural centres similar to Bátmonosora. See Beatrix F. Romhányi, "*Monasteriologia Hungarica Nova*. Monasteries, Friaries, Provostries and Collegiate Churches in Medieval Hungary" (MTA diss., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1996), 81–86; Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Ágostonrendi remeték a középkori Magyarországon," *Aetas* 20.4 (2005): 91–101; Eadem, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek: koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2018).

this, the friary and the settlement grew and became a major rural centre, a so-called market town (*oppidum*).[8] According to written sources, it also had a bath, which, among others, was used by the Polish Duke Sigismund in 1500, when he was travelling in Hungary.[9] It also had a hospital dedicated to St Elizabeth, where the local poor were cared for physically and spiritually.[10]

The market towns – compared to the villages – were large settlements often without walls and a few, long streets. Based on the topographic research carried out in the area, the size (length) of the average village was 100–500 metres. In contrast, the main street of Bátmonostora was 1.5 km long (Fig. 1).

According to Jacques Le Goff's famous theory, these mendicant orders were signs of urban development and indeed, the settling of the Austin Hermits at Bátmonostora was a result of the growth of the settlement. In addition, their presence certainly contributed to an even greater expansion and importance, while still preserving the rural appearance of the town (Fig. 2a).[11] While this character was certainly there, the monastic complex, the parish church and the fortified manor of the patron family must have shown further signs of urbanisation. Furthermore, from an intellectual and cultural perspective, it should also be emphasised that a school of the Austin Hermits was functioning in the market town.[12] Finally, as it will be shown, in the case of the treasury, the friary was home to special artworks, which indicated that the site was more important than just any market town.

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8    Katalin Éder, *Mezővárosi plébániatemplomok középkori városmentes tájakon* (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2022); Vera Bácskai, "Small Towns in Eastern Central Europe," in *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 77–89; András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000).

9    1500: Zoltán Horogszegi and Krisztina Rábai, *Szemelvények Zsigmond lengyel herceg budai számadásaiból*. Documenta Historica 67 (Szeged: JATEPress, 2005), 44.

10   1505: DL 82224.

11   Jacques Le Goff, "Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 25.4 (1970): 924–946.

12   Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban," in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai (996–1526) / Die ersten Jahrhunderte des Schulwesens in Ungarn 996–1526*, ed. Katalin Szende and Péter Szabó (Győr: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1996), 37.
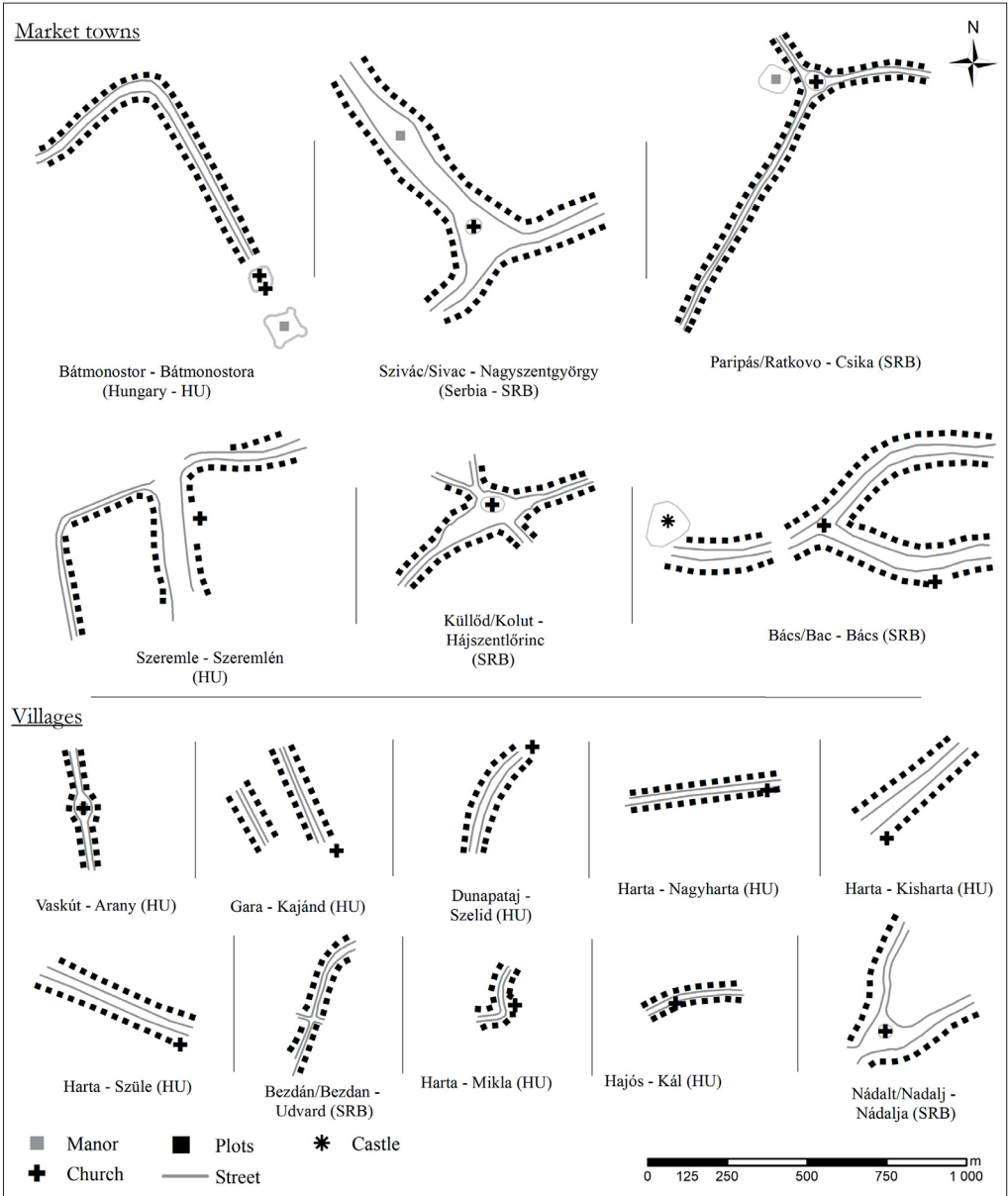
Fig. 1: A structure comparison of Bátmonostora and other surrounding settlements at the end of the fifteenth century

The ruin of the Romanesque basilica (27.7 × 16.6 m) was extended in the late Middle Ages, finally reaching approximately forty metres in length with its new gothic polygonal apse (Fig. 2b).[13] Immediately next to it, a large parish church was built for the population, which in its final stage was thirty-four metres long and only eight metres in width.[14] Both of these were excavated,[15] but the excavations of the cloister were limited and only recent surveys provided accurate information about its nature.

Apart from this considerable ecclesiastical area, another major building of the settlement was the fortified noble manor (Fig. 2c). It was one of the most important noble residences in the Danube-Tisza Interfluve Region. Buildings similar to this probably existed in the region, for example in Coborszentmihály (today Zombor/Sombor, Serbia) the Cobor family may have had such an estate, however, due to modern construction, there are no significant traces of it today. Non-destructive research (aerial archaeology, GPR and magnetometric survey) of the building complex is currently underway, the aim of which is to further develop the 3D models created on the basis of previous excavations (Fig. 3).[16]

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[13]  Piroska Biczó, "Egy középkori birtokközpont egyházi épületei: A török hódoltság idején elpusztult Bátmonostor templomainak régészeti feltárása," in *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében: Tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére*, ed. László Kovács and László Révész (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016), 673. In general, see also Biczó, "A Bátmonostor-Pusztafalu"; Eadem, "A bátmonostori ásatások," in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszerű feladatai*, ed. István Fodor and László Selmeczi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1985), 363–372.

[14]  This was built on the ruins of the previous small Romanesque parish church. See Biczó, "Egy középkori birtokközpont", 679.

[15]  Excavations and surveys had already begun at the site in the second half of the nineteenth century. The excavations of Piroska Biczó in the 1970s and 1980s revealed that the earlier interpretations were partially incorrect. The monastic complex has not been excavated. Cf. Imre Henszlmann, *Die Grabungen des Erzbischofs von Kalocsa Dr Ludwig Haynald* (Leipzig: C. A. Haendel, 1873).

[16]  We would like to thank Balázs Szőke (researcher at the Gál Ferenc University of Szeged) for providing us with his 3D reconstructions.
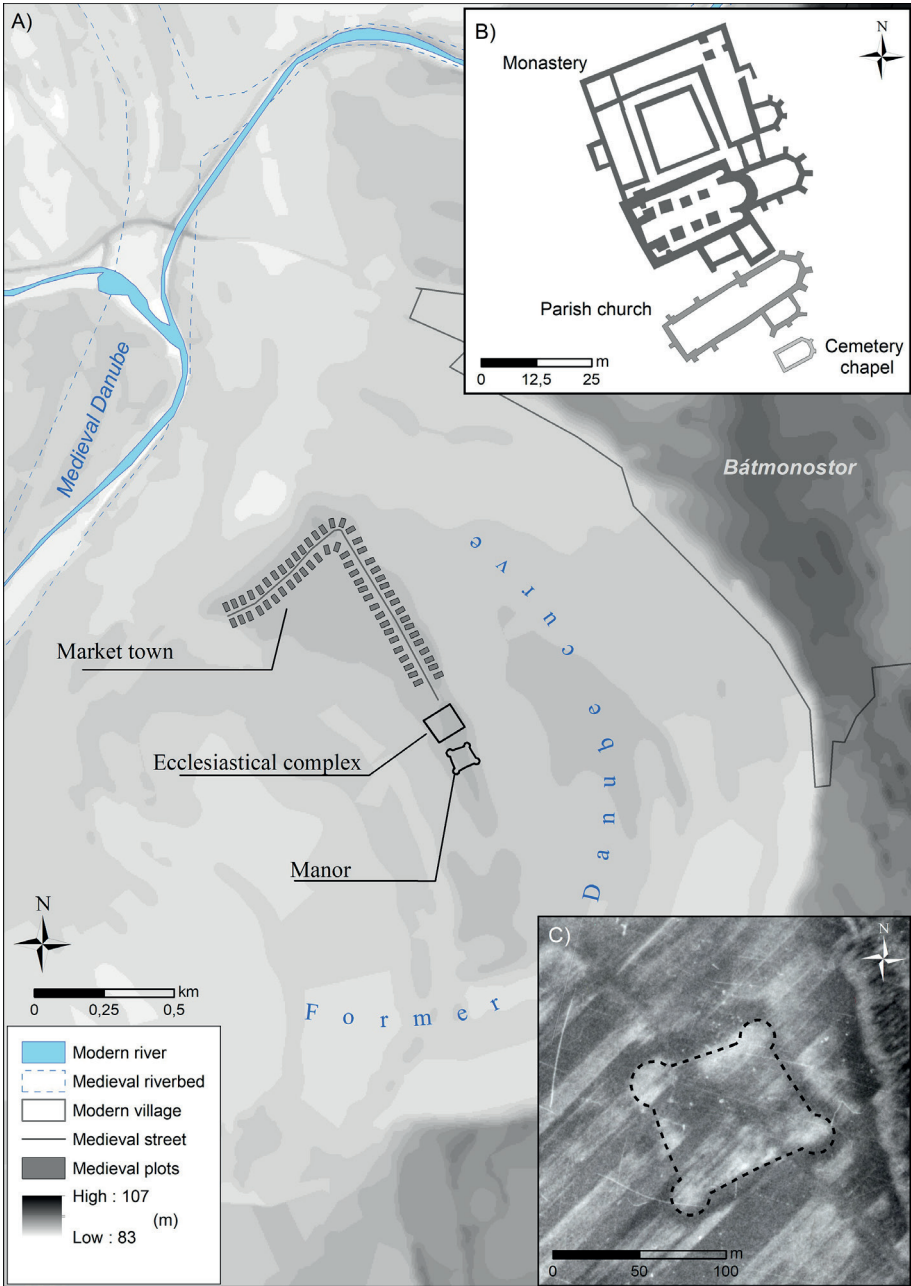
Fig. 2a: Location of the market town of Bátmonostora
Fig. 2b: Layout of the medieval ecclesiastical complex based on the excavations
Fig. 2c: Traces of the fortified manor house on an aerial photograph from
the 1950s

Fig. 3: 3D reconstruction of the late medieval manor and ecclesiastical complex
(reconstruction by Balázs Szőke)

The monument complex illustrates that the market town had some urban aspects, and that even if we do not know much about its life, it was an important place. Our limited knowledge of the site does not mean that it was not wealthy or even extraordinary in some aspects. Its fifteenth-century life and religious culture are illustrated well by an early-fifteenth-century document, which was also reused later – an act that will be relevant for the present discussion. The original text was written by John of Tapolcsány, who was the provincial of the Austin Hermits, on 26 August 1415. It declared that Gregory Zsana (Sana), castellan of Zsembéc, and his family were accepted into the confraternity of the order.[17] Zsembéc was a castle of the Töttös family in the northern part of the nearby Dunafalva. It was the fortified "court" that Gregory was managing, and this is why, through the Töttös family, he was accepted into the confraternity.[18] Thus, from this document, we have a glance at the cultural and spiritual impact of this friary on the

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[17]  1415: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo,* ed. Imre Nagy (Budapest: Magyar Tört. Társulat, 1894), VI: 366; DL 79273.

[18]  This castle was only five kilometres away from Bátmonostora. See István Pánya, "Zsembéc vára," *Várak, kastélyok, templomok* (2020): 106–109.

lay elite in the relatively peaceful times of the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437). This document arrived from the provincial probably to the friary, where the castellan and his family would become involved in the life of the confraternity. Nonetheless, as mentioned, this document is also relevant for a later text that was added to it. An undated list appears on the document, which can be dated to ca. 1500.[19] It lists several liturgical artworks of different materials. If we accept that the document was sent to the friary and that it remained there until its reuse, it is possible that it was used by the friars and that it may describe part of the liturgical equipment of the monastic church.[20] This list, possibly written in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, already attests to the troubles the monastic institution had to face during the turbulent times of the period. It is known that the development and peace of Bátmonostora was already interrupted in 1514 when a crusader army caused damage to the noble mansion.[21] It is likely that during this time the friary was also partially impacted. The threats to the family and the friary only increased from this point on. This is evident from the correspondence of the Brothers Várdai, who became the owners of this land after 1466 through the marriage of John of Várda.[22] In 1517, the Bishop of Transylvania, Francis of Várda, asked his brother John (who was the *comes* of Bodrog County) to transfer the family archives to the castle of Máré due to the exposed nature of the unprotected medieval friary in the heart of the kingdom.[23] We do not know what exactly happened after this, but what is certain is that in 1520 Francis, who alone managed all the possessions of the family, chose to divide the family wealth. The possessions and the profits from the market town of Bátmonostora were given to John and Michael of Várda. The castle of Kisvárda, which will later be relevant for our discussion, was given to Emerich and Ambrose of Várda.

Around this time, the southern defense system was weakening and this had a strong impact on the life of Bátmonostora. In 1518, the

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[19] We are thankful for the opinions of Norbert C. Tóth and Katalin Szende on the dating of the text.
[20] See below.
[21] 1526: DL 89222.
[22] 1466: DL 81612.
[23] 1517: DL 89109.

Ottoman attacks on the similar settlement and friary of Kabol resulted in serious damages (Fig. 4):
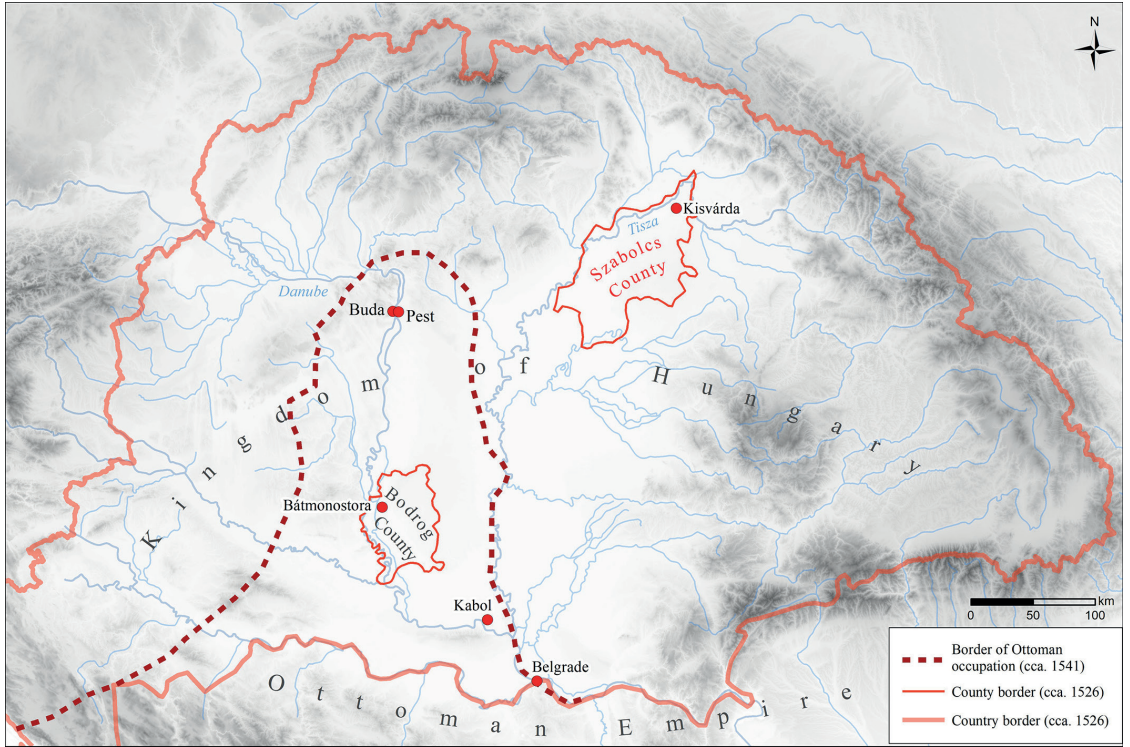


Fig. 4: Location of Bátmonostora and Kisvárda in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom

On the last feast day of St. Mark the Evangelist, a great legion of Turks, having prepared a fleet and a naval campaign [...] attacked the market town of Kabol in Bács County on the banks of the Danube. They completely devastated the town and burned the mansion of the local lord. The charters ensuring his privileges, his right of property and possessions were, along with his possessions in his mansion, destroyed. And since they valued the silk and the wax more than the writing and the contents of the charters, they took them and partly ripped them apart, and partly trampled them. They cut the wax destroying the seals and, along with the silk threads that were used for hanging them, they took them away. Finally, they burned the entire market town with the parish church and the friary of the Observant Franciscans, along with the aforementioned mansion.[24]

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[24]    1518: DL 93788.

After the capture of Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár), the attacks against the southern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary intensified. The County of Bodrog and Bátmonostora were not reached by the Ottoman forces until 1526. However, it is likely that due to this intensifying threat, several nobles started to worry and began to evacuate their wealth and archives to the north. Among them was Francis of Várda, who, again in his letter of 31 March 1524, shortly before his death, urged his brother Michael to keep his soldiers ready for departure and to bring their archives as well as their mother to the castle of Várda (Kisvárda) in Szabolcs County:

> Our beloved brother! […] there is terrible news coming, especially from the outer parts of Hungary, we think it would be appropriate to send a servant to our outer possession, [that is] to send to Monostor (Bátmonostora), and to encourage your brother John to take the confirmations of our privileges and our mother to Várda on shared expenses. We see these times to be so difficult, especially in those parts, that we think neither the charters ensuring our privileges nor our mother should be left in those parts for there they might perish.[25]

The most important documents securing the privileges and possessions of the family were most likely taken to Várda soon after the letter. Yet, there are documents that were made there after 1524 about the settlements of the family. It is likely that these were taken to Várda before the end of the summer of 1526, just before the catastrophic Battle of Mohács on 29 August, or very soon after the defeat. Two members of the family actually participated in the battle: *comes* Michael survived the battle, however, his brother Emerich died.[26] Following the battle,

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[25]  1524: Vince Bunyitay, Rajmund Rapaics and János Karácsonyi, *Egyháztörténeti emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából* (Budapest: Szent-István-Társulat Tud. és Irod. Osztálya, 1902), I: 128–129; DL 89189.

[26]  *Magyarország családai. Czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, ed. Iván Nagy (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1865), XII: 57; Ágota Henzsel, "A Várdai család birtokügye 1550-ben," in *Studia professoris-professor studiorum Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*, ed. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy and Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 134; János B. Szabó and Norbert C. Tóth, "'Árnyékboksz az árnyéksereggel' – avagy már megint mindenért Szapolyai a hibás / 'Shadowboxing with the Shadow Army,' or it is again Szapolyai to Blame for Everything," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 131 (2018): 297.

Michael took refuge with his belongings in Máré Castle and then eventually joined the other members of the family at Várda.[27]

The importance of Bátmonstor declined after the Battle of Mohács.[28] It is likely that the monastic complex was abandoned and was rapidly declining after 1526. This situation was typical, and it is no wonder that Hungarian historiography often takes this 1526 date as the end of both the Middle Ages and also the end of the long fifteenth century, at least in the Great Plain. Nonetheless, the two decades following can demonstrate how the long fifteenth century paved the way for a very different type of post-medieval world, where society, culture and politics transitioned into something else. Particularly interesting are the transformations connected to the family immediately after 1526.

In the Ottoman tax registers, there is no mention of the friary nor of the Austin Hermits, yet the settlement itself continued to exist even after 1526. It is likely that it suffered a similar attack as the friary of Kabol, even if some of the late medieval population continued to survive until the end of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, the formerly prosperous market town became a small village.[29]


## The fate of the treasury and the Várdai family

After the Battle of Mohács, the Várdai family could no longer control its southern possessions in Bodrog County (including those of Bátmonostora) even if they firmly insisted on the right to possess these lands.[30] They could not, however, extract any wealth from these areas since their taxes were controlled by the royal stronghold of Sziget, which needed wealth from a vast area to subsist as a key point of defense against the Ottomans. The lack of these revenues had a strong impact on

[27]   Henzsel, "A Várdai család", 139; *Magyarország családai*, 57–59.

[28]   1557: Antal Velics and Ernő Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1886), I: 107; 1558: György Tímár, *Királyi sziget. Szigetvár várgazdaságának iratai 1546–1565* (Pécs: Pécsi Szikra Nyomda, 1996), 271.

[29]   Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A szegedi szandzsák települései, lakosai és török birtokosai 1570-ben*. Dél-Alföldi évszázadok 24 (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2008), 171.

[30]   Samu Borovszky, *Bács-Bodrog Vármegye I–II*. Magyarország Vármegyéi és Városai (Budapest: Országos Monografia Társaság, 1909), 30; István Iványi, *Bács-Bodrog Vármegye földrajzi és történelmi Helynévtára* (Szabadka: Székely Simon, 1889), 331.

the family. In 1528, the brothers Michael, John and Ambrose reviewed the testament of Francis (d. 1524) related to the possessions (*fassio perennalis*). It is in this document that we hear again about the sacred artworks and equipment of the friary of Bátmonostora. It describes the brothers dividing the gold and silver objects and that the overall value of the treasury amounted to 8000 gold florins. It also mentions that during the division of goods they placed them into an iron chest, which they all sealed with their own personal seals, before sending the chest to Várda Castle.[31]

Eventually, they were all forced to retreat to Várda. An interesting series of events attest to the complete lack of stability in this period: In 1531 they hired soldiers to protect the castle, however, one day when the brothers were attending Vespers, the soldiers locked them out of their castle.[32] Eventually, three military officers recaptured the castle in the service of the Brothers of Várda, however, the end result was much the same. After recovering the castle, instead of giving it back to the owners, they decided to keep it for themselves. Many of the valuables were stolen, and they only agreed to give back the castle after receiving lands with a value of 1200 florins.

During this period, John Szapolyai (1526–1540) and Ferdinand of Habsburg (1526–1564) were both rulers of Hungary. They were elected by different factions in 1526 after the death of the Jagiellonian Louis II (1516–1526) at the Battle of Mohács.[33] In 1536, the Várdai family turned to King John Szapolyai for justice, who wrote to the occupying military men.[34] We do not know what happened to the chest during the occupation, but the heritage of the friary seems to have been still intact during this period. In 1537, soldiers who were on the side of John Szapolyai were moved to the castle.[35] And yet again, in 1541, the family was locked out

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[31] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár (from here as MNL), Zichy család levéltára, OL P 707 fasc. 5, no. 2018.

[32] Zoltán Ács, "A kisvárdai vár XVI. századi hadi krónikája a korabeli források tükrében" *Hadtörténelmi közlemények* 95.1 (1982): 61; MNL OL E 148 (Neo-Regestrata Acta) fasc. 356, no. 33.

[33] See for example: János M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.–16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), 70–73.

[34] 1531: MNL OL P 707 fasc. 4, no. 1799.

[35] Zoltán Simon, *A kisvárdai vár inventáriumai. Adalékok a kisvárdai vár történetéhez és helyrajzához* (Kisvárda: Rétközi Múzeum–Rétközi Múzeum Baráti Köre Egyesület, 2008), 16.

of their castle. This time, however, we know (from a 1550 document) that Michael of Várda took the sealed chest with the treasures of Bátmonostora, and this the last time we hear about the complete treasury.

> Around the Epiphany in the year of the Lord 1541, the mentioned Michael of Várda for unknown behest, took with his wife all of the gold and silver objects of the mentioned monastery, which Ambrose and John of Várda, and the claimant lady and young lady, had the same right to possess as Michael of Várda. Having ripped off the seals, they broke the mentioned chest and like thieves had it taken away and carried away, and did whatever they pleased. As a result of this, Michael of Várda caused the claimant lady and young lady a damage of 5000 florins.[36]

It is interesting in this document that out of the treasure worth 8000 florins he only took objects worth 5000 florins. In 1542, King Ferdinand demanded the capitulation of the castle in vain. At the end of 1543, Ambrose and the 'castellan' reached an agreement that led to the family reacquiring their possessions in 1544.[37] This included both the archives and the treasury. It was around this time that Ambrose and Michael agreed that Michael would give back the rest of the treasury. However, this never happened. After the death of Ambrose, his widow, Petronella Bánffy, attempted to get hold of the treasure she was supposed to inherit from her husband. The last information we have about the treasure is from 1546 when she tried to reacquire the treasures without success.[38] The treasure was possibly dispersed and partially melted, but some unidentified pieces may survive from it. In the following, a description and analysis of the treasury of Bátmonostora is provided, along with an interpretation of its connection to the 1415 document with the somewhat later text of around 1500 and its relationship to the artworks.[39]

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[36]   1550: MNL OL P707 fasc. 5, no. 2018.

[37]   1544: Menyhért Érdujhelyi, "Báthmonostori apátság," *A Bács-Bodrog Megyei Történelmi Társulat Évkönyve* 15.3 (1899): 116; Imre Henszlmann, "Abbatiae Benedictorum de Báth-Monostor effossa mense Octobri 1871," in *Schematismus cleri Archidiocesis Colosensis et Bacsiensis* (Kalocsa: Malatin et Holmeyer, 1872), XI; MNL OL E 148a fasc. 194, no. 12. 1543: MNL OL P 707 fasc 4, no. 1883. Simon, *A kisvárdai vár inventáriumai*, 16.

[38]   1546: MNL OL E 148a fasc. 194, no. 12.

[39]   Post-1415: "Likewise, a reddish-purple chasuble, with a sown humeral veil with its fine accessories. Likewise, another chasuble with yellow stripes and small accessories. Likewise a cope with varied colors. Likewise, a simple yellow

## Analysis of the inventories and the reconstruction of the treasury

The partial lists connected to the friary of Bátmonostora are special because they tell us about the treasury of a regional centre from which otherwise we have very few artefacts – mostly some pieces of stone decoration. We do not know what led to the composition of the first list, but whatever reason was behind its compilation, eventually the document became the testimony of a catastrophe. The lists are also remarkable because they name peculiar objects that rarely survived from the collections of such medieval private institutions. This is especially striking in the case of Bátmonostora since today nothing is visible from the former market town and its imposing central buildings. The site is not unique in this context since most late medieval centres of the Great Plain appear in a similar way and we do not know anything about their treasuries. Nonetheless, when looking at the list one should also keep in mind that it mostly includes objects that have a material value; no paintings or statues are present. The items are mainly portable objects with considerable value, and it is obvious that many other artworks disappeared without a trace.

The two lists differ slightly in their content and their quality, too. The 1550 list includes more special objects with a much higher quality

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dalmatic. Likewise, a silk altar cloth. Likewise another silky linen altar cloth. Likewise, another altar cloth. Likewise, another painted/dyed (?) altar cloth. Likewise, another altar cloth made of red and variously colored damask. Likewise, a large chalice with precious stones. Likewise, another large chalice without stones. Likewise, seven other chalices, with one broken. Similarly a [relic] container or head with a crown bedecked with gems. Likewise, two altar cruets (?). Likewise, a silver and fully gilded pyx (or container) filled with relics. Likewise, a small patriarchal cross with precious stones. Likewise, a Bible. Likewise two decorated 'robes' (pepla). Likewise, a sealed chest filled with relics. Likewise, a book for preaching (sermocinale de sanctis), which starts with the line 'Prepare your hearts'. Likewise, a small breviary. Likewise, a corporal with a new cloth." 1550: "Two gilded monstrances; one golden chalice, and many other silver chalices; two heads of saints covered in silver, similarly silver crosses and hands of saints, which are also covered with silver. Sacred vestments (*indumenta*) decorated with pearls and precious stones and priestly vestments (*sacerdotalia*), and other things from the monastery of Bátmonostora amounting up to 8000 florins." Add: DL 79273; MNL OL P 707 fasc. 5, no. 2018.

in general. Firstly, it describes two monstrances, then two golden chalices and several silver chalices. It is after these that the list mentions the most special and most valuable artworks: two objects, which were most likely head reliquaries covered with silver. One of them was special because it had a crown bedecked with precious stones, this was possibly a martyr or a holy king. Similar reliquaries are found in major ecclesiastical centres, usually bishoprics or archbishoprics, however, not so much in monasteries similar to Bátmonostora.[40] Such reliquaries have a long history and were often participants in processions. In Hungary, without doubt, the most famous one is the fifteenth-century Head Reliquary of St Ladislas (Fig. 5), which was based on an earlier model that was destroyed in a fire.[41] One can also mention the St Dorothy Head Reliquary (Fig. 6), which was at least partially made in Buda in the 1420s – if not entirely.[42] Head reliquaries are usually high quality and it can be presumed that the crowned one of Bátmonostora was a particularly fine piece, possibly connected to the tradition of the above-mentioned examples. While we do not find these in similar monasteries, we do find them in cathedrals. The 1531 list of the inventory of the Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania), the seat of the Transylvanian Bishopric, also mentions head reliquaries.[43] It is striking that the enormous treasury, of which approximately only one percent survived, contained only three head reliquaries and one arm reliquary. This is all the more relevant because the inventory mentions that two of the silver head reliquaries – commissioned previously by

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[40]   Or at least they are not mentioned: DL 15996, DL 13926, DL 232633; Zsigmond Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei, 1289–1556* (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, 1990), I: 119, 182, 193.

[41]   *Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1387–1437: Ausstellungskatalog,* ed. Imre Takács (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), cat. 4.91. The parish church of Bátmonostora was dedicated to St Ladislas and it is possible that one of the head reliquaries belonged to this institution and depicted the patron saint. Apart from the one, formerly at Várad, another one showing Ladislas also survived, see Takács, *Sigismundus rex et imperator,* cat. 4.89.

[42]   Takács, *Sigismundus rex et imperator,* cat. 4.9.

[43]   Antal Beke, "Az erdélyi székesegyház készlete," *Magyar Sion* 5.3 (1867): 188–199; Károly Vekov, "Középkori és reneszánszkori tárgyak a gyulafehérvári káptalan kincstárában," in *Urbs, civitas, universitas: ünnepi tanulmányok Petrovics István 65. születésnapja tiszteletére,* ed. Sándor Papp, Zoltán Kordé and Sándor László Tóth (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Középkori és Koraújkori Magyar Történeti Tanszék, 2018), 316–324.

Fig. 5: St Ladislas Head Reliquary, after 1406 (with a later crown), Győr Cathedral. Photo: Károly Zsolt Nagy



Fig. 6: St Dorothy Reliquary, around 1400 (with a later crown), made in Buda or Wrocław (?). Property of National Museum in Wrocław, V-2378. Photo: National Museum in Wrocław

Bishop Ladislas Geréb (1452–1502) – were later ordered to be gilded by Francis of Várda. Interestingly, the Bishopric had three head reliquaries and only one hand reliquary, which contained the arm of Luke the Evangelist. This shows that, indeed, the treasury at Bátmonostora was fairly unusual, especially from a monastic and lay devotional perspective.

In the case of the Várad (Oradea, Romania) Cathedral, an important bishopric connected to the veneration of St Ladislas, we only know of one reliquary bust, the St Ladislas presented here, and two arm reliquaries from its late medieval treasures.[44] These two arm reliquaries were of the Kings Stephen (1000–1038) and Ladislas (1077–1095). Thus, while there were only two, we can be sure that their quality was outstanding due to the importance of the saints. While at Bátmonostora there were

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[44] See Árpád Mikó and Antal Molnár, "A váradi középkori székesegyház kincstárának inventáriuma (1557)," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 52.3–4 (2003): 303–318.

Fig. 7: Monstrance from Szendrő, Hungarian National Museum, 1937.4. Photo: Hungarian National Museum

two monstrances,[45] at Várad there were sixteen, but such artworks were quite common even in villages (Fig. 7).[46] The difference in quantity is striking, yet still, Bátmonostora had more head reliquaries and possibly the same amount or more of arm reliquaries, which is unexpected.[47]

It is only the 1550 document that mentions hand reliquaries, the post-1415 list does not tell us about them, and in the 1550 list we do not learn the exact number, only that there were many. This list is more modest in the head reliquaries, too, since it mentions only one compared to the later two. From the 1550 list, it seems like the friary had more arm reliquaries than the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár. These were usually life-sized, depicting arms covered in silver as the description also states. These pieces

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[45] Some of these might have come from the treasury of Kalocsa, which, like Bátmonostora, was also evacuated: Mikó and Molnár, "A váradi középkori," 305.

[46] At the Cistercian monasteries of Bélháromkút and Zagreb there was only one monstrance. At the Cistercian monastery of Pétervárad (Petrovaradin) there were two, however, the difference in the number of cruets is striking: at Bátmonostora only two are listed, but there fourteen pieces are mentioned. In general, apart from the head and arm reliquaries, the other objects seem to be matching in quantity. The low number of books at Bátmonostora suggests that only a fraction of the books was mentioned. This might indicate that the ones mentioned were above average. See Tibor Rasztik, "A péterváradi apátság leltára 1495-ből," in *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére*, ed. Enikő Csukovits (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1998), 197–214.

[47] At Pannonhalma, one of the most important monasteries of Hungary, only two hand reliquaries are mentioned, one of diverse relics and one of St Pantaleon. See Pongrácz Sörös and Tibold Rezner, *A pannonhalmi Sz. Benedek-rend története* (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1905), 383, 710. No reliquary bust or reliquary head is mentioned.

usually contained multiple relics and were not limited to relics of hands.[48] Similarly to head reliquaries, they were already used before 1000 but became very popular in the Romanesque period and continued to be produced in the Gothic period. A fine example of a late medieval arm reliquary is a Swiss piece kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 8). Importantly, they were also used for liturgical purposes in the High Middle Ages, specifically for blessing the congregation.

Reliquaries shaped as body parts served multiple functions. Their most important quality was that they could symbolise heaven and its dwellers in a human form. The gold, silver and precious stones that covered the objects presented familiar human forms in an otherworldly way. The material value of these was important, but the rare and shiny surfaces created a unique type of spiritual encounter, similar to a vision. This was not only due to the material but also because, compared to arm reliquaries, they were able to provide a much more intense experience due to the presence of the face. It is not a coincidence, therefore, that in Várad oath taking and trials by ordeal happened in front of the tomb of Ladislas and his imposing head reliquary. As mentioned, these types of statues were also participants of processions, giving them mobility, which also contributed to their human-like nature.

Among the chalices mentioned, one is important to discuss because it is listed



Fig. 8: Arm Reliquary of St Valentine, fourteenth century, made in Basel, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917), 17.190.351a, b. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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[48]   Cynthia Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta* 36.1 (1997): 21.

Fig. 9: Chalice, 1462. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Gift of The Salgo Trust for Education, New York, in memory of Nicolas M. Salgo, 2010), 2010.109.6. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art

separately. In the 1550 list, a golden chalice is present and in the post-1415 text two golden chalices are discussed, one with stones and one without. It should be noted that these lists are not very descriptive. They have a particular concern for describing the material but not the technique. Therefore, we can assume that, even if it was figurative or if it had filigree or filigree enamel, this would not be mentioned. It is clear that this chalice was valuable and that it belonged to a wealthy noble family. Therefore, it can be compared to finer pieces of the period. For example, it would have been similar to many of the Central European chalices of the fifteenth century, or specifically to that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art presented here in *modo transilvano* (Fig. 9).

It is hard to say more about the quality of the treasury. It is evident, however, that it is only a fragment of the church's equipment and may only include the particularly fine pieces. The list of liturgical books is not complete, especially for a monastic church. Even the description of the inventory of a fourteenth-fifteenth-century small village parish church that is not too distant from Bátmonostora had more books than those listed here.[49] A Bible, in particular, stands out since that was not a common part of the medieval liturgical equipment and could possibly belong to the friary, indeed the 1523 inventory of the Augustinian friary of Fiume (Rijeka, Croatia) also contains a Bible.[50] The only other books the Bátmonostora

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[49]    See István Pánya and others, "A középkori Valfer templomának felszerelései," *Cumania* 30 (2023): 221.

[50]    DL 232633; Ozren Kosanović, "Inventar pokretnih dobara augustinskog samostana sv. Jeronima u Rijeci iz 1523. godine," *Problemi sjevernog Jadrana* 17 (2018): 48–62.

list mentions are a breviary, which could be secular or monastic, and, importantly, a *sermocinale*. The description of the latter suggests that it was a book for preaching, in which the texts were organised based on the feast days of saints (*de sanctis*). It states that it starts with the line *praeparate corda vestra* ("prepare your hearts"), which most likely was the beginning of a sermon for which there are many examples.[51] Such a book could have been used in the town's parish church but books like this were also used in a monastic context.[52]

Regarding the differences between the two lists, it can be said that the post-1415 text describes only a few pieces of clothing, mentions two chalices, and one cross. The 1550 list does not provide a number for the clothing and, in general, provides a much wealthier image. The cross, the chalice and the head reliquary seem to appear in both lists. The partial liturgical equipment and the mention of the head reliquary, which was quite a rare object type, could indicate that the post-1415 list describes part of the treasury. But, notably, even this short but more specific list contains very valuable pieces. The partial nature of these inventories is particularly visible when compared with other monastic and ecclesiastic inventories from the period where a more diverse group of monastic objects is mentioned.[53]

The fact that Bátmonostora had such an important treasury shows us that it was a wealthy friary. It indicates that even if the market town was not a 'real town,' it was still an important rural centre, and most importantly, that it was a spiritual centre of the lay elite as is also shown from the original text of the 1415 document. It is possible that while the settlement of Bátmonostora does not show major differences when compared to similarly sized market towns, its centre was much more imposing – as is visible on the settlement plans and on the reconstruction.

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[51] We are very grateful for the help and opinion of Anja Božič and Olga Kalashnikova with this item on the list. The line also appears as a responsory and traces its origins in the Old Testament: Samuel 7:3. See, for example, Sankt-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 391. "Praeparate corda vestra Domino, et servite illi soli et liberabit vos de manibus inimicorum vestrorum."

[52] Timothy M. Baker and Beverly Kienzle, "Monastic Preaching and the Sermon in Medieval Latin Christendom to the Twelfth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 712–713.

[53] See Rasztik, "A péterváradi apátság leltára 1495-ből"; Sörös and Rezner, *A pannonhalmi*, 706–711; Gyulafehérvár see Beke, "Az erdélyi székesegyház készlete," 188–99 or that of Kolozsmonostor see Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori*, 119, 182, 193.

It may have been the lay piety of the patrons during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that led to the appearance of outstanding artworks in the monastic institution. The social and cultural importance of the site may have contributed to this with the baths, the hospital and the monastic school.

We know even less about this town than about the existence of the friary, and the lifestyle and social position of these inhabitants are relatively unknown. It is particularly unclear how they were perceived in society, since they thought of themselves as citizens, but the outside world, including the local lord, did not acknowledge this status.[54] If it were not for the survival of these documents, we would have a very different image of the friary of Bátmonostora. The excavations at the site did not bring about any fragments that indicated that this was a rich monastic institution. Whatever was found was either connected to the pre-Mongol Invasion monastery or to the settlement. It should be emphasised that treasuries, even during their lives, were often used for financial benefits even by the religious community, but more often by the lay patrons in such circumstances. Objects were often reused to make new artworks or liquidated in times of hardship. In the case of Bátmonostora, the extremely difficult changes arriving around the turn of the sixteenth century resulted in the complete ending of the treasury's function as an 'institution'. Even when it survived in pieces, it was eventually dispersed since the political situation did not improve and by the end of the long fifteenth century, it ended its existence as a collection of artworks.

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[54] Katalin Szende, "Was There a Bourgeoisie in Medieval Hungary?," in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 448. On different types of towns in medieval Hungary see József Laszlovszky and Katalin Szende, "Cities and Towns as Princely Seats: Medieval Visegrád in the Context of Royal Residences and Urban Development in Europe and Hungary," in *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád: Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches*, ed. Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky and Orsolya Mészáros (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), 9–44.

## Conclusion

It is fascinating to observe the many changes that took place in the lives of the nobility during the events discussed here. Instead of being centered in a representative site with archives and a friary, as at the beginning of the long fifteenth century, at the end of the period the family ended up crowded in one castle (or at its gates) fighting multiple enemies both physically and verbally. Eventually, instead of having a confraternity, the family was in complete discord, stealing from each other and having constant legal battles over whatever remained of their wealth. The precious artworks of Bátmonostora, once focal points of a regional cult with special artworks, were degraded to mere material objects that stored wealth for political power. The powerful cultic head reliquaries, once representing earthly manifestations of divine intervention, were, by this time, not even described by name, only through references to their value. This is partly due to the change in socio-economic circumstance, but it is also part of a greater process that started during the High Middle Ages and rapidly intensified in the fifteenth century. This new type of thinking about artworks, particularly goldsmith's works and other precious objects, and the slow but steady replacement of religious artistic objects by more secular ones, would represent the collection of many families, also in East Central Europe, mostly starting from the fifteenth century onward.[55]

The end of the Middle Ages brought a period of decline for the Great Plain of Hungary. After the Mongol Invasion of 1241–1242 these settlements and religious communities flourished again as is evident with the treasury of Bátmonostora. The heyday truly came about in the fifteenth century when the settlement and the friary were at their peak. It is likely that this was the period when many of the artworks of the treasury were commissioned. Yet by the end of the long fifteenth century this was completely changed and the religious institution and the market town rapidly declined. From the perspective of the greater

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[55] In regard to this, as Erika Kiss recently highlighted, these troublesome times also gave birth to many valuable and creative metalworks. See Erika Kiss, *Az mi kevés ezüst marhácskám vagyon: ötvösművek a három részre szakadt Magyarországon* (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2022). See also Evelin Wetter, *Objekt, Überlieferung und Narrativ: Spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst im historischen Königreich Ungarn.* Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia 8 (Ostfildern: Thorbeke, 2011).

historical context, the development of military systems, equipment and new types of empires were the source of the rupture at the end of the Middle Ages that marked the end or caused a profound transformation to this large part of the Central Europe. Ultimately, as it is shown in the case of Bátmonostora's treasury, it decimated the Great Hugarian Plain's cultural heritage, and by the end of the long fifteenth century most of its society, as the Várdai, entered a completely different reality.

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# The Preaching of Indulgences from the Roman Hospital Sancti Spiritus in Saxia in Poland, Lithuania, Silesia and Prussia in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries[1]

**Abstract:** The Order of the Holy Spirit conducted a campaign of preaching the indulgences that spread throughout Europe, combined with a collection of alms for the Roman Hospital of the Holy Spirit. From the fifteenth century onwards, special commissaries preaching indulgences also reached Poland, Lithuania, Silesia and Prussia. This article presents the activities of the commissaries in areas on the basis of the surviving source material, in particular the letters of indulgence they issued.

**Keywords:** Order of the Holy Spirit, Hospital Sancti Spiritus in Saxia, indulgences, letters of indulgence

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Indulgences were an inseparable part of the religious practices of Late Mediaeval Western Christianity.[2] One of the aspects of this phaenomenon was the linkage of a spiritual privilege received for alms given. The large-scale alms collection, as Andreas Rehberg observes: "still awaits holistic study reflecting the multitude of its theological, legal, social and cultural aspects on the European scale."[3] In the spiritual dimension, alms purged sins and the almsgivers "stored up for themselves treasures in heaven."[4] Such a conception of almsgiving can be found, for example, in Innocent III's treatise on alms. Eloquently, the pope conveys the spiritual significance of the offering: *"Eleemosyna mundat, eleemosyna liberat, eleemosyna redimit, eleemosyna protegit, eleemosyna postulat, eleemosyna impetrat, eleemosyna perficit, eleemosyna benedicit, eleemosyna justificat, eleemosyna resuscitat, eleemosyna salvat."*[5]

The collection of alms was widespread especially among newly founded religious orders. Military orders allocated the alms raised for their activities in the Holy Land, which later included military expeditions forming part of the Crusade movement.[6] Similar indulgence campaigns were also undertaken by hospitaller orders.[7] In Karl Borchardt's words:

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[2]  Robert Norman Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[3]  Andreas Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii. L'ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia e la raccolta delle elemosine nel periodo avignonese," *Mélanges de l'école Française de Rome* 115.1 (2003): 20; Idem, "L'Ordine di Santo Spirito e le sue filiali dal medioevo al primo cinquecento," in *Storia di un priorato dell'Ordine di Santo Spirito: Ospedaletto di Gemona,* ed. Anna Esposito, Andreas Rehberg and Miriam Davide (Udine: Forum, 2013), 52–55.

[4]  "[F]or almsgiving saves from death and purges all sin. Those who give alms will enjoy a full life" (Tobit 12:8–9; Matthew 6:20).

[5]  Innocent III, "Libellus de Eleemosyna," in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina,* ed. Jacques Paul Migne, vol. 217 (Paris: Apud J.-P. Migne, 1855). Innocent III's words were recalled by the Order of the Holy Spirit's visitator to Poland in the mid-seventeenth century, when reviving the Holy Spirit confraternity in Kraków, aggregated (admitted) to the Roman confraternity. See Mateusz Zimny, "O pobycie w Polsce wizytatora i komisarza duchaków Pietro Sauniera w roku 1651," in *Podróże w świecie nowożytnym (XVI–XVIII w.),* ed. Patryk Kuc and Weronika Kruszyna (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Iagellonica, Koło Naukowe Historyków Studentów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2021), 113–114.

[6]  E.g. Axel Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter.* Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens (Marburg a. d. Lahn: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2007).

[7]  Andreas Rehberg, "Una categoria di ordini religiosi poco studiata: gli ordini ospedalieri: prime osservazioni e piste di ricerca sul tema Centro e periferia,"

Beginning in the second half of the eleventh century and especially through the twelfth- and thirteenth- centuries institutions financing themselves by appealing to the faithful developed a whole industry of *nuntii* or *questuarii* who travelled Christian countries to collect alms and promised spiritual rewards or indulgences in return. Examples were the hospice on the Great St. Bernard Pass, St-Antoine-en-Viennois, the hospice at Altopascio near Lucca or, most prominently, Santo Spirito in Sassia near the Vatican in Rome.[8]

Indulgences granted to that particular Roman hospital operated by the Order of the Holy Spirit are the topic of the present study.[9]

The Order of the Holy Spirit, founded by Guy (Gui) of Montpellier at the end of the twelfth century, was one of the first hospitaller orders not to be a military order.[10] Benefiting at its inception from the extraordinary support of Innocent III, it took over the custody of the Roman hospital at the Church of Sancta Maria in Saxia, in the early

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in *Gli ordini ospedalieri tra centro e periferia. Giornata di studi, Roma, Istituto Storico Germanico, 16 giugno 2005*, ed. Anna Esposito and Andreas Rehberg (Rome: Viella, 2007), 57–63.

[8] Concerning the role of indulgences in the activities of Teutonic Kings, see: Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis*; Karl Borchardt, "Late Medieval Indulgences for the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order," in *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext*, ed. Andreas Rehberg (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 196.

[9] Concerning the indulgence campaign of the Order of the Holy Spirit, see especially: Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923) (mit einer Einleitung und einer Bibliographie von Thomas Lentes, Darmstadt: Primus, 2000), 199–206; Paul Brune, *Histoire de l'Ordre hospitalier du Saint-Esprit* (Lons-le-Saunier: C. Martin, 1892), 149–152; Andreas Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem … quam papa*. Der Heilig-Geist-Orden und seine Ablasskampagnen um 1500," in *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext*, ed. Andreas Rehberg (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 219–270.

[10] Concerning the Order of the Holy Spirit, see: Balbino Rano, "Ospitalieri di Santo Spirito," in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, ed. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, vol. 6 (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1980), 988–994. See also Brune, *Histoire de l'Ordre*; Pietro De Angelis, *L'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia*, vol. 1–2 (Rome: Tipografia D. Detti, 1960, 1962). These monographs of the Order are, in A. Rehberg's words, "in many aspect outdated." Among some recent studies, see: Gisela Drossbach, *Christliche caritas als Rechtsinstitut: Hospital und Orden von Santo Spirito in Sassia (1198–1378)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005); Rehberg, "Una categoria," 15–70.

thirteenth century.[11] Similarly to other charitable works at the time, its upkeep was provided for by the collection of alms for the sick and the poor.[12] By his bull *Inter opera pietatis,* of 1204, Innocent III permitted the order to organise a general collection on a European scale.[13] The foundations were also regulated by the Order's own rule (the chapter titled *De helymosinis colligendis*).[14] In return for alms given in support of the Order's activities, especially the Holy Spirit hospital in Rome, the almsgivers had the opportunity to receive spiritual graces allotted to them by the Apostolic See, including the right of absolution *in articulo mortis*, involving a plenary indulgence attached to absolution in the hour of death. Over time, a succession of popes confirmed the privileges accrued to the Order.[15]

The collection was reinvigorated following the renewal of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit by Pope Eugene IV.[16] The extant *Liber fraternitatis* dating to that period contains several thousand entries made for confrères throughout Europe, including more than 250 named

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[11]    Gisela Drossbach, "Caritas cristiana. Innocenzo III fondatore dell'ospedale e dell'ordine di Santo Spirito," *Il Veltro* 45.5–6 (2001): 85–94.

[12]    Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii," 41–42.

[13]    See Gisela Drossbach, "Der Hospitalorden von Santo Spirito in Sassia als Geldtransfer-Netz," in *Kommunikation und Region*, ed. Carl A. Hoffmann and Rolf Kießling (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2001), 231–248. Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii," 42.

[14]    Rehberg, "*Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii*," 59.

[15]    See Andreas Rehberg, "I Papi, l'ospedale e l'ordine di S. Spirito nell'età Avignonese," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 124 (2001): 35–140.

[16]    For more on this topic, see: Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii"; Idem, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*"; Andrea Fara, "L'Ordine e la Confraternita del Santo Spirito dalle origini allo sviluppo di una vocazione di frontiera ai confini orientali della Christianitas latina: la Transilvania tra Medioevo e prima Età moderna (XIV–XVI secolo)," in *Profili istituzionali della santità medioevale: culti importati, culti esportati e culti autoctoni nella Toscana occidentale e nella circolazione mediterranea ed europea*, ed. Cesare Alzati and Gabriella Rosetti (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2008), 369–442; Anna Esposito, "L'ospedale di S. Spirito di Roma e la confraternità veneziana dello Spirito Santo alla fine del '400," in *Gli ordini ospedalieri tra centro e periferia. Giornata di studi, Roma, Istituto Storico Germanico, 16 giugno 2005*, ed. Anna Esposito and Andreas Rehberg (Rome: Viella, 2007), 251–272.For the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit see also: Klara Antosiewicz, "Bractwo Ducha Świętego, jego geneza i rozwój," in *Christianitas et cultura Europae: Księga jubileuszowa profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*, ed. Henryk Gapski, vol. 1 (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1998), 43–52.

individuals from Polish territories.[17] Enrolment in the Confraternity took place at the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, either in person or through a delegated representative.[18]

Simultaneously, the same spiritual graces could be received by joining the Confraternity through the mediation of commissioners (also known as *nuntii* or *quaestiarii*), travelling all over Europe for that purpose.[19] Besides the commissioners appointed directly by the Order's general in Rome, the promulgation of indulgences was also the work of local convents acting on plenipotentiary powers delegated to them by the Order's master general.

The entrants were issued written certificates, which were referred to as letters of indulgence (*littera indulgentiarum*) and attested to the spiritual graces granted, often taking the form of an ornate parchment diploma with a seal. As a result of the invention of the printing press,

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[17]   Because the topic of this study is the preaching of indulgences outside of Rome, entries made for Polish pilgrims in the Eternal City are not discussed. See: Jacek Wiesiołowski, "Pielgrzymowanie Polaków do Rzymu na przełomie XV i XVI w. (1478–1526)," in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1995), 160–164; Halina Manikowska, "Źródła wrocławskie (i wrocławian dotyczące) do 'wielkiego pielgrzymowania' u schyłku średniowiecza," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 61.1 (2006): 48–50. For the *Liber fraternitatis* see: *Liber fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe*, in *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, vol. 2, ed. Pietro Egidi (Roma: Istituto Storico del Medioevo, 1914), 107–446; Pietro Egidi, "Per la storia esterna del *Liber Fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe* (cod. Lancisiano n. 328)," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 34 (1914): 257–264; Vince Bunyitay, *Liber Confraternitatis Sancti Spiritus de Urbe. A római Szentlélek-Társulat anyakönyve 1446–1523* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1889); Hana Pátková, "Češi v římských bratrstvech na sklonku středověku," *Listy filologické* 126 (2004): 153–172; Karl Heinrich Schäfer, *Die deutschen Mitglieder der Heiliggeist-Bruderschaft zu Rom am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1913); Johannes Lindbaek and Gustav Stemann, *De danske Helligaandsklostre. Fremstilling og Aktstykker* (Copenhagen: Fremstilling og Aktstykker, 1906); Darius Baronas, "Piligrimai iš Lietuvos – Romos Šv. Dvasios brolijos nariai 1492–1503 m.," *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis* 38 (2012): 15–28; Krzysztof Rafał Prokop, "*Liber fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe*. Niedostrzeżone źródło do badań nad prozopografią późnego średniowiecza Pomorza Zachodniego i Polski," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 48.2 (2004): 137–143.

[18]   In the latter case, the accession procedure was thus *per procura*. Halina Manikowska, "Wstęp," in *Księga odpustów wrocławskich*, ed. Halina Manikowska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2016), LXVI–LXX.

[19]   Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii."

"mechanically copied documents entered into use, though with the same contents as those done by hand," phasing out the latter.[20] The preserved letters of indulgence constitute a precious source from the perspective of the history of the Order of the Holy Spirit's indulgence campaigns.

The presence of Roman collectors in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is attested to from the middle of the fifteenth century onward.[21] The manifestations of the broad activity of the Order of the Holy Spirit in relation to its indulgences – recorded in the Kingdom of Poland, Grand Duchy of Lithuanian, as well as Silesia and Prussia – are the topic of the present study.[22]

## The campaign of 1456

One of the earliest sojourns of Roman questuaries in the discussed region dates to mid-1456. Three friars from the Roman Hospital of the Holy Spirit – Christopher of Rome, Nicholas of Arezzo and Francis the Spaniard – reached the vicinity of Gdańsk and the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Attested to in June of that year is their stay in Pomerania, where they admitted the Cistercian monks of the Abbey of Oliwa to the Confraternity.[23] Three months later, in September 1456,

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[20]　Wiktor Szymborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Iagellonica, 2011), 45. The earliest prints of this kind, issued by members of the Order, date back to 1485. See: Gedeon Borsa, "Ein bisher unbekannter gedruckter Bruderschaftsbrief der Hospitaliter vom Hl. Geist," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 54 (1984): 142–144. Concerning the impact of the proliferation of print on indulgence practices, see: Falk Eiserman, "The Indulgence as a Media Event: Developments in Communication through Broadsides in the Fifteenth Century," in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Robert Norman Swanson (Leiden and Boston MA: Brill, 2006), 309–330.

[21]　Fara, *L'Ordine e la Confraternita del Santo Spirito*, 404. For example, collector Dominicus *de Runcho*, who occupied himself with enrolling members into the confraternity in exchange for alms collected in Bohemia and Poland, used printed standard forms for issuing his letters of indulgence; see: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke: 0864020, 0864030, 08641. https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/DOMIRUN.htm.

[22]　For a deep study into the Order's indulgence campaign, especially in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, see Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 219–270.

[23]　The contents are only known from a copy: *Originalurkunde im geheimen Archiv [zu Königsberg], Schiebl. LVII, Nro. 34. Dat. anno dom. 1456 decima die mensis Junij pontificis sanctissimi in christo patris et domini domini Calixti pape tercii diuina*

members of the confraternity at the Franciscan Church in Vilnius were aggregated into the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome by the same three officials.[24] The parchment issued by the commissioners on the occasion survives in one of the archives in Kraków and is a telling witness to the Order's campaign in the lands of Lithuania, Christianised seven decades prior.
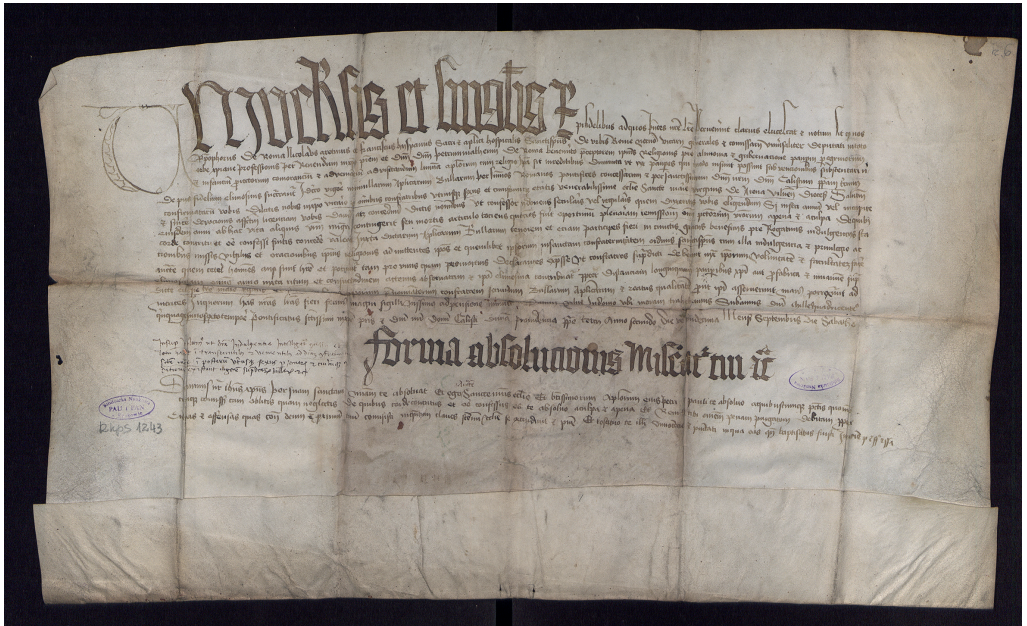


Fig. 1: Christopher of Rome, Nicholas of Arezzo and Francis, the Spaniard, admit the members of the brotherhood at the Franciscan Church in Vilnius to the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome, Vilnius, 1456. Academic Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, Ms 1243, fol. 6

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*prouidencia anno secondo. Neues allgemeines Archiv für die Geschichtskunde des Preußischen Staates*, vol. 2, ed. Leopold von Ledebur (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1830), 340. The original is probably not extant: the archival found in the State Archive in Gdańsk, *Akta klasztoru cystersów w Oliwie*, ref. 940, is preserved only in part, with just two of the oldest documents surviving. See: Czesław Biernat, *Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku. Przewodnik po zasobie do 1945 roku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1992), 181, 462.

24 Discussed in detail in: Mateusz Zimny, "The Letter of Indulgence of AD 1456 for the Fraternity of the Franciscan Church in Vilnius. A Foray into the History of the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia" (in print).

## Silesia

Since the mid-fifteenth century, the Order's indulgence campaign reached Silesia, mainly the diocese of Wrocław (Breslau, Wratislavia), especially the *terrae* of Głogów (Glogau) and Łużyce (Lusatia, Lausitz, Lužice). That is, the location of the Silesian cluster of Holy Spirit convents.[25] Other than Ścinawa (Steinau), founded in 1290,[26] there were also convents in Lubin (Lüben) (founded between 1302 and 1319),[27] Głogów (bef. 1318),[28] Chobienia (Köben) (bef. 1454 r.),[29] and Wschowa (Fraustadt) (bef. 1426).[30] The Silesian priory also included the convent in Cottbus in Lusatia (belonging to the Order since 1462).[31] For a long time, the

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[25] Concerning the Order's presence in Silesia, see: Maria Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2006), 136–140.

[26] Kazimierz Dola, "Opieka społeczna i zdrowotna w Głogowie do czasów pruskich (1742)," in *Misericordia et veritas. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci księdza biskupa Wincentego Urbana,* ed. Jerzy Mandziuk and Józef Pater (Wrocław: Kuria Metropolitalna Wrocławska, 1986), 125. For more details on the convent in Ścinawa, see: Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem,* 136; Kazimierz Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1: Rozwój historyczny," *Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego* 1 (1968): 282; Heinrich Schubert, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Stadt Steinau an der Oder* (Breslau: Verlag von Max Woywod, 1885), 145–159.

[27] Konrad Klose, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Lüben* (Lüben: Verlag Kühn, 1924), 53–54; Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem,* 137–139; Hermann Neuling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre kirchlichen Stiftungen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Breslau: E. Wohlfarth's Buchhandlung, 1902), 182; Bogusz Steinborn, *Lubin* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969), 128; Stanisław Solicki, "Od formowania się plemion prapolskich do przełomu XV/XVI wieku," in *Lubin. Zarys rozwoju miasta na przestrzeni wieków,* ed. Krystyn Matwijowski (Wrocław: DTSK Silesia, 1996), 65; Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1," 275.

[28] Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1," 267–268; Idem, „Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 2: Funkcjonowanie," *Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego* 2 (1970): 177–208; Idem, "Opieka społeczna i zdrowotna," 124–133; Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem,* 137–140.

[29] Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem,* 138, 140.

[30] Tomasz Jurek, "Zapomniany szpital zakonu Świętego Ducha in Sassia we Wschowie," in *Pro pana profesora Libora Jana k životnímu jubileu,* ed. Bronislav Chocholáč, Jiří Malíř and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2020), 667–675.

[31] See: "Heiliggeistorden-Hospital (Kreuzhof) Cottbus," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Niederlausitz,* ed. Rudolf Lehmann (Köln: Böhlau, 1972), 85–87; "Cottbus, Heiliggeistorden-Hospital (Kreuzhof)," in *Historisches Ortslexikon für die Niederlausitz,* ed. Rudolf Lehman (Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2013), II: 62–63.

convents were under the supervision of the priory in Vienna, which was at the helm of the province referred to as *in Almania inferior*.[32]

One of the first attestations of the promulgation of indulgences by the Order of the Holy Spirit's Silesian members dates to the mid-fifteenth century. On 24 May 1452, Pope Nicholas V addressed a *breve* to the Bishop of Wrocław, Piotr Nowak. In the document he commanded that protection be given to the privileges and rights bestowed on the masters of the hospitals of the Holy Spirit de Saxia in the diocese of Wrocław, i.e. to proclaim the Word and to collect alms, "et omnia et singula exequi et exercere possint."[33]

The breve can be linked to the appointment, in the autumn of 1452, of brother Tillmann aus Selbach (Thilimandus de Selbah) as visitator or commissioner, "in partibus inferioris Alemanie." Tillmann's powers extended to convents dependant on Vienna, which were the headquarters of the *Alemania inferior* province, as well as convents located in Silesia and in Poland.[34] The mandate issued by the General of the Order, Pietro Matteo of Rome, explicitly mentioned the right to conduct the quest in the dioceses of Merseburg (Merseburgensis), Naumburg (Naumburgensis), Lubusz (Lubucensis), Wrocław (Wratislaviensis), and Poznań (Posnaniensis) for the benefit of the Order's houses in Ścinawa, Lubiń, and Głogów.[35]

After arriving in Silesia, he was given the office of master of the hospital in Głogów. There are no records of his undertaking of a collection relating to indulgences. It is known, however, that as early as three years later, he contemplated leaving the order, by which he drew the ire of the Order's general.[36] His successor, brother Paulus Puechensros

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[32]   Rehberg, "L'Ordine di Santo Spirito," 41–68.

[33]   Breve of Nicholas V of 24 May 1452: *Brevia Romanorum Pontificum ad Poloniam Spectantia*, ed. Henricus Damianus Wojtyska. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones 64 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1986), I: 5.

[34]   Rehberg, "Die fratres von jenseits der Alpen im römischen Hospital S. Spirito in Sassia mit einem Ausblick auf die Attraktivität Roms für den europäischen Ordensklerus im Spätmittelalter," in *Vita communis und ethnische Vielfalt. Multinational zusammengesetzte Klöster im Mittelalter: Akten den internationalen Studientags vom 26. Januar 2005 im Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom*, ed. Uwe Israel (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 136. Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 238.

[35]   Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Ospedale Santo Spirito (OSS) 212, f. 89.

[36]   Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 238.

(Pulchenstrolz), who was to have him arrested, was simultaneously tasked with organising a collection in the diocese of Wrocław.[37]

A rationale for the later activities of the Order's collectors in the territory of that diocese in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century is a document issued on parchment by Innocent VIII and preserved in Wrocław.[38] Appointing two collectors in 1487, the pontiff charged them with the recovery, not only of the sums collected by the deceased collector Marino de Frigeno for a crusade against the Turks,[39] but also of, "some sums by way of indulgence offerings collected by the questuaries of the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia."[40] The preservation of this papal bull in the archives in Wrocław bears witness to the promulgation of indulgences in the territory of the diocese by commissioners arriving from the Eternal City, for the benefit of the Roman *nosocomium*.

The sources confirm that the reception of indulgences also occurred on the level of local convents in Silesia.[41] On 20 November, the aforementioned bishop of Wrocław, Piotr Nowak, issued a *vidimatio* of Pope Nicholas V's confirmation of existing privileges issued for the Holy Spirit hospitallers in Ścinawa, just short of half a year prior, on 12 June.[42] With the confirmation also came a new grant of a 40-day indulgence for the residents and benefactors of hospitals in Ścinawa,

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[37] Ibidem.

[38] Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Dokumenty Miasta Wrocławia, no. 5686.

[39] It is known that Marino de Frigeno managed a collection of alms in Poland before 24 July 1464 – *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. 17, ed. Gustav Storm, Henrik Jørgen Huitfeldt-Kaas and Alexander Bugge et al. (Christiania: Aktie-Bogtrykkeriet, 1902–1913), 1052, no. 1084.

[40] "Plurime alie pecuniarum summe per nonnullos questores elemosynarum hospitalis nostri sancti Spiritus in Saxia de Vrbe ordinis sancti Augustini collecte" – edited in: *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 619–623. See also: *Acta Pontificum Danica*, ed. Laust Moltesen (Copenhagen: I kommission hos G. E. C. Gad, 1904), I: 393, no. 3069. The task of collecting the funds raised by the deceased bishop of Cammin, Marino de Frigeno, was given by the pope in 1486 to Günter von Bünau (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 614). The appointed collectors were Johannes Antonius, abbot of the Cistercian abbey de Sanctogemino (Sancto Gemmino), and Herman Tuleman, papal acolyte and canon at Utrecht.

[41] A detailed bibliography is listed opposite each convent below. For more details on the activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit in Silesia, see: Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1"; Idem, „Opieka społeczna i zdrowotna w Głogowie."

[42] Siegismund Justus Ehrhardt, *Neue diplomatische Beyträge zur Erläuterung der alten Niederschlesischen Geschichte und Rechte* (Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn dem ältern, 1773), I: 49–50.

Głogów and Chobienia.[43] Although the grant itself bore no direct link to the indulgences of the Roman hospital, the document itself must be seen in the context of the Order's broader indulgence activities.

Towards the turn of the sixteenth century, the promulgation of indulgences was undertaken by the friars from the convent in Cottbus, at that time a dependency of Ścinawa and Głogów. However, some of the questuaries' activities must have sparked controversies, given that, around 1500, the king of Bohemia, Vladislaus II, prohibited the collection of alms by the Order in Lusatia.[44] Rather than giving up, the brothers turned to the elector of Brandenburg for permission.[45] In effect, on 6 August 1500, Elector Joachim I issued a document in support of the activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit in Cottbus and recommended them to the Lusatian League, an association of Six Cities in Upper Lusatia (*Lužické Šestiměstí, Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund*).[46] Fifteen years later, in 1515, matters took a different turn, since the Bohemian King Vladislaus II expressly ordered the Six Cities not to oppose the collection of indulgences by Adam Neumann, prior of the religious house in Cottbus.[47]

The Silesian brothers also continued their campaign in the territory of the diocese of Wrocław several years later. There is a document issued on parchment by Bishop Jan V Thurzo (Bishop of Wrocław in 1504–1520) at the beginning of the sixteenth century, probably in 1506.[48] Through it, Bishop Jan notified the clerics of his diocese of a papal letter instructing the local clergy to accept and not impose difficulties on the activities of brothers, "sive nuntios S. Spiritus de Urbe," if coming in *habitu clericali* to churches and cemeteries. The pope allowed the

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[43]   A similar document had been issued by Nicholas V four years before (1450) for a convent in Litovel, in Moravia (Státní okresní archiv Olomouc, Archiv města Litovle 1287–1945 (1956), svazek I, A-II-8). It can be interpreted in the broader context of the Order's endeavours in defence of its prerogatives.

[44]   The year 1472 is the date of a breve addressed to the archbishop of Salzburg in support of the collection of alms in Lower Lusatia, although managed by a brother from the Vienna convent (Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 238).

[45]   Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1," 251, fn. 53 (cited after: Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Urząd Miasta Bolesławca, ref. 86/150/0/1/2249, nos 139 and 140).

[46]   "Heiliggeistorden-Hospital (Kreuzhof) Cottbus," 85–87.

[47]   Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 256, 263.

[48]   The exact date is illegible.

participation of the people in their services, even in locations placed under an interdict.[49]

Several years later, in 1520, at Świdnica, Johannes Libalth, who was the prior of Ścinawa and Lubin at the time, admitted Nikolaus Hertwig, the commander of the Knights of Saint John in Zittau (Žitava), into the Confraternity.[50] The aforementioned document is, at the same time, the last trace of the Order's indulgence activities in Silesia.



Fig. 2: Johannes Libalth admits the commander of the Knights of St John in Žitava, Nikolaus Hertwig, into the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit, Świdnica, 1520. Národní archiv Praha, Maltézští rytíři – české velkopřevorství (1085–1875), RM 1196

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[49]   *Wykaz regestów dokumentów Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego we Wrocławiu*, ed. Wincenty Urban (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1970), 236, doc. no. 1484.

[50]   Národní archiv Praha, Maltézští rytíři – české velkopřevorství (1085–1875), RM 1196. Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 256.

## Głogów and Toruń (1504)

At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the brothers from the Silesian convents also developed extensive activities outside of Silesia itself or at the limits of the diocese of Wrocław.[51] It was in this connection that they obtained, on 24 April 1504, a letter of recommendation from Prince Sigismund Jagiellon, the younger brother of King Vladislav II of Bohemia, and his governor in Silesia (later King Sigismund I the Old of Poland).[52] The prince addressed himself to the bishop of Warmia (Ermland), Lucas Watzenrode, informing his 'friend' (in the prince's own words) that the commissioners enjoyed the protection of the Apostolic See and of the master of their own Order. He went on to request suitable letters of commendation from the bishop to the clergy of the diocese to enable the commissioners to operate freely.

It is granted that the document does not specify whether the recommendation was being given to the brothers from Silesia or commissioners from Rome. There are, however, reasons to believe that local friars were intended. In Głogów, where Prince Sigismund resided at the time and was also the local duke, the Order had its own convent, and the document issued several months later by members from Ścinawa, attesting to the admission of Benedictine nuns from Toruń to the Confraternity, can be linked to the mission of which the Polish-Lithuanian prince wrote to notify the bishop of Warmia.

The document issued in Toruń in 1504, indisputably attests to the activities of Silesian members of the Order in Northeastern Poland. It is handwritten on parchment, dated 15 November, and records the admission of the Torunian Benedictine sisters to the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit. Fortunately preserved in the original in the Diocesan Archive of Pelplin, the document saw print as early as 1860, for which reason it is well known in the subject literature.[53] The issuers of the

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[51] See: Dola, "Szpitale średniowiecznego Śląska. Cz. 2," 193.

[52] *Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego (1501–1506)*, ed. Fryderyk Papée (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1927), 410, no. 243 (misidentified as originating from, "the Order of the Holy Spirit from the hospital in Rohina in Saxony"). The publisher was familiar with a copy in *Teki Naruszewicza* (current reference: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Ms 27, f. 51, document no. 16.

[53] Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie, Klasztor Benedyktynek w Toruniu, parchment document no. 14. Edited document in *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, vol. 2,
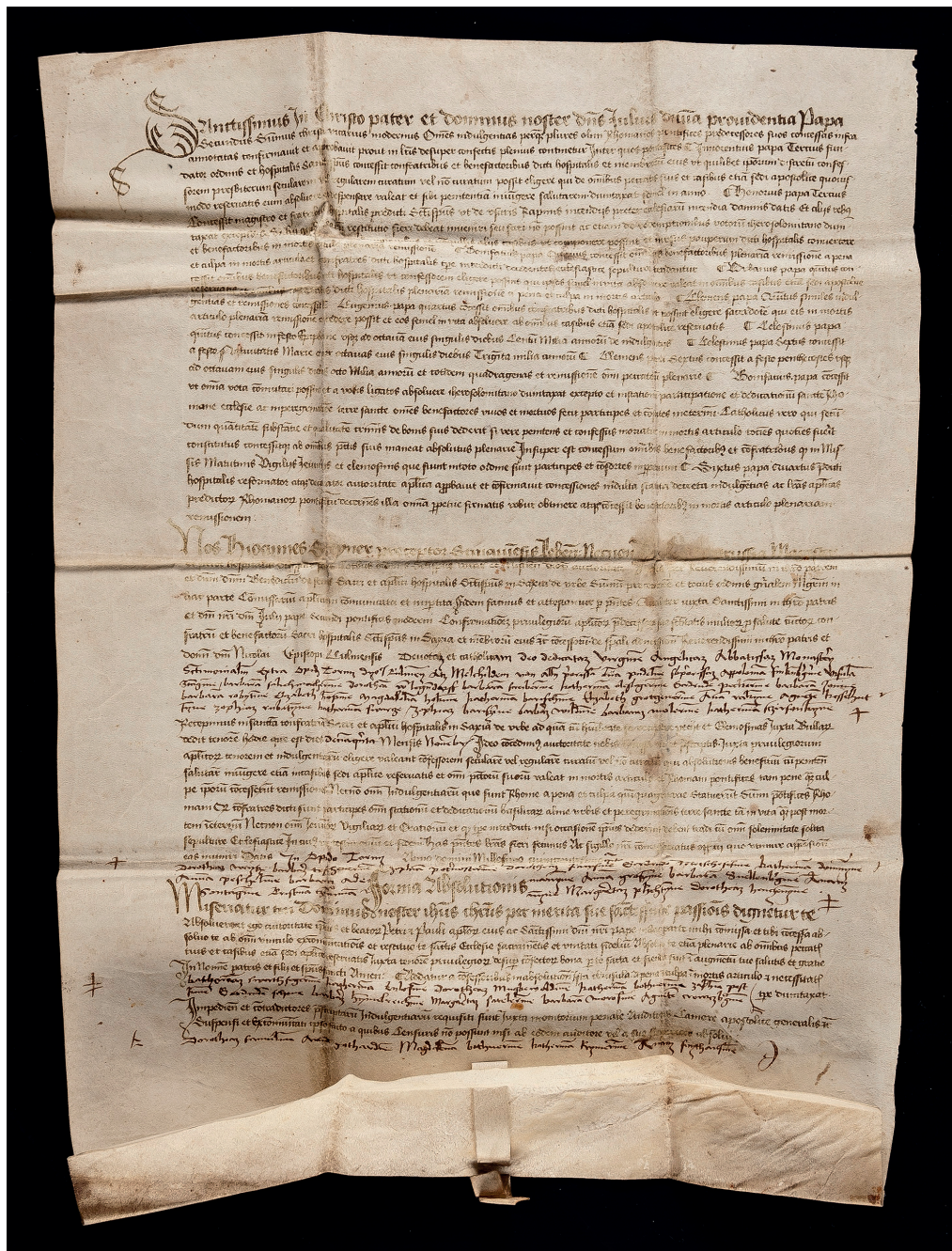
Fig. 3: Jan Steyner and James of Prussia admit the Benedictine Nuns of Toruń to the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome, 15 November 1504. Diocesan Archive in Pelplin, Benedictine Nunnery in Toruń, parchment document no. 14

documents, receiving the recipients into the Confraternity, were the following named members of the Order of the Holy Spirit: Johann Steyner, preceptor in Ścinawa and Chobienia, and Jacob of Prussia, master and prior of the hospital in Cottbus.[54]

## Teutonic Prussia and Gdańsk[55]

The activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit attested to in Toruń in 1504 continued, at least until 1508 in the Teutonic State. It is during that year that the Order secured the Hochmeister's approval for the establishment of a convent in Prabuty and for collections within the territory of the Teutonic State – the dioceses of Warmia, Sambia and Pomesania.[56]

Based on sources, Mario Glauert describes how the collection played out in practice and that for nearly fifteen years members of the Order operated in Teutonic Prussia.[57] Initially reluctant to acquiesce, the Teutonic Knights were persuaded by the promise of one quarter of

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ed. Carl Peter Woelky (Danzig: Commissionsverlag von Theodor Bertling, 1887), 621–623, no. 766; Szymborski, *Odpusty*, 536, no. 1427; Manikowska, "Wstęp," LXIX–LXX; Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses*, 203.

[54] "Hioannes Steyner preceptor Stinaviensis Coben[sis] necnon Jacobus de Prussia, magister et prior hospitalis sancti Spiritus foris Cotbus, Ordinis sancti Spiritus Wratislaviensis et Misnensis diocesium."

[55] The activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit in Prabuty are described in detail by Mario Glauert, "Kościoły, klasztory i szpitale między Kwidzynem a Suszem w czasach średniowiecza (do 1525 r.). Przyczynek do topografii sakralnej i prozopografii niższego duchowieństwa w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach," in *Parafie w średniowiecznych Prusach w czasach zakonu niemieckiego od XIII do XVI w.*, ed. Radosław Biskup and Andrzej Radzimiński. Ecclesia Clerusque Temporibus Medii Aevi 4 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015), 99–103. This article is a partial translation of Mario Glauert, "Kirchen, Klöster und Spitäler zwischen Marienwerder und Rosenberg im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Sakraltopographie und Prosopographie des Niederklerus im Deutschordensland Preußen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußen* 20/21 (2006/2008): 9–111. The material listed above provided the basis for the discussion of indulgence activities later in this section.

[56] See: Rafał Kubicki, "Uwagi na temat roli zakonów mendykanckich w duszpasterstwie na terenach wiejskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach," *Studia Historica Gedanensia* 7 (2016): 32; Idem, "Monastycyzm na Pomorzu do początku XIX wieku – uwagi na temat organizacji struktur i działalności zakonów," in *1050. rocznica Chrztu Polski*, ed. Krzysztof Lewalski (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2016), 163, 172.

[57] Kubicki, "Uwagi," 163, 172.

the sums collected. In return, the Order of the Holy Spirit received the right of "stationes, collecten und almosen furder zu halten," but they could visit any given town or village only once. The questuaries were to be accompanied by a scribe delegated by the Knights to supervise the collection. One fourth was to go to the Apostolic See, and a half of the rest to the Teutonic Order.

Little is known about the friars involved directly in the quest. The sources only mention the name of Valentin Repergk.[58] Some data, however incomplete, paints a picture of the collection (*collecten und stationes*): from the alms collected in Königsberg and Friedland, the Teutonic Knights received 94 marks, and from those collected in Altstadt and Löbenicht (historical districts of Königsberg) as well as surrounding towns and villages 102 and a half were collected. Königsberg was the site of a collection again in 1509. At the same time, in connection with the construction of conventual buildings in Prabuty, the Order of the Holy Spirit received an exemption from certain mandatory fees. The Order enjoyed the support of the favourably disposed bishop of Pomesania, Job von Dobeneck, who on several occasions supported their annual efforts to renew the Hochmeister's approval for the collection.

Nevertheless, the campaign constantly sparked conflict and controversy. Competition came from the Anthonians, whose analogous and almost parallel indulgence activities led to a conflict between the members of the respective orders.[59] The Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit also had a conflict with the burgesses of Gdańsk in 1513. The former promulgated indulgences and collected alms despite the lack of approval from the aldermen and sharp objection from the burghers.[60] The offended burgesses went as far as to complain to the Polish king.

The Order continued its activities in the following years until 1522, which is when the local clergy, following the death of the supportive

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[58]  In 1515, 'Reberk' is recorded as the parish priest of Culm (Chełmno) – *Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Episcopo A. 1667–72 factae*, ed. Bruno Czapla (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1902), 115.

[59]  Joseph Kolberg, "Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte des beginnenden sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zur Geschichte der Antoniter in Frauenburg," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 19 (1916): 308–312; Eugen Brachvogel, "Die Anfänge des Antoniterklosters in Frauenburg," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 27 (1939/1942): 420–424.

[60]  Glauert, *Kościoły*, 51–107.

Bishop von Dobeneck, were firmly prohibited from giving any assistance to questuaries.

The activities of collectors can be linked to the medieval seal of the chapter of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, found in Gdańsk during archaeological research.[61]

## Printed letters of indulgence from the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit in Silesia

As noted before, the Hospitallers' indulgence campaigns are attested to by letters of indulgence issued by them, either handwritten or printed. It has already been stated that the invention of print quickly transformed the indulgence campaign by allowing certificates of admission into the Confraternity to be issued with much greater efficiency.[62] Three printed forms commissioned by the Silesian members of the Order have been identified thus far.

The first one is the no longer surviving printed letter published by Konrad Baumgarten's press in Gdańsk in 1498.[63] A proof copy, found and laconically described in the printer's biogram by Aleksander Birkenmajer, burned in Krasiński Library, when the building was set on fire in 1944 by the occupying Germans in Warsaw.[64] The issuer was a Holy Spirit brother, 'Joannes de Steynovia,' who is likely identified as Prior

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[61] See Tomasz Maćkowski, "Średniowieczna pieczęć Zakonu Ducha Świętego odnaleziona przy ul. Toruńskiej w Gdańsku," *Archeologia Gdańska* 8 (2021): 65–72. It is worth mentioning another sphragistic relic, the seal piston with a representation of the Order's emblem, a double cross, excavated in the Old Market Square in Poznań during research carried out by the Archaeological Museum in Poznań, which is still the subject of research.

[62] Eiserman, "The Indulgence as a Media Event," 309–330.

[63] *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. 2, ed. Maria Bohonos, Michał Spandowski, Eliza Szandorowska et al. (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1994), 326. Letter mentioned in: Szymborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, 45 and discussed in detail in Zimny, "List odpustowy duchaka Jana de Steynovia."

[64] The list of losses suffered by the National Library in Warsaw includes 2337 bibliographic items (4600 together with copies) for incunables alone, not including manuscripts or old prints after AD 1500); for more on this subject: Michał Spandowski, "Die verlorenen Inkunabeln. Von den Arbeiten am Zentralkatalog der Inkunabeln in Polen," in *Johannes Gutenberg. Regionale Aspekte des frühen Buchdrucks. Vorträge der Internationalen Konferenz zum 550. Jubiläum der Buchdruck-*

Johannes Steyner of Ścinawa and Chobienia, and later also Prabuty, mentioned above in the context of the admission of the Benedictine nuns of Toruń to the Confraternity in 1504. As a result, the dating of the commencement of the promulgation of the Holy Spirit indulgences by the Hospitallers of Ścinawa can be traced back to the end of the fifteenth century, preceding the dynamic development that would occur one decade later (which will be discussed further below).

Another indulgence letter was identified based on scant remains discovered by Paul Schwenke before 1895 in a book from Oliwa Cistercian Abbey in Gdańsk archives (possibly bound waste-paper flyleaves).[65] Its external appearance is only known from a phototypic reproduction published in 1895. It included a summary of the indulgences of the Holy Spirit Confraternity, followed by the admission formula with the issuer's name. By Schwenke's description, the remainder had not survived. On the basis of the mention of Pope Julius II, Schwenke dated the print to before 1513.



Fig. 4: Part of a letter of indulgence issued by James (Jacob) of Prussia

On the basis of surviving fragments, Schwenke identified the issuer as James, or Jacob, of Prussia (*Jacobus de Prussia*), at the time *praepositus* (provost) in Prabuty – the same person who, as the provost in Cottbus, together with Johannes Steyner, had received the Torunian Benedictine nuns into the Confraternity a decade beforehand.

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*erkunst am 26. und 27. Juni 1990*, ed. Holger Nickel and Lothar Gillner (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1993), 189–192.

[65] Paul Schwenke, "Zur altpreußischen Buchdruckergeschichte," *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten* 8 (1895): 80.
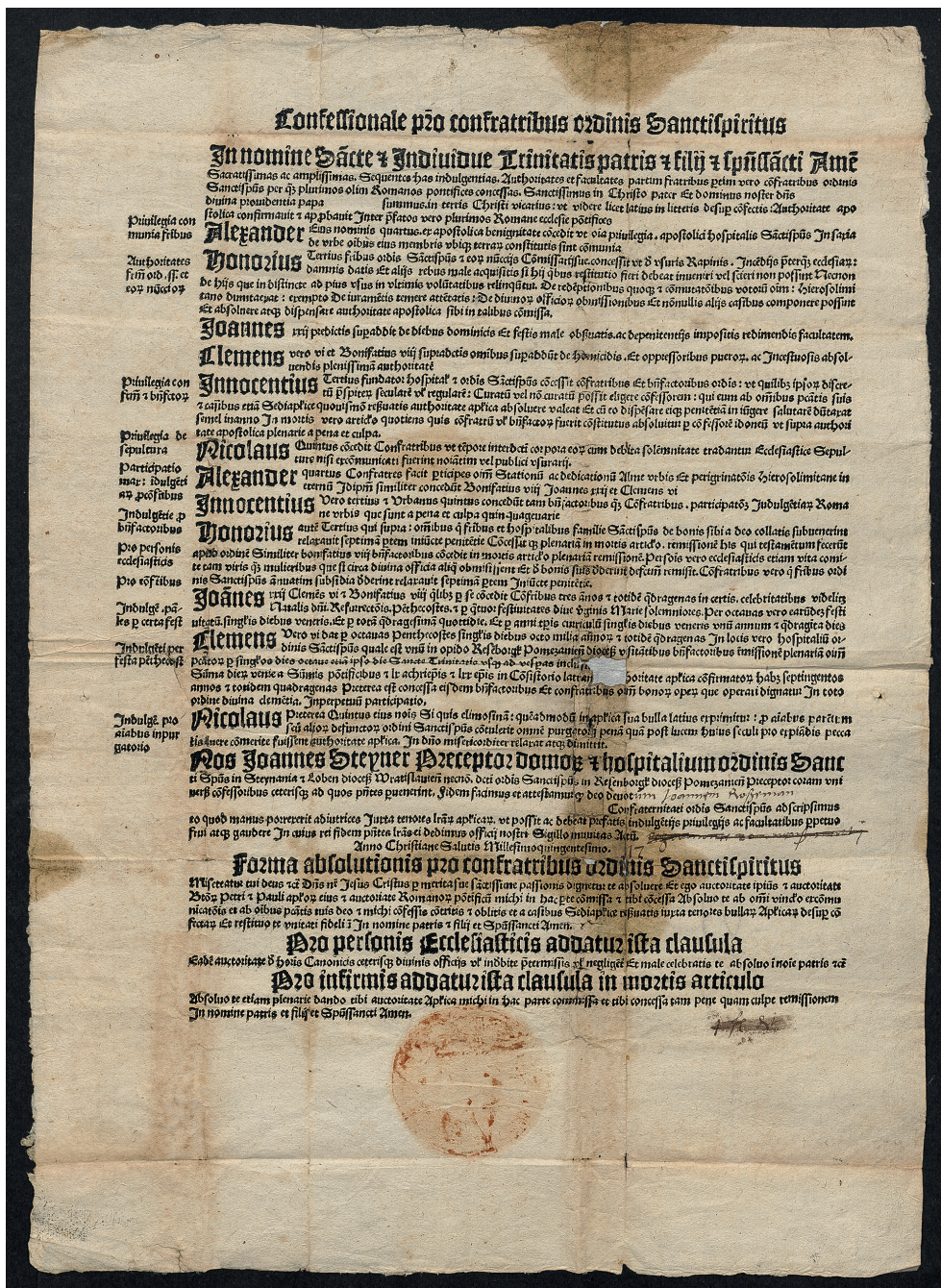
Fig. 5: Letter of indulgence issued by Johannes Steyner] *Confessionale pro confratribus ordinis Sancti Spiritus*, [p. l] [non ante 1500, non post 1517], [s.n.]. Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, OBA (Ordensbriefarchiv), no. 18379

The third printed letter of indulgence issued by Silesian members of the Order is linked to a grant from 1517. The print was identified in the Ordensbriefarchiv part of the collections of the Secret Archive of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation in Berlin, mainly containing correspondence from the former archive of the Teutonic Order. It has passed almost entirely unnoticed by the subject literature.[66]

The issuer was the aforementioned Johannes Steyner, his title at the time given as preceptor in Ścinawa (Steinau) and Cottbus, as well as Prabuty. According to the document, in 1517 he received a certain Joannes Roszeman into the Confraternity.

In addition to the local members of the Order, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the collections were also undertaken by commissioners from Rome. The sources mention two such commissioners with plenipotentiary powers for Polish territories. In 1503, Filippo Turriano (*Philippus Turianus*) was appointed vicar general, commissioner and visitator, as well as (in parallel) prior in Vienna. He was the general's plenipotentiary: "in partibus Alemanie inferioris, videlicet in Austria, Stiria, Carniola, Carinthia, Morauia, Slesia et terris illis adiacentibus in regnis Bohemie, Polonie, Ungarie et septem Castris ac domus de Pulgarn Pataviensis diocesis."[67]

In addition, the second campaign, involving Fausto Sabeus from Brescia, with the date given as 20 August 1515, "should not be overlooked."[68] Territorially, his powers extended to: "universam Ungariam, Craoatiam, Bossniam, Boemiam, Transilvanim, Siciliam, Polloniam, Russia, Prussiam, Lituaniam, Livoniam," as well as Pomerania, the Teutonic State and the Scandinavian realms.[69] Sabeus's presence in Poland (albeit not necessarily in the context of the indulgence campaign)

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[66] [Letter of indulgence] *Confessionale pro confratribus ordinis S[ancti] Spiritus*, [1500/1517] Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, OBA (Ordensbriefarchiv), no. 18379. So far, the letter has only been mentioned, together with the reference designation but with the issuer's wrong first name ('Nikolaus Steyner') in Kurt Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Bonn: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967): 220.

[67] *Iter romanum. Im Auftrag des hohen maehrischen Landesausschusses in den Jahren 1852 und 1853 unternommen und veröffentlicht*, ed. Beda Dudík (Wien: F. Manz and Comp., 1855), 91.

[68] Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 260.

[69] ASR, OSS 111, fol. 53–56v (20 August 1515), see also fol. 59–61, 71–72v; 73–76; 76v–77, 77v–78.

is supported by two manuscripts from Silesia and Poland, remitted by himself to the Vatican library.[70]

## Convents affiliated to Kraków's priory

Whereas the activities of the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit from the Order's Silesian convents are somewhat clearly documented by sources, not many traces have been preserved of similar activities undertaken by the Polish brothers in the obedience of Kraków, a convent founded around 1221. For the period of thirteenth–sixteenth centuries, the Order also had convents in Sandomierz, Kalisz and Łańcut, as well as for a short time in Sławków and Radomyśl, and a parochial provostship in Biskupice.[71]

Accordingly, the authorisation received in 1503 by the prior of the convent in Łańcut (in the diocese of Przemyśl), brother Stanislaus (Stanisław) of Ciężkowice, is of special value. On 8 April of the same year, the preceptor of the Roman hospital and master general of the entire Order, Benedetto of Siena, authorised Stanislaus to preach indulgences and hold a collection.[72] Stanislaus's jurisdiction is stated to be: "partibus Poznaniensis in Maiori Poloniae, in episcopatu Premisliensi, in terra Russiae et in dioecesis Cracoviensis." This translates into most of the territories of the Kingdom of Poland. Local sources have not been discovered to contain any traces of the exercise of these powers, nor any other manifestations of the Kraków members' activities in relation to indulgences.

It thus seems that the reception of indulgences granted to the hospital at Rome took a primarily local dimension in the areas subordinate to Kraków – spiritual graces linked to papal grants to the Roman hospital, by way of *ad instar* papal privilege, could be obtained at hospital

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[70]   Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 260–261.
[71]   See: Klara Antosiewicz, "Zakon Ducha św. de Saxia w Polsce średniowiecznej," *Nasza Przeszłość* 23 (1966), 167–176. See also Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, 128–144, and Mateusz Zimny, *Veni Pater pauperum. Duchowe i materialne dziedzictwo Zakonu Ducha Świętego de Saxia w Polsce. Katalog wystawy* (Kraków: Muzeum Archidiecezjalne w Krakowie, 2022).
[72]   ASR, OSS 109, f. 69r-v.

churches.[73] Such a grant was secured by the Kraków members of the Order in 1461, which is when Pope Pius II confirmed the Holy Spirit hospital and church in Kraków in all of the privileges held by the Roman hospital.[74] Another document was issued in 1483 by Pope Sixtus IV on request of Nicolaus de Cracovia, the master of the convent and hospital in Kraków.[75] On the eighth day of Saint Martin, hence the anniversary of the dedication of Saint Peter's at Rome (18 November) and on Holy Wednesday, the Kraków hospital was the site of grand festivities with the participation of the bishop as well as the royal court with the king himself. After confessing and giving alms, the faithful had the opportunity to receive indulgence. Also in 1517, Pope Leo X confirmed to Polish convents of the order all privileges granted to the hospital and the confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome. In this bulla, hitherto unknown, the houses of Sandomierz, Kalisz and Łańcut were mentioned, in addition to Kraków.[76]

It is, on the other hand, certain that the southern parts of the Kingdom of Poland were reached by one of the most active commissioners of the Order of the Holy Spirit of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Dominicus *de Runcho*.[77] Traces of his indulgence-related activities in Bohemia and Moravia are found up to the present day, especially in the Bohemian archives in which letters of indulgence issued by him have been preserved. In 1492, he accepted the following into the

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[73] The Church of the Holy Spirit in Kraków also had its own indulgence grants not directly linked to the Roman hospital. Granted by Pope Boniface IX on 9 November 1402 to all the faithful visiting the parish church (!) of the Holy Spirit in Kraków on the day of the Lord's Ascension, from the first to the second vespers (*Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 3, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś (Lublin and Rome: Fundacja Jana Pawła II and Polski Instytut Kultury Chrześcijańskiej, 1988), 144, no. 849). According to a handwritten note dating from the break of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Inc. 903 and 904), the church also had another grant for the time of Lent.

[74] *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, vol. 2, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1861), 141–142, no. 79. See Szymborski, *Odpusty*, 444.

[75] *Vetera monumenta Poloniae*, 227–228, no. 153. Incorporated into the *bullarium* of the Roman house, see: ASR, OSS 1, f. 125–126v. See Szymborski, *Odpusty*, 488.

[76] "Cum a nobis petitur" (ASR, OSS 1, f. 298). This bull was engrossed by the bishop of Kraków, Jan Konarski. A copy of the document is preserved in two cartularies of the Order's privileges (Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, 498, Ms 19, f. 883 and Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, 140, Ms 306, f. 30–31v).

[77] See: Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 245–246.

Confraternity: in March, in Jihlava – Nicholas Sporer (from the diocese of Regensburg); in April – the Dominicans of Olomouc;[78] in June – the canons regular of Třeboň[79] and the Poor Clares of Krumlov.[80] His extensive activities are furthermore attested to by three extant printed standard forms for letters of indulgence, dated 1492.[81]



Fig. 6: Dominicus *de Runcho* admits burgess of Olkusz, Maciej of Sandomierz, together with wife Zofia, son Maciej and daughters Dorota and Zofia, to the Confraternity, Olkusz, 9 February 1494. National Archive in Kraków, parchment documents no. 1296

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[78]    "Urkunden des uralten Prediger-Ordens-Konventes zu Olmütz in Mähren," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dominikaner- oder Prediger-Ordens in allen Ordens-Provinzen*, ed. Ignaz Lamatsch (Znaim: Martin Hofmann, 1854), I: 162–164, no. 28.

[79]    Original: Národní archiv Praha, Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II. (1115–1760), ŘA Třeboň 173; edition: *Urkunden-Regesten aus den ehemaligen Archiven der von Kaiser Joseph II. aufgehobenen Klöster Böhmens*, ed. Anton Schubert (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901), 13.

[80]    Original: Národní archiv Praha, Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II. (1115–1760), ŘKI Krumlov 1565; Edition: *Urkunden-Regesten*, 178.

[81]    See fn. no. 20. Also described in detail in Vladislav Dokoupil, *Počátky brněnského knihtisku. Prvotisky* (Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna. Brno: Archiv města Brna), 87–89. See: Josef V. Polišenský and František Šmahel, *Knihtisk a kniha v českých*

*De Runcho's* presence in the vicinity of Kraków is attested to by a document of 9 February 1494, issued in Olkusz, a city located on the road from Kraków to Silesia. The commissioner admitted a burgess of Olkusz, Maciej (Matthias) of Sandomierz, together with his wife Zofia, son Maciej and daughters Dorota and Zofia, to the Confraternity.[82] Although the seal under the document preserved in the National Archive in Kraków has not survived, its probable appearance is known from other documents originating from the same issuer in Bohemia. While it cannot be excluded that *de Runcho* engaged in similar activities in Kraków itself, the document of Olkusz is the sole known example of his activity in the Kingdom of Poland.

## Abuses

"The history of the abuse of indulgences is as old as indulgences themselves."[83] The indulgence campaigning, which by its very nature involved the raising of significant funds from alms given by the faithful, provided opportunities for abuse. Indeed:

> in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the mother house in Rome had to intervene repeatedly – from Spain to the Balkans and Hungary – against false and dishonest professional collectors (*questuarii*), whether they were in their own ranks or working for other orders. The clauses of the *capitula* [contracts] that the Hospital of the Holy Spirit concluded with its emissaries expressly obligated them to act fairly in matters of indulgences.[84]

The scale taken by the abuses in the Order of the Holy Spirit itself is reflected by the fact that, in 1477, Pope Sixtus IV issued the constitution *Etsi universis*,

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zemích od husitství do Bílé hory. Sborník prací k 500. výročí českého knihtisku (Praha: Academia, nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1970), 69; Gedeon Borsa, "Ein bisher unbekannter," 142–144; Kamil Boldan, "Brněnští prototypografové Konrád Stahel a Matyáš Preinlein a jejich úřední jednolistové tisky," *Brno v minulosti a dnes* 28 (2015): 61–83.

82    Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Parchment documents no. 1296. See Szymborski, *Odpusty*, 507.

83    Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 232.

84    Ibidem.

in which he referred to the overreach and usurpations of members of the Order, especially north of the Alps (*precipue in partibus ultramontanis*), also in the matter of the collections, and urged respect for the order's internal discipline towards the mother house in Rome. A few months later, the Pope returned to this issue and criticized some religious orders, hospitals and other *loca pia* – calling by name the Anthonians and the Order of the Holy Spirit! – for their controversial practices in the collection.[85]

Abuses of a similar nature also occurred in the context of the campaign in the area that is of interest to us. It suffices to recall the aforementioned controversies in Gdańsk in 1513. Sometimes, the promulgation of indulgences was undertaken by false commissioners. False collectors were the topic of letters sent from Pope Paul II to, among others, King Casimir IV of Poland.[86] In a breve addressed also to the archbishop of Magdeburg, the pope warned the Polish king, and through the king the bishops, against the activities of Riccardo Pontano and certain other, "Cerretani clerici."[87] Although no record of Pontano as a collector can be found in the Kingdom of Poland, the warning brought from Rome to the royal court of Casimir IV implies that Poland may have fallen within his sphere of interest.[88]

The commissioners' activities must have sparked controversy at a later time as well, considering that, around AD 1500, King Vladislav II of Bohemia prohibited the friars of Cottbus from collecting alms in Lusatia, prompting them to seek the approval of the Elector of Brandenburg.[89]

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[85]  Ibidem, 240.

[86]  "Materiały do historii Jagiellonów z archiwów weneckich," ed. August Cieszkowski, *Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* 19 (1892): 4–5.

[87]  See: Antonín Kalous*, The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli at the Court of the King of Hungary (1488–1490)* (Budapest and Rome: Gondolat Kiadó, 2021), LXXI–LXXII. There is a known letter of indulgence issued by collector Riccardo Pontano in Leipzig in 1485, as well as his diploma certifying the admission of the Teutonic brother, Nikolaus Creuder, later bishop of Sambia, in the Confraternity. Rehberg, „*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 242.

[88]  Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 242.

[89]  See note 42.

## Indulgence *summaria*

One of the traces of the preaching of indulgences in Central and Eastern Europe are mediaeval codices listing them, which are known as summaries.[90] It is noted that, "in the fifteenth century, all sorts of inventories, summaries and registers of indulgences were clearly no novelty,"[91] and they can also be found in manuscripts originating from this part of Europe.

An extensive list of the indulgences of the Order's Roman hospital can be found in a manuscript from the collections of the University Library in Wrocław, containing, "inventories of indulgences granted to the churches and convents in Wrocław from the thirteenth century to the 20s of the fifteenth century."[92] The *terminus post quem* for the contribution to the Roman hospital in consideration of indulgences is, "set by the date of confirmation of the indulgences by the 'present' (*modernus*) pope, Alexander VI (14 September 1495)."[93] According to Hanna Manikowska: "the list of indulgences, as updated after such a confirmation, would be sent out to the outposts of the Order and of the Confraternity, and because it was printed simultaneously by Roman (and other) typographers, access to it was not difficult."[94] The list of indulgences of the Roman hospital of the Holy Spirit opens the handwritten part of the codex. The list comprises: "the summary of the indulgences of the Roman Confraternity, the standard-form letter of admission thereto, and the formula for absolution *in articulo mortis*."[95]

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[90]  On the role of summaria see Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens,* 174–314. One of the examples of a list of this kind is the fifteenth century codex from the collections of the University Library of Augsburg, featuring – on f. 121va to 122ra – also the indulgences of the Order of the Holy Spirit; incipit: "He sunt indulgencie et beneficia a sede apostolica concessa omnibus benefactoribus hospitalis ordinis sancti spiritus in vrbe Roma eiusque membris usque in nouissimum diem," Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. II. 1.2o 38. *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Die Signaturengruppe Cod. I.2.2° und Cod. II.1.2° 1–90* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996) 189, 196.

[91]  Manikowska, "Wstęp," VII.

[92]  Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms 1562. A critical edition was compiled by Halina Manikowska. Manikowska, "Wstęp," XIV–XV.

[93]  Manikowska, "Wstęp," LVII, LXVI.

[94]  Ibidem, LXVII.

[95]  Ibidem, LXVI.

Two other indulgence summaries of the Order of the Holy Spirit survive in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, among manuscripts of Polish origin. The first summary is found in a manuscript of the *Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis* of Nicolaus de Blonie (Mikołaj z Błonia, Mikołaj Pszczółka, Nicolaus Varsaviensis) and of a variety of theological and legal texts, also including, besides the indulgences of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, the list of indulgences granted to the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[96] The second summary is found in a manuscript formerly belonging to the Holy Spirit convent in Kraków.[97] Although the colophon contains the date 1565, it appears to be the copy of an older summary. The list follows the legendary account of the origins of the Order, penned by the same hand. Among the three identified summaries in Polish collections, this one alone originates from the Order itself. Singular attention is drawn to the inclusion of Sixtus IV's grant to the Kraków hospital of 1483.[98]

In addition, the fame of the indulgences that could be obtained in the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit spread into Polish territories because of the special printed materials to which the Confraternity owed its unquestionably increasing popularity throughout Europe. One of the examples is Pope Sixtus IV's bull of 21 March 1477, brought to Kraków from one of his stays in Rome by Mikołaj Czepiel, a member of the clergy of Kraków, who was very active in Rome in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[99] The popularity of this form of propagation of the Confraternity's indulgence activities is illustrated by the fact that

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[96] Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Ms 2415, f. 341–342. Incipit: "Summa indulgenciarum Ordinis S. Spiritus. Innocencius Tercius fundator Ordinis Sancti Sp[irit]us dedit Indulgencias."

[97] Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Ms 7044, f. 23v–29. This particular summary is described in detail in Wiktor Szymborski, "Uwagi o średniowiecznym przewodniku po odpustach nadanych szpitalowi duchaków w Krakowie," *Studia Religiologica* 41 (2008): 157–165. The author gives a detailed list of the indulgences included in the summary, noting that some of the indulgence grants should be treated with caution. See there for the additional bibliography.

[98] Szymborski, "Uwagi o średniowiecznym przewodniku," 161.

[99] Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Inc. 104 Bull of Sixtus IV of 21 March 1477 (*Bulla, qua confraternitas Hospitalis S. Spiritus reformatur*, <Sixtus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei>; bull dated 22 March 1478 [ought to be '1477'] printed: Romae, Stephan Plannck), see prints in Hain Directory, nos 14809, 14810 and 14811. Czepiel bequeathed his books to the Jagielonian University's Collegium Maius and his copy of Sixtus IV's bull survives in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library.

the collections of the same Jagiellonian Library in Kraków contain another copy from roughly the same period.[100]
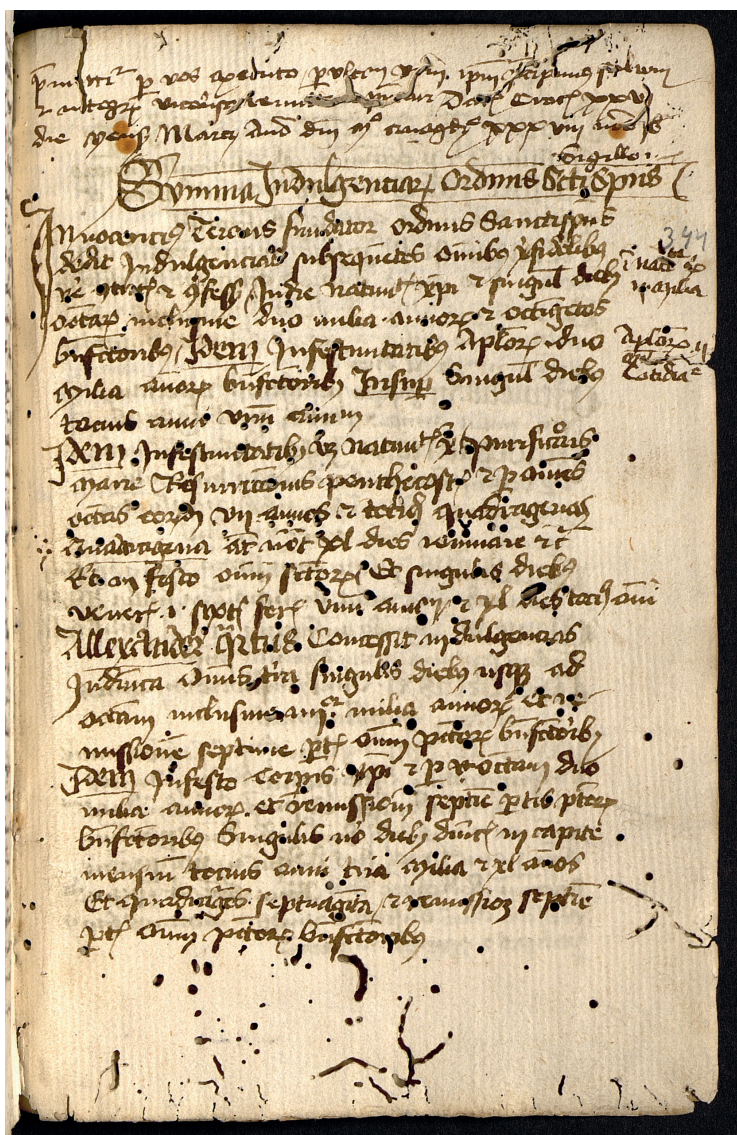


Fig. 7: Summarium of the Sancti Spiritus in Saxia Hospital in Rome's indulgences. Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Ms 2415, f. 344r

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[100] BJ, Inc. 105, Sixtus IV, *Bulla de reformatione Confraternitatis Hospitalis s. Spiritus*. Roma: Eucharius Silber; post 21 March 1478.

## Conclusion

Analysis of source materials from the territories of Poland, Lithuania, Silesia and Prussia permits the conclusion that, at least from the mid-fifteenth century, commissioners from the Order of the Holy Spirit ventured into Central and Eastern Europe. Attention is drawn to the relatively early mission of the three commissioners who reached Oliwa Abbey and Vilnius. The last trace of such type of activity dates to 1520.

Even taking the potential loss of source materials into account, one can clearly see that the greatest activity in the preaching of indulgences was shown by Silesian members of the Order, not only in their home diocese but also in the cities in the north of Poland, such as Toruń and Gdańsk, as well as Western Prussia. Poland's southern territories, on the other hand, were not a significant area of operations for the Order's indulgence commissioners. This type of activity is *de facto* only indicated by a surviving document issued within the limits of the Kingdom of Poland by the Roman commissioner, Dominicus *de Runcho,* and a licence for the promulgation of indulgences and collection of alms issued in 1503 for the provost in Łańcut, Stanislaus of Ciężkowice. Such a state of affairs contrasts clearly with the extensive operations of the Silesian members of the Order and with the documented activity of *de Runcho* himself in Bohemia. The reception of indulgences, on the other hand, had a local dimension: the Kraków convent, enjoying special *ad instar* indulgence grants from the Roman hospital, became an eminent *locus sacer* on the map of the capital city of the Kingdom of Poland.

The vestigial nature of the surviving source base, although it does identify the commissioners and delineate the territorial extent of their activities, does not permit the investigation of the realistic impact of the indulgence campaigns on piety. Nor is it possible to estimate the number of persons receiving grants from the commissioners. The controversies relating to the promulgation of indulgences in Gdańsk, as well as suspicions of abuse, demonstrate, however, the campaign's status as a noticeable event on the landscape of the social life of the era.

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# REVIEWS

Marie-Madeleine de Cevins[*]

**[REVIEW]:** Nora Berend, *Stephen I, the First Christian King of Hungary: From Medieval Myth to Modern Legend*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2024, pp. 272.

Ce livre n'est pas une énième biographie du prince suprême des Hongrois Étienne Ier, couronné roi en 1000 ou 1001, mort en 1038, canonisé en 1083 et érigé par la postérité en père fondateur de la Hongrie[1]. À l'instar du *Saint Louis* de Jacques Le Goff, Nora Berend cherche moins à établir la vérité sur la vie et l'œuvre d'Étienne – tâche hors de portée en raison d'une documentation fragmentaire, discordante et souvent tardive – qu'à radiographier les mythes qui les ont recouvertes d'un voile opaque et quasi-inextricable au fil des siècles. Ce processus de concrétion a commencé dès la fin du xie siècle, avant d'être réactivé au xixe siècle puis dans l'entre-deux-guerres et enfin depuis les années 2000, à la faveur de l'essor du populisme nationaliste et du médiévalisme. Pour l'analyser, N. Berend s'attaque successivement à l'affrontement entre Étienne et son supposé rival Cupan, à la relique de la Sainte-Dextre et à la (« Sainte ») Couronne de Hongrie. À chaque fois, elle déconstruit méthodiquement les narratifs médiévaux qui se rapportent à ces thèmes et elle en décrit les usages politico-idéologiques du Moyen Âge jusqu'à nos jours.

L'introduction résume les points clés de la biographie d'Étienne Ier. N. Berend pointe les énigmes persistantes (date de naissance et du couronnement, entre autres) en mentionnant les propositions qui bousculent

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[1] Aperçu synthétique en français sur Étienne Ier : Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, *Saint Étienne de Hongrie* (Paris: Fayard, 2004).

depuis peu les certitudes anciennes (tel le fameux sarcophage en marbre blanc, qui aurait servi à l'élévation d'Étienne et non à sa sépulture). Suit un rapide survol des utilisations politiques du personnage, de sa canonisation à l'initiative du roi Ladislas I$^{er}$ en 1083 jusqu'au gouvernement Orbán, non sans tensions et contradictions.

Le chapitre premier passe au crible les récits du Moyen Âge qui relatent le duel entre Étienne et Cupan (orthographié « Koppány » par les auteurs hongrois depuis le xix$^e$ siècle). Il s'efforce de démêler l'entrelacs de leur généalogie. Il en ressort que la figure, extrêmement négative, du rebelle païen aurait été inventée au plus tôt vers la fin du xiii$^e$ siècle. En effet, l'exécution spectaculaire de Cupan (dont le corps démembré aurait été exposé publiquement en divers points du royaume) ressemble au châtiment infligé à cette époque pour haute trahison en Angleterre puis en France ; les membres du lignage des Hont-Pázmány auraient introduit cet épisode dans leur légende familiale pour glorifier leurs ancêtres arrivés en Hongrie pour soutenir Étienne contre ses ennemis intérieurs ; peu après, au début du xiv$^e$ siècle, les rois angevins l'auraient exploité pour asseoir une autorité encore fragile. La Finlande offre un exemple assez similaire en la personne de Lalli, meurtrier fictif de l'évêque Henri. Pour finir, par un retournement illustrant l'influence des cercles littéraires et pseudo-savants touranistes et néo-païens dans la Hongrie du second xix$^e$ siècle, Cupan a été promu (comme Attila) en champion des traditions ancestrales hongroises – ce qu'il est toujours.

Le chapitre suivant poursuit la réflexion en prenant l'exemple de l'opéra rock *István, a király* (1983), de Miklós Boldizsár (livret) et Levente Szörényi (musique). Cette production artistique a rencontré un immense succès en Hongrie, réveillant un sentiment national enfoui depuis des décennies. Mais elle alimenta aussitôt des polémiques dont les braises sont encore chaudes. Derrière Cupan et Étienne, ce sont deux systèmes de valeurs qui se font face, chacun se présentant comme le meilleur parti pour le peuple hongrois : résistance héroïque au nom des traditions immémoriales hongroises d'un côté, pragmatisme et maintien de l'ordre public de l'autre. D'après N. Berend, loin d'exprimer une dissidence antisoviétique – et avant le foisonnement des lectures révisionnistes et néo-païennes qui suivit l'effondrement du régime communiste en 1989 –, l'œuvre servait la propagande de János Kádár en disculpant celui-ci (sous les traits d'Étienne) de son implication dans la répression de l'insurrection de Budapest en 1956.

Dans le chapitre trois, N. Berend met en doute l'authenticité de la relique de la Sainte-Dextre, main momifiée qui aurait appartenu à Étienne. Si sa première mention écrite se trouve dans la légende rédigée par Hartvic vers 1100, son instrumentalisation remonte seulement à l'interrègne qui suivit l'extinction de la dynastie arpadienne (1301), avant de retrouver de la vigueur sous l'impératrice Marie-Thérèse, jusqu'aux processions annuelles du 20 août en présence des hauts responsables ecclésiastiques et civils actuels. L'hypothèse d'une continuité physique ne résiste pas à l'examen : la relique « retrouvée » à Raguse en 1590 n'a probablement rien à voir avec celle qui était vénérée à Székesfehérvár avant l'invasion ottomane. Quant à Hartvic, il aurait emprunté à Bède le Vénérable, hagiographe d'Oswald de Northumbrie († 642), le motif de la préservation miraculeuse de la main droite du roi afin de lancer le culte d'Étienne I<sup>er</sup> en Hongrie, où il manquait d'assise populaire, et pour hâter la confirmation par le pape de l'*elevatio* effectuée en 1083, en parfaite cohérence avec la diplomatie anti-grégorienne et anti-impériale du roi Coloman I<sup>er</sup>.

Le quatrième et dernier chapitre aborde le mythe stéphanique le plus « toxique » selon N. Berend : la (« Sainte ») Couronne de Hongrie. Pour commencer, l'auteur écarte, faute de preuves, l'hypothèse d'une couronne matérielle qu'Étienne aurait reçue du pape ; le motif d'une couronne envoyée par Dieu ou ses représentants célestes (saints, anges), bien connu des empereurs ottoniens et byzantins, serait une trouvaille supplémentaire d'Hartvic pour déjouer les visées du pape sur la Hongrie. Deuxièmement, N. Berend insiste sur l'établissement tardif d'un lien entre la Couronne et Étienne I<sup>er</sup> : esquissé par les chroniqueurs hongrois vers 1300, il fut surtout développé par les auteurs catholiques du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Or les caractéristiques techniques et artistiques de l'objet ne confirment pas cette attribution, ni pour la partie inférieure (« couronne grecque ») ni pour la partie supérieure (« couronne latine »). Le point de départ de l'association symbolique entre l'objet-couronne et Étienne I<sup>er</sup> résulterait de l'opération de propagande confiée vers 1292 par le roi André III au prévôt de la collégiale de Székesfehérvár nommé Théodore pour consolider un pouvoir menacé par ses concurrents angevins ; après quoi les Angevins, une fois la fameuse couronne récupérée (1310), reprirent à leur tour cet argumentaire pour se poser en légitimes successeurs du premier roi de Hongrie. En troisième lieu, N. Berend décrit les ultimes avatars d'un processus qui, sans être

unique à l'échelle européenne, a connu en Hongrie des développements juridico-politiques inouïs à la fin du xixe siècle et jusqu'au début du xxe : la « Doctrine de la Sainte couronne » faisait de l'objet-couronne la source de tout pouvoir, un pouvoir transmis par la nation et incarné par le roi. Créant l'illusion d'une souveraineté hongroise dans le cadre du Compromis imposé par les Habsbourg en 1867, elle servit de socle idéologique à l'assimilation forcée des minorités ethnico-culturelles, avant de soutenir le révisionnisme de l'après-Trianon. Elle est inscrite dans la Constitution hongroise (en plein régime républicain !) et demeure officiellement l'incarnation de l'État hongrois. Son histoire, rocambolesque, alimente les théories conspirationnistes les plus farfelues. L'étude de la production des mythes nationaux compte parmi les tâches prioritaires de l'historien d'aujourd'hui, conclut N. Berend.

Le propos, dense et rigoureux, se nourrit d'une vaste documentation étirée sur un millénaire ainsi que d'une ample bibliographie[2]. Certains déséquilibres nuisent au confort du lecteur : le format des chapitres varie du simple au triple ; les longs passages appuyés sur des publications existantes (la réception de l'opéra rock *István, a király*, la description technique et artistique de la Sainte couronne, le récit heure par heure de l'insurrection de 1956), s'ils offrent aux non-spécialistes de solides synthèses, tendent à étouffer les analyses vraiment neuves. L'apport scientifique de l'ouvrage n'en est pas moins considérable. Il tient avant tout à la méthode employée, empreinte d'un scepticisme aussi décapant que salutaire. Au risque (entièrement assumé) de jeter le bébé avec l'eau du bain, N. Berend balaie d'un revers de main tous les textes qu'elle juge insuffisamment explicites (tel le récit de Thietmar de Merseburg mentionnant l'envoi d'une couronne à Étienne) ou difficiles à dater (la *Composition de chroniques du xive siècle*, dont elle dénie le statut de dépositaire de chroniques disparues pouvant remonter à la fin du xie siècle). Elle se prive *ipso facto* d'une partie non négligeable des sources exploitables, à contre-courant de la plupart des médiévistes et philologues hongrois. Inversement, les rapprochements avec des corpus extérieurs à la Hongrie suscitent des découvertes majeures en révélant des filiations inattendues entre mythes nationaux européens. Ils montrent la nécessité d'axer les recherches futures sur la circulation

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[2]    On la complètera par la version publiée de la thèse de Judit Csákó, *Az Árpád--kori Magyarország francia tükörben* (Budapest: HUN-REN Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2023).

des idées à travers la chrétienté médiévale, et notamment sur la culture des clercs – les principaux « inventeurs » de mythes collectifs identitaires, de la Hongrie à la Bretagne. Identifier les canaux (lectures, rencontres, lieux de formation intellectuelle, échanges de manuscrits…) qui ont permis en l'occurrence à l'évêque Hartvic d'exploiter l'image saisissante du bras miraculeusement conservé d'Oswald pour inventer la Sainte-Dextre ou au prévôt Théodore d'associer pour la première fois la figure du roi Étienne à la couronne conservée à Székesfehérvár, voilà ce qui pourrait consolider les hypothèses stimulantes exposées dans ce livre et, plus largement, faire progresser les connaissances. Au-delà de l'exemple d'Étienne de Hongrie, il en va de la capacité des historiens à répondre au défi que pose l'emprise grandissante des mythologies nationalistes dans l'Europe d'aujourd'hui.

Radosław Biskup[*]

**[REVIEW]:** Rafał Kubicki, *Prusy krzyżackie. Gospodarka i kultura na obszarach wiejskich*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2024, pp. 294.

The latest monograph by Rafał Kubicki, a medievalist from Gdańsk, is devoted – generally speaking – to rural areas in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. In this synthetic approach, the author draws on a rich tradition of research into the development of settlements, rural society, production relations and the organisation of agriculture, breeding, cultivation and many other aspects of the territory in question. It is worth adding that this is not his first research expedition to the Prussian countryside under the rule of the Teutonic Order: his habilitation published in 2012 was devoted to milling in the Teutonic State from the thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century.[1] Similar topics are examined also by Kubicki's students; for example in 2022, at the University of Gdańsk Grzegorz Woliński submitted his doctoral thesis entitled "Commandery of Tuchola (1330–1454). Space – economy – society."

The author presents his findings in two basic sections, which reflect two domains addressed in the subtitle: 'economy' and 'culture.' Under the former, he analyses a number of problems related to the organisation of agriculture and agricultural production, models of production in various forms of rural holdings (peasant farm, knight's estate, Teutonic manor, rural town estates, etc.); he deliberately omits issues related to forestry and fishing. The second range of issues in the proposed construction is

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[1] Rafał Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w XIII–XV wieku (do 1454 r.)* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2012).

the "environment and cultural patterns in rural areas, including the residential and living conditions of marriage (family) functioning, customs and rituals, as well as activities and pastimes" (p. 9) of rural inhabitants. Such an approach to the work may surprise, since the methods and organisation of agricultural production fall under the notion of agrarian culture, and the whole of the issues discussed may be treated as a broadly understood medieval rural culture. With the help of these notions, the author separated the material (productive, infrastructural, monetary, etc.) side of life in the countryside from the more abstract one, connected with religiosity, customs and various forms of social life. However, these two spheres intermingle, and this is evident in the proposed narrative.

The first part, entitled "Economy in rural areas" (pp. 15–147), occupies the bulk of the dissertation and is devoted to two main issues: agriculture and production. This gives the author a pretext for outlining the organisational and legal framework, also used later in the thesis. The author thus draws a social panorama of the rural population and discusses its various categories according to their legal status (Chełmno law, Polish law), economic status (size of endowments), as well as social and ethnic status (knights, free Prussians, schultheis, innkeepers or millers, etc.). The basic concept in this part of the work is the "farm in a village under the Chełmno law": taking the two-lan (33.6 ha) farm as a model, Kubicki – making use of earlier findings in relation to Gdańsk Pomerania (Peter Kriedte), the Christburg commandery (Heide Wunder) or the Königsberg commandery (Grischa Vercamer) – shows in tabular form the averaged fiscal burdens in dynamic terms. He then discusses the successive types of Prussian villages: homestead, knight, bishop, chapter, monastery, town or Teutonic manor. The Order influenced the functioning of the rural economy by its territorial officials (commander, advocate, procurator), who, among other things, controlled the collection of rents and services. Its basis was grain cultivation, supplemented by animal breeding.

In this part of the work the reader may notice numerous maps produced by Kubicki. The skill and effort put into their preparation need to be appreciated, yet three comments must be made. The first concerns the map entitled "Administrative division of Teutonic Prussia in 1400" and the territories marked in green, defined on the map as the bishoprics of Pomesania, Chełmno, Ermland and Sambia. In this

case, we are not dealing with dioceses, with their areas three times larger, but with "land lordships of bishoprics and chapters," where the representatives of these institutions had full spiritual, as well as secular authority. The use of this term in the legend would have made the map comprehensible and would not have distorted the picture of ecclesiastical administration in the Teutonic State. It is significant that the same mistake was made by Michael Burleigh in 1984 on his map.[2] Using the term 'East Prussia' (Ostpreussen) in the title of a map showing soil types in the area of Upper and Lower Prussia colonised before 1400 is an anachronism. The term 'East Prussia' is used to describe the province of the Kingdom of Prussia, created after the first partition of Poland in 1772. Some of the maps are simply unreadable due to an overabundance of inserted information (e.g. the map showing the settlement network of the Człuchów and Tuchola commanderies in the first half of the fifteenth century on p. 119).

In the second part "Cultural environments and models in rural areas" (pp. 151–216), the author presents the everyday life of the rural population in medieval Prussia. He analyses living and housing conditions, the organisation of village and rural space and rural architecture. He then looks at family relations (mainly marital) using, among other things, synodal legislation and land ordinances. Rural communities existed according to the rhythm of the seasons, farm work and the timing of payments to the landlord. A second factor regulating the passage of time was the liturgical calendar, setting the rhythm of festivals and events on both individual and group level. Ecclesiastical legislation shows the presence of rites and customs from pre-Christian times, which the clergy tried to combat with synodal legislation. The place of community experience in the village was primarily the parish church, but also the inn, whose influence sometimes also challenged the church authorities. The above issues are analysed by Rafał Kubicki with reference to two groups in rural communities: peasants (pp. 151–186) and knights and nobles (pp. 186–202). A subsection devoted to the rural population's attitude to death, differentiated by ethnicity and religiosity, can be regarded as the aftermath of the author's earlier research interests. The issues of wills, funerals and burials raised in this

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[2]  Michael Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order. An Aristocratic Corporation in Crisis c. 1410–1466* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 11.

part of the monograph, are an evidence of how little source material is available to a historian dealing with these issues in his research on a medieval village in the Teutonic State.

In the historiography of the Teutonic State the issue of economy and rural society has appeared mainly in the context of the development of settlement in the Prussian areas up to the middle of the fifteenth century. The problem-solving approach proposed by Rafał Kubicki, which takes into account cultural and social phenomena visible in the source material, not only summarises previous results, but also opens up new research opportunities.

Sobiesław Szybkowski[*]

**[REVIEW]:** Tomáš Homoľa, *Na vzostupe moci. Zahraničná politika Mateja Korvína w stredoeurópskom priestore v rokoch 1458–1471*, Historický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, Bratislava 2019, pp. 192.

The figure of Matthias Corvinus, the 'national' monarch of Hungary (1458–1490) and an exceptional Central European politician of the late medieval period, has attracted the attention of contemporary scholars for some time. An attempt to reexamine his foreign policy in the initial stages of his reign was made by the Slovak medievalist Tomáš Homoľa in a monograph entitled *On the Rise of the Power: Foreign Policy of Matthias Corvinus in the Central European region in 1458–1471*.

The work under review includes "Introduction" (pp. 7–13), Chapter 1 ("The Sources and Literature on Matthias Corvinus," pp. 13–30), Chapter 2 ("First Years of Reign," pp. 31–55), Chapter 3 ("New Objectives of Hungarian Foreign Policy," pp. 56–71), Chapter 4 ("The Kingdom of Bohemia as a Crusade's Destination," pp. 72–82), Chapter 5 ("The Question of the Emperor's Title," pp. 83–90), Chapter 6 ("The War in the Kingdom of Bohemia," pp. 91–115), Chapter 7 ("A Change of Course," pp. 116–131), Chapter 8 ("Looking for Allies," pp. 116–131) and Chapter 9 ("The Diplomacy in the Times of Matthias Corvinus," pp. 132–156). The book ends with a brief concluding section (pp. 157–162), a summary in English (pp. 163–166), two maps (p. 167), genealogical charts of the House of Hunyadi, House of Poděbrad, House of Habsburg, House of Jagiellons, House of Wettin and House of Hohenzollern (pp. 168–174), a list of abbreviations (p. 175), a list of sources

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and literature (pp. 176–187), and an index of last names and place names (pp. 188–192). Thus, the monograph is generally a chronological account with only one element – the chapter on diplomacy in the late Middle Ages – being a discussion about a specific issue.

In the "Introduction," T. Homol'a presents the aim of his work: "a review of the existing knowledge on the Central European policy of the King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus" in the early period of his reign (1458–1471) (p. 8). Pursuing this policy created a complex web of connections between the Hungarian ruler and the main dynasties of the region: the Houses of Poděbrad, Habsburgs, Jagiellons, Wettins and Hohenzollerns, with the Kingdom of Bohemia as the most important location of their confrontations. It is necessary to stress that the definition of the region used by the author (following the terminology of Hungarian scholar J. Szűcs), according to which the countries of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Kingdom of Poland and the Holy Roman Empire (p. 8) were parts of it, does not seem appropriate considering the topic of the research. Casimir Jagiellon, one of the crucial partners and rivals of Matthias Corvinus at the time of his reign, was also a ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The exclusion of a significant portion of that state from the analysis of a Hungarian king's policy seems to be an arbitrary choice as the objectives of Polish and Lithuanian foreign policy during the period under discussion were in line with each other as an outcome of the general aims of the Jagiellon dynasty, which ruled both states.[1] From a methodological standpoint, the exclusion of Moldova from Central Europe, which was another point of contention for Matthias and Casimir, seems to be unfounded as well. This perception of Central Europe (without Teutonic Prussia, too) does not seem adequate. Arguably, T. Homol'a suggests that the event marking the end of his discussion is the death of the Utraquist Bohemian ruler, George of Poděbrad (p. 8), while in fact he argues that these events are actually the election of Vladislaus Jagiellon as King of Bohemia in May 1471 (pp. 128, 130) and the death of Pope Paul II in

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[1]  For example, the cost of the campaign that resulted in Vladislaus II of Hungary being crowned as the King of Bohemia in August 1471 was partially covered by the Lithuanian treasury. See: *Rachunki królewskie z lat 1471–1472 i 1476–1478*, ed. Stanisław Gawęda, Zbigniew Perzanowski and Anna Strzelecka (Wrocław–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich and Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1960), 11, 14.

July of the same year (pp. 8, 130). At the same time, he ignores events that seem to be of equal importance: the coronation of Vladislaus Jagiellon in Prague (August 1471) and his brother's Casimir's campaign for the Hungarian crown in the autumn of 1471, which lasted until the beginning of 1472. We shall return to this issue later. Including a short overview of official documents and epistolary sources in this part of the monograph (pp. 11–12) seems to be another surprising decision, because it belongs to Chapter 1, as its title suggests.

In Chapter 1, T. Homol'a discusses narrative sources regarding the topic (pp. 13–20). This excerpt contains extensive information on the Hungarian, Bohemian and Polish chronicles of the late Middle Ages and early modern period that touch upon the reign of Matthias Corvinus. It is an interesting overview considering that some of this material is hardly known outside of the Hungarian and Polish national historiography. However, the author mostly uses their own contemporary translations into national languages rather than critical editions in the original languages, which can be considered a methodological mistake. This is the case with almost all of the Hungarian sources (translated into Slovak) and *Annales* by Jan Długosz (translated into Polish), even though a modern critical edition in Latin is available. Moreover, secondary sources were reviewed in detail in the section entitled "Sources" ("Pramene") while official documents and epistolary sources were briefly mentioned in the "Introduction," discussed above, which also seems incomprehensible. This may be a consequence of past methodological discussions regarding the definition of a historical source, during which the tendencies to solely consider secondary sources as full historical sources were presented (J. G. Droysen, E. Bernheim). However, it must be noted that the topic, which focuses on the late Middle Ages after all, has a rich source background, mostly thanks to official documents and epistolary sources, which renders such a strong reliance on secondary sources redundant. The discussion of (Hungarian, Czech, German and Polish) historiography on the subject of Matthias Corvinus's reign fills the remaining part of the chapter (pp. 20–30). Interestingly, according to T. Homol'a's findings, Slovak medieval studies have expressed the least interest in Corvinus, relatively speaking, which strongly justifies the need for conducting research on his foreign policy.

Chapter 2 focuses on the first period of Matthias's reign (1458–1464). Mattias was elected *in absentia* King of Hungary at an election assembly

in January 1458, after the untimely death of the King of Hungary and Bohemia, Ladislaus the Posthumous, the son of the King of the Romans, Albert of Habsburg. George of Poděbrad was in a similar situation: he was elected King of Bohemia in identical circumstances and became the second, so called, national monarch in Central Europe. The Habsburgs, the Jagiellons and the Wettins, the complacent Central European dynasties related to the late Ladislaus by blood or marriage, lost the race for the Bohemian and Hungarian throne to Matthias and George. The first two families did make the claim for the Bohemian and Hungarian crown, although it could not be exercised. Casimir Jagiellon, for instance, was involved in a long-running conflict with the Teutonic Order in Prussia which ended in 1466, even though *condotierro* John Jiskra, who controlled much of the northern parts of Hungary, encouraged him to be more active in pursuing the Hungarian throne, as early as in 1458. In the period under discussion, Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, may have had a better claim, as he was the holder of Hungarian regalia, including the Holy Crown of Hungary, an instrumental item in terms of legitimising Matthias as king. According to the image that T. Homol'a paints, the agreement with Frederick was Corvinus's greatest achievement, which led to reclaiming the regalia and to the coronation in 1464, even though its price was the promise that the throne passed to the Habsburgs. In the first six years of being king, Matthias also managed to release himself from the control of his uncle, Mihály Szilágyi, who became the regent of the Kingdom of Hungary in the first period of Matthias's reign. Corvinus also defeated the magnates' opposition to his rule. The young king was, at the time, closely allied with George of Poděbrad, who, after making a necessary agreement, set Corvinus free from Bohemia, where he was kept at the order of Ladislaus the Posthumous so that he might return to his homeland and become king. The political and military alliance of both national monarchs was fortified by the marriage between Matthias and Catherine of Poděbrad, George's daughter.

The following chapter of the monograph, like the previous one, is organised chronologically. The author discusses a relatively short period from the beginning of the 1460s when the troubles in the south of Hungary were settled and Corvinus became free to engage in Central European politics on his own accord as a result of the victory in the war with Turkey between 1493 and 1464. John Jiskra was neutralised

not much earlier, even though the conflict between Corvinus and the rebellious mercenaries (so-called *bratríci*), in what is now Slovakia, lasted until 1467. The death of his wife Catherine of Poděbrad in 1464 opened new possibilities for political alliances. However, his attempts to court a representative from the most notable European dynasties (the Hohenzollerns, the Sforzas and the Aragons) proved unsuccessful due to his low birth. Even though his father was John Hunyadi, a famous warrior and the governor of the Kingdom of Hungary, his grandfather and great-grandfather were only regular Transylvanian knights. What is more, the great-grandfather, Serbe, a rather irrelevant figure who died before 1409, marks the extent of possible investigations into the king's ancestry. After George of Poděbrad daughter's death his ties with the Hungarian monarch started to loosen. Matthias started developing closer relations with Emperor Frederick III and the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, he strengthened his relationship with the Pope, whose conflict with the Utraquist King of Bohemia increased, which ultimately led to George's excommunication in 1466. Pope Paul II started to see the King of Hungary as the enforcer of the papal policy against George after Casimir Jagiellon refused to take a stand against the Bohemian monarch, who was his ally. The Pope considered Corvinus a future leader of a crusade against the Turks as well, which was the reason why he provided the King of Hungary with significant financial support.

Chapter 4 concerns the King of Hungary joining the crusade against George of Poděbrad pushed by Pope Paul II after 1468, when the attempts to convince Frederick II, the Margrave of Brandenburg, to lead it proved unsuccessful. It happened despite the alliance between the King of Bohemia and the Jagiellons. It is important to note that Casimir Jagiellon, the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, was becoming more and more vocal in stressing the dynastic claims of his sons to the Bohemian thrones, based on the fact that their mother, Elizabeth of Austria, was a sister of the monarch of Bohemia and Hungary, Ladislaus the Posthumous of the House of Habsburg, who died without issue. For Corvinus, his good relationship and alliance with the Catholic opposition to George's rule was an important advantage: the oppositionists argued for removing an Utraquist king from a Bohemian throne and replacing him with a good Catholic, Matthias, who was fully supported by the Holy See.

In Chapter 5, Homol'a considers the question of Matthias Corvinus's candidacy for the imperial throne after Frederick III. According to the epistolary sources, this possibility was discussed by the princes of the Holy Roman Empire at the beginning of 1469 (Charles the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy, who had stronger support, was seen as an alternative). Interestingly, the King of Hungary did not make an imperial claim himself, although an ideological rationale for making the Hungarian monarch an emperor could be found in works by people closely attached to his court as early as in 1467. The war with George of Poděbrad for the Kingdom of Bohemia, which had already begun in 1469, justified Matthias's imperial ambitions from the institutional point of view, since if Corvinus had been a Bohemian monarch, he would have become an elector of the Holy Roman Empire, which might have made his election as emperor easier. The concluding section of the chapter focuses on the earlier (1460–1461) determined attempts of George of Poděbrad to follow Frederick III on the imperial throne; however, this section seems to be added arbitrarily with the point of this discussion being unclear.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the actual struggle for the Kingdom of Bohemia. Corvinus started it on 31 March 1468 by attacking Moravia. He was provoked by Viktorin of Poděbrad, the son of King George, who challenged Frederick III. As a result of the armed conflict and the support that most of the Catholic opposition granted him, the King of Hungary controlled Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia and other lands of the Bohemian crown until the beginning of 1469. Despite the military success, Matthias continued his efforts to resolve the conflict diplomatically (the talks between Matthias and George as well as their diplomats were conducted in Olomouc and Šternberk in April 1469). Since there was no consensus, Matthias's Bohemian supporters elected him King of Bohemia in Olomouc (3 May 1469). The Polish representatives, who were also present at the election assembly in Olomouc, expressed their strong objection to that move.

Chapter 7 describes the search for allies in the struggle for Bohemia by both parties of the conflict. King George may have boasted more significant accomplishments on that front, as he strengthened his alliance with Casimir Jagiellon by promising that Vladislaus II of Hungary be the successor to the Bohemian throne (which was confirmed by the Bohemian parliament in 1469). Meanwhile, Matthias Corvinus's robust diplomatic moves focused on the princes of the Holy Roman Empire,

which resulted solely in an alliance with the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria. His further efforts to marry into the Hohenzollerns came to nought. So did his resumed courting of the daughter of Casimir Jagiellon, who refused him any aid due to his alliance with George. Military losses to the Bohemian king at Moravia in 1469 added to the negative balance of Corvinus's political activity.

In the next chapter, T. Homoľa presents Matthias's attempts to work towards closer cooperation with Frederick III, from whom Corvinus expected financial support in the war with George of Poděbrad. The discussions took place in October 1469 as well as in February and March 1470 and failed to provide the desired result, which was partly caused by the support given by the Hungarian king to the leaders of Austrian knights who opposed Frederick II. Finally, an alliance between the Habsburgs and the Jagiellons was forged in 1470. Despite the constant political support of the pope, the international situation was not favourable to Hungary. This and the military stalemate led to negotiations between Bohemia and Hungary between 1470 and 1471. Corvinus's representatives proposed that King George should keep the Bohemian throne until his death and name Corvinus his successor. This was not accepted, partly because of the intervention of Casimir Jagiellon's deputies in the Bohemian parliament. George died soon after that (on 22 March 1471), which gave new possibilities to Matthias. However, the Bohemians respected the agreement with the late Casimir Jagiellon and elected Vladislaus Jagiellon the King of Bohemia in Kutná Hora on 27 May 1471.

The final chapter of the book differs from the others, as it is devoted to diplomacy during Matthias Corvinus's reign. It is divided into three sections. The first one discusses the 'theory' of medieval diplomacy. T. Homoľa widely reviews two fifteenth-century 'handbooks' on diplomacy (*Ambaxiatores brevilogium* and *De officio legati*). However, both sources are Western European (French and Italian) and thus their influence on diplomatic relations in Central Europe is unknown. The author does not present any proof of their impact in Central Europe either. This chapter also includes a more interesting part, which is a discussion on different types of representatives/deputies/ambassadors and also remarks regarding technical questions of diplomatic activity. However, the latter is brief and limited to the matter of representation. This segment might have been more captivating if it had not been based on

almost exclusively Anglophone literature, whose authors drew mostly on sources and examples from England, France and Italy. A very short reference to how Hungarian diplomacy was organised and to the people responsible for it during Matthias's reign is wholly insufficient, even though T. Homol'a mentioned the royal chancery and a separate secret chancery of the monarch and its leaders. However, any medievalist concerned with Central Europe in the late Middle Ages could deduce this without reading these laconic comments. The author enlists two consecutive Hungarian chancellors (Dénes Széchényi and István Várdai), three 'secret' chancellors, Janus Pannonius and the Olomouc bishop Protassius of Boskovice (who served Corvinus after he seized a part of the Kingdom of Hungary). However, three other diplomats of the Hungarian king (Albrecht Kostka of Postupice, Jan of Rabštejn and Jan Filipiec), as well as other foreigners (Georg Schönberg and Gabriele Rangone) were listed only in a footnote. Such short descriptions of statesmen and diplomats are to be considered insufficient, and it is worth noting that the last five are not described at all. A very short section (pp. 144–146) on symbolic communication ought to be considered a theoretical introduction to the topic since only a brief mention of Matthias's royal entry to Brno in 1469 refers to his international policy. The final section (pp. 146–156) is devoted to the diplomatic talks and the ceremonies with which they were conducted, the extravagance of power, feasts, gifts, processions, monarchs and representatives. It is not very extensive, which is justified by the scarcity of sources. There is a detailed list of foods consumed by the Hungarian representatives during their visit to the court of Frederick III, but it dates back to 1487, which is beyond the period analysed in the monograph.

The author summarises his findings on a few pages, which are in fact a very brief summary of those chapters of the book that focus on foreign policy. There are no references to how the diplomacy of the Kingdom of Hungary was organised during Matthias Corvinus's reign, nor to the most relevant enforcers of his foreign policy, nor to the ceremonial discussions described in the last chapter.

The brief overview of T. Homol'a's monograph shows that the author comprehensively presents Matthias Corvinus's foreign policy in the first period of his reign. The key moments of his activity and their circumstances are presented relatively exhaustively. As mentioned before, a more thorough evaluation of how Hungarian diplomacy was

organised under Corvinus is missing, since the comments in chapter 9 are insufficient. As a result, the monograph seems to be a biography of the Hungarian monarch limited to a particular topic – Corvinus is portrayed as the main inspirer and enforcer of diplomatic enterprises. However, this approach does not seem to be correct. The monograph would be much improved by expanding the issue of the organisation and techniques of the Kingdom of Hungary's diplomacy regarding decision centres, its key and minor enforcers (it was not just the king who participated in achieving the set aims, after all), types of meetings and diplomatic missions as well as their funding. A. Szweda's work on the organisation and techniques of Polish diplomacy in its relationship with the Teutonic State in Prussia in the years 1386–1454[2] could be a great inspiration to T. Homol'a.

Moreover, it does not seem accurate to conclude the monograph with the death of George of Poděbrad and the election of Vladislaus Jagiellon in Kutná Hora. As indicated previously, the years 1471 and 1472 seem to be a better closing point, as that was the time when a very important stage of the rivalry between the Jagiellons and Matthias Corvinus ended in the context of both the Bohemian and the Hungarian thrones. This is because Vladislaus Jagiellon began his reign in Bohemia in the second half of 1471. Accompanied by substantial armed forces, he reached Prague, where he was crowned the King of Bohemia in August without much protest from the Hungarian king. In the autumn of that year, another Polish military excursion was launched, this time to take over the Hungarian throne by another Jagiellon prince, Casimir (later canonised), which might have led to Matthias's complete political demise. Another important point was that Casimir IV's younger son was invited to take the Hungarian throne by the home opposition to Matthias's reign, led by his former influential collaborators (e.g. Janos Vitéz and Janos Pannonius), who opposed the direction of the king's foreign policy. It seems that quelling this extremely serious crisis, which manifested itself on the levels of military operations, foreign policy and internal affairs, marks the first period of Matthias's Corvinus's reign.

The work would also benefit from adding a chapter devoted to Matthias's attempts to enter into a dynastic marriage presented against the

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[2] Adam Szweda, *Organizacja i technika dyplomacji polskiej w stosunkach z zakonem krzyżackim w Prusach w latach 1386–1454* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, 2009).

background of a comprehensive description of the political situation. These pursuits, which Matthias engaged in after Catherine of Poděbrad's death, are scattered across a few chapters, which makes this aspect of Corvinus's foreign policy hard to follow. Another issue not sufficiently stressed in the monograph is the fact that his failure on this field was caused by his humble origins, which discouraged Central European dynasties from marrying their daughters off to him. The Hohenzollerns were the only family that seriously considered marriage with Matthias (pp. 59, 60, 107–110). However, it is important to note that Frederick I, the father of the two then–leaders of the dynasty, Frederick II and Albrecht Achilles, became the Elector of Brandenburg only in 1417, so the Hohenzollerns did not yet hold a firm position among the elite ensemble of German monarchs. Before that, Frederick I and his ancestors, as the Burgraves of Nuremberg, were minor leaders of the Holy Roman Empire's lesser territories who were no match to the Luxembourgs, Wettins, Habsburgs or Witttelsbachs.

The author adheres to the definition of Central Europe which excludes Moldova from this historical region of the continent, which resulted in the question of Moldova being almost completely omitted in the analysis of Matthias's policy – this is another imperfection of the author's initial assumptions. Both Hungarian and Polish monarchs claimed sovereignty over Moldova in the years 1457–1471, and this rivalry influenced also the overall Polish-Hungarian relations at that time. These issues were comprehensively analysed long ago by I. Czamańska, yet T. Homol'a does not refer to this important publication.[3]

It must be emphasised that the author does not demonstrate adequate knowledge of Polish historiography on the topic in question. Even though the findings of relevant Polish research are briefly reviewed in chapter 1, T. Homol'a did not put enough effort into looking for Polish publications on political relations in Europe between 1458 and 1471, since he listed obsolete works by J. Sutowicz and F. Papée[4] as examples. The more recent research he mentioned is one monograph by K. Baczkowski on the rivalry between the Jagiellons and Matthias

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[3]   Ilona Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1996), 104–134.

[4]   Julian Sutowicz, *Walka Kazimierza Jagiellończyka z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeską* (Kraków: Czcionkami Drukarni „Czasu", 1876); Fryderyk Papée, *Studia i szkice z czasów Kazimierza Jagiellończyka* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1907).

Corvinus over Bohemia in the years 1471–1479, a collection of articles by M. Biskup and K. Górski on Casimir Jagiellon, an article by M. Biskup on the dynastic politics of the Jagiellons, published in German, and a monograph by J. Smołucha focusing on the political strategy of Pope Pius II regarding Bohemia and its neighbours.[5] However, there are more Polish resources worth referring to. First of all, he should acknowledge the second, revised edition of the previously mentioned monograph by K. Baczkowski (published in 2014),[6] as well as his shorter pieces of research on the Jagiellon's politics, the situation in the Kingdom of Bohemia during the reign of George of Poděbrad and his relations with Corvinus and the Habsburgs.[7] Moerover, the author is not familiar with

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[5]   Krzysztof Baczkowski, *Walka Jagiellonów z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeską w latach 1471–1479* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1980); Marian Biskup and Karol Górski, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1987); Marian Biskup, "Die dynastische Politik der Jagiellonen um das Jahr 1475 und ihre Ergebnisse," *Österreichische Osthefte* 19 (1976): 5–19; Janusz Smołucha, *Polityka kurii rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458–1464) wobec Czech i krajów sąsiednich. Z dziejów dyplomacji papieskiej XV wieku* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2008).

[6]   Krzysztof Baczkowski, *Między czeskim utrakwizmem a rzymską ortodoksją, czyli walka Jagiellonów z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeską w latach 1471–1479* (Oświęcim: Wydawnictwo Napoleon V, 2014).

[7]   Krzysztof Baczkowski, "O rzekomym kongresie w Villach w lipcu 1470 r.," *Studia Historyczne* 22 (1980): 115–119; Idem, "Europäische Politik der Jagiellonen," in *Polen in Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386–1572* (Schallaburg: Amt der NÖ Landesregierung, 1986), 56–65; Idem, "Z polsko-saskich powiązań politycznych w XV w.," in *Niemcy–Polska w średniowieczu*, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk (Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 1986), 303–312; Idem, "Wokół projektów mariaży dynastycznych Jagiellonów w końcu XV w.," *Studia Historyczne* 32 (1983): 347–368; Idem, "Stanowisko kurii rzymskiej wobec jagiellońskiej ekspektatywy na tron czeski po Jerzym z Podiebradów," *Nasza Przeszłość* 76 (1991): 107–140; Idem, "Einige Bemerkungen über polnischen Gesandschaften nach Deutschland in der Regierungszeit von Kasimir Jagiellończyk (1447–1492)," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 52 (1992): 321–328; Idem, "Idea jagiellońska a stosunki polsko-węgierskie w XV w.," in *Polska i Węgry w kulturze i cywilizacji europejskiej*, ed. Jerzy Wyrozumski (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie, 1997), 57–72; Idem, "Maciej Korwin, król Węgier (1458–1490) w opinii historiografii staropolskiej," in *Aetas media, aetas moderna*, ed. Halina Manikowska, Agnieszka Bartoszewicz and Wojciech Fałkowski (Warszawa: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2000), 363–374; Idem, "Polacy i Czesi w okresie rywalizacji habsbursko–jagiellońskiej 1437–1526 w opinii austriackiej," in *Polaków i Czechów wizerunek wzajemny (X–XVII w.)*, ed. Wojciech Iwańczak and Ryszard Gładkiewicz (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii PAN, 2004), 141–154; Idem, "Komunikacja dyplomatyczna między Polską a Czechami w dobie jagiellońskiej – jej formy i sposoby realizacji," in *Rola komunikacji i przestrzeni*

important works by R. Heck on the topic.[8] Only a German translation of his short article is referred to (yet, it is not mentioned in the overview of Polish historiography – was the author confused by the language of the publication and the German-sounding name?).[9] H. Łowmiański's posthumous publication on the Jagiellons' politics, which describes their relations with Matthias Corvinus in the years 1458–1471, should be recognised, too.[10] A biography of Jakub of Dębno by F. Kiryk should be included – as one of the examples of older Polish publications on this subject. It covers a comprehensive analysis of Polish foreign policy of 1458–1471, in which the protagonist was strongly engaged.[11] Two monographs by B. Czechowicz on the history of Bohemia under George of Poděbrad and Matthias Corvinus should also be considered relevant to the topic.[12] This omission, however, could be justified by the fact that they both were published in 2017 – two years before T. Homol'a's book was released. The Latin edition of the last book of *Annales* by Jan Długosz with extensive critical annotations is a good guide to the Polish historiography on the relations between Casimir Jagiellon and Matthias Corvinus.[13] Unfortunately, the author didn't go further than using Polish translation of this work. Moreover, T. Homol'a is unaware

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*w średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych dziejach Czech i Polski*, ed. Anna Paner and Wojciech Iwańczak (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2008), 176–190.

[8]   Roman Heck, "Elekcja kutnohorska. W pięćsetlecie objęcia przez Jagiellonów rządów Królestwa Czeskiego," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 32 (1971): 193–235; Roman Heck, *Zjazd głogowski w 1462 r.*, 2nd ed. (Głogów: Towarzystwo Ziemi Głogowskiej, 2012).

[9]   Roman Heck, "Polen und das Friedensprojekte Georgs von Podiebrad," in *Cultus pacis. Études et documents du Symposium Pragense Cultus pacis 1464–1964*, ed. Václav Vaněček (Prague: Académia Éditions de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, 1966), 97–107.

[10]  Henryk Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1999), 276–284.

[11]  Feliks Kiryk, *Jakub z Dębna na tle wewnętrznej i zagranicznej polityki Kazimierza Jagiellończyka* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1967), 87–133.

[12]  Bogusław Czechowicz, *Idea i państwo. Korona Królestwa Czech w latach 1457–1547*, vol. 2 (Wrocław: Quaestio, 2017); Idem, *Idea i państwo. Korona Królestwa Czech w latach 1457–1547*, vol. 3 (Wrocław: Quaestio, 2017).

[13]  *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 12, pars 1–2 (Cracoviae: Polska Akademia Umiejętności and Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2003–2005).

of a critical analysis of *Annales* which offers useful aid in interpreting Długosz's narrative.[14]

Not only would making a better use of Polish historiography enrich the findings, but it would also keep the author from misinterpretations. He mentions the 1470 congress in Villach, where important agreements regarding alliance between Casimir Jagiellon and Frederick III were to be made (pp. 121, 127). However, according to K. Baczkowski's article published in 1980, the emperor and the Polish diplomats never met there.[15] Insufficient knowledge of the late medieval history of diplomacy in northern Central European countries results for example in T. Homoľa's uncritical acceptance of claims found in Western European literature on the modernisation of diplomacy at that time. The presence of the Prince of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, at the court of Sigismund of Luxembourg in the years 1425–1432 is used by the author as an example of forming permanent diplomatic representations (p. 137), the presence of general prosecutors (Generalprokurator) as permanent representatives of the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order at the papal court would be a much earlier and arguably a better one.[16]

The book contains also some minor flaws. For example, it seems that the author does not recognise the significance of Casimir Jagiellon's possible acting behind the scenes to destabilise the situation in Hungary at the beginning of Matthias's reign. It is known that there were some Polish subjects among the military leaders of rebellious mercenaries in the territory of present-day Slovakia in 1460. One of them was Gotard Bystram of Radlin,[17] a trusted rittmaster of Casimir Jagiellon's mercenaries, who

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[14] *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z lat 1445–1480*, ed. Stanisław Gawęda, Krystyna Pieradzka and Julia Radziszewska (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1965).

[15] Baczkowski, "O rzekomym kongresie w Villach w lipcu 1470 r.," 115–119.

[16] Jan E. Beuttel, *Der Generalprokurator des Deutschen Ordens an der römischen Kurie. Amt, Funktionen, personelles Umfeld und Finanzierung* (Marburg: Elwert Verlag, 1999).

[17] Szczęsny Morawski, *Sądecczyzna za Jagiellonów z miasty spiskimi i księstwem oświęcimskim*, vol. 2 (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1865), 228; Jozef Špirko, *Husiti, jiskrovci a bratríci v dejinách Spiša (1431–1462)* (Levoča: Spišský dejepisný spolok v Levoči, 1937), 107; Ladislav Hoffmann, *Bratříci. Slavní protifeudálni bojovníci 15. století. Přispěvek k dějinám husitství na Slovensku* (Praha: Naše vojsko, 1959), 44–45.

fought before and after that time in Prussia in the war with the Teutonic Order.[18] This does not seem to be a coincidence.

Finally, a Polish delegate of the 1460s, named by the author as Jan 'Ostrogorský' (p. 74) is most definitely Jan Ostroróg (z Ostroroga), a magnate from Greater Poland, a well-educated doctor of both laws, who would end his career as voivode of Poznań and an influential royal advisor.[19]

Undoubtedly, the monograph in question covers the most important facts regarding Matthias Corvinus's foreign policy at the beginning of his reign and shows their context. It is certainly the first such comprehensive monograph on this monarch written by a Slovak medievalist. These are obvious advantages of this work. However, there are also some methodological imperfections. The most important one is insufficient knowledge of Polish historiography regarding the relationship between the Central European states in the years 1458–1471. This makes it questionable whether T. Homoľa actually achieved his goal, which was, as he claimed, "a review of the existing knowledge on the Central European policy of the King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus" (p. 8).

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[18]  See: Beata Możejko, "Gotard z Radlina – działalność w Prusach Królewskich," in *Społeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. 10, ed. Stefan K. Kuczyński (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2004), 229–253; Sobiesław Szybkowski, "Starostowie z Korony w Prusach Królewskich," in *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Centrum a peryferie w systemie władzy Jagiellonów*, ed. Bożena Czwojdrak, Jerzy Sperka and Piotr Węcowski (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2018), 78–79.

[19]  See: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1974), 502–505.

Ewelina Kaczor[*]

[REVIEW]: Krzysztof Bracha, *Maria Mediatrix – Maria Adiutrix. Pobożność maryjna w nauczaniu kaznodziejskim w Polsce późnego średniowiecza. Sermones dominicales et festivales z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Miłosławia*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2023, pp. 328.

Monographs devoted to the issue of preaching, or based on preaching source material, are rarely published in Poland. The publication of Krzysztof Bracha's book on Marian piety, as it was presented, created and transformed in late medieval sermons should therefore be welcomed with great satisfaction. The main subject of detailed analyses and interpretations of the reviewed publication is a set of six Marian sermons from the postil of Peter of Miłosław. Attentive readers will undoubtedly find that the subtitle is identical to the subtitle of Krzysztof Bracha's earlier publication – *Preaching in Late Medieval Poland*.[1] The author explained in the "Introduction" that although he had already devoted an extensive study to the *Postil*, it did not cover Mariological issues. The current monograph is therefore a continuation of that research, a second part of an erudite lecture on Polish preaching and religiosity in the late Middle Ages, this time focused on the figure of Mary. The author has therefore briefly summarised the results of the codicological research. All who would like to learn more about the collection itself, its copies, about the art of preaching and its implementation in the case of Poland, and finally about many other topics

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[1]   Krzysztof Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza. Sermones dominicales et festivales z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Miłosławia* (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej, 2007).

and themes addressed in Piotr of Miłosław's sermons, need to look into author's previous monograph.

In the fifteenth century there were at least 10 copies of the *Postil* of Peter of Miłosław, of which four manuscripts have survived: Warsaw, National Library Mss III 3021, III 3022, Częstochowa, Jasna Góra Monastery Archive Ms II 17 and Kórnik Library Ms 53. When it comes to a handwritten collection of sermons, this is quite a significant number, indicating its moderate popularity. The analysed collection of sermons is a so-called *ad populum* collection, intended for the local audience. In accordance with the usage of the time, it has the character of a compilation, because a number of sermons belonging to it can in fact be attributed to a group of fifteenth-century Polish and Czech preachers. The author of the monograph described the issues of attribution of individual sermons in more detail in the aforementioned book *Preaching in Late Medieval Poland* (pp. 58–71). The number of copies of the collection, the fact that it was in fact a compilation, and the Polish recipients confirmed in the addresses, all testify to the representativeness of the selected source material for the undertaken study of piety in Poland in the late Middle Ages. The book reviewed here analyses a series of six sermons: *De conceptione Virginis Marie*, *De purificatione*, *De annuntiatione*, *De visitatione*, *De assumptione* and *De nativitate*. This list does not exhaust the source material used, because the author has taken care to situate his analyses and conclusions in the context of a wide range of sources from the era, the list of which in the bibliography takes up 21 pages.

The content of the book includes an introduction, two main parts, divided into five chapters in total, a conclusion and a two-part source annex, containing the disponendum of the six aforementioned sermons by Piotr of Miłosław and an edition of one of them – *Sermo de purificatione Beate Marie*. Additionally, the book provides a table of contents and a summary in English, as well as a personal index. The arrangement of the chapters of the monograph does not correspond with the order of Marian feasts in the liturgical calendar. They should rather be treated as separate studies devoted in the first part to the general motif of Marian assistance (*Adiutorium*) and in the second part – to Mary as an ideal to be imitated by the faithful (*Imitatio*).

In the "Introduction," the author explains why, out of the extremely rich range of Marian invocations, he decided to focus mainly on two of them, i.e. *mediatrix* and *adiutrix*. He therefore pointed out that "Mary

as a mediator, co-redeemer, guardian, defender, to whom one should resort in times of need and danger, are the most frequently repeated motifs in preaching." The choice of the source basis was dictated by its significance for the formation and dissemination of the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary. However, this significance did not translate into researchers' interest, because so far there have been few studies devoted to Marian preaching texts. It should also be emphasised that they mainly concerned dogmatic and liturgical issues. The issue of the current state of research in both Polish and foreign humanities is discussed exhaustively by the author of the monograph in the "Introduction."

In the first part, following Piotr of Miłosław, the author examines moralising scenes presented in sermons, explains the sublime names, invocations and titles of Mary, and presents the virtues and graces attributed to her. This part is an almost complete compendium of medieval Marian apologetics. In the opening chapter, with the telling title "The Shield," the image of Mary the defender, guardian and mediator is drawn – following the words of the preacher. Some of the issues discussed in it were already raised by the author in an article published over ten years ago.[2] The same applies to the remaining chapters, in which one can find echoes of Bracha's earlier publications on preaching and Marian piety.[3] Based on a wide range of comparative source material, including iconography, the author explains in the first chapter the meaning of allegories and invocations of Mary appearing in sermons as, among others, refuge, as a shield protecting against demons (*scutum*) and as a wand (*virga*). The author shows how speculations from the Christian

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[2]   Krzysztof Bracha, "*Tutissimum scutum* w kazaniach maryjnych z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Miłosławia (II poł. XV w.)," in *Sic erat in fatis. Studia i szkice historyczne dedykowane Profesorowi Bogdanowi Rokowi*, 2 vols, ed. Elżbieta Kościk, Rościsław Żerelik, Piotr Badyna and Filip Wolański (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2012), I: 127–148.

[3]   Krzysztof Bracha, "*Vires herbarum*. O właściwościach ziół w tradycji średniowiecznej," in *Człowiek i przyroda w średniowieczu i we wczesnym okresie nowożytnym*, ed. Wojciech Iwańczak and Krzysztof Bracha (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2000), 173–194; Idem, "Maryjny ideał pobożności w kaznodziejstwie polskim późnego średniowiecza," in *Staropolska literatura dewocyjna. Gatunki, tematy, funkcje*, ed. Iwona Dacka-Górzyńska and Joanna Partyka (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015), s. 63–78; Idem, "O poczęciu i dziewictwie Marii w kaznodziejstwie polskim późnego średniowiecza," in *O przeszłości. Czasy, miejsca, ludzie. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesor Jadwidze Muszyńskiej*, ed. Waldemar Kowalski (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach, 2016), 123–135.

mysticism of the holy names of Mary were translated in the sermon into specific practices related to them, aimed at, for example, effectively expelling demons. He inscribes the sermon of Piotr of Miłosław into the rich tradition of Christian thought, and at the same time identifies those elements that should be associated with unofficial religiosity, which particularly corresponded to the preferences of simple believers.

Elements from the sphere of Marian folklore dominate the next two chapters, devoted to the holidays of the Purification and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This is evidenced by the titles of the chapters: "Gromniczna" and "Zielna," i.e. the Polish names of both holidays, in which the native customs and practices related to them resonate. The author expertly explains the etymology of the Polish, or more broadly Slavic, names of holidays and the history of both celebrations and the customs related to them. Analysing the sermon discourse, he precisely indicates how the preacher referred to temporal, extra-liturgical practices from the sphere of folk customs. Finally, in the context of individual holidays and customs, he traced the subsequent versions of the Marian image, in which she appears as a remedy for all evil and misfortune.

The second part of the book reviewed here is devoted to another topic strongly exposed in Marian sermons, namely Mary as the ideal woman, a model of purity. In the first chapter of this part, entitled "Pure," the author traces how complicated dogmatic and philosophical issues of immaculate conception, holy conception and perpetual virginity of Mary were presented in sermons by Piotr of Miłosław. It must be admitted that due to the limited perceptive capabilities of the intended recipients of the sermons, i.e. simple believers, laypeople, the preacher did not delve too deeply into the dogmatic complexities. Instead, the author presents how Peter explained hermetic content using more down-to-earth comparisons closer to the faithful.

The last chapter presents the Marian moral model proposed to the faithful in sermons. The figure of Mary served to model behaviour in everyday life, especially in relation to women of various states. The author cites scenes from the life of Mary outlined in the sermons, which were to show how women should behave in specific situations. The image of Mary thus constructed consisted not only of a model of piety, but also of a model of social attitude, referring in many elements to the monastic lifestyle. The author points out that although the criticism of women's behavior presented in the sermons easily revealed

the misogyny typical of medieval literature, it was the figure of Mary who broke this narration and served to ennoble women.

To sum up, it should be emphasised that despite the enormous achievements of Mariological studies, Marian preaching remains a niche area of research interest. In this respect, the reviewed work makes a significant contribution and opens up prospects for intensifying the research on Marian sermons. The author himself stipulates that the publication should be a starting point for further studies based on a broader source base, which could, among other things, show the polemical echoes of the Marian cult in Polish medieval preaching. He also indicates the opportunities that Marian sermons create for in-depth research on female piety and the role that Marian ideal played in shaping it.

——————      Agnieszka Maciąg-Fiedler*      ——————

**[REVIEW]:** Katarzyna Jasińska, Dorota Kołodziej, Mariusz Leńczuk, *Dwa łacińskie rozariusze z polskimi glosami. Rozariusz dominikański. Rozariusz wrocławski*, Instytut Języka Polskiego PAN, Kraków 2022, pp. 157 (Prace Instytutu Języka Polskiego PAN 164).

*Rosarii*, i.e. medieval Latin dictionaries with Old Polish glosses, or, in other words, studies of a lexicographical-encyclopaedic nature, are compilation works that were mainly intended for students. These works are one of the most important sources in the study of Old Polish. From 2017 to 2020, in the Institute of Polish Language in the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, Ewa Deptuchowa carried out the project 'Polish vocabulary in 15th-century Latin *rosarii*. A comparative study,' which resulted in a monograph *Rozariusze z polskimi glosami* (ed. Ewa Deptuchowa, Mariusz Frodyma, Katarzyna Jasińska, Magdalena Klapper, Dorota Kołodziej, Mariusz Leńczuk, Ludwika Szelachowska-Winiarzowa, Zofia Wanicowa, Kraków: Instytut Języka Polskiego PAN, 2020), and an online database: https://rozariusze.ijp.pan.pl/. The authors of *Dwa łacińskie rozariusze* both took part in the above-mentioned project and co-wrote the accompanying monograph, *Rozariusze z polskimi glosami*. It should be emphasised that the authors are linguists with experience and recognised achievements, who have been working for many years in the Department of Old Polish in the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków. Mariusz Leńczuk, who has headed the Department of Old Polish since 2023, is the author of a number of publications on Polish glosses in Latin manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (e.g. "Internetowa baza danych. *Piętnastowieczne*

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*tłumaczenia Nowego Testamentu* – glosy jako nowe narzędzie do badania staropolszczyzny," *Kwartalnik Językoznawczy* 28 (2020): 32–42; "Glosy jako podstawa polskich badań historycznojęzykowych," *Polonica* 40 (2020): 137–148). Together with Dorota Kołodziej, they are co-authors of the Old Polish Dictionary (*Słownik staropolski. Suplement,* part I (*verba absentia*), ed. Ewa Deptuchowa, Maciej Eder, Mariusz Frodyma et al., Kraków: Lexis 2014). Katarzyna Jasińska wrote, for example, "The Beginnings of Polish Lexicography: How to Present Glosses in the Medieval Dictionary in the Digital Age?," *Diacronia* 14 (2021): 1–5; "Znad badań nad wpływem języka czeskiego na język staropolski – łaciński *Cornutus* z glosami polskimi i czeskimi," in *Księga pamiątkowa Profesora Stanisława Urbańczyka w 110. rocznicę urodzin,* ed. Leszek Bednarczuk, Wiesław Boryś, Marek Stachowski, Kraków: Lexis, 2021, pp. 132–138).

The reviewed volume is composed of an introduction and three chapters. The first chapter contains a detailed description of the Dominican *Rosarius.* It consists of four subchapters: the first is about codicological description, that is to say: a detailed discussion of different aspects of the manuscript such as its writing, ornamentation, binding, owners and state of preservation. The second subsection is a description of the state of research on the above manuscript. The third discusses the Latin basis of the *Rosarius,* the macro- and micro-structure of the dictionary. The fourth discusses the Polish material contained in the dictionary, characterising the graphics of Polish words, lexis, selected grammatical issues, and it compares the material with the Old Polish Dictionary, as well as the online database of the *rosarii.* The second chapter presents the *Rosarius* of Wrocław in analogous subchapters. The third chapter is an edition of Polish glosses. It is divided into four subchapters. The first describes the principles of the edition. The second presents the Polish glosses identified in the Dominican *Rosarius,* following the order of the manuscript. The third presents the Polish glosses identified in the *Rosarius* of Wrocław. The fourth is an index of the Polish glosses in alphabetical order. After the Conclusion, the authors have also included a list of the Polish words discussed.

The authors explain that the two presented manuscripts were not included in the aforementioned project because it was decided that they deserved to be treated separately by those who had recognised the manuscripts as *rosarii.* Mariusz Leńczuk, therefore, describe the Dominican *Rosarius,* Katarzyna Jasińska and Dorota Kołodziej the *Rosarius* of

Wrocław. The authors decided that the presentation of both manuscripts would correspond with the earlier volume about the other *rosarii*.

The authors point out similarities and differences with other medieval dictionaries. The manuscripts reveal many similarities, while at the same time show quite significant differences both in the selection of Latin entries to which Polish glosses were added and in the Polish equivalents themselves, which could indicate that the scribes, to some extent, adapted the material for their needs. Both manuscripts also bring new vocabulary, new phonetic variants and new grammatical forms, which are not recorded either in the other vocabularies or in the Old Polish Dictionary. Besides in the glosses of the Dominican *Rosarius* the process of the formation of graphics is visible and efforts to adapt the Latin alphabet to the phonetics of the vernacular language. While in the manuscript of Wrocław we find a phenomenon of repetition of the same gloss in relation to different Latin entries. This could be a starting point for the study of the lexical-semantic relationship between Latin and Polish.

The aim of the study was to present both manuscripts as comprehensively as possible and the authors have achieved this goal. The accuracy, clarity and precision of the presentation facilitates the finding of the selected issues, making the material an excellent basis for further research. The edited glosses will serve as an analytical tool that will help to establish, among other things, the formation of terminology in Old Polish.

The publication shows that even a well-developed scholarly topic can be further enriched and that each new step, reliably documented, enhances our knowledge of the development of the Polish language, and of Polish culture in the Middle Ages.

Paweł Kras[*]

**[REVIEW]:** Adam Kozak, *Księga sądowa gnieźnieńskich wikariuszy generalnych Sędka z Czechla i Jana z Brzóstkowa (1449–1453, 1455). Studium źródłoznawcze i edycja krytyczna*, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Poznań 2023, pp. LXXXV + 522 (Folia Jagellonica. Fontes 12).

The publication by Poznań medievalist Adam Kozak is, first and foremost, a critical edition of an exceptional source material, the register kept by the Gniezno vicars general from the mid-fifteenth century. The edition comes complete with a detailed source study and extensive indexes. The original book has been preserved in the Archdiocesan Archive in Gniezno under the reference number A.Cons. A 30. As Kozak proves, the last leaf of this register was torn off in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and is currently located in the State Archive in Poznań, in the collection entitled "Documents and ecclesiastical records" with reference number 414. Additionally, during his research, Kozak found the original binding of the manuscript, which has been preserved in the Archdiocesan Archive in Gniezno, without a reference number.

The book records court proceedings conducted before the vicar general Sędek of Czechel (d. 1476) in the years 1449–1453, as well as before his successor Jan of Brzóstków (d. 1461) in 1455. It is worth emphasising that this is the only preserved court book of this type from the area of the medieval church province of Gniezno. We are dealing here with a compact document kept by an important official, the vicar general *in spiritualibus*, who supported the archbishop of Gniezno in managing the diocese and judged, within the scope of the competences granted to him, cases reserved

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for the ordinary. In the area of the late medieval archdiocese of Gniezno, as in other Polish dioceses, the office of vicar general was usually combined with the function of an official (bishop's deputy judge) and filled by the same person. For this reason, the actions undertaken by the official and the vicar general were recorded within the consistory books, of which quite a high number are extant for the fifteenth century.

The main body of the register records the activities of Sędek of Czechel, vicar general of Archbishop Władysław Oporowski, from September 1449 to 16 March 1453. Sędek was appointed to the office of vicar by Archbishop Władysław shortly after he took up his position in Gniezno, and he ended his activity shortly after the death of the ordinary. The initiative to keep the records of his activities belonged to Sędek of Czechel, an extraordinary person well known to historians. After studies in Kraków and Vienna Sędek emerged a well-trained theologian. He was an important figure of the Church of Greater Poland, holding the office of canon of the Gniezno cathedral for a long time and actively involved in pastoral activities in the Gniezno archdiocese. His contemporaries remembered him as a person of wide erudition, and at the same time pious and modest. It is worth mentioning that Sędek was also a historiographer and author of a historical compilation, the so-called *Annals of Sędziwoj*.

The register kept by the Gniezno vicar general is the most important source that sheds light on Sędek's ecclesiastical activity and also says a lot about his pastoral training and spirituality. The court cases recorded in Sędek of Czechel's register have been grouped into three separate sections, according to the category of offenses. The first and the most extensive section (pp. 1–77) opens with cases concerning the clergy (500 cases in total) and records both violations of canon law by the clergy regarding offences of a moral nature (e.g. concubinage, murder, assault, etc.) and acts against the clergy (disputes over tithes, assault on a clergyman). The second section registers matrimonial cases (*causae matrimoniales*, A.Cons. A 30, pp. 78–105; 238 cases in total), while the third one contains proceedings related to religious offences (*causae fidei,* as mentioned earlier, preserved in the State Archive in Poznań in the collection entitled "Documents and records of churches" with reference number 414, pp. 1–7). The book registering Sędek's activities was prepared with great care. Blank pages of the register between the first and the second section of Sędek's register contain entries for cases

conducted in 1455 by his successor Jan of Brzóstków, who in the years 1454–1456 held the office of vicar general *in spiritualibus* of Archbishop Jan Sprowski, and in the earlier and later period held other functions in the administration of the archdiocese. As calculated by Kozak, Jan's activities constitute 18.5% of the content of the entire book. His analyses show that in the case of entries related to Sędek's activities, we are dealing with a clean copy, and all of the material was meticulously recorded, with a small number of deletions and corrections. The cases conducted by Jan of Brzóstków were entered less carefully. Moreover, unlike Sędek's book, in which the most important parts of the proceedings conducted orally were recorded in summary form, the entries in the part concerning Jan of Brzóstków's activities imitate the documentation of officials in terms of structure, containing, among other things, extensive depositions of witnesses and the accused.

In Poland, but not only there, the value of the material gathered in this register is unique, but Kozak's book contains insights outside Polish history, too. On the one hand, the book sheds light on the functioning of the office of the Gniezno vicar general and the procedure for judging and registering cases. On the other hand, it is a primary source for studying the customs and everyday life of Polish society in the mid-fifteenth century. The cases recorded in it say a lot about both the parish clergy and the laity. We learn about the condition of parish priests and vicars, their moral and disciplinary transgressions, as well as pastoral negligence. We also have the opportunity to learn about the actions taken by clerical superiors, in this case the vicars general, who tried to discipline the clergy and improve the quality of their service. Moreover, the register of the Gniezno vicars general is an excellent source for studying Church ministry and its effects in the fifteenth-century archdiocese of Gniezno. It shows the growing supervision that church authorities had over the observance of church law and the principles of Christian morality among the laity, which can be best seen in cases concerning violations related to the sacrament of marriage. The interests of the church courts in these cases reflects growing concern among church officials of the need to discipline parish life, but it also shows that lay people and churchmen at the parish level became increasingly aware of these efforts. Of particular value are the cases concerning faith (*causae fidei*) recorded in the final part of the book, which were heard before the tribunal of Sędek of Czechel. In previous studies, this part

has been the best known, because most of the cases contained in it were published by Bolesław Ulanowski in his monumental edition of *Acta capitulorum nec non iudiciorum*, which was supplemented in 1920 by Adolf Kunkel. This part of the documentation includes procedural actions taken by the Gniezno vicar general against people suspected of heresy. Most of them are related to people who, contrary to church prohibitions, stayed in Bohemia. The authorities of the Polish Church, accepting the papal decrees, recognised Bohemia as a country under the control of the Hussites that should be avoided by Catholics. A stay among the Czech Hussites, even a short one or one connected with transit to Italy, was forbidden and entailed excommunication. Polish church legislation, since the provincial codification of Wieluń–Kalisz in 1420, required all persons returning from Bohemia to appear before the bishop or an official appointed by him in order to explain the circumstances of their stay in the areas occupied by heretics and to swear an oath of allegiance to the teachings of the Roman Church. The cases recorded in the register of Sędek of Czechel are the key source confirming the implementation of these provisions in the Archdiocese of Gniezno. A dozen or so individuals, clergy and lay people, who had been in Bohemia, were summoned to his tribunal. Some of them, as this documentation records, took an oath of loyalty to the Catholic doctrine, renouncing any connections with Czech heretics. Others admitted to contacts with the Hussites, which included participation in Utraquist services, listening to sermons by Hussite priests, and receiving the Eucharist under both kinds. The summary and very concise record of activities conducted in matters of faith confirms the Poles' travels to Bohemia and reveals one of the channels of transmission of Hussite ideas in Polish society. However, in a very limited way, it also sheds light on the views of people suspected of heresy and the motives for their participation in religious practices prohibited by the Church. As the preserved documentation indicates, Sędek of Czechel was not the type of fanatical inquisitor who tried to eradicate heresy related to his stay in Bohemia and pro-Hussite sympathies by means of severe punishments. He acted as a caring pastor who treated violations of the Church's prohibitions on travel to Bohemia with pastoral leniency. It was enough for him that a suspect admitted guilt and expressed remorse. The case documentation included declarations condemning Hussite

practices and critically assessing the situation in Bohemia under the rule of heretics.

In earlier studies on the influence of Hussitism in Poland, much attention has been paid to the group of Utraquists operating in Pakość under the protection of the owners of the town, Materna Leszczyc and his wife Anna. From the selective edition of the documentation recorded in the register kept by Sędek of Czechl, it was possible to learn about Anna's pro-Hussite sympathies and her role in protecting priests administering Communion to the laity under both kinds. It was also possible to find information about the conflict with vicar Abraham, who denounced in public heretical activities of Utraquists from Pakość. In the part of the book recording the activities of Jan of Brzóstków, there are records of extensive testimonies given in the trial of Stanisław, a parish teacher in Pakość, who was accused of gathering and distributing vernacular texts. In this edition prepared by Adam Kozak, a complete set of records concerning this case has been published for the first time, which significantly supplements the knowledge about the nature of the charges brought against Stanisław, and also shows in a new light the conflict between the owners of the city and vicar Abraham. The now-complete picture of this one case provided by Kozak's edition shows clearly the benefits of publishing complete source documentation.

The register of the Gniezno vicars general Sędek of Czechel and Jan of Brzóstków, published by Adam Kozak, is a model of the high-quality editorial standards which should be adopted in future editions of court books. This extensive book, which contains 826 entries, has been provided with carefully prepared indexes (personal, geographical and thematic), which offer a helpful research tool in browsing such rich source material. Each entry is preceded by a detailed summary in Polish. It is however regrettable that the registers were prepared only in Polish, as the short English summary describing the entire publication only allows for a small understanding of the contents of this unique court book.

The extensive introduction, over 100 pages long, deserves recognition, as it provides a monographic study of the history of the register, discussing the circumstances of its production and content. Kozak offers a source analysis with great insight, reconstructing the original structure of the book and the technique of its maintenance. Thanks

to this, he is able to analyse in a new way the activities of the Gniezno vicars general, the scope of their competences and the mechanism of conducting court cases. The reconstructions of the biographies of the book's creators, Sędek of Czechel and Jan of Brzóstków are extremely valuable, supplementing and sometimes correcting the knowledge about them available in the literature to date.

The critical edition of the register of the Gniezno vicars general from the mid-fifteenth century, together with the preceding source study, constitutes an excellent achievement on the part of Adam Kozak, thanks to which an extremely valuable and previously little-known source on the religious culture of late medieval Poland has been made available for research. I have no doubt that it will become a standard for studies on the evangelisation processes taking place in the Polish society in the fifteenth century. The commitment of Sędek of Czechel and Jan of Brzóstków in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them by the Archbishops of Gniezno, combined with their foresight in documenting their own activities, led to the creation of an exceptional text among church court books, giving us insight into the difficult-to-grasp sphere of beliefs, customs and religious practices of parish communities and the tense relations between the clergy and the laity.

MARCIN POLKOWSKI[*]

**[REVIEW]:** RITA SCHLUSEMANN, HELWI BLOM, ANNA KATHARINA RICHTER AND KRYSTYNA WIERZBICKA-TRWOGA, *TOP TEN FICTIONAL NARRATIVES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE: TRANSLATION, DISSEMINATION AND MEDIALITY*, DE GRUYTER, BERLIN–BOSTON 2023, PP. 429.

Since the time of Leo Spitzer, Erich Auerbach and Ernst Robert Curtius, comparative literature in a medieval or early modern chronological framework by Western European or American scholars has tended largely to dwell along the Rhine, cross the Alps or make forays into the Iberian Peninsula or the British Isles. Rarely has there been a systematic effort to reach out to the east, north or south-east of the continent. As a result, for the English-language reader, the medieval and early-modern literatures of Central and Eastern Europe in particular represented a *terra incognita*. On the other hand, since the fall of the Iron Curtain and the accession of new EU member states, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have witnessed a resurgence of scholarly interest in the study of literary transfers and contacts between their respective national literatures and those of Western Europe. However, these studies have largely expressed a preference for the binary relationships that have been the standard model of comparative studies for decades. Although they have contributed enormously to the accumulation of valuable knowledge, such studies have, out of necessity, tended to focus on minute details rather than the big picture. And it is precisely because of this accumulation of material that a broad synthesis, spanning multiple languages and geographical regions, has understandably seemed beyond the reach of a single author.

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Recently, however, a refreshing new contribution has appeared that seeks to affirm the European unity of comparative studies in the 'long fifteenth century' and beyond. Thanks to an inclusive methodology and collaborative framework, this new publication has the potential to unsettle the cemented image of research in the field as either (largely) Western European-centric or restricted to binary exchanges.

Written by a competent, international team of scholars, *Top Ten Fictional Narratives in Early Modern Europe* (subtitled *Translation, Dissemination and Mediality*) offers the reader a range of well-developed and practical methodologies from the field of cultural transfer studies. Equipped with these, it approaches a large, multinational corpus of texts that circulated throughout Europe from late antiquity (or in some cases even earlier) to 1800 (the chronological boundary chosen by the editors). Although the scope of the book extends well beyond the long fifteenth century which is the theme of this volume of *Acta Mediaevalia. Series Nova*, the subject matter is consistently grounded in that transitional period when so many narratives, hitherto transmitted orally or in manuscript, were about to receive a new lease of life thanks to the printing press. In attractive 'multimodal' publications with woodcut illustrations, popular tales such as *Aesop's Fables* or *Septem sapientium Romae* were reworked and marketed to new audiences. It is this openness to a wider, diachronic perspective that should make this study attractive to medievalists interested in literacy and intellectual culture. Since vernacular narratives have generally received less scholarly attention than canonical works of 'high' literature, the edition breaks new ground in the study of these not quite well-known products of the late medieval and early modern book market. Last but not least, thanks to the contributions of Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga (for Polish sources), Csilla Gábor and Ágnes Maté (Hungarian), Matouš Jaluška and Jan Pišna (Czech), the circulation of literature to and from Central and Eastern Europe has, perhaps for the first time, received so much attention in an ambitious comparative study in the English language.

The central aim of the book, expressed in its title, is to trace the routes taken by popular bestsellers to reach European audiences. The structure of the book is designed to achieve this aim, i.e. to provide a solid theoretical foundation while leaving the authors of the individual chapters plenty of scope for their individual explorations. The introduction defines the criteria for the selection of the "Top Ten" narratives,

which emphasise in particular a combination of wide print circulation (at least six European languages) and a print tradition spanning several centuries. Essentially, the book identifies and develops the longue durée of many of the tales known and loved throughout the medieval world. Before plunging into the main body of the text, the reader can easily consult a capsule summary of the most important aspects of these bestsellers (*Aesop, Apollonius of Tyre, Septem sapientium Romae, Griseldis, Reynaert, Melusine, Pierre et Maguelonne, Amadis of Gaul, Fortunatus* and *Ulenspiegel*), while enjoying a "Survey of First Editions," anticipating the results of the research carried out by the team led by Rita Schlusemann. The introduction provides a very solid account of the state of research, including a much-needed discussion of the differences in the terminology used in several European languages for this type of literature. The editors eventually settle on 'narrative,' an elegant solution that does not conflict with existing usage (especially in English, the language of the book), but aptly highlights the fact that the common denominator of these works is their firm grounding in the art of storytelling (a small side note: while the Dutch term 'volksboek' or the German 'Prosaroman receive all the necessary attention,' I missed a comment on the English term 'chapbook,' which some of this book's authors use in their respective chapters). The introduction also does a good job of setting the scene for the more specific studies that follow, providing points of reference with regard to the chronological and geographical scope, the factor of linguistic diversity and, finally, stressing that it was not only the textual level but also the "medial and material aspects" (p. 47) that contributed to the success of the adaptations.

Since the authors of the individual chapters did not follow a predetermined format, their contributions have a somewhat different structure, but this does not hinder the reader's ability to find his or her way through the complex material, since the overall concept (literary-historical background followed by an analytical presentation of book-historical data) generally remains the same. There are some minor omissions, which is understandable in a book of this size.

It may be a little disappointing, at least from a Central European perspective, that the chapter on *Aesop* (by Julia Boffey) does not include more information on the Polish verse adaptation by Biernat of Lublin, its poetics or multimodality, especially given its reputation in Polish literature as being innovative. Stanisław Szarfenberger's 1578

edition is mentioned, but without much background on its origins or specific features that would have clarified its relationship to Heinrich Steinhöwel's German version published in Ulm between 1476 and 1477. Yet while there seems to be a slight imbalance here between the rather scant information on this subject and the highly detailed, concise accounts of the Polish, Czech or Hungarian adaptations of the works discussed in other chapters, fortunately this is an exception in a book that otherwise excels in delivering what it promises.

Anna Katharina Richter's chapter on *Apollonius of Tyre*, a tale originally from late antiquity but disseminated in Latin from the ninth century onwards, provides concise surveys of both the Western and Central European circulation of this tale (for the latter region, Czech, Polish and Hungarian versions are discussed). Similarly, Rita Schlusemann's chapters on the *Seven Wise Men* and *Griseldis*, and Lydia Seldenrust's on *Melusine*, are rich in information on Central European printers and their editions. Helwi Blom's chapter on *Fortunatus* is a model of balance between the wealth of knowledge about the original Western European literary tradition and its Central and Eastern European offshoots, while Krystyna Wierzbicka-Trwoga's extensive section on the Polish reception of that tale provides a window on the tale's reception in Poland. The final chapter on *Ulenspiegel*, also by Krystyna Wierzbicka--Trwoga, will be of great interest to scholars of Germanic literatures, as will Rita Schlusemann's chapter on the transcultural adaptations of *Reynaert*, while the chapters on *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* (Helwi Blom) and *Amadis de Gaule* (Jordi Sánchez-Martí) make an important contribution to transmission studies in the domain of Romance literatures.

The facsimiles of the title pages of many of the editions which are included, which makes this book an indispensable study tool. The handy graphs illustrating the circulation of the tales in print are also a welcome addition. Besides that, reading the book in the digital version, I found it very useful that the bibliography included links to the available digital facsimiles of many of the early editions. The book has been published in Open Access. This will certainly ensure that it reaches a wider audience. All this makes *Top Ten Fictional Narratives in Early Modern Europe* an essential new publication for scholars and students of medieval and early modern literature, especially those whose research crosses the boundary between the two periods.

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## REVIEWS