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The Hussite period is probably one of the most thoroughly researched ages of Czech history, and it occupies a crucial place in Czech historical consciousness. It has been called une anomalie historique by František Šmahel,1 and in many aspects it remains an unique phenomenon ahead of its time on the wider European plane that resists interpretation according to traditional categories of social and intellectual history. Moreover, it is still an important element of Czech national identity, which significantly defines the directions as to what problems contemporary historical research raises about its history.

The prominent status of contemporary research on Hussitism in Bohemia is in sharp contrast to the lack of it in Hungary. After the Marxist turn of historiography in the Eastern Bloc around 1948–1950, a number of articles have been published by young or already renowned Hungarian historians about the Hussite movement in Hungary in the 15th century. These authors discovered Hussite influence and its intellectual force behind virtually all peasant movements (1437 in Transylvania, 1514 on the Great Plain and in Transylvania), including revolts, internal wars, and literary expressions of social discontent in the 15th and early 16th century.2 Subsequently, all these interpretations were tacitly corrected or claramously debated, and finally superseded by research that related these movements to other intellectual sources, such as the social thought of Observant Franciscans in the case of the 1514 peasant revolt for instance.3 At the same time, research on Hussitism became stigmatized and perhaps even a taboo: only very few studies have been written on the presence of Hussites in the Kingdom of Hungary, except for one field: the Hungarian translation of the so-called Hussite Bible. Significantly, efforts have been made to disprove the Hussite origins of the translation even in this case and to

1 Šmahel 1985. I would like to thank James K. Farge, Olivier Pédeflous and Thomas Prügl for their advice, and Lucie Doležalova for acquiring the microfilm of the ms. E71 of the Metropolitan Library of Prague.
attribute it to Franciscans, relying partly on the arguments of pre-war monastic church historians.\textsuperscript{4}

The later history of Hussites in Hungary has been studied even less. The datings of the surviving parts of the Hungarian Hussite Bible show that there existed a living tradition of Hussitism, most probably both in and outside the border of the Kingdom: the «Münich manuscript» (Münchener-kódex, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Hung. 1), containing the four Gospels in Hungarian, was copied in 1466 in Târros in Moldavia (now Tărgu-Trotus, Romania).\textsuperscript{5} The «Vienna codex» (Bécsi kódex, Hungarian National Library, MNY 72), copied around 1450, contains the Hungarian translation of some books of the Old Testament (Ruth, Judith, Esther, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, etc.), and seems to have formed part of the same larger translation, now lost. The Apor manuscript (Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe, Szekely Nemzeti Múzeum, ms. A. 1300) is a miscellany containing a Hussite translation of the Psalter in a late 15th century transcription, which seemingly belonged to a Premonstratensian monastery, perhaps in Buda, later.\textsuperscript{6} The significant amount of surviving manuscripts and historical notices from after 1450 means not only that groups of Hungarian Hussites outlined the high tide and violent period of Hussitism, but also that the Hussite heresy must have maintained an important presence in Catholic consciousness at the time, both in terms of politics and theology. It is quite possible that far more efforts have been made to convert the Hussites than we actually know of. My paper intends in no way to remedy this situation. Instead, I am going to present a previously unattended source, which – when examined within its historical context – may shed new light on the local and the wider European perception of Hussitism immediately before the Protestant Reformation.

The ms. 832 (E71) of the Metropolitan Library of Prague is an early 16th century manuscript, containing a collection of thirty-eight sermons, preached and written down in the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris in the second decade of the 16th century. (For a table of contents, see Appendix 1). The first fourteen of these texts were delivered as graduation sermons during the promotion ceremonies to the magisterium in theology.\textsuperscript{7} Thanks to the prosopography of Paris doctors of theology between 1500 and 1536, compiled by James K. Farge, we are able to date these texts exactly.\textsuperscript{8} The earliest doctoral graduation speech contained in the Prague manuscript is the one for Jérôme de Hangest, later a well-known author of several theological works and anti-Lutheran pamphlets, who, according to the acts of the university, graduated as a doctor on March 22, 1514.\textsuperscript{9} The latest sermon was preached for Claude de Nieye, on April 13, 1515. The graduation speeches are followed by several festal and synodal sermons, some of which are localized and dated: the earliest is a sermon delivered in the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris on Oct 19, 1510, in the presence of the archdeacon of Brie.\textsuperscript{10} The latest sermon can be dated to June 20, 1520, and was presented in the Collège de Navarre. Beside the Collège de Navarre, an important scene of Paris humanism,\textsuperscript{11} other locations mentioned in the sermons include the convent of the Franciscans (Couvent des Cordeliers) and the house of the archdeacon of Brie.

The style of these sermons is far from being traditional; they reflect a new, humanistic approach to preaching. Surprisingly, in the graduation sermons of the newly fresh graduates at the Faculty of Theology, the humanistic conventions of public oratory prevail over the traditional structure of preaching. The medieval tradition of «thematic» sermons, based on well-structured scholastic divisions and distinctions and focusing on doctrines of moral and speculative theology, was still popular in Paris in the second decade of the 16th century, as one can see for instance in the sermon collections of Bonifacius de Ceva, a Franciscan preacher, and later provincial of the order.\textsuperscript{12} Thus, the humanistic style of the sermons in our collection marked a clear departure from the medi eval thematic structure. Although most of these sermons addressed traditional themes, such as the authority of the church,\textsuperscript{13} or priestly holiness,\textsuperscript{14} which were central subjects also in medieval preaching, they nevertheless did it in a new, rhetorically adorned fashion, using the tools of epidictic oratory. At the same time, they intensively relied on \textit{Greco-Roman examples} and stories from pagan mythology or \textit{classical history in general}, applying them univocally to notions of Christian theology and morals. The ideas of Plato (who is called «that first Achilles of philosophy») and Zoroaster appear as vanguards of Catholic truth, and the historical examples of Pericles and Alexander the Great serve to strengthen the vocation of theologians.

The epidictic character of these sermons can be paralleled to the developments of ecclesiastical oratory in Renaissance Italy. Beginning in the 1450s, as John W. O'Malley has demonstrated,\textsuperscript{15} sermons followed increasingly the rules of Classical epidictic oratory (\textit{laudatio et vitupratio}, i.e. praise and blame of the subject), leaving behind the medieval principle of teaching the believ-


\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Der Münchener Kódex}, 2 vol.

\textsuperscript{6} Apor-kódex (Codices Hungarici 2), Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, Kolozsvár [valóban a Pázmány Peter Tudományegyetem Magyarügdöményi Intézete, Bp.], 1942.

\textsuperscript{7} A similar collection of contemporary graduation addresses is contained in Bnf Lat. 7812, delivered by Louis Lasserre of the Collège de Navarre, which was a paraphrasmus (the speaker appointed by the chancellor of the University of Paris) in 1512. See Farge 1985, 25.

\textsuperscript{8} Farge 1980.

\textsuperscript{9} See Orban 2012.

\textsuperscript{10} The archdeacon of Brie was a dignitary of the chapter of the Notre Dame in Paris. See Wright 1989, 99.


\textsuperscript{12} Eg. CeVA: \textit{Extremes viatiae, or CeVA Sermones quadragesimales}.

\textsuperscript{13} Cf. Massaut 1974, 81–96.

\textsuperscript{14} About the latter, see Massaut 1971.

\textsuperscript{15} O’Malley 1974 and O’Malley 1979, 36–76.
This curious collection of sermons in the manuscript ends with three letters, addressed to the Pope, the King of Hungary, and the University of Prague by the Sorbonne. In these letters, the University of Paris tries to persuade all parties to start a reconciliation process, without going into any detail how exactly this reconciliation should be carried out. The first letter, addressed to an unnamed Pope, follows the most simple rhetoric scheme of the three. It is based on the parable of the good shepherd; identified with the Pope, which is expanded into a lively image: the Bohemians were led astray by some rapacious wolves, who disguised themselves as shepherds, but it is the permanent duty of the good shepherd, the Pope, to bring them back to the Catholic Christian flock, as soon as they realize their own mistake.

The second letter, addressed to the king of Hungary, has a more elaborate structure based on the idea of apostolic kingship. The first sentence (Alitloqua eclesie tuba Paulus apostolus magno clangore omnium auribus insonat...) recalls the duty of every believer to spread the faith, whereas the king has exceptional duties, as he has higher authority and greater power than other believers. Not only should it be his personal zeal to eradicate all kinds of schism that would harm the unity of the church, but also should he consider it as his duty to heal any separations and enmity. The most important witness to this Christian model king is introduced by Saint Augustine: ...,this is the service of kings to God. If the bad things are forbidden in the kingdom, it is not only in the interest of human society, but also of divine religion. And what pertains more to the divine religion than purity of faith, piety in God, and obedience to the Church?... This quotation is taken from a work of Augustine against the Donatist Cresconius grammaticus:22

"As it is mandated by divine law, kings, in their very royal office, serve God, whenever they command good things and prevent bad things, concerning not only human society but also divine religion."

21 [... in hoc serviant reges deo: si in regno suo mala prohibeantur, non solum pertinent ad societatem humanam, et ca quo ad religionem diuinam. Sed quid ad religionem diuinam magis attinet, quam fidei puritas, pietas in deum, et obedientia in Ecclesiam, qua federa nullus amplius diuiniae religioae locus relinquatur.].

22 [... Reges cum in errore sunt, pro ipso errone leges contra veritatem ferunt: cum in veritate sunt, similitur contra errorem pro ipso veritate decurrent: ita et legibus malis probantur boni et legibus bonis emendantur mali. Res Nabuchodonosor perversus legem saevam dedit, ut simulacrum adoraret, idem correctus severam, ne Deus verum blasphemaret. In hoc enim reges, sicut eis divinitas tracipitur, Deo serviant in quaquam rege sunt, si in suo regno bona inherant, mala prohibeant, non solum quae pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quae ad divinam religionem.]

Augustinus Contra Cresconium 3, 51, 55.

et huius castigator Iocrates, instiurici Glauco, Thersiten et quartam facrim Fauorinus, calicium Synesius, muscam et parasiticum Lucianus. - For the Erasmian inspiration, see also the beginning of the sermon on Robert Ceneau (7r): Saphon lyceus ut in fabulis est dum divinitatis honore falsoabi acquavasti, aves humane vocis dociles trasmens inclusi..., a retelling of the adage Paephaon aves from the Adages (15, 2, 109).
In this anti-Donatist work Augustine argues against the rebaptism practiced by Donatists. For this purpose he draws a distinction between the notion of schism and heresy: if Donatism is a schism, there should not be any doctrinal differences, thus there should not be any reason either to rebaptise the believers or continue the schism. If on the other hand Donatism is a heresy, the differences are doctrinal, which means that the Donatists have to correct their wrong beliefs. In any case, if the Donatists strive to reenter the only true church they would be spared immediately from persecution and receive the blessing of the Holy Spirit. The true church receives the schismatics with open arms, and there is no need to rebaptize them. The moral quality of the minister of the sacrament is not essential for the validity of the sacrament itself, since whether sinful or pious, he is only an instrument through which Christ’s forgiveness of the sins reaches the people. The quotation cited in the letter to Vladasus II occurs in the third and final book, where Augustine justifies the use of law and violence against the Donatists if they are recalcitrant to return to the Catholic faith. Just as in the case of the graduation sermons, the author paraphrases a cleverly selected sentence of Augustine and applies it to a situation similar to its original context. The Hussites should be treated like the Donatists: If they are willing to reject their errors, they may be readily reabsorbed to the Christian flock. Otherwise they should be forced to do so.

Thus, it is the king’s duty to find a remedy for the problem of the Czech lands, and he should follow the example of Constantine, who summoned the Synod of Nicaea against the Arian heresy, and of Emperor Sigismund, who convoked the Council of Constance. Obviously, the author shows little sympathy for the Hussite view and has probably only scant knowledge of them, although he refers to certain chronicles, «from which the past troubles are well known» (preterita mala ex relatione historiarum noscentur). The examples of the early Church, the Synod of Nicaea and Saint Augustine’s authority serve only to justify royal interference in church matters and even to put pressure on the king to act immediately. All these examples demonstrate the conscious effort of the author of the letters to revive the anathetic discourse of the early, but post-Constantine church.

The third letter, addressed to the University of Prague, begins similarly by invoking the example of St. Paul, who relied in his apostolic office on letters sent to places which he could not visit personally. Contrary to the first two letters, where the Faculty of Theology was writing to parties that supported its own, catholic views, here it brings to bear its own authority against the university of Prague, which it does by calling itself the parent of all universities and claiming a direct descendence from the Pauline teaching (alma Parisiorum universitas, antiqua studiorum pares, sacrorum beati Pauli eloquiorum alumna). 23

Stressing the genealogical descent of the University of Prague from the Sorbonne, the faculty fashion itself as a self-sacrificing mother and recalls the famous example of Solomonic wisdom from the Book of the Kings (1Kings 3,16–28), where two mothers quarreled over a child and the king, who was asked for a solution, decided the child to be cut in half. Thus, reading between the lines, the lenience and charity of the University of Paris, which found an expression in this tolerant letter to the heretic sister (or rather daughter) in Prague, is a clever way of asserting its superiority. Just as in the case of the graduation speeches, where the pagan stories are ambiguously connected to the newly graduates of the Sorbonne (like in the example of the aqua vitae, «l’eau-de-vie»), we find the same rhetoric strategy of double entendre applied here. As the real mother ceded the child to the false one in the story of Solomon, Paris, as the true mother, yields to Prague, the false mother, in order to prove her own veracity.

Similarly, an implicit meaning can be discovered in the fact, that the letters to the king of Hungary and Prague begin with a quotation from St. Paul. According to the underlying rhetoric of the letters, the Sorbonne tries to follow the apostolic example of St. Paul by sending out these messages, while parading its own stance in the anti-Hussite controversy to the position taken by St. Augustine in the Arián debate. The letters do not go into any detail over dogmatic or theological issues, and this might be a reason why they quote only Sacred Scripture and Church Fathers. On the other hand, the writer may have been aware of the theological preferences among the Hussite audiences in Prague besides Scripture and Church Fathers (as representatives of the ecclesia primitiva). Hence, he deliberately neglected to cite scholastic authorities in order to create a common ground for the debate, and avoided any references that would have been unacceptable to Hussites.

How could we date these texts? It is well known that there was a number of attempts for church union with the Hussites from the middle of the 15th century to the early 16th century, all of which failed. 24 Can our texts be connected to any of these attempts? First, and foremost, the problem of the making of this single manuscript surely has to be distinguished from the composition of these letters, since – judging from the number of scribal errors – both the humanistic sermons and the letters are not originals, but copies. Nevertheless, the combination of these two sets of texts, quite distant in their genre, within a manuscript from Prague is intriguing.

As for the provenance of the manuscript, we have only a few hints that allow to suggest a French context. Two epigrams appear on the inner cover leaf of the front cover. The first, in the tiny hand writing of the scribe of the entire manuscript, praises the French king in this way:

(Dionysius) by Bapista Maniusius, in which St. Paul predicts the legendary foundation of the Paris university by Charlemagne to Dionysius. Bulaeus 1, 116–118.

23 For our purpose, the most significant of these efforts is the one organized by Ladislaus Szlakai, around 1524–26. See Kalou 2010, 179–197.
away from the church for a long time, that she may come back to the Roman church. Judging from the context of these texts in the manuscript and their style, which corresponds to the elaborate, classicizing, but not Ciceronian style of the sermons, we may surmise that they have been written in the same decade. Indeed, we find important data concerning the composition of these letters in the literature about the contemporary history of the Sorbonne. James K. Farge has called attention to a few interesting remarks in the register of the Faculty of theology in Paris, according to which the faculty has received a letter from Hungary in the August of 1515, but its contents are not specified there. The acts of the university got a remark on August 19, 1518, i.e. three years later, saying that a certain master, Matthew of Lorey, has presented a request in front of the assembly of the faculty, while acting as a representative of the king of Hungary: «As the troubles have grown worse, the university found itself obliged to turn her attention to other problems: that is to say to the defence of the religion, the Christian faith and to defend her own privileges. These three topics were presented to the general assembly of the university in the cloister of Saint-Mathurin on August 19 [1518]. The rector explained that the faculty asked him to send letters to the Pope, to the Emperor and to the King of Hungary concerning the return of people who went astray in their faith, and that the people of Bohemia desire to return to the church and to the Holy See. The Master Matthew of Lorey, doctor of theology, assured us of this situation, and he exposed these reasons: First the lack of priests, and those who were left, had been ordained surreptitiously, or they were heretics. Second, they were tired of not being admitted to princely courts, or only rarely. Third, they had been hassled by the Waldensians several times. Consequently, it was decided to prepare these letters to seal them by the great seal of the university.»

28 Farge 1985, 122; Clervac, Proès-verbaux, 181.
29 The lack of ordained priests in Hussite Bohemia is mentioned in other sources, as well. See Svorůl 1995, 215–217.
30 The latter two points give an accurate description of the conflict of interest between the nobility and richer burghers on the one side, and the Czech Brethren on the other. See Dvor 2001 and Hynmans 1968.
31 «Succrescentibus sub cœinde malis Universitatis ad alia negotia aminos mentesque conveneret coacta est nempe ad defensionem Religionis et fidei Christianae, et suas ipsius immunitates tuerendas ... quae trist Capita fuerunt proposita in Comitibus 19. Aug. apud Math. habitis. Expositum enim Rector 1. se rogatum a Facultate Theologiae curare ut ad summum Pontificem, ad Imperatorem, ad Regem Hungaricam mittanur litterae super reductione delirantium a fide et quia Bohemi cupient ad Ecclesiae et Sedis Apostolicae sinum redire; ita enim rem se habere M. Mathaeus de Laureo Doctor Theologorum asserebat, qui causas redactionisistas protulit. Vna erat, quia pauci erant ibi Sacerdotes, nec nis furtie promoti aut apostatae. 2. Quia moestus erat eis quod Seculares ad Curias Principum raro admittererent. 3. Quia a Waldensibus plúrimas molestias accipiebant. Ergo litteras confici placuit et magno sigillo sigillari.» BULAVUS VI, 106.
Unfortunately, no trace of these documents has been preserved in the archives of the Sorbonne. 32 Nevertheless, the three letters mentioned in the acts of the Sorbonne seem to be identical with the ones found in the Prague manuscript, with one important difference however: Instead of sending a letter to the emperor, the third letter was addressed to the University of Prague. Still, the university complied with the request of Matthew of Loreto. 33

What might have been the reasons for Matthew’s mission? We know very little about Mathieu de Loreto. 34 A doctor of theology in Paris, he was best known as the teacher of the two sons of Johannes Amerbach, the famous humanist and printer from Basel, in Paris in 1502-04. Later on, he moved from the Collège des Lisieux to the Collège de Navarre to study theology, and it was probably there that he befriended John Gosztonyi, bishop of Győr and royal chancellor of Hungary, when the latter spent a few month in Paris in 1514, probably staying at the Collège de Navarre. Most probably the bishop invited him to Hungary, and he certainly accepted the invitation, since he acted as an intermediary between Gosztonyi and his former master in Paris Josse Clichtove, a well-known humanist theologian. 35 Gosztonyi prepared a list of 102 questions, which range from very basic grammatical matters to astrology and to problems regarding the correspondence between Christianity and Neoplatonism. 36 The detailed reply of Clichtove, which survived in a manuscript in Budapest (Dissolutiones nonnullarum questionum, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár cod. lat. 348), gives a hint in one of the answers that the questions were sent to him from Hungary by Matthew de Loreto. 37 It happened probably during this visit to bishop John Gosztonyi that Matthew met the Bohemian heretics and that he was encouraged by the bishop of Győr to take efforts against the old schism in East Central Europe. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the letters ever reached their destinations. If they did indeed, the most probable candidate for the role of the messenger was Matthew of Loreto, who received his doctorate in theology in 1516, himself. 38 So he must have known all the new graduates in theology, for whom the sermons of the manuscript were written, personally. 39 Although we do not know of any consequences or reactions, the presence of this manuscript in the Metropolitan Library in Prague as early as

32 Farge 1985, 122.
33 It is possible that the letter to the emperor was not sent due to the death of Maximilian I on Jan 12, 1519.
34 All the existing sources have been conveniently summarized by Gäbel 1987.
35 Gäbel 1987, 43.
36 Gäbel 1936 and Eszesdy 1943.
37 «Hoc quoque loco notatūr in exemplar harum questionum michi tradito per honorandum magistrum nostrum et doctorem theologum Mattheum de Loreto, et aliena quidem mano mendose scriptum.» Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, cod. lat. 348, 6r. See Gäbel 1936. I am preparing an edition of the Dissolutiones nonnullarum questionum.
38 Farge 1980, 288f.
39 As Father Farge pointed out to me in an email, they were a rather small group who had studied together for fifteen or sixteen years.
40 Although Hussite preaching was primarily in Czech, it is exactly in these years that the influence of Erasmus started to be felt in Bohemia, and his works were translated into the vernacular. See Prožák 1964.
PRELIMINARY REMARKS TO THE APPENDICES

The content of the manuscript Prague, Metropolitan Chapter 882 (E71) has been listed already by Patera/Polaha in their catalogue from 1910.\(^{41}\) The description by Patera/Polaha, however, has overlooked some details. Furthermore, it has not identified the addressees of the sermons so that I have decided to provide a new, complete description of the manuscript’s contents along with additional information on the texts (Appendix 1). In Appendices 2 and 3, I give a transcription of the letters by the University of Paris to the King of Hungary and the University of Prague respectively. In these transcriptions, I have standardized the orthography (with the exception of ae/e and ci/ti) and the punctuation for the sake of comprehensibility, also because of numerous grammatical mistakes that occur in both variants. The findings in the original text of the manuscript are documented in the apparatus. Any additions I made in the edited text are marked by square brackets [...].

APPENDIX 1:

Contents of the ms. 832 (E71) of the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter, Prague

1. (fol. 1r): Sequuntur quadam oraciones paranimphae\(^{42}\) in urbe Parisisana publice declamate. Quorum prima est de laudibus theologiae. – (1r-2v): Inc. «[E]picetusc, haud vulgaris philosophus inter concas et succincta brevitate commendabiles precepticunculas, quas diathecas appellatur...» Expl. «...quia spectaculare facti estis Magnitudo illius.»

2. (2v-3r): Pro fratre Theodorico Boqueti.\(^{43}\) – Inc. «Primum illae philosophorum Achilles Plato tria amoris genera...» Expl. «...preclarum licencie minus quo tibi voluit presentibus litteris iudicari.»

3. (3r-4r): Ad fratrem Jacobum Roselli\(^{44}\) ordinis Cluniacensis. – Inc. «Accessat quoque tantillum a vobis aurium severitas...» Expl. «...dabit coronam pro cinere, oleum gaudij pro luctu, pallium laudis pro spiritu meroris.»

4. (4r-5r): Ad magistrum Sangerinum. – Inc. «Et utinam quoque spectat sapientia patres, utinam ea mihi esset eloquij ubertas...» Expl. «...Basildeo ac Regali diademate perinde insigniendum.»

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42 The term paranimphus (originally the bridegroom’s messenger) referred to the representative of the chancellor of the University of Paris. See Farge 1985, 25.

17. (21r–24v): Sermo sinodalis. — Inc. «Vos estis regale sacerdotium, gens sancta populus acquisicionis (1Pet 2:9)... Marcum Tullium Romane linguendi iubaver...» Explanatio...quod nos annuat regius ille sacerdos qui in forma triplici veneratur. Dixi.»

18. (25r–27r): De sancta Katharina collatio. — Inc. «Sapiencia laudabit animam suam. Ecclesiastici XXIII capite (Eccus 24:1)... Tradunt vetustissimorum annalium erodaretur...» Explanatio...Christus Ihesus qui est sapiens patris Amen.»

19. (27r–28r): De charitate collatio. — Inc. «Si lingues hominum loquar (1Cor 13:1)... Non inter virtutes solum quas theologos theologi professores appellari consueverunt...» Explanatio...qui charitas est amor et desiderium patris Amen.»

20. (28v–30r): De beato Thoma apostolo collatio. — Inc. «Probus est et perfectus inventus est (Sir 31:10)... Dorix apud Asiaticos Armenie incolas flumen celebratosim abhatur...» Explanatio...ubi nectaris deliciarum fluctus sacri dictum ambrosiae dona beatae dapis.»

21. (30r–33r): [Sermo] sinodalis. — Inc. «Introductum me rex deus (Ct 1:3)... Ex spectatissimorum principum semel atque iterum et audi et legis...» Explanatio...et quod perenient duraturum nunquam excedat. Dixi. Finis.»

22. (33r–35r): Sermon in the presence of the king. — Inc. In conspectu magnificentiae tue, Rex Serenissime modo me proditurum...» Explanatio...firmissim indissolubilioque manet et perdurat. Dixi.»

23. (35r–35v): In assumptione virginis gloriosae. — Inc. «Archilocus, patres egregii, imitareturibus, animosissime hastam abicerem...» Explanatio...genius flexis una voce dicentes Ave [Maria] gracia plena.»

24. (35v–36r): Sermon. — Inc. «Erit in nouissimis diebus preparatus mons domus domini in vertice monum et elevabis super colles et fluenter ad eam omnem gentes (Is 2:2). Huius presentis consecrion die eciam breviserum erunt partes...» Explanatio...cius laus et honor in secula seculorum, Amen.»


et inter memorabiles prodigiorum expugnatores descantatissimus...» Explanatio...Sume lubens mea verba preces pia pectora dixi. Iterum dixi...»

27. (44v–49v): Oratio habita in sancto Johanne Baptista in regali collegio Nauarre anno domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo. — Inc. «Multorum nativitates viri et patres omnigna eruditione fulgentes...» Explanatio...post presentem huius veri miseriam nobis concedere dignetur. Amen Jesus.»

28. (48v–49v): Oratio habita in die sancti Ioannis apud Cordigeros. — Inc. «Utinam viri et patres pendorum orationis bene coloratis hodie michi Pisistrati eloquentia exhiberetur...» Explanatio...et introducat ad locum quem preparavi si cuit eam lucem lucerna proceedit. Deo gracias. teleo.»

29. (50r–54v): Oratio sinodalis [!] habita in basilica Nostre Domine Parisiensis anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo feria quarta post festum sancti Luce pro domino archidiacono de Brie. — Inc. «Sacerdotii antiquitatem ap ipso mundi exercitio deducant...» Explanatio...pervenire nobis concedat. Dixi.»

30. (54v–55v): Sermon. — Inc. «Christus, qui Christus infinita sydus pietatis...» Explanatio...post varias huius orbis procellas variasque cruciatas quibus mens humana affligitur, celestis gloria fruimur Amen.»

31. (55v): Carmina elegica ad auditores. — Inc. «Collego vela patres...» Explanatio...sit michi fama. Dixi. Dixi. teleo.»

32. (55v–59v): Oratio sinodalis habita in anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto feria 4a post festum sancti Luce in edibus domini archidiaconum de Brie per Philippum Maguarnii. — Inc. «Verba in presentiam habituros...» Explanatio...opifex illerum et mundi nascentis origo. teleo. Finis. Dixi.»


55 Midnight mass at Christmas.

35. (67r–68r): Ad laureandum magistros in artibus. – Inc. «Archispchos noster Aristoteles in primo Politicorum libro...» «Expl. »...Solebant nostri maiores illlos qui praelorum aliquid gesserunt deceni corona dotare, quare et multipharia utebantur coronis.»


38. (77r–79v): [Sermon] in sodalitis de pastorali dignitate. – Inc. «Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovisbus suis (Jo 10:11)... Socratem fontem omni- nique philosophorum prestantissimum iubaret...» «Expl. »...quod vobis paratum est ab initio mundi. Amen.»


40. (82r–4): Paralegmic sermon on the faculty of law and its vectors. – Inc. «Si Romani patres elogii Cicero inter ceteras mortuorum (!) procellas...» «Expl. »...respondeat in celestibus felicissima.»

41. (83r–4): Lettere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Summum Pontificem.91 – Inc. «Pastor iie bonus cuius meminit evangelium Beatissime Pater...» «Expl. »...atque a domino sepem incolumis conservetur. Ex Papisi.»

42. (85v–84v): Lettere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Serenissimum Regem Ungaricar. – See the edition below in Appendix 2.


Note on 88v: «Dominus Jacobus est possessor huius libri.»

90 This text was attributed to Augustine in some early editions of the spurious work De dignitate sacerdotii (cf. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 2947f).

91 All three letters must have been written after August 19, 1518, when Mathieu de Lorey exposed his request in front of the General Assembly of the Faculty of Theology. See above.
Parisiensis zelo dominici honoris instimulata omnem parata est subire laborem et sollicitudinem, cumque accipisset ipsum regiam Tuam Celustudem a paterna aitauque religione nequaquam degenerante magno affici desiderio ad medendum huic gravi morbo, admovendumque letifero vulneri medicalementum, mirum in modum gavis est, et etata in Deo salutarri suo, qui dedit Ecclesiam in cor regis clarificare donum Dei, quae est in Jerusalem. Utque ad hoc opus tam fructuosum et salubre regallis Tua Sublimitas sit alacri et promptior, presentibus litteris tota Parisiorum Academia eam testatur, rogat, et orat, ut omnes virium suarum [nervos] intendat illi negotio absolvendo, omnem repellat moram dilationem et protitulationem (i) ardus rebus gerendis semper noxiam, et huic unii rei consumende intentioni insudei. Enimero sic ipsa Deo gratissimam prestabit obsequium, fructum et honorem Ecclesiae catholice, Christi sponse, hoc laudabili studio amplificans. Multorum insuper excellentissima Tua Dignitas in hoc operae faciendo consulet salutis, qui si pristinis infixi persistant errors, corruent in interitum. Preterea regnum sibi tranquillus et pacatius comparebit atque integrus, quoniam tota Bohemia propensius tuis se submitte habetens, promptius que tuis legibus obtemperebit, cum fuerit re ingerata, et rursus unita Ecclesiae postremo perpetuam tuo nominii pariet gloriarn, huic tam salubris negocii concection cum tuis auspiciis fuerit consummata. Si quidem Constantinus ille magnus preclarus celebratur preconis quod sinodum Nicemam studiose convocaverit ad exsperandum heresim Ariaminam, si Sigismundus Romanorum Imperator incultus insigne effertur laude, quod Constantiam interferit consilio, et enixe laboraverit ad diuturnum illum schisma, quod graviter adeo tota ostoburabat ecclesiam, evertendum, non his minus certe tua erit inservere gloriam, Rex Serenissime, qui tua diligentia opera sustuleris hanc Bohemie dissecationem, resarcanverisque antiquam rupturam, que causa nobile quondam membrum detrahit a suo corpore, et demum transacto huius vite curriculo Deus tibi post terreni et temporalis regni coronam celestem et perpetuam elargietur. Valeat feliciter Illustressima Tua Maiestas et a Domino ad meliores semper dirigatur. Ex Parisiis.

Letter of the University of Paris to the University of Prague

Littere Universitatis Parisiensis ad Universitatem Pragensem

Beatam Paulum sapientem Ecclesiae architectum atque magistrum impulit instantia quotidiana et sollicitudo omni munere eccleriarum ut cunctos lucifacere Christo, qua assidue agitatus non modo ipsos verum fidei et doctrinæ populi imparitarit, sed et absens epistolarem officio eccleriarum ad crede credendum et iuste vivendum irrequietus incitat. Eodem certe fervore et zelo incaescere debent quicunque super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum spirituali fiabria sunt educati, et subter Pauli doctrinan profiterentur, elaborareque pro viribus, ut allorum consulant saluti. Alloquin non veri sunt illius initiatores neque sacris eius insistent vestigiis. Quia circa non preter officium facere censebitur alma Parisiorum universitas, antiqua studiorum parens sacrorum beati Pauli eloquiorum alumnæ, si exhortatoria epistulae exiterat etiam exteror et magna locorum intercappedine ad se distantes ad ea, que salutis sunt et edificationis, provocare eos, potissimum cum quibus arcta necessitudo iam ole est deincinta et antiqua familiaritate complacientissima. Atqui nullus ferme publicis studiis inventur illa arctius coniuncta, aut propinquius astra, quam tibi, incita Pragensis universitatis, quam semper habuit ut filiam, eoque loco utpote eus fonte atque deducat eodemque doctrinallis institutionem schemate et forma effigiatum. Quorum quia quis filiam et diffidebitur Academia Parisiensis, arte sororem infanti non poterit, et etiam emulam maximam professionis litterae cognationem atque affinitatem. Ia hisce litteris mater compellat filiam, aut saltam germanam sororem petitque primum impensus, ut benignas accommodet suis montis aures. Legimus siquidem in sacris libris Regum historiam, cum ad dirimandam contentionem duarum matrum super fillis suis iussisset rex Salamon infantem vivum divider, quod commota sunt viscera mulieris illius, que vera erat infantis mater super.

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Wer nur bei Vollmond zum Friseur gehe, um das Haarwachstum zu fördern oder an einem Freitag den Dreizehnten das Haus nicht verlässt, um kein Unglück auf sich zu ziehen, mag zwar als abergläubisch gelten, doch weitere Konsequenzen wird sein als Marotte abgetanen Verhalten für ihn kaum haben. Bis weit in die Moderne hinein wurde jedoch der Glauze an die Wirkung naturgesetzlich unerklärlicher Kräfte keineswegs als Privatsache behandelt, wofür noch die Hexenverfolgungen der frühen Neuzeit einen traurigen Beleg bieten. Schon im Juden- tum wurden magische Praktiken als Widerspruch gegen einen mit dem Monopol der Allmacht versehenen Gott bekämpft, und selbst der polytheistischen vorschristlichen Antike erwuchsen mit Autoren wie Varro oder Cicero Kritiker der Superstition, während die christliche Staatstheorie das Delikt des Schadenszaubers kannte.