Olga Kalashnikova

A Preacher, a Prophet, a Humanist? Labelling the Ideas of Iohannes Milicius

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by

Olga Kalashnikova

(Russian Federation)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Olga Kalashnikova**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

This thesis is a three-faceted analysis of the activity of Iohannes Milicius of Cremsir (Jan Milič z Kroměříže, d. 1374): an official at the royal court of Bohemia, an apocalyptic prophet and a popular preacher. The thesis examines to what extend Italian early humanism and Cola di Rienzo in particular could affect Milicius. To find out whether Milicius could be regarded as a 'proto-humanist', I will focus my thesis on three questions: why was there Bohemian 'proto-humanism' at the Charles IV's court? What was Cola di Rienzo's impact on Milicius' apocalyptic vision? What were the key features of Milicius' preaching activity and to what extent did they fit the concept of 'Bohemian proto-humanism'? By answering these questions, I aim to examine Milicius not as a reformist and Hus' precursor, but as a stand-alone intellectual and provide a better understanding how texts and ideas migrated to Bohemia. I will argue in this thesis that we may perceive Milicius as an intellectual which was at least partly influenced by the notion of the Bohemian 'proto-humanism', since he was surrounded by 'proto-humanists' at the royal court, was familiar with works of Cola di Rienzo, referred to antique literature in his sermons, criticized the clergy and promoted the vernacular language. However, although Cola's effect on Milicius is unquestionable, similar apocalyptic visions and programs of the Church's reformation were expressed long before Milicius, therefore, we can rather contemplate on his figure through the lenses of medieval continuity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Gábor Klaniczay for guidance through the research and his patience in the process of the editing and improving my language skills. I would like to express my gratitude to the faculty, staff, and students of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU: studying and working with all of them was a pleasure for me. I owe thanks in particular to the academic writing instructor Eszter Timár, I have learnt more about writing academic papers in English than I ever knew. Special gratitude to Katalin Szende for supporting me to attend the conferences where I presented parts of this thesis. I also express gratitude to all the brilliant researchers who helped me with advice: Matthias Riedl, Martin Pjecha, Zdeněk Uhlíř, Peter Morée, Eleanor Janega, Suzana Miljan and others.

I am immensely grateful for the love and encouragements of my family and friends, without your support I would not make it throughout this academic year.

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BRRP - The *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* Journal

Introduction

Historical context

A 'golden age' of culture in Bohemia during the reign of Charles IV (1346-1378) stemmed not only from the economic growth of cities (in part as a result of the intensification of the mining and silver trading in the previous century), but also from the strengthening of the monarch's political authority. While economic factors contributed to the establishment of parochial schools in cities, where there was a necessity for educated craftsmen and traders, this brought the foundation of the first university in Central Europe in 1348, supported by Pope Clement VI, due to Charles' and the Church's need for bureaucracy. The monarch surrounded himself with the most prominent educated men not only from Prague, but also from Italy. Thus, a group of 'proto-humanists' appeared in Bohemia by the middle of the 14th century.

The mindset of medieval society, including intellectuals, was spiritual and closely connected to the Church, which was one of the most powerful and richest lords. Therefore, almost every person engaged in intellectual work was related either to the clergy or the university or both.

By the end of the 14th century the Avignon Papacy and a political crisis under Vaclav IV (1378-1419) provoked the emergence of criticism directed towards the Crown and the Church. This process was reflected in theological arguments at the University of Prague and later in preaching at the Bethlehem Chapel, which became a stronghold of reformation preaching. Intellectuals compared reality with the knowledge they attained during their studies and tried to spread it to fix dire problems. However, this process originated not from the university: while there was political, economic and cultural prosperity under Charles IV, stand-alone preachers not related to the university, namely Konrad Waldhauser and Iohannes Milicius (Jan Milíč z Kroměříže), expressed criticism of clergymen's flaws.

While working on my thesis on the role of the University of Prague in the genesis of Hus' (1369-1415) doctrine, I became interested in the works and persona of the 14ᵗʰ-century Bohemian preacher and writer Milicius. Born in Moravia, he moved to Prague after becoming priest and entered Charles IV's chancellery in 1358. Up to 1360 he worked there as registrar and corrector, and by the year 1362 was promoted to the office of notary or scribe. In 1361 Milicius was granted a benefice, then left the chancellery in 1362 and was appointed vicar-archdeacon. Finally, in 1363 he received the position of canon of the St. Vitus Cathedral. However, all of a sudden, in the same year Milicius resigned his benefice and duties to flee to Horšovský Týn where the future preacher spent several months and afterwards returned to Prague to spread the Word of God. Milicius quickly became a popular preacher, and in 1367 he headed to Rome to present to Urban V his views about moral disgrace of the clergy and was imprisoned because of the attempt to preach about the end of time. After returning to Prague, Milicius eagerly criticized 'fallen' clergymen, hence in 1372 he bought a former brothel with the help of Charles IV to establish the "New Jerusalem" Community representing the moral renovation he was preaching. The activity of this community was the last straw for his opponents who composed against him 12 articles of accusation and sent it to the Pope. To defend himself, Milicius went to Rome where he proved himself right, but on his way home the preacher died in 1374.

Hence, Milicius' importance can be seen in the fact that he was one of the first in Bohemia to criticize the 'sins' of the Church and laity, he created a spiritual Community "New Jerusalem" in the center of Prague for fallen women and lay preachers, and it was believed that he called Charles IV "Antichrist" (however, according to recent discussions in historiography, one of Milicius' biographers, Matthew of Janow, fabricated this story[1]). He anticipated the end of

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[1] See Eleanor Janega, *Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Emperor Charles IV: Preaching, Power, and the Church of Prague*. Doctoral thesis (UCL (University College London), 2015).

Bohemia and the world as a whole and was accused of being heretic. However, the literature on this fascinating figure is generally linked to Iohannes Hus and the Bohemian 'Reformation'.

Previous research

The first attempt to publish the biography of Milicius was made by the 17th-century Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín[2]. Later on, from the second half of the 18th century Czech historians have been interested in the activity of Hus' forerunners, including Milicius. During the period of the National Revival, they examined this topic from the perspective of romanticism in order to underline a national origin for the Bohemian 'Reformation' and the distinctive character of Czech culture and history. For example, František Palacký's essay *Předchůdcové husitství v Čechách*, devoted to popular preachers in the 14th century, depicted their activity in the context of the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism and underlined the significant role of preachers' doctrines as the roots of the Bohemian 'Reformation'[3]. It was Palacký who laid the foundation for the consideration of this topic through the lenses of the history of Hussitism.

The publication of sources regarding the activity of popular preachers, including Milicius, continued in the second half of the 19th century when scholars started publishing available data concerning Hus' legacy. The first fundamental publication of Milicius' *Lives* is dated 1873[4]. The same data, related to Milicius' biography, was reprinted by Vlastimil Kýbal at the

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[2] See Bohuslav Balbín, *Epitome Historica Rerum Bohemicarum* (Pragae, 1677).

[3] František Palacký, "Předchůdcové husitství v Čechách [Precursors of Hussites in Bohemia]", in F. Palacký, *Radhost, Sbírka spisuv drobných* [Radhost. Collection of Minor Writings] II (Prague, 1872), 297-356.

[4] See *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum,* ed. Josef Emler (Praha, 1873).

beginning of the 20th century [5]. Basically, the issuing of sources connected to this topic continued until the turn of the 20th century[6].

Apart from Palacký, who is considered "the father of Czech history", another scholar exploring the lives and practices of pre-Hussite preachers was František Loskot, who published his first book about the Czech and Catholic Church in 1909. The book contained biographical information (which Loskot perceived in a positivistic way and barely criticized) and comparison of preachers' figures and their role in Czech history with *buditelé* (Czech and Slovak activists of the Enlightenment and the National Revival). In 1911, he also published a work entirely devoted to Milicius[7] where he compared Milicius' views with those of Hus and emphasized the role of the preacher in the genesis of Hus' doctrine[8]. Although there is no evidence of Hus' familiarity with the essays and sermons of Milicius, Loskot stated that Hus' doctrine derived directly from ideas of Milicius[9], neglecting the significance of Wyclif's ideas, which undoubtedly affected Hus. As to the analysis of Milicius' views, Loskot's studies are focused on the examination of the preacher's ideas and lack a critical analysis of a historical context.

Generally, Palacký and Loskot depicted Milicius' activity as one of the roots of the Hussite movement and underlined its role as the origin of the Bohemian 'Reformation' to emphasize the distinctive character of Czech history.

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[5] Vlastimil Kýbal, *M. Matěj z Janova: Jeho život, spisy a učení* [M. Matthew of Janow: His Life, Works and Doctrine] (Praha: Nákl. Jubilejního fondu Král. české společnosti náuk, 1905).

[6] Milíč z Kroměříže, *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, ed. Mráz Milan and Herold Vilém (Praha: Academia, 1974); Amedeo Molnár, Milan Opočenský, and Jana Opočenská, eds., *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367* (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1998).

[7] František Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže, Otec České Reformace* [Iohannes Milicius, The Father of Bohemian Reformation] (Praha: Volná myšlenka, 1911).

[8] *Ibid*, 7.
[9] *Ibid*, 12.

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Marxist historical analysis covered Milicius' activity from the angle of historical materialism. For ideological reasons, the preacher interested marxists as a critic of the Church[10]. Historians were eager to understand economic and social factors of perturbations in the 14th-15th centuries[11]. Milicius' doctrine was not a central point of their scholarship: together with Hus' predecessors he was considered the radical spokesman of the common people oppressed by the Church's taxation[12].

From the second half of the 20th century under the influence of the history of ideas, scholars concentrated on the reconsideration and reinterpretation of Milicius using methodological pluralism and focused on the evolution of ideas[13]. Some of them studied the literary value of Milicius' works as the origins of rhetoric discussions at the University of Prague[14]. Other researchers examined Milicius as a representative of the spiritual movement, *Devotio moderna*[15]. In recent decades, some Czech historians have addressed Milicius' *Lives* and their veracity[16]. With a textual and linguistic analysis of Milicius' essays, several researchers

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[10] Otakar Odložilík, *Jan Milíč z Kroměříže* (Praha, 1924).

[11] Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

[12] František Bartoš, *Čechy v době Husově, 1378-1415* [Bohemia in the Hussite Period, 1378-1415] (Praha: Jan Laichter, 1947); Reginald Robert Betts, "The Place of the Czech Reform Movement in the History of Europe," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 25, no. 65 (1947): 373–90.

[13] Miloslav Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže* (Praha: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1975).

[14] Josef Tříška, *Literární činnost předhusitské university* [The Literary Activity of the Prehussite University] (Praha, 1967).

[15] See Johanna Girke-Schreiber, "Die Böhmische Devotio Moderna," in *Bohemia Sacra: Das Christentum in Böhmen 973-1973* (Düsseldorf, 1974), 81–91; László Mezey, "Die Devotio Moderna Der Donauländer Böhmen, Österreich, Ungarn," *Mediaevalia Bohemica* 3 (1970): 177–92; Jiří Spěváček, "Devotio Moderna, Čechy a Roudnická Reforma. (K Úsilí o Změnu Mentalit v Období Rostoucí Krize Morálních Hodnot) [Devotio Moderna, Bohemia and the Reform of Roudnice (An Effort to Change Mindsets in the Time of the Growing Crisis of Moral Values)]," *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 4 (1995): 171–97; Ronald Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Ludvík Němec, "The Czech Reform Movement: 'Devotio Moderna' in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124, no. 5 (1980): 386–97.

[16] J. Podlešák, „Matěj z Janova jako Kritik Středověké Církve [Matthew of Janow as the Critisizer of the Medieval Church]," in *Mistr Matěj z Janova ve své a v naší době. Sborník z vědeckého sympozia, konaného na Teologické fakultě Jihočeské univerzity 29 - 30 listopadu 2000.* [Master Matthew of Janow in His and Our Times] (Brno: L. Marek, 2002): 31-46; David Mengel, "A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit: Making the Life of Milíč," *BRRP* 5

scrutinize Milicius as the composer of apocalyptic texts in a European context[17]. Milicius'

preaching as the foundation of Czech statehood[18] and the role of sermons from Milicius' point

of view[19] are a central point of the project of Peter Moreé. The relationships between Milicius

and the court of Charles IV as well as the role of Milicius' preaching in the dynastic and

international policy of the Bohemian king were examined recently by Eleanor Janega[20].

Finally, David Mengel illustrated in his dissertation the foundation and the activity of the "New

Jerusalem" Community as an interplay between space, power, and local religion in medieval

Prague[21].

To sum up, the consideration of Milicius' legacy has been usually conducted in the frames of

Hus' doctrine and the Bohemian 'Reformation'. Hence, Milicius has been neither fully

considered as a stand-alone actor, selecting, systematizing and transmitting knowledge to

demonstrate his ideas, nor have his sources and methods of composing sermons and

apocalyptic texts been studied in all respects.

(2004): 33–55; Michal Flegl, "K Životopisu Miliče z Kroměříže [To Iohannes Milicius' Biography]," *Listy Filologické* 103:3 (1980): 164–66; Lucie Mazalová, "Původ Milíče z Kroměříže [The Origins of Iohannes Milicius]," *Časopis Matice Moravské* 131, no. 1 (2012): 135–43.

[17] Pavel Kolář, "Milíč's Sermo de Die Novissimo in Its European Context," *BRRP* 5 (2004): 57–63; Pavlína Cermanová, *Čechy na Konci Věků: Apokalyptické Myšlení a Vize Husitské Doby* [Bohemia at the End of Time: Apocalyptic Ideas and Prophecies of the Hussite Period] (Praha: Argo, 2013).

[18] Peter Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia: The Life and Ideas of Milicius de Chremsir (+ 1374) and His Significance in the Historiography of Bohemia* (Slavkov: EMAN, 1999).

[19] Peter Morée, "The Role of the Preacher According to Milicius de Chemsir," *BRRP* 3 (1998): 35–48; Idem, "The Dating of the Postils of Milicius de Chremsir," *Listy Filologické* 121, no. 1/2 (1998): 64–83.

[20] Eleanor Janega, *Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Emperor Charles IV: Preaching, Power, and the Church of Prague.* Doctoral thesis (UCL (University College London), 2015).

[21] David Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels. Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346-78),* Doctoral thesis (University of Notre Dame, 2003).

Therefore, the **research question** of my thesis is the following: To what extent could Italian early humanism and Cola di Rienzo in particular affect the Bohemian preacher and writer Iohannes Milicius? And, hence, could Milicius be called a 'proto-humanist'?

I will argue that there was the 'Bohemian proto-humanism' under Charles IV, and Milicius may be perceived at least as a part of this phenomenon surrounded him. Moreover, I will also assert that Cola di Rienzo's[22] stay in Prague in (1349?) 1350 played a significant role in the formation of Milicius' apocalyptic vision. However, despite the anticipated outcomes, I will show that Milicius' apocalyptic discourse and the manner of composing sermons were neither innovative or humanistic, but rather followed previous early medieval and scholastic tradition.

My thesis aims to contribute to studying Milicius, his preaching and eschatological activity by analyzing his works and life from a broader geographical perspective. Since I am particularly interested in the migration of ideas in the late Middle Ages, my case-study of Milicius will present Bohemia and, consequently, the whole region of East Central Europe not as a 'peripheral', 'forgotten' or 'backward' territory, but as a European polity, which could integrate ideas from other countries.

The **scope** of the thesis is limited in geographical and chronological dimensions. The 14th-century development of two late-medieval polities – Bohemia and an Italian region – will be compared to portray a historical context, that could prompt Milicius to produce his ideas. To be precise, my case-study of Milicius will be chronologically placed in the preacher's lifetime, i.e. from the 1320s to 1374.

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[22] Cola di Rienzo (d. 1354) was an Italian popular tribune, who seized the rule over Rome in 1347, but had to escape from the city after a revolt against him. Cola befriended Petrarch (1304-1374) and was in correspondence with Charles IV and his officials.

Source base

To answer the research question, I will use a limited number of texts mostly deriving from the 14th century, namely chronicles, biographies, sermons, letters, and apocalyptic treatises. I will typologically divide the sources into two groups regarding the information they contain: texts concerning Milicius' life and activity on the one hand, and sources related to Cola di Rienzo's biography and ideas on the other.

The oldest sources concerning Milicius are multiple sermons, which the preacher produced from the 1360s until his death. Both Milicius' biographers mentioned that the preacher composed several postils[23], and Pavel Špunar's *Repertorium* demonstrates that the copies of Milicius' postils (*Abortivus, Gratiae Dei,* and *Quadragesimale*) were widely spread all over Central Europe and still can be found in libraries of Prague, Brno, Olomouc, Wroclaw, Budapest, Vienna and other cities[24]. However, the scholars have not published and fully examined these thick volumes yet, therefore, the analysis of this fascinating collection will be the matter of my future research.

I will address Milicius' three synodic sermons (*Sacerdotes contempserunt, Grex perditus, Audite reges*). These are *sermones ad status*, which Milicius presented to the same audience (clergymen) and on the same occasions (synods). As David D'Avray stresses, *sermones ad status* provide us with a more nuanced understanding of the circumstances of the particular

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[23] Matej z Janova, "Zpráva o Milíčovi z Kroměříže [The Report on Iohannes Milicius]," in *FRB*, ed. Josef Emler, trans. Josef Truhlář, vol. I (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 2004), 436; "Vita Venerabilis Presbyteri Milicii, Praelati Ecclesiae Pragensis," in *FRB*, ed. Josef Emler, trans. Josef Truhlář, vol. I (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 2004), 416.

[24] Pavel Špunar, *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum Provectum Idearum Post Universitatem Pragensem Conditam Illustrans*, vol. I (Wroclaw, 1985), 171-191.

group to whom a sermon is addressed[25]. Historians have been debating the dating of these sermons for decades, and there are two working theories about this issue. On the one hand, Loskot has proposed that the sermons were composed and presented either in 1366, 1368, 1370, or 1371, based on when Milicius became a preacher, when he was in Prague, and when he was not occupied with the "Jerusalem" Community[26]. On the other hand, Morée has suggested that they might have come from the years 1364 and 1366, 1368 and 1369, or 1370 and 1371[27].

I will also analyze Milicius' apocalyptic texts, namely *Sermo de Die Novissimo* and *Libellus de Antichristo (*known also as *Prophecia et Revelatio de Antichristo*), which he composed in 1367 while being imprisoned in Rome. Besides aforementioned sources, I will use *Epistola ad Papam Urbanum V*[28] that Milicius composed the same year before his voyage to Rome. These three sources vividly represent Milicius' apocalyptic discourse and his program of the Church's renovation.

Further on, the most informative materials about Milicius' life are his biographies - an anonymous *Vita Venerabilis Presbyteri Milicii, Praelati Ecclesiae Pragensis* and *Narracio de Milicio* by Matthew of Janow, who was Milicius' disciple. The *Narracio* is a part of Matthew of Janow's theological treatise *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* written between 1387-1393. Since Matthew was several times accused of heresy because of his radical ideas and could use the image of skilled and humble Milicius, who was his mentor, I doubt the credibility of the information presented in the source. Another biography – the *Vita* - tends to exaggerate Milicius' holiness as well, which also leads to the question of its veracity. The question of the

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[25] David D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 80.

[26] Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 44.
[27] Morée, *Preaching,* 72.
[28] I will use Latin texts of the *Sermo, Libellus* and *Epistola* published in: Amedeo Molnár, Milan Opočenský, and Jana Opočenská, eds., *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367* (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1998).

authorship and dating of the *Vita* is still open. While previously historians believed that the *Vita* was written by Milicius' disciple and member of the "Jerusalem" Community just after the death of the preacher[29], recently Mengel proposed that the composer of the text was the 17th-century Jesuit scholar Balbín. The admiring tone of the narrative shows that the composer of the *Vita* was either Milicius' contemporary who favored and advocated him because of the accusations of the friars, or a later author, who was concerned about the promotion of his doctrine or the creation of his cult (however, the fact of the existence of Milicius' cult in later centuries cannot be proved). The colleagues of Milicius could venerate him in the "Jerusalem" Community as its founder until it was perceived as sect and forbidden by the authorities several years after the preacher's death and then defend him and the "Jerusalem" from being banned by promoting his glory. From the 17th century onwards (after the rebellious Bohemian lands were taken back by the Habsburg monarchy in 1621, which embarked on the restoration of Catholicism) the figure of Milicius opposing 'spoiled' Catholic clergymen could be used by the Bohemian Protestants in order to protect Hus as the symbol of their national identity. This tension remained until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian state and stimulated the exploration of Milicius' life and works by Bohemian historians. Hence, although Mengel argues that the author of the *Vita* was the 17th-century Jesuit scholar Balbín interested in the promotion of Hus' cult[30], I do not exclude that the author of the first edition of the *Vita* could be Milicius' contemporary[31]. The intention of Balbín logically contradicts the fact that the Jesuits were supporters of the Catholic Church and thus could not be involved in the advancement of Hussitism and its precursors.

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[29] Flegl, "K Životopisu Miliče", 165; Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 13.

[30] Mengel, *"A Monk"*, 34.

[31] For the sake of simplicity, in the following chapters I will address to the author of the *Vita* as the Anonymous.

Moreover, as Mengel lists among a range of sources (including the *Narracio* and the *Libellus*) that Balbín used a 14th-century apology for Milicius, I would rather call Balbín the copier of a core text, which did not survive. I would argue that the author of the core part of the *Vita* should be Milicius' contemporary, who was educated and had access to the libraries where copies of the most famous European saints' hagiographies were stored.

Regarding Cola di Rienzo, the oldest and the most relevant preserved sources I will address are Cola's letters to Charles IV (later I will call them *Letter 49* and *Letter* 58) and his most prominent officials written during his stay in Prague in (1349?) 1350[32]. I will use two versions of these letters: the first one was published in German by Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, the second version is a 18th-century Latin copy of Cola's selected letters to the Pope, Charles and his officials. Based on the letters, I will compare Cola's ideas to the ones of Milicius to identify similarities and differences between them.

As additional sources, I will also use the *Czech chronicle* by Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, *Chronicon* by František of Prague and the *Life of Arnošt of Pardubice* (all of them were published in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*) to reconstruct the episode of Cola's visit to Prague. It should be noted that Charles IV commissioned Beneš and František to compose the chronicles so that they would promote Charles' dynastic interests.

For the same reason, I will focus on the *Life of Cola di Rienzo* written by Anonimo Romano in the 14th century. These sources will provide me with additional information about Cola's stay in Prague, his activity there and his possible connections to the Joachimites.

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[32] Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, eds., *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1912–1929).

Methodology and structure

As stated above, my focus is to connect Bohemian intellectual life under Charles IV, particularly Milicius' multifaceted activity, and Italian early humanism on the example of Cola di Rienzo. This has been taken for granted by scholars scrutinizing the Bohemian 'Reformation' and criticism of the Church[33]. To fulfill the task, I will scrutinize Milicius' activity from a three-dimensional perspective, i.e. Milicius' work at Charles IV's chancellery, Milicius' apocalyptic visions and his preaching.

I will open the main body of my thesis with a chapter devoted to the issue of the very existence of the 'Bohemian proto-humanism' under Charles IV. To limit the scope of my inquiry, I will start from a theoretical discussion of this term and identify the main trends of this phenomenon. After that, I will determine Cola di Rienzo's and other 'proto-humanists' place at the court of Charles IV. This approach will contribute to a contextual analysis, which will partly cover the questions of what could affect Milicius' activity and which sources he could use. I will consider the question of the availability of Cola's works for Milicius, and then I will start a discussion whether Milicius can be regarded as 'proto-humanist' in general. To prove or disprove this interpretation, I will closely look at two main spheres Milicius was engaged in: apocalyptic prophesy and preaching.

The second chapter will cover the topic of Milicius' apocalyptic ideas. His texts, which were related to this topic, will be analyzed by the means of a close reading and micro analysis combined with contextual analysis. This approach will demonstrate main themes Milicius touched in his apocalyptic works. Further on, I will compare Milicius' apocalyptic discourse

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[33] František Bartoš, "Dantova Monarchie, Cola di Rienzo, Petrarka a počátky reformace a humanismu u nás [Dante's De Monarchia, Cola di Rienzo, Petrarch, and the Beginning of the Reformation in Bohemia]," *VKČSN* (1951), 22.

to Cola's ideas which were presented in his letters. As a result, the main aim of the second chapter is to underline possible geographical and chronological continuity between the development of the apocalyptic ideas of Bohemian and Italian intellectuals, namely Milicius and Cola. Last but not least, I will also discuss whether Cola could bring Joachimite or other apocalyptic concepts to Prague, which in turn could affect Milicius.

Finally, I will conduct the examination of the context and structure of Milicius' sermons and match this data with the image of Milicius-*praedicator* from his biographies. The methodological part of this chapter is inspired by the representatives of sermon studies (David D'Avray, Ronald Swanson, L.-J. Bataillon, and Carolyn Muessig). Following Bataillon's approach[34], I will discuss the dating and provenance of the analysed sermons, and then pass to more specific problems, such as liturgical practice, rhetorical patterns and key elements of Milicius' discourse. That will provide the thesis with the information about the main themes Milicius presented while preaching and his approaches to place his ideas in a text. In this chapter, I will analyze Milicius' *sermones ad status* and compare them to *Sermo de Die Novissimo* to limit the scope of my inquiry. The main goal of this chapter is the discussion of the nature of Milicius' sermons: whether the preacher followed the model of homily or scholastic/university sermon. To answer this question, I will compare Milicius' style of composing sermons to late-medieval *artes praedicandi*, which Siegfried Wenzel summarized in his book[35]. Given that, one could evaluate whether Milicius' preaching was a part of the 'Bohemian proto-humanism'.

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[34] L.-J. Bataillon, "Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons," in *Leeds Studies in English*, 11 (1980), 19.

[35] See Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval "Artes Praedicandi": A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (University of Toronto Press, 2015).

Chapter 1. The centre of Bohemian 'proto-humanism': The imperial court under Charles IV

For the historians scrutinizing the development of the Holy Roman Empire (and Bohemia in particular) during the 14th century, Charles IV symbolizes the era of economic prosperity, relative political stability and territorial expansion. Indeed, not only the territory of Charles IV's dominion reached its peak and contained the Kingdoms of Bohemia, Moravia and the Duchies of Silesia and Lusatia, but also mining industry and trade flourished and, therefore, laid groundwork for a cultural growth.

As a result, the National Revival in the Czech lands in the late 18th-19th centuries nostalgically presented Charles as "the father of the Czech statehood" and his rule as "the golden age of Bohemian culture"[36]. This trend was later accepted in the 20th century in the Czech historiography and prompted rigorous arguments whether the notions of the Renaissance and humanism existed in the Bohemian lands under Charles IV.

Following this discussion, I will speculate on several questions: Why was there 'proto-humanism'[37] under Charles IV? I will argue that the notion of 'proto-humanism' (as an essential part of the Renaissance per se) existed in late medieval Bohemia under Charles IV. Moreover, I will elucidate that it was the court of the Bohemian king (and later on the Holy Roman emperor) that functioned as a body transmitting ideas and cultural capital from Italy.

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[36] See František Palacky, *Popis království českého* [The Description of the Czech Kingdom] (Praha, 1848); Idem, *Déjiny narodu českeho* [The History of the Czech Nation] (Praha: Riegrovo vyd, 1877).

[37] This phenomenon is understood as the cultural movement that was marked by a growing interest in classical literature and languages, the promotion of vernaculars, the emergence of individualism and Neo-Platonism not among laity as it was during the Renaissance, but among clergymen surrounding Charles IV.

To fulfill this aim, I will use several narrative sources: the *Chronicle* of Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, the *Chronicle of František of Prague*, the anonymous *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, and the *Life of Arnošt of Pardubice*.

Defining Bohemian 'proto-humanism'

Nowadays, the definition of the Renaissance is still unstable: not only its chronological, but also geographical frameworks are widely discussed among historians. For instance, Erwin Panofsky narrowed down the definition of the Renaissance and studied it through the lenses of art history[38]. Antonin Levi also refers to the Renaissance mostly as a cultural phenomenon, omitting scientific progress and social development, and places it in Italy only[39]. Wallas Ferguson considers this notion a transitional stage from the Middle Ages to modernity (1300-1600) congregating not only spiritual, but also political and economic changes[40]. In addition, some historians deny the idea of transitional development of Europe and hint at the concept of the continuity throughout the Middle Ages and the Modern times[41]. For instance, Walter Ullmann[42] and Charles H. Haskins[43] advocate the existence of 'proto-renaissances' under Charlemagne around 800, the Ottonians and during the period of scholasticism. For example, Charles the Great intended to revive the ancient standardized script and recreate Roman architecture, hence, Caroling minuscule and Romanesque buildings emerged. Next, the Ottonians encouraged the arts and architecture by inviting specialists from Byzantine[44] and

[38] See Erwin Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences," *The Kenyon Review* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1944): 201-236; Idem, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).
[39] Anthony Levi, *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 78.
[40] Wallace K. Ferguson, "Interpretation of the Renaissance. Suggestions for a Synthesis," in *Renaissance Essays*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller and Philip P. Wiener, vol. 9, Library of the History of Ideas (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1992), 64.
[41] See Jacques Le Goff, *Must we Divide History into Periods?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 31-58; Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Courier Corporation, 1999).
[42] See Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism* (Cornell University Press, 1977); Idem, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the idea of kingship* (London, 1969).
[43] See Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1955).
[44] More on this topic see František Šmahel, "Praha minulosti a současnosti očima Pavla Žídka [Prag in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart mit den Augen von Pavel Žídek]," in *V komnatách paláců -- v ulicích měst: Sborník*

establishing *scriptoria,* where numerous manuscripts were produced and exquisitely illuminated. Furthermore, the doctrinal studies of ancient philosophers began with the foundation of the universities of Bologna and Paris. Based on these facts, they justify that there were 'proto-renaissances' in the 8th, the 10th and 12th centuries[45].

In the 20th century, the same logic led the Czech scholars to create the concept of the 'Bohemian Renaissance' and 'Bohemian humanism' at Charles IV's court[46]. Václav Vaněček argued that cultural prosperity and early humanism under Charles stemmed from the monarch's wise international politics and economic growth in the previous century [47] . Josef Hrabák demonstrated that the development of the Czech literature in the 14th century was prompted not only by the dynastic interests of the Luxembourgs, but also because of Charles' 'humanistic personality', namely his genuine interest in history and ancient languages[48]. Michal Svatoš regards the foundation of the University of Prague as the beginning of Bohemian humanism, since the university later became the centre of Neo-Platonic disputes[49]. Finally, one of the most important Czech experts on the Renaissance studies – Josef Mácek – asserted that the 15th-16th-century humanism in Bohemia came from "the early humanism at the court of Charles IV",

přispěvků věnovaných Václavu Ledvinkovi k šedesátým narozeninám [*In the Rooms of Palaces – on the Streets of Towns: A Collection of Essays Devoted to Václav Ledvinkov's 70th anniversary*], ed. Jíšova, Kateřina, Fejtová, Olga, Kreuz, Peter, Pešek, Jiří & Svatošova, Hana (Praha: Scriptorium Dolní Břeżny, 2007), 79-86.

[45] On Carolingian Renaissance see Pierre Riché, *Education and culture in the barbarian West, sixth through eighth centuries* (University of South Carolina Press, 1976). More on the topic of the Renaissance in the 12th century see Robert Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Harvard, 1982).

[46] S. Harrison Thompson, "Learning at the Court of Charles IV," *Speculum* XXV, no. 1 (1950), 16; Kaminsky, *A History,* 1-8; Jana Nechutová, *Latinská literatura českého středověku do roku 1400* [The Latin Literature in Medieval Bohemia Before the Year 1400] (Praha, 2000), 145; Zdeněk Fiala, *Předhusitské Čechy* [Pre-hussite Bohemia] (Praha, 1968), 276. See also Eduard Winter, *Frühhumanismus. Entw. in Böhmen, Bedeutung für die Kirchenreformbestrebungen im 14. Jhrt* (Berlin, 1964).

[47] Václav Vaněček, "Karlova zákonodárná činnost v českém státě [Charles' Law-making Activity in the Czech lands]," in *Karolus Quartus* (1984), 109.

[48] Josef Hrabák, "Význam Karla IV. pro rozvoj české literatury [The Significance of Charles IV for the Development of the Czech Literature]," *Česká literatura: Časopis pro literarni vědů* 26, no. 6 (1978), 483.

[49] Michal Svatoš, "Univerzitní zakladatelské dílo Karla IV [Charles IV's Activity in the Foundation of the University]," In *Lesk královského majestátu ve středověku: Pocta Prof.Ph.Dr. Františku Kavkovi, CSc., k nedožitým 85. Narozeninám* [The Shining of the King's Majesty in the Middle Ages: Homage to Prof. PhD František Kavka's 85th Anniversary], Lenka Bobková and Mlada Holá, eds., (Praha: Paseka, 2005), 243.

because the king's high officials actively interacted with Italian intellectuals and were familiar with antique literature and rhetoric[50].

However, some historians, including Jean-Claude Margolin[51], T. G. Barnes[52] and Anežka Vidmanová[53] agreed that there was the Renaissance (hence, humanism as well) in Eastern and East Central Europe, but dated it from the beginning of the 15th century onwards. Milan Kopecký linked the emergence of Bohemian humanism to Jan Hus, since he embodied the individualization of a man, the reformation of the Church and the promotion of vernacular[54]. Otakar Odložilik, on the other hand, dated Bohemian humanism as the late 16th century onwards and regarded Jan Amos Komenský as the first humanistic character in Bohemia[55]. Others presume that the notion of 'proto-Renaissance' in the 14th-15 centuries could not survive in the Czech lands because of the Hussite wars and a severe economic crisis (the existance of the so-called 'Russian Renaissance', for instance, cannot be accepted as well due to the Tatar invasion in the 1220s and following stagnation)[56].

Talking about the definition of humanism in a narrower sense, one may notice that there are many notions of humanism (civic, artistic, scientific, religious etc.) and numbers of different interpretations of this phenomenon. Basically, Burckhardt's and Kristeller's views demonstrate two main approaches towards interpreting humanism.

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[50] Josef Mácek, "Hlavní problémy renesance v Čechách a na Moravě [The Main Problems of the Ranaissance in Bohemia and Moravia]," *Studia Comeniana et historica* 18, no. 35 (1988), 41.

[51] Jean-Claude Margolin, *Humanism in Europe at the Time of the Renaissance*, trans. John L. Farthing (Durham, N.C.: Labyrinth Press, 1989), 38.

[52] See T. G. Barnes, G.D. Feldman, *Renaissance, Reformation, and Absolutism. 1400-1660* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972).

[53] See Anežka Vidmanová, "Karel IV a latinská literatura v Čechách [Charles IV and Latin Literature in Bohemia]," In *Karolus Quartus* (1984): 291-303.

[54] Milan Kopecký, "Humanismus, Renesance a Reformace v Českych Zemích [Humanism, Renaissance and Reformation in the Czech Lands]," *Studia Comeniana et historica* 20, no. 41 (1990), 38.

[55] Otakar Odložilik, "Education, Religion, and Politics in Bohemia, 1526-1621," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 13, no. 1 (1971), 194.

[56] Levi, *Renaissance,* 79.

In the 19th century, Burckhardt and later on his followers[57] perceived the Renaissance not only as a growing interest in Greek and Latin rhetoric and literature, but also analyzed it complexly through the lenses of economic, social and cultural history and, hence, linked the concept of humanism to the 'birth of the individual' and "the centralization on a humane *microcosm"*[58]. As opposed to this, following Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer's approach, Paul Oscar Kristeller proposed a narrower interpretation of *humanismus* in the middle of the 20th century.

According to Kristeller, the Renaissance was not only a period when scholars were particularly interested in studies and the interpretation of Greek and Latin: Medieval Europe grown on the ruins of "Roman antiquity" used Latin and was aware of Greek philosophers' (namely, Aristotle's) works. In modern times, people looked back at the classics as well (especially regarding Roman and Greek architecture and literature). Nevertheless, Kristeller presents two reasons why Renaissance humanism should be separated from the same notions in the Middle Ages and modernity.

Kristeller underlines the secular passion for classic languages and literature as the most significant feature of Renaissance humanism. If in the Middle Ages, he argues, the clergymen collected and examined "pagan" authors, mostly philosophers, to speculate on theological doctrine, Renaissance scholars who were not related to the clergy studied the ancient languages and literature (even "minor authors'" works) because of their enthusiasm. Hence, the driving force of Renaissance humanism was a lay interest in antiquity[59].

Next, following the principle of historicism, Kristeller applies to linguistic analysis and points out that not medieval, but Renaissance scholars dealing with humanities referred to themselves

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[57] See Eugenio Garin, *L'umanesimo italiano: filosofia e vita civile nel Rinascimento* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1994).
[58] This process is perfectly described in Walter Ullmann's *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), 101-151.
[59] Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Classical Antiquity and Renaissance Humanism," in *The Renaissance Debate* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1966), 107.

as *humanistae* in the 16th century. Unlike their medieval colleagues, these intellectuals predominantly learned classic literature and hardly concentrated on philosophy. Therefore, from Kristeller's point of view, the concept of humanism may be defined as a secular notion based on a genuine interest to the classical literature and rhetoric.

Although I cannot question Kristeller's argumentation, his interpretation of humanism ("the rhetorical tradition of Western culture"[60]) seems limited to me. For example, I consider the aforementioned lay interest to the antique literature to be the expansion of individualism and evidence that the Church's control over society became less dominant. Therefore, I would rather combine Kristeller's definition of humanism with Burckhardt's and Baron's notion of "civic humanism"[61] and stress that this phenomenon cannot be regarded only as a literary notion, but also should be examined as a movement that emerged under certain political and social conditions.

Hence, I would define humanism more broadly as the cultural movement that was marked by a growing interest in classical literature and languages, the promotion of vernaculars, the emergence of individualism and a philosophical shift from Aristotelian ideas to Neo-Platonism.

Finally, taking into account Kristeller's argumentation regarding the difference between Renaissance humanism and analogous phenomena in the Middle Ages, I will refer to the same notion in late medieval Bohemia as 'proto-humanism', since, its educated representatives were affiliated to the Church and, hence, did not belong to laymen.

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[60] *Ibid,* 108.
[61] See Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (London: Penguin Books, 1990); Hans Baron, *Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955). More on "civic humanism" see Eugenio Garin, *Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969).

Proto-humanists at the court of Charles IV

If in the Italian lands and some of the French regions urbanization and intensification in agriculture leading to an economic growth started in the 11th-12th centuries, in Bohemia these processes, which the marxist historian Reginald Robert Betts perceived as the commercial and economic revolution prompting the emergence of new social structures[62], took place by the 14th century. This economic growth stemmed from the intensification of the mining industry, trade and urbanization in the 12th-13th centuries.

Despite the economic prosperity, there were severe perturbations on Bohemian political stage in the first half of the 14th century. After the death of the last Přemyslid king – Vaclav III - in 1306, Henry of Carinthia, John of Luxembourg and Rudolf of Habsburg were fighting for the Bohemian crown until 1310. To succeed in this struggle, John of Luxembourg made an alliance with Bohemian noblemen promising them a privilege to choose the king. Nevertheless, obtaining the Bohemian crown did not make John stay in his newly-acquired kingdom: instead of strengthening positions in the Czech lands, John joined the rivalry for the Holy Roman Crown. This careless political move led to the fact that John of Luxembourg became a foreigner to his Bohemian subjects.

Given this situation, for Charles IV – the son of John of Luxembourg and Elizabeth Přemysl – the reinforcement of the king's authority and his dynastic interests became the central point of his policy after he returned to Prague from Northern Italy in 1333 and officially received the Bohemian crown in 1346. To fulfill this aim, the monarch commissioned Italian artists and architects[63] to erect and exquisitely decorate the Karlstein Castle, Saint Vitus' Cathedral and

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[62] Betts, "The Place", 373.

[63] Kaminsky, *A history*, 7.

other buildings, supported humanities and history writing in particular, founded the first university in Central Europe and also surrounded himself with the most educated and enlightened intellectuals (whom I will further call 'proto-humanists'), who operated at his court[64]. Given the examples of Arnošt of Pardubice, John of Neumarkt and Cola di Rienzo, I will demonstrate the existence of Bohemian 'proto-humanism' in the late 14th century.

Arnošt of Pardubice

The image of the king's close ally and advisor – Arnošt of Pardubice (1297-1364) – has changed in Czech historiography over time. In the first half of the 20th century, Václav Chaloupecký presented the first archbishop as a character supporting "Bohemian reform movement"[65]. Jan K. Vyskočil continued this tradition and studied the archbishop through the lenses of church history, omitting his cultural activity[66]. Recently, Czech historians scrutinized Arnošt as a multi-faceted actor and emphasized his role in promoting the arts, literature and vernacular in 14th-century Bohemia[67].

Arnošt was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the most illustrious men of that time. Many sources coming from the time of Charles IV frequently mention Arnošt assisting the king in his multiple activities. Not only official documents (for example, the charter that was issued for the foundation of the University of Prague), but also contemporary narrative sources

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[64] Remarkably, one hundred years later the Medici family, who unofficially became the autocratic rulers of the Florentine Republic, wishing to elevate their glory and authority, regularly commissioned and, therefore, supported the most skillful painters and architects: Michelozzo di Bartolommeo projected Palazzo Medici in the middle of the 15th century, Sandro Botticelli portrayed the Medici on his artworks, and Michelangelo designed the sacristy of the Medici Chapel.

[65] Václav Chaloupecký, *Arnošt z Pardubic, první arcibiskup pražský (1344–1364)* [Arnošt of Pardubice, the First Archbishop of Prague (1344-1364)] (Praha, 1940), 9.

[66] Jan K. Vyskočil, *Arnošt z Pardubice a jeho doba* [Arnošt of Pardubice and His Time] (Praha, 1957), 463.

[67] See Zdeňka Hledíková, *Arnošt z Pardubic: Arcibiskup, zakladatel a rádce* [Arnošt of Pardubice: Archbishop, Founder and Adviser] (Vyšehrad, 2008), 27; Lenka Bobková, Ryszard Gładkiewicz, Petr Vorel, eds., *Arnošt z Pardubic (1297-1364)* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2004).

(William of Hasenburk's *The Life of Arnošt, Archbishop of Prague*[68], the *Chronicle* of Beneš Krabice of Weitmil and the *Chronicle* of František of Prague) refer to Arnošt in a highly respectful and complimentary manner[69]. This notion is quite understandable for Arnošt's *Life:* the source was written by his subordinate upon the death of the archbishop (after 1364) and aimed to praise him. Moreover, stylistically the *Life* follows the model of Franciscan and Dominican hagiographies, where a saint gives alms to the poor and cares for them. In this respect, the chronicles, which were written either during Arnošt's lifetime or shortly after his death, seem to be more credible.

The first Bohemian archbishop (the archbishopric in Bohemia was established in 1344) and patron of education was presumably born in Silesia around 1297[70] and studied *artes liberales* in Klodsk[71]. In Italy, namely, in Bologna and Padova, he continued his education and after 14 years of studies received the title of *licentiatus* in canon law, which is a middle phase between bachelor and doctor. Although Harrison S. Thompson believes that during this time Arnošt could meet Petrarch, who studied in Bologna at the same period[72], there are no sources confirming this fact. Nevertheless, Petrarch's visit to Prague in 1356 led to the letter exchange between the poet, Charles IV and his officials[73]. In any case, one may assert that during his studies Arnošt could explore classical literature and rhetoric as a part of *trivium.*

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[68] William of Hasenburk, "Vita Venerabilis Arnesti, Primi Archiepiscopi Ecclesiae Pragensis," in *FRB*, ed. Josef Emler, trans. Josef Truhlář, vol. I (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 2004), 385-400. I will further refer to this source as *Vita venerabilis Arnesti.*

[69] Compare *Vita Venerabilis Arnesti*, 387: "hic quasi stella in medio nebul claris vite partier et doctrine fulgoribus micans"; "Chronicon Francisci Pragensis" in *FRB*, ed. Josef Emler, trans. Josef Truhlář, vol. IV (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 2004), 437: "[vir] scientia illustratus"; "Chronicon Benessii de Weitmil" in *FRB*, ed. Josef Emler, trans. Josef Truhlář, vol. IV (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 2004), 528: "cor ipsius scientia suevit".

[70] Nechutová, *Latinská literatura*, 297.
[71] *Vita venerabilis Arnesti*, 388.
[72] Thompson, *Learning at the Court*, 25.
[73] Nechutová, *Latinská literatura*, 298.

After returning to Prague in 1338, Arnošt quickly made a career first as bishop in 1343 and one year later as the first archbishop of the Bohemian lands. Holding this position, Arnošt acted as the king's advisor, became the chancellor of the University of Prague and even participated in negotiations with the papal see, since he was "[vir] magnae facundiae et literaturae"[74].

Remarkably, to support the new university and promote higher education in Bohemia, Arnošt invested one thousand crowns to copying manuscripts and maintaining students' and professors' households[75]. In addition, being inspired by the Italian craft of making manuscripts, he encouraged the production and decoration of manuscripts in Prague according to the best Italian and Avignonese models and, hence, financed the whole office of scribes and illuminators[76].

For the sake of the promotion of vernacular, Arnošt presented to Pope Clement VI Charles IV's project to use commonly the Slavonic tongue in the services of the church. The Pope approved the foundation of several monasteries which should use Czech during the service[77].

These facts demonstrate that Arnošt was deeply engaged in Charles' cultural policy and acted as the patron of arts and literature in the 14th-century Bohemia.

John of Neumarkt

Undoubtedly, one of the most educated officials during the reign of Charles IV was John of Neumarkt (1310-1380). Jaroslav Kolár regards John as the pioneer of Bohemian humanistic movement, maintaining intensive cultural connections between the Czech and Italian lands[78].

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[74] *Chronicon Benessii*, 513.
[75] *Ibid,* 518.
[76] Thompson, *Learning at the Court*, 28.
[77] *Ibid*, 30
[78] Jaroslav Kolár, "Vztah české literatury 14. – 16. století k italské kultuře [The Relation of 14th-16th-century Czech Literature to Italian Culture]," *Slavia* 52, no. 1 (1983), 27.

Unfortunately, we do not have any medieval biography of John. For that reason, historians base the reconstruction of his life on official sources, namely charters, where his name is mentioned.

Born in a Silesian burgher family in Vysoký Myt, John studied at a parish school in Klodsk. We know that from the year 1340 he worked as notary of Bolek, the duke of Münsterberg, and later as chief notary of the latter's son up to 1347, when John arrived at the royal court and acted there as court chaplain, secretary and notary[79]. In 1352 and 1353, he was ordained as bishop of Litomyšl and the king's chancellor[80].

The first argument in favor of John's close connection to Bohemian 'proto-humanism' lies in his work at the royal chancellery. He frequently managed Charles' correspondence with Petrarch, Giovanni Marignola and Cola di Rienzo[81]. All of these figures, unquestionably, are related to early humanism in Italy. First of all, Petrarch produced a multitude of sonnets and highly elaborated letters, where the poet even 'invoked' Cicero and revived antique rhetoric. Giovanni Marignola travelled all over Europe and Asia, examined and collected ancient sources and produced a chronicle about the history of the Bohemian lands upon Charles' commission. Cola di Rienzo, Petrarch's friend and the Roman tribune from 1347, was an expert on Roman carvings and literature. The chancellor regularly communicated through personal amicable letters with Cola and Petrarch. As Josef Mácek emphasizes, John was extremely interested in classical literature and was eager to revive Latin[82]. For that reason, he composed several poetic works and was acknowledged in one of Cola's letters as one of "poetarum

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[79] Nechutová, *Latinská literatura*, 146.

[80] Scholars propose two variants of dating the events. According to Nechutová, Neumarkt first became Charles' protonotary in 1352 and one year after was ordained as a bishop of Litomyšl (Nechutová, *Latinská literatura*, 147). Thompson, on the other hand, stresses that John became Charles' chief chancellor in 1353 after obtaining an episcopal office of Lytomyšl in 1352 (Thompson, *Learning at the Court*, 15).

[81] See Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, eds., *Cola di Rienzo. Die Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo. Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation,* Vol. 2.3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913–29).

[82] Josef Mácek, *Cola di Rienzo* (Praha, Orbis: 1965), 141.

alum[p]no"[83] – the pupil of poets. Hence, because of composing letters to Italian humanistic characters, John intended to imitate their style even in official documents and found support from Charles IV[84].

John's visits to Italy (he travelled there at least twice: in 1354 and 1368-1369) provided him with an opportunity to collect copies of Italian authors and even a manuscript of Dante's *Divina Comedia*. Except for contemporary authors, in Italy John also acquired a copy of letters of Saint Jerome and Aquinas' *Soliloquia animae et deum*, which he translated to German upon his return to Prague[85]. All the collected materials formed the so-called *John's library at Litomyšl*, which John Clifton-Everest considers the first Bohemian centre of Italian culture[86]. Despite the unquestionable connections between John and Italian humanists, some Czech historians present the imperial chancellor not as the pupil of Italian and classic poets, but rather as the autonomous patron and benefactor of Bohemian humanism[87].

To sum up, despite belonging to the clergy, John of Neumarkt represents a "civic" 'proto-humanist' proficient in the humanities, interested in the ancient languages and culture. As Ruben Weltsch underlines, although John's erudition was connected mainly to devotion, his Latinity served imperial diplomacy and epistolary communication[88].

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[83] *Cola di Rienzo. Die Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo. Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation,* Ed. Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, Vol. 2.3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913–29), 223.

[84] Thompson, *Learning at the Court*, 8.

[85] Ferdinand Tadra, "Kancler Jan ze Stredy a jeho zivot sv. Jeronyma [Chancellor John of Neumarkt and His Life of St. Jerome]," *Vestnik ceske akademie cisare Frantiska Josefa pro vedy, slovesnost a umeni* [The Journal of Frans Josef's Czech Academy for Science, Linguistics and Arts] 8 (1899), 424.

[86] John M. Clifton-Everest, "Johann von Neumarkt und Cola di Rienzo," *Bohemia* 28 (1987): 25-44.

[87] Ivo Hlobil, Eduard Petrů, *Humanísmus a raná renesance na Moravě* [Humanism and Early Renaissance in Moravia] (Praha, 1992), 24.

[88] Ruben Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein (1348-1400). Papalism, Humanism and Reform in Pre-hussite Prague* (Paris, 1968), 81.

Cola di Rienzo

Among all characters surrounding Charles IV, Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354), perhaps, is the most mysterious figure[89] that literally connected Italian early humanism and its Bohemian reception. His life, ideas, rule over Rome and following adversaries are presented in various types of sources: from narrative to epistolary.

The main source unit devoted to Cola is his anonymous biography - *The Life of Cola di Rienzo*. Thomas Wright dates it shortly after Cola's death (around 1358) and speculates that its author might have been an upper-middle-class layman coming from the University of Bologna[90].

Since this source seems to promote Cola's personality and politics, I also used Bohemian chronicles mentioning him, namely the *Chronicle* of Beneš and the *Chronicle* of František, and Cola's letters to the Bohemian officials, which he wrote during his stay in Prague while being imprisoned.

The first argument in favor of Cola being an early humanist comes from his youth and early career. As Cola's biographer reports, the future Roman tribune originated from a poor family living in the suburbs of Rome[91]. We do not know much about his childhood and education, but historians studying Cola stress that he was a self-made man, who constantly read books of the ancient authors, examined antique carvings and highly respected works of Titus Livius, Cicero and Valerius Maximus[92]. Based mostly on Cola's biography, this image could be one-dimensional, but, indeed, in one of his letters to the archbishop Arnošt Cola tells him about a certain "great tablet of bronze, inscribed with ancient lettering", which he found among many

[89] More Cola's biography and his interpretation in Italian historiography see Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, *Cola di Rienzo* (Roma, 2002); Amanda Collins, *Greater than Emperor: Cola di Rienzo (ca. 1313-54) and the World of Fourteenth-Century Rome* (The University of Michigan Press, 2003).

[90] John W. Wright, Anonymus (Romanus), *Vita de Cola di Rienzo* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1975), 13, 21.

[91] *Vita de Cola,* p. 31.

[92] Mácek, *Cola di Rienzo*, 24.

ancient inscriptions and personal documents[93]. After working as notary for some time, Cola was appointed as notary of the Chamber of Rome in 1343[94]. As Ronald Musto emphasizes, after this appointment Cola went to Avignon as the representative of the 'eternal city' to meet Pope Clement VI. This trip to the papal see seems to be of great importance: in Avignon Cola cooperated with Petrarch, who became his close friend and ally[95]. The great poet and humanist promoted the return of imperial (i.e. the Holy Roman Empire's) capital to Rome[96] and, hence, could have influenced Cola's program of its revival. Moreover, Petrarch referred to sinful Babylon and the end of times in his sonnets[97] and personal letters to Cola[98], and the Roman tribune discusses the same topics in his writings. Given this information, one may perceive Cola not only as a 'civic humanist' – a profane notary exploring ancient literature and studying Latin from inscriptions out of his genuine interest, but also as a person being closely connected to the most prominent Italian humanist and affected by his political ideas of reviving Rome as the capital of the Empire.

The *Life of Cola* established the tradition of depicting him as a national hero and opponent of noblemen's "sucking the blood of the poor people"[99]. As a result of his critique of the nobility, he became the leader of the popular revolt in Rome in 1347. However, one year later, Cola's severe policy made people rebel against him as well, and the tribune left Rome[100], travelled all over Italy and hid in the mountains among the *fraticelli* spirituals[101].

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[93] *Cola di Rienzo. Die Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo. Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation,* Ed. Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, Vol. 2.3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913–29), 727.
[94] *Vita de Cola,* 32.
[95] Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (University of California Press, 2003), 57.
[96] Janega, *Jan Milíč of Kroměříž,* 197.
[97] Francis Petrarch, "Sonnet 137," In *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Columbia University Press, 1979), 244.
[98] Musto, *Apocalypse*, 124.
[99] *Ibid,* 33.
[100] Ibid, 93.
[101] Fraticelli were a Franciscan spiritual sect anticipating the end of times and, hence, following the doctrine of Joachim of Fiore.

The sources unanimously stress that after some time of hiding Cola found a shelter at Charles IV's court[102]. Although Musto emphasizes that Cola came to Prague no earlier than in July 1350 because of the dating of Cola's first surviving letters to Charles IV[103], the chroniclers propose other dates. František mentions that Cola arrived to Prague shortly after the foundation of the university (this account was put in the chapter called *De confirmatione studii generalis in civitate Pragensi*), and Beneš dates Cola's visit in 1349. However, in the *Letter 49* to the Emperor Cola says that he had spent thirty months with the hermits in the mountains before he heard Fra Angelo's apocalyptic prophecy and came to Prague[104], hence, according to Cola's version, he must have arrived to Bohemia in 1350.

Secondly, regarding Cola's humanistic activity, both František and Beneš refer to the tribune as *vir magnae literaturae et facundiae*. Moreover, Cola's biographer reports that in Prague the tribune often "disputed with the masters in theology and spoke of wonderful things… His fluent tongue amazed those Germans, Bohemians, and Slavs, he stupefied everyone"[105]. Given this information, one can assume that Cola could not only discuss some doctrinal or philosophical questions with Bohemian intellectuals, but also promote interest in the ancient literature among Charles and his officials, since the king himself was an admirer of Vergil, Ovid, Livius and Horace[106].

However, this account could be also related to another sphere of Cola's interests, namely apocalyptic prophesies, which will be scrutinized in details in the second chapter. E.g.,

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[102] Compare *Vita de Cola,* 126: "…he came to Prague and [spoke to] Charles IV. After Cola had spoken, Charles stretched forth his hand and received him graciously"; *Chronicon Francisci,* 452: "eodem tempore venit ad dominum regem quondam Rome urbis tribunus nomine Nicolaus" [at the same time [right after the foundation of the university of Prague] the Roman tribune called Nicolaus came to the king]"; *Chronicon Benessii*, 519: "Anno Domini 1349 venit Pragam ad dominum Karolum regum quidam vir de urbe Romana [In the year 1349 a certain man from the city of Rome came to Prague to the king Charles]".
[103] Musto, *Apocalypse,* 271.
[104] *Cola di Rienzo. Die Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo. Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation,* Ed. Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, Vol. 2.3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913–29), 192. I will further on call this source *Letter 49.*
[105] *Vita de Cola,* 126-127.
[106] Mácek, *Cola di Rienzo*, 9.

František and Beneš present almost the same accounts regarding Cola's activity at the court. After some time that he spent with hermits (*fratticelli*) in mountains, he received from their leader, Angelus, a certain prophecy about the end of the world, which he presented to the king but was suspected in heresy, imprisoned and then sent to Rome where he eventually died:

Chronicon Francisci	*Chronicon Benessii*
… et alia plura hiis similia proferebat et **etiam erronea, propter que tamquam de heresi suspectus fuit per dominum archiepiscopum arrestatus** et deinde publicatis processibus in ecclesia Pragensi, **qui fuerant per episcopum Spoletanum huc missi, sedis apostolice legatum, in quibus ratione contumatie in negotio fidei pro heretico condempnabatur.** Huius rei gratia dominus rex et dominus archiepiscopus **praedictum tribunum ad curiam papae trasmiserunt**[107].	Finaliter cum multa erronea et sibimet contraria coram domino rege et domino **Arnesto archiepiscopo et ceteris praelatis proposuisset, inventus est errare in fide, et traditus est carceribus in Rudnicz**. In quibus cum aliquamdiu teneretur, ecce! **Venit littera episcopi Spoletani et apostolice sedis legati, in qua ratione contumatie ipse tribunus in negotio fidei citatus pro heretic condempnabatur.** Haec audiens dominus Karolus, **dictum tribunum ad sedem apostolicam remissit**[108].

This intriguing resemblance can be caused by the fact that, although František and Beneš worked approximately at the same time, František finished his *Chronicle* earlier around 1353. Beneš continued composing his work for the next 20 years and could use *Chronicon Francisci* as one of the sources.

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[107] *Chronicon Francisci,* 453.
[108] *Chronicon Benessii*, 519.

To sum up, based on these case studies on Arnošt of Pardubice, John of Neumarkt and Cola di Rienzo acting at the court of Charles IV in the middle of the 14th century, one may deduce that there was growing interest not only in the antique literature, language and arts, but also vernaculars (German and Czech), which these personalities eagerly promoted. Moreover, these intellectuals used to bring contemporary and antique literature to the Bohemian lands and form private or monastic libraries. Hence, we can notice that the ideas and representatives of the Renaissance and, thus, humanism migrated all over the Empire and reached Bohemia as well. However, despite some obvious similarities between the Italian humanism and its Bohemian acknowledgement, I will refer to this Bohemian phenomenon as 'proto-humanism', since the Bohemian intellectuals did not belong to the laity.

Without any doubt, these factors might affect Iohannes Milicius, who came to the royal court as notary in 1358. As the emperor's official, Milicius must have travelled with Charles to Germany and Italy, where he could get acquainted with works of early humanists. In addition, working under the supervision of the Emperor's chancellor John of Neumarkt, Milicius could explore the colossal archive of the chancellery, find and read numerous letters from Charles IV to Italian humanists and correspondence between Arnošt, John and Cola di Rienzo. Moreover, I would also suggest that Milicius could be familiar with John's sermons and prayers in German, which might have affected the preacher as well, but this question is the matter of my further research[109]. However, if John's and Arnošt's impact on Milicius is unquestionable[110], the role of Cola's influence on the preacher has to be examined more thoroughly. For that reason, I will scrutinize two main facets of Milicius' activity – apocalyptic texts, on the one hand, and preaching, on the other.

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[109] The manuscript *Gebetbuch* (XVI.G.28) stored in the Czech National Library contains both John's and Milicius' prayers.
[110] Milicius even lived in Arnošt's caste Horšovský Týn when he decided to become a preacher.

Chapter 2. Milicius' apocalyptic concept and his program of the Church's revival

Apocalyptic texts and prophesies, here understood as Alison McQueen's eschatological teachings about "the last things" (the end of times)[111], were an essential part of medieval mindset: they emerged in various parts of Europe from the late-antique period onwards[112], were a useful political tool reflecting moments of severe crisis and served to display medieval interpretation of time. As Timothy George and Lászlo Hubbes emphasize, in the Middle Ages apocalyptic visions perfectly fitted the mentality "based on guilt, fear and anxiety"[113] and "cultural neurosis regarding the coming of the Antichrist"[114].

The Bohemian territories were also involved in the development of practices and literary tradition devoted to the end of times. In 1372, Iohannes Milicius – a former notary of the Emperor's chancellery and a popular preacher – bought a house in the Old Town of Prague, which used to be a brothel before. He founded there a shelter for repented prostitutes and lay preachers and called the place "New Jerusalem". Until the preacher's death in 1374, the members of this community practiced communal prayers, an ascetic way of life and promoted the purification of the Church. This story might remind us the one in Cola di Rienzo's letters to Charles IV: "…Angelic Pastor will assist the falling Church not less than Francis[115] had done. He will reform the entire state of the Church and will build a great Temple of God from the Church's treasures, dedicated in honor of the Holy Spirit and called Jerusalem…"[116] Several

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[111] Alison McQueen, *Political Realism in Apocalyptic Times* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017), 23. More on the definition of the term "apocalyptic prophecies" see in Stephen L. Cook, "Apocalyptic prophecy," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford University Press, 2014), 19-35.
[112] The first apocalyptic prophesies were produced around 400 A.D.
[113] Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers* (Broadman Press, 1988), 22.
[114] Lászlo Hubbes, "Apocalyptic as a New Mental Paradigm of the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, ed. Michael A. Ryan (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 167.
[115] In Pseudo-Joachimite apocalyptic prophecies, Francis of Assisi is of great importance and operates as "the angel of the sixth seal". See John R. Hall, *Apocalypse* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2009), 63.
[116] *Letter 49, 193.*

years before this event, the preacher produced three apocalyptic works belonging to the "secondary apocalyptic discourse"[117], i.e. the works commenting primary apocalyptic texts from the Scripture.

Czech historians of the 19th and the first part of the 20th century regarded Milicius as the first author in Bohemia to compose apocalyptic works and use them as the cornerstones of his reformist activity intended to demonstrate and criticize the crisis within the Church[118]. They also stressed the autochthonic nature of his apocalyptic ideas and their extreme importance in the formation of the Hussite doctrine. However, a recent meticulous study by Pavlina Cermanová convincingly refutes this interpretation and places Milicius' apocalyptic discourse in the continuity of Bohemian eschatology[119].

Therefore, the present chapter will follow this discussion in Milicius studies. Of course, I must admit that Milicius' apocalyptic discourse is the matter of a separate study. Therefore, I will narrow down the scope of my inquiry and will link his apocalyptic works to the Joachimite tradition in Italy by investigating what sources did Milicius use for composing these texts and what was Cola di Rienzo's role in this process. To explore these topics, I will scrutinize and critically compare Milicius' *Libellus de Antichristo, Epistola ad papam Urbanum V* and *Sermo de Die Novissimo* to Cola's selected letters to Charles IV's and Arnošt.

I will argue that Milicius' apocalyptic ideas containing a critique of the Church were not innovative and followed the tradition established by Joachim of Fiore and his *fraticelli* followers[120]. Hence, it was Cola di Rienzo who might have brought Joachimite apocalyptic

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[117] Greg Carey, "Early Christian Apocalyptic Rhetoric," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John Joseph Collins (Oxford University Press, 2014), 222.
[118] Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže…*, 7; Kýbal, *Matěj z Janova,* 11.
[119] Cermanová, *Čechy ,* 49.
[120] More on Joachim's apocalypticism see Marjorie Reeves, "Joachim of Fiore and the image of the Apocalypse according to St John," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 64 (2001): 281-295.

ideas to Prague and, thus, functioned as a link between Milicius and Joachim. Nevertheless, Milicius must have used other sources to compose his works, since he does not completely follow Cola's ideas and Joachim's tradition. Moreover, although the medieval apocalyptic tradition was further developed by Renaissance humanists, who used it to reveal some "spiritual mysteries of the origin and destiny of man"[121], Milicius' apocalyptic discourse neglects this trend and, hence, cannot be perceived as humanistic.

Joachimite tradition in the apocalypticism of Cola and Milicius

Although, as noted before, Cola spent several months among the *fraticelli* after his escape from Rome, it was probably not Fra Angelo, who first introduced apocalyptic ideas to him (as opposed to the claim by Victor Fleischer[122]). For instance, if we study the *Life of Cola di Rienzo*, in 1344 the future tribune drew the scene of the Last judgement on the walls of the city Chamber to call of Roman citizens' attention to the necessity of reforms[123]. Hence, one may deduce that Cola was aware of apocalyptic ideas already before 1344.

According to Mácek, there were two relevant events which could influence Cola's interest in apocalypticism before he became the Tribune of Rome. First of all, when Cola was 21 of age (around 1333-1334), he witnessed Joachimite brothers' visit to Rome and was deeply affected by it[124]. Another fact, which must have played a relevant role in Cola's shift to apocalyptic prophecies, was his trip to Avignon in 1343, since the flagellant Venturino of Bergamo (1304-1346), a popular Dominican preacher anticipating the end of time, was in Avignon at the same

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[121] Eugene Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millenial Beliefs through the Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 63.
[122] Victor Fleischer, *Rienzo: The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London: Aiglon Press, 1948), 39.
[123] *Vita de Cola di Rienzo,* 33-35.
[124] Mácek, *Cola di Rienzo,* 30.

time and could have presented his sermons there[125]. Indeed, if Cola witnessed Venturino while preaching and presenting his main ideas, also applying pieces of visual art (Venturino was the first to use visuals for his sermons to attract common people[126]), Cola might have adopted this effective technique in 1344. Musto[127] and Ankara Boholm[128] agree with the latter suggestion basing their argument on the fact that both Cola and Venturino depicted the image of the Holy Spirit (a white dove) on their banners.

Czech chronicles also speak in favor of Cola's familiarity with the apocalyptic, namely the Joachimite, tradition before his escape from Rome: while acting as Tribune, he kept sending official letters to Charles IV and signed them as *miles Spiritus sancti[129]*. The 18th-century copies of Cola's letters in Latin from the collection of the Czech National Library confirm this evidence.[130] This is an interesting similarity to the way how Joachim of Fiore and later his followers referred to themselves - the brothers of the Holy Spirit[131].

In any case, even if we accept that Cola was aware of the Joachimite apocalyptic tradition before 1348, when he met the leader of *fraticelli*, we cannot deny the importance of his stay at Fra Angelo's 'convent'. As Bernard McGinn argues, Fra Angelo's prophecies played a crucial role in the formation of Cola's concept of the revival of Rome with the help of the Last Emperor (i.e. Charles IV) and the Angelic Pope[132] or Angelic Pastor in Cola's interpretation. It should be noted that this concept of the "Angelic pastor" vaguely reminds of the curialism movement,

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[125] *Ibid*, 31-32.
[126] More on the usage of visuals by Venturino see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (University of California Press, 1997). Idem, "The visual and the visionary: the image in late medieval monastic devotions," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20 (1989): 161-182.
[127] Musto, *Apocalypse,* 150.
[128] Ankara Boholm, "Political Ritual as Image-making: Medieval Rome and the Charisma of Cola di Rienzo," in A. Boholm, ed., *Political Ritual* (1996), 158-192.
[129] *Chronicon Francisci*, 452; *Chronicon Benesii*, 519.
[130] Cola di Rienzo, *Epistolae variae*, Prague, Czech National Library, MS XIX.A.4, f10.
[131] Valeria De Fraja, "Joachim the Abbot: Monastic Reform and the Foundation of the Florensian Order," in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*, ed. Matthias Riedl (Brill, 2017), 121.
[132] Bernard McGinn, *Visions,* 240.

whose supporters believed that an internal crisis within the Church might be solved only by the pope as its leader[133]. As Cola delicately writes in 1350 in a letter to Charles IV, it was because of hermit Angelo that he came to Prague, since the *fraticello* brother "revealed him a prophecy" and said that he should "advance the Roman emperor … and assist him to decorate the city of Rome by the imperial and papal crowns"[134]. Although this seems to be a clever political move aimed to restore Cola's authority in Rome with the help of Charles IV, the reference to the Last Emperor and the Angelic Pope reviving the Church resembles Joachim's doctrine from the *Oracle of Cyrill*[135], which, in turn, stems from Gregory of Tours' concept of *ecclesia Dei*. This concept was realized, as James T. Palmer argues, by Charlemagne [136]. Noticeably, Cola expressed similar ideas in his letters to the Pope and Archbishop Arnošt in 1347-1348 while he was the Tribune, but I presume that during that time he was not so deeply influenced by apocalyptic ideas and was just seeking for political allies to strengthen his own positions in Rome[137].

Similarly, if we examine Milicius' apocalyptic works, namely *Sermo de Die Novissimo,* the *Libellus* and the *Epistola* that were written around the same period of time during Milicius' trip to Rome, some interesting analogies to the aforementioned Cola's concept may be found. In the *Epistola*, the preacher ardently addresses the Pope begging him to "arise and stand up for the people of God" with the help and protection of a "black-winged eagle"[138], which represents the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, i.e. Charles IV[139]. Although Milicius is not so precise in the *Sermo*, because he does not mention the Pope and the Emperor directly, he narrates that

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[133] George, *Theology,* 30.

[134] *Letter 49*, 193.

[135] Mácek, *Cola di Rienzo,* 31, 139; Cermanová, *Čechy*, 90.

[136] James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 157.

[137] See Cola's letters to the Pope and Arnošt in MS XIX.A.4 ff6-20.

[138] Iohannes Milicius, "Epistola ad Papam Urbanum V," in *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367,* Amedeo Molnár, Milan Opočenský, and Jana Opočenská, eds. (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1998), 30.

[139] However, De Fraja believes that the Joachimite black eagle which historians usually perceive as the Emperor, embodies monks living in contemplation and prayer. De Fraja, "*Joachim the abbot",* 121.

by the end of times the Lord will send two powerful prophets, who can be perceived as Charles and the Pope, to punish the Antichrist and his followers[140]. In addition, in the *Libello*, Milicius refers to the Emperor's and the Pope's authority as the only power, which is capable of defeating the Antichrist and reviving the Church: "[the Holy Spirit told Milicius that the Antichrist is coming and, hence, commanded him to] exhort the clergy and people to pray for our lord the Pope and for our lord the Emperor that they may so order the holy church in things spiritual and temporal"[141].

One striking fact deserves to be discussed separately. By the time of composing the *Libellus*, Milicius was imprisoned and accused of heresy, as he states at the end of the source ("under threat of excommunication and […] torture, I wrote this unwillingly"[142]). Because of this, he tries to depict himself either as less radical or less confident about his own concept of the Church's reform and uses the exaltation and the image of the Holy Spirit ordering him to preach about the end of the world to defend himself and legitimize his views.

Remarkably, Cola's concept of the revival of Roman glory, which, for sure, was extremely important in 1350 both for Cola and Charles, who had not been crowned the Roman emperor yet, does not figure frequently in Milicius' works (the preacher refers to the eternal city only once in the *Epistola* while asking the Pope to leave behind "the pleasures of Avignon to the austerity of Rome"[143]). Regarding this fact, Janega argues that Miliicus functioned as the promoter of Charles IV's political program aimed to make the city of Prague comparable to Rome in its importance and greatness. However, I would disagree with this argument and assert

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[140] Iohannes Milicius, "Sermo de Die Novissimo," in *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367,* Amedeo Molnár, Milan Opočenský, and Jana Opočenská, eds. (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1998), 39.
[141] Iohannes Milicius, "Libellus de Antichristo," in *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367,* Amedeo Molnár, Milan Opočenský, and Jana Opočenská, eds. (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1998), 61.
[142] *Ibid,* 71.
[143] *Epistola,* 21.

that Milicius' image of Rome was closely linked to his plans of the Church's purification and vividly represented perturbations within the Church due to the Avignon captivity. I would rather assert that by depicting Avignon as a sinful Babylon and reminding the Pope of the advantages of staying in Rome, the preacher wanted to drive the pontiff to return to Italy.

Furthermore, apart from the clear political program, Cola's letters contain emotional remarks about the poor state of the Church and its centre in Avignon: "…the Church deserted its holy and proper place for a brothel under the leadership of the archbishop of Bordeaux, the first pope in France [Clement V]…"[144]. As Richard K. Emmerson underlines, such allusions to the Whore of Babylon representing the moral disgrace of the Church were extremely popular in the 14-th century Italy reacting to the Avignon captivity[145]. As it was mentioned before in the first chapter, even Petrarch used this *topos* in one of his sonnets. Because of this moral crisis, Cola urges to return the sinful Church to its initial simplicity ([Fra Angelo told Cola in his prophecy that he foresees] "the reformation of the Church to the state of pristine sanctity […] under a soon-to-come pastor the grace of the Holy Spirit would purify them [the sinners]"[146]). Here the tribune follows the doctrine of *fraticelli* and accuses the clergy of having "unnecessary goods" and enjoying "earthly delights"[147]. By doing this, Cola stresses, the clerics become "filthy" and therefore "pollute the Church with the saliva of an adulteress"[148]. Basically, Cola's accusations towards the sinful Church may be presented in the following list: "war, falsehood and guile, avaricious pomp, profit, and the vanity of worldly goods"[149].

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[144] *Cola di Rienzo. Die Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo. Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation,* Ed. Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, Vol. 2.3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913–29), 304. I will further on call this source *Letter 58.*
[145] Richard K. Emmerson, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Kenneth Emmerson, Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 321.
[146] *Letter 49*, 194.
[147] *Letter 58*, 304
[148] *Ibid, 305.*
[149] *Ibid.*

There is a slight possibility that Cola's letters could have affected Milicius' critique of the Church and his program of its reform, since the preacher depicts the same sins of the clergy, namely simony (which for Milicius can be also the fact of owning some property by the clergymen or receiving an income from benefices or parishes), having a concubine (which usually took the form of adultery, homosexual intercourse or promiscuity), and moral disgrace (take, for example, the abuse of a priest's authority, gambling, wearing fancy dresses, visiting taverns, nuns dancing at the courts of princes and so forth)[150]. Moreover, just as Cola, Milicius also argues that the Church should return to its apostolic simplicity with the help of the pope sending preachers-apostles[151].

Another feature of Milicius' apocalyptic discourse speaking for his probable acquaintance with Joachimite ideas from the *Oracle of Cyrill* with Cola's help is the image of the Antichrist, which the preacher presents while criticizing the clergy. According to Milicius, the sinful clergymen embody the whole evil in the world and, therefore, are either "Antichrists" themselves ("There are many Antichrists and he who denies Christ is Antichrist"[152]) or villains helping Leviathan to devour the world[153] (i.e. function as Antichrist as well, since he will saddle the beast). This interpretation of the Gospel of John[154] seems to be the reception of Joachim's concept of Antichrist[155]. In his *Books of Figures*, Joachim stressed that there will be many Antichrists – "unholy kings and false prophets [i.e. priests]"[156].

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[150] *Epistola*, 19, 21, 23; *Libellus*, 63, *Sermo*, 33, 34.
[151] *Epistola*, 27.
[152] *Libellus*, 65.
[153] *Epistola*, 19.
[154] Compare *1 John 2:18*: "… this is the last hour; and as you have heard that the Antichrist is coming, even now many Antichrists have come".
[155] More on this topic in Robert E. Lerner, "Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore", *Speculum* 60, no. 3 (July 1985), 553-570.
[156] Cited from McGinn, *Visions,* 138.

In addition, there is a high probability that Cola could have accepted Joachim's Trinitarian concept of time (the time of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit)[157] at the *fraticelli*'s 'convent', transmitted it to Bohemia and, consequently, affected Milicius' perception of time periods. For example, when Cola describes Charles IV the prophecy of Fra Angelo, he refers to "the age of the Holy Spirit" as the sign of the Advent ("[time] when God would be known by men"[158]). Indeed, a striking similarity between Joachim's *Exposition on the Apocalypse* and the fragment of Milicius' synodic sermon (which will be analyzed in the third chapter) may be traced. For instance, Joachim refers to three time periods in the following way:

> The first of the three *status* […] was **in the time of the Law** […]. The second *status* was **under the Gospel** […]. Therefore, the third status **will come toward the End of the world**, no longer under the veil of the letter, but in the full freedom of the Spirit when, **after the destruction and cancellation of the false gospel of the Son of and his prophets**, those who will teach many about justice will be like the splendor of the firmament and like the stars forever[159].

Meanwhile, Milicius follows this concept almost step by step referring in his sermon to three periods in human history: the epoch of natural law given by God, the period of evangelic law or the law of Gospel and the time of the Advent after the final persecution of the Anichrist[160].

Noticeably, Milicius not only accepts Cola's and Joachimite ideas, but also shapes them according to his vision of the Church's purification. For example, in the *Epistola* and the *Libello*, he points out that although the Pope and the Emperor should reform the Church, this may happen only by the assistance of "general council". As a result, Milicius stressing the relevance of the council chose the middle ground between the programs of curialism and

[157] Brett Edward Whalen, "Joachim the Theorist of History and Society," in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*, ed. Matthias Riedl (Brill, 2017), 91.
[158] *Letter 49*, 193.
[159] Cited from McGinn, *Visions,* 133
[160] Milíč z Kroměříže, *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, ed. Mráz Milan and Herold Vilém (Praha: Academia, 1974), 50.

conciliarism. The comparison between two fragments from the sources in the table below demonstrates that the preacher expressed absolutely the same ideas.

The *Epistola*	The *Libellus*
…invoca eam [ecclesiam?], et exiet edictum ab ipsa, ut sub eius defensione et pace describatur universus orbis, quod aliter fieri non potest, nisi per **concilium generale, ut sic pastores […] laudent Dominum in excelsis, et non mundi sed Christi pacem praedicent**… [call upon her [the Church?] and an edict will come forth from her, that the whole world may be enrolled under her defense and peace. This may happen only through a general council. Thus the shepherds […] may praise God in the height and declare the peace, not of the world, but of Christ.[161]]	Suade summo pontifici, ut **faciat concilium generale** in Roma, in quo omnes episcopi accipient modum corrigendo suos et suorum defectus, **et certas personas dent religiosas et seculars mitendas ad praedicandum**… [Persuade the holy pontiff to have a general council in Rome in which all bishops may receive a way of correcting their own and other people's failings, and provide certain persons, religious and secular, to be sent to preach…[162]]

Other sources

Although Cola's and the Joachimite influence on Milicius is undeniable, it would be naive to assume that he used no other sources but Cola's letters to compose his apocalyptic works. For

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[161] *Epistola,* 30:
[162] *Libellus,* 68.

example, Zdeněk Uhlíř convincingly argues that there are some borrowings from Thomas Aquinas' *Summae theologica* and *Catena aurea* in Milicius' postils[163]. It should also be noted that Aquinas strongly criticized Joachim's doctrine [164] and, therefore, put some of his considerations regarding the theme of the apocalypse and the Antichrist in his treatises. This leads us to the presumption that Milicius might have used Aquinas' works while writing about the end of the world as well. Indeed, the stocks of the National Library in Prague contain at least two manuscripts of Aquinas' *Catena aurea* produced in the second half of the 14th century[165]. Although these volumes were found in the Jesuit Library in Český Krumlov, they probably went there from the Clementinum Library in Prague, since the Jesuit Order could enter Bohemia only after 1534 when it was established. Given that, one cannot deny that Milicius might have used one of these manuscripts.

One should not forget about another factor, which might also have affected Milicius' apocalyptic doctrine and his plans of the Church's reform, namely the Waldensian movement that emerged in the southern parts of Europe in the 1170s. Preaching about the apostolic church and the clergy's poverty, the Waldensians quickly became a group that was accused of heresy by the Church. Despite being constantly persecuted, they spread all over Portugal, Spain, Southern France and Northern Italy. Some historians stress, according to the Church's documents, that there were several Waldensian groups even in the Southern part of Bohemia (Moravia in particular, where Milicius was born) [166]. As McGinn's points out, both Waldensianism and Joachimism had equal chances to affect the 'Pre-Reformation' in

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[163] Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Milič z Kroměříže a kazatelský styl jeho homilií [Iohannes Milicius and the Preaching Style of His Homily]," in *Manu propria*, ed. Zuzana Adamaitis and Tereza Paličková (Praha, 2012), 33
[164] Sven Grosse, "Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and the Critiques of Joachimist Topics from the Fourth Lateran Council to Dante," in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*, ed. Matthias Riedl (Brill, 2017), 144-145.
[165] See Prague, Czech National Library, MS XIII.B.15 and MS I.A.55.
[166] Josef Mácek, *The Hussite movement in Bohemia* (Prague, 1958), 56; Gabriel Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, C.1170-c.1570* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 78; Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Ashgate, 1998), 64.

Bohemia[167]. However, I am reluctant to support this idea in case of Milicius based on the simple fact that the Waldensians regarded the pope as the Antichrist[168], while the preacher supports the pontiff's authority.

Generally, I would agree with Cermanová arguing that the preacher used a number of sources, both Bohemian (such as the *Bible of Velislav*) and from other parts of Europe, to create his own compilation of apocalyptic theories[169]. Apparently, Milicius had a deep knowledge of the medieval apocalyptic tradition (patristic and contemporary), shaped it according to his motives and contributed to its further development by interpreting apocalyptic concept of time and the end of the world on the whole.

To sum up, although in the 19th and 20th centuries national historiography tradition considered Milicius the first apocalyptic prophet in Bohemia and one of the first preachers-reformists in the late Middle Ages, my assumption contradicts this idea.

First of all, the fact that Cola spent several months among the pro-Joachimite *fraticelli* brothers and then went to Prague, on the one hand, and the similarities that were identified while analyzing and comparing Cola's letters and Milicius' texts, on the other, allow us to speculate on the following 'migration' of Joachim's ideas through Cola di Rienzo: 1) while living in Italy, young Cola had several chances to get acquainted with the Joachimite apocalyptic concept 2) after becoming the Roman tribune, Cola shaped this notion according to his political interests (take the union of the Emperor and the Pope to revive the Roman glory as an example) 3) this concept was even more elaborated and decorated after Cola's escape from Rome, when he was looking for political allies and ended up at the Bohemian court 4) working at the royal chancellery, Milicius could have been familiarized with Cola's ideas, accepting and

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[167] McGinn, *Visions,* 260.
[168] Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent,* 43.
[169] Cermanová, *Čechy,* 47-51.

subsequently transforming them. Hence, we can assume that Cola probably enlarged Milicius'

knowledge of Joachimite apocalyptic ideas and especially the *Oracle of Cyrill*. I would agree

with Cermanová[170] and Molnar[171] that he must have brought to Prague a certain manuscript

containing the *Oracle*, which Bohemian intellectuals including Milicius might have used to

compose their apocalyptic works. As a result, some similarities between Cola's pro-Joachimite

program of the Church's renovation and Milicius' plan of the revival of the clergy may be

traced.

Secondly, although there is the resemblance between Cola's and Milicius' programs of the

critique towards the Church and its revival, it is obvious that the preacher and the tribune

actually underline the same sins that had been listed long before them in the 11th century and

even earlier[172]: simony, moral disgrace and usury. What should also be underlined is that all of

Milicius' apocalyptic works mention the same issues, which makes us believe that either

Milicius had a very clear program of critique of the Church and its return to an apostolic order

and asceticism (which he practiced as well according to his biographers), or that the sins he

was talking about were so often committed that it was impossible to omit them in the narrative.

In any case, Milicius was not the first and, surely, was not the last to speak about these

problems. However, the fact that Milicius proposes to use the mixture of conciliar, curial and

Cola's pro-imperial projects as the remedy for the Church's disgrace makes the preacher's

concept unique and innovative in the Bohemian milieu.

Nevertheless, Milicius' cannot be perceived as the reformer of the Church or its opponent,

since the apocalyptic ideas, which he used to speak about the clergy's sins, perfectly fit the

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[170] *Ibid,* 90.
[171] Amedeo Molnár, Milan Opočenský, and Jana Opočenská, eds., *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367* (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1998), 11.
[172] Jerry B. Pierce, *Poverty, Heresy, and the Apocalypse: The Order of Apostles and Social Change in Medieval Italy 1260-1307* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), 59-61.

continuity of late-antique and medieval apocalyptic discourse [173]. The program Milicius proposed to 'restore' the Church proves this fact. It is obvious from the sources that Milicius does not oppose the Church as an institution and highly respects the authority of the Pope and his officials. Hence, Milicius uses the compilation of Joachim's, Cola's and other medieval intellectuals' apocalyptic visions to underline the crisis within the Church, which the Avignon captivity caused. Therefore, although Cola's and Joachim's influence on Milicius is undeniable, we should bear in mind that the preacher had some opportunities to use the works of his predecessors all over Europe (for example, Thomas Aquinas).

All in all, despite the fact that Milicius criticized the Church, acted as reformist and contemplated on the division of time into periods (here he followed Joachim's ideas as well), in case of creating and promoting apocalyptic texts he operated not as 'proto-humanist', but rather as a medieval author skilled in doctrinal and exegetic questions. Naturally, Milicius' development as an ascetic preacher and prophet was not rapid, but gradual, therefore he could have at least sympathized with the 'humanistic' interests of his former colleagues at the royal court. However, before making any decisions on this theme, we should address his preaching activity.

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[173] More about the usage of apocalyptic ideas and the reformation of the Church in Bernard McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform, 1100-1500," in *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, eds. Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, Stephen Stein (Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2003), 273-298.

Chapter 3. Milicius' *ars praedicandi*

By the end of 1373 a sharp conflict arose between the Prague clergy and a popular preacher.

The clergy together with mendicants formulated 12 articles accusing him of heresy and many

serious transgressions. Here are some of the most biting:

> A certain priest […], who was a vicar of Prague, under the false perception of
> holiness accepted himself … to the preaching order, which he did not belong to,
> dared and now dares preaching to Christians, mainly common people, not only
> misleading and giving them the wrong delusions, but also heretical and
> divisional ones, which means scandalous and dangerous ones, and with them he
> misled many people of both sexes to his sect, to condemned fallacies, to actions
> damaging the Catholic faith and disgracing saintly rights…[174]

This shocking report was sent to Pope Gregory XI, who then commanded Emperor Charles IV

in the bull of January 14th, 1374 to promptly stop the transgressor, who was charged with heresy

and summoned to the papal court for trial. The preacher was Iohannes Milicius.

To the medievalists, especially those dealing with the history of Bohemia, Milicius is the most

charismatic Bohemian preacher living before Iohannes Hus. For instance, from Morée's point

of view, preaching was a central point of Milicius' activity, determining other spheres of his

life (take the foundation and supervision of the "New Jerusalem" Community as an

example)[175]. Based on the two surviving biographies of Milicius, scholars traditionally

regarded him as an ideal priest imitating Christ, a radical preacher opposing the Church and,

thus, the founder of the Bohemian reformation movement. However, this chapter will examine

Milicius' preaching activity regardless of his relevance for the Hussite movement.

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[174] Caroli Stloukal, ed., *Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia. Acta Gregorii XI Pontificis Romani 1370-1378*, vol. IV (Pragae, 1949), 444-445.

[175] Peter Morée, "The Eucharist in the Sermons on Corpus Christi of Milicius de Cremsir," in Zdeněk David, David Holeton, eds., *BRRP* 5, no. 1, (Praha 2004), 66.

This chapter will explore the key features of Milicius' preaching activity and show whether they fit the concept of 'Bohemian proto-humanism'. To answer these questions, I will critically compare the information about Milicius the preacher from his two biographies (the anonymous *Vita Venerabilis Presbyteri Milicii, Praelati Ecclesiae Pragensis* and the *Narracio de Milicio* by Mathew of Janow) to his sermons (*Sacerdotes contempserunt*, *Grex perditus*, *Audite reges* and *Sermo de die novissimo*) to identify particularities of Milicius' preaching.

I will argue that Milicius' biographies present the preacher in a hagiographic, exaggerated manner. Nevertheless, I will demonstrate some similarities between the hagiographic image of Milicius-*praedicator* and his actual manner of preaching. Lastly, I will show that Milicius followed a mixed genre of homily and scholastic sermon depending on the audience and occasion and cited variety of authorities, including classical authors.

Milicius as the model of a holy preacher?

Since only few sources regarding Milicius' life have survived, to reconstruct his story and his image as a preacher in particular, one may rely on two biographies: the anonymous *Vita Venerabilis Presbyteri Milicii, Praelati Ecclesiae Pragensis* and the *Narracio de Milicio* by Mathew of Janow.

Historians have been concerned about the character and veracity of these sources for decades: while Palacky, Loskot and Kaminsky, for example, took the information from the two biographies for granted, Morée, Mengel and Kaňák claimed their hagiographical features[176].

Indeed, as typical biographies, the *Narracio* and the *Vita* have a linear structure. However, the *Vita* includes a prologue subtly underlining Milicius' virtues and clarifying the reason for

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[176] This argument is stressed in the following works: Morée, *Preaching*; Mengel, *A Monk*; Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže*.

writing the life of the preacher, a feature which Michael Goodich, in his literary analysis of 13th-century hagiography, identifies as typical part in hagiographic texts since it hints at the holiness and virtues of the saints[177]. Although neither text depicts all the episodes of Milicius' life from his childhood, especially not the accounts of *post-mortem* miraculous activities which are characteristic for hagiographical texts, it is obvious that Milicius as a literary character has an 'afterlife', taking part in religious rivalries. Matthew's and the Anonymous' selective approach to composing the account of the preacher's life may demonstrate their own subjectivity and ambitions of being prominent and beloved[178] as Milicius is in the texts of the *Narracio* and the *Vita*: the authors respectfully portray him as the "most honorable"[179] leader of the "Jerusalem" Community and a hard-working preacher, writer and defender of the poor[180].

Secondly, although the supernatural *post-mortem* part is absent in these texts, Milicius, following the models of exemplary saints, clearly endures sufferings, which is another vital component of medieval hagiography, as Andre Vauchez stresses[181]. For instance, Matthew and the Anonymous underline that the preacher was always accused during his life, he was even persecuted by his opponents, and he "died in exile in Avignon"[182]. In addition, the antagonism between Milicius and the people surrounding him is particularly accentuated in the *Vita*: not only friars accuse him of being schismatic[183], but also his own flock mocks at him because of

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[177] Michael Goodich, "A Profile of Thirteenth-Century Sainthood," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18, no. 4 (1976), 437.

[178] As Mathew underlines, Milicius' name means "the most beloved" in the Czech Language. Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva"*, 431.

[179] *Ibid.*
[180] *Ibid*, 432-433. *Vita Venerabilis*, 405, 406, 407.
[181] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 190.

[182] Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva"*, 436.
[183] *Vita Venerabilis*, 423-424.

his Moravian accent and poor awareness of religious feasts when the preacher starts speaking publicly[184]. Moreover, Milicius voluntarily gives up material goods and bodily pleasures: he is called "another Elias", who fasted, whipped himself, had penance regularly and, basically, lived in austerity[185].

As we can see, Milicius was depicted as an admirable model for *imitatio* and, as Matthew stresses, is *filius et imago Domini*[186]. Thus, one may trace the didactic function of the preacher's virtues throughout the texts which have to transmit the model of *imitatio* to the audience. Claudia Rapp[187] defines this as one of typical features of hagiographical texts from late antiquity onwards.

Although one can hardly identify evidence of miraculous reports in the *Narracio,* the supernatural element frequently appears in the text of the *Vita* in various forms. For instance, Milicius has two symbolic mystical visions: in the first one, the Devil-fornicator tries to seduce him in the Garden of Eden when he is about to renounce a lay life and become a preacher[188]; later on, the preacher predicts his own death and dictates to his disciples letters to powerful companions[189]. The fact that both authors emphasize Milicius' numerous virtues, namely chastity, patience, and compassion, reminds of the late-medieval hagiographic didactic tradition replacing *intra-vitam* miracles by virtues. In addition, Matthew and the Anonymous present Milicius as a "self-made" man, the hagiographic construction following the image of

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[184] *Ibid*, 405.

[185] *Ibid*, 414-415, 404; Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 431.

[186] *Ibid*, 432.

[187] Claudia Rapp, "Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes. Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. W. E. Klingshirn and L. Safran. (Washington D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 111, 122.

[188] *Vita Venerabilis*, 405. This piece of the text seems to be the allusion on the *Live of St. Anthony.*

[189] *Ibid*, 428. As St. Benedict did in his *Life.*

St. Bernard of Clairvaux, which emerged, as Vauchez notes[190], in the times of the "evangelical crisis" in 1300-1370.

Indeed, the *Life of Bernard of Clairvaux* is a pillar, which Mathew and the Anonymous could use while they were composing their texts, since by the end of the 14th century Bernard's *Life* had become the model of writing the hagiography of Vauchez's "educated man". To support this connection, Mengel in his article analyzing Milicius' *Vita* explored direct citations from Bernard's *Life*[191]: not only does the very first paragraph of the *Vita* hardly differ from the beginning of St. Bernard's *Life*[192], but also the account of the foundation of "Jerusalem" reminds of the foundation of the Clairvaux monastery by Bernard[193]. Apart from noticeable citations from the *Life of St. Bernard,* both sources about Milicius praise wisdom and education as holy virtues and highlight the preacher's enthusiasm for studying the Scripture according to the model of a "learned man."[194] Although Mengel argues that the *Life of St. Bernard* was hardly available for the Czech compiler of the text in the late 14th century[195], I would disagree with this thesis by stressing that a bright man from Bohemia in the 14th century could have obtained a degree at the University of Paris where the manuscripts of Bernard's *Vita* were available in a higher number than in Prague.

Both biographies could be influenced not only by the *Life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, but also by other holy preachers' *Lives*. Since severe strives surrounded Milicius during his life and after his death, which Cliffton-Everest regards as "a direct testimony of his popular

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[190] André Vauchez, *Sainthood,* 392.
[191] Mengel, *"A Monk",* 36, 38.
[192] Compare William of Saint-Thierry, Arnold of Bonneval, and Geoffrey of Auxerre, *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Hilary Costello, Cistercian Fathers Series 26 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2015), 11. and *Vita Venerabilis,* 410-411.

[193] William of Saint-Thierry, *The First Life,* 42.
[194] Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 435, 407-408.
[195] Mengel, *"A monk",* 43.

influence,"[196] the intention to protect the preacher by depicting him as an equal (or maybe even as more outstanding) to mendicants is definitely clear in both texts frequently referring to Milicius as a defender of poor men and women. It is striking, however, that neither Matthew nor the Anonymous ever mention in the text Saint Francis or Saint Dominic. Nevertheless, while the anonymous *Vita* partly follows the story from the *Life of Saint Francis* (which actually was firstly depicted in the *Life of Saint* Martin) describing the saint giving warm cloak to a poor person[197], Matthew subtly refers to the episode of Dominic's *Life*, where the saint sells his books to save the poor from famine.[198] Nevertheless, Mathew's motif of comparing the figure of Milicius to Francis or Dominic seems to be more obvious, as he blamed monasticism (including Franciscan and Dominican convents)[199]. Moreover, as the Franciscans and Dominicans were also regarded as the most powerful preaching orders, the image of Milicius as an excellent preacher outdoing his colleagues may be fictional. In any case, the composers of the *Narracio* and the *Vita* seem to be acquainted with the most famous hagiographical texts of the mendicants.

For these reasons, Milicius' image in the *Narracio* and the *Vita* cannot be definitely perceived as the figure of a common citizen, and the text itself cannot be categorically called a "credible biography". The hero of the narrative is described not only as a poor and suffering evangelical saint, but also as an educated "self-made" holy man and an eager, although modest, preacher. Additionally, the texts of the *Narracio* and the *Vita* seem to be 'modified' narratives that Matthew and the Anonymous ornamented with hagiographical features to make his accounts

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[196] J.M. Clifton-Everest, "The Eucharist in the Czech and German Prayers of Milič z Kroměříže," *Bohemia* 23 (1982), 2.

[197] Compare *Vita Venerabilis,* 410 and Thomas of Celano, *The First Life of St. Francis,* Chapter 28 (*http://www.indiana.edu/~dmdhist/francis.htm,* visited 25.03.2018 23:03).

[198] *The Libellus of Jordan of Saxony,* Chapter 10 (http://opcentral.org/resources/2012/08/23/the-libellus-of-jordan-of-saxony/, visited 25.03.2018 23:04).

[199] William M. Johnston, ed., *Encyclopedia of Monasticism: A-L*, vol. 1 (London: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2000), 351.

and Milicius' figure more influential. Therefore, I will rather choose the middle ground between the two aforementioned views regarding the character of these sources and, following the concept of Thomas Heffernan[200], I will call the *Narracio* and the *Vita* "sacred biographies". On the one hand, both sources were undoubtedly based on real facts from Milicius' life (this can be proved by papal bulls and municipal documents[201]), but on the other hand, the texts are apologetic and intend to legitimize and, hence, promote the preacher due to a hostile environment surrounding Milicius and his disciples.

Nevertheless, the *Narracio* and the *Vita* present an explicit image of Milicius-*praedicator*. Generally, the two sources refer to places Milicius chose to preach in, his audience, the languages of his sermons, his performance, and the sources that Milicius used to compose sermons. Although some data from both sources about Milicius' preaching are similar, there are provocative discrepancies as well.

Remarkably, only the *Vita* mentions directly *loci* connected to Milicius' preaching. While at the very beginning of his preaching career (from 1363) Milicius presented his sermons at the church of St. Nicolas (point 1 on the map in Fig 1.) in the New Town of Prague and then at the church of St. Giles (point 2) in the Old Town[202]; after he became well-known and established the "Jerusalem" Community (point 3) in 1372, the preacher could present sermons five times a day[203] at different locations: St. Giles' Church, the church of St. Virgin (point 4) in the Old Town, the house of the "Jerusalem" Community, and St. George's Basilica (point 5) within Prague Castle. Moreover, the *Vita* also refers to the Church of Saint Michael the Archangel

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[200] Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 16–17, 55.

[201] *Monumenta Vaticana*, 444-445, 451-452; Mengel, "*A Monk",* 39.

[202] *Vita Venerabilis,* 405.

[203] *Ibid*, 406, Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 435.

(point 6) in the Old Town[204], and reports that Milicius preached not only in Prague but also in Olomouc in Moravia[205].
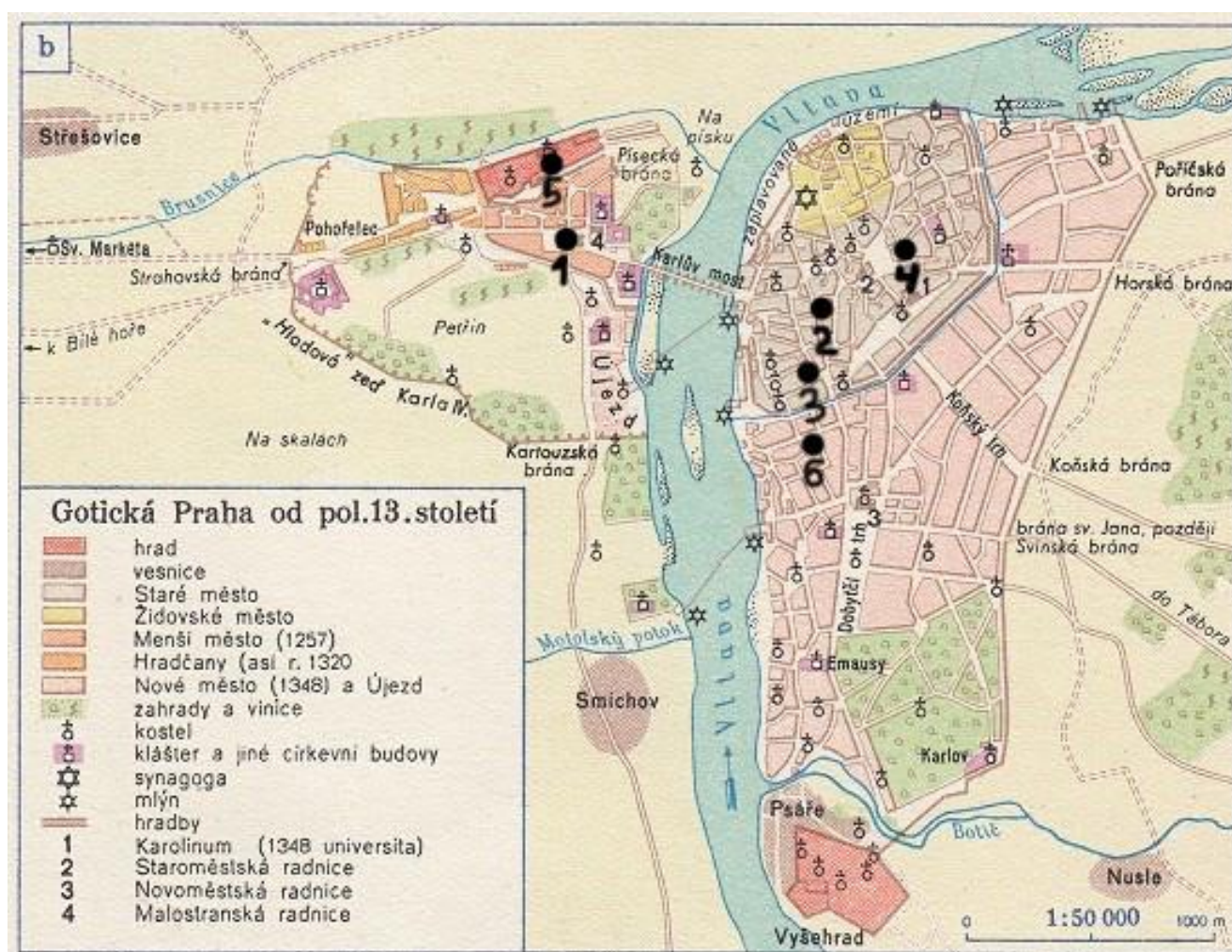

Figure 1 The map of Prague under Charles IV. (https://karel700.cuni.cz/KAREL-57.html accessed 28.04.2018)

If we consider this information to be credible, it indicates that Milicius' preaching literally covered the whole city of the 14th-century Prague on both sides of the Vltava River and spread to the south-eastern part of the Bohemian Kingdom.

Secondly, as both "sacred biographies" report the variety of languages Milicius preached in, namely Czech (remarkably, Milicius must have been the first in Bohemia to preach not in Latin

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[204] *Vita Venerabilis,* 413.
[205] *Ibid*, 410.

or German, but in Czech[206]; more importantly, there is a possibility that it was not Hus, but Milicus who started translating the Bible from Latin into Czech around 1374[207]), Latin and German[208]. In order to portray his audience, one may correlate this with the urban places he used for preaching. Despite the fact that Milicius' biographers specify several social groups who attended his sermons (prostitutes of the "Jerusalem" Community[209], nuns of St. Georges's Convent[210], so-called "viri literari"[211] at the Church of Saint Michael – probably students and professors of the University of Prague, which is located nearby - and also noble women, craftsmen and lenders[212]), his audience must have been even more diverse. Moreover, if one accepts that normally all sermons to the laity were preached in vernacular on the one hand, and the information from the *Narracio* and the *Vita* that Milicius preached in German at St. Virgin's once a day, in Czech at St. Giles' at least twice[213] and sometimes three times a day on the other hand, this may lead us to the assumption that greatest part of his flock were laymen.

Strangely enough, Matthew and the Anonymous do not mention the fact that Milicius was invited to preach at synods to the clergy albeit this could elevate Milicius' reputation for readers of the *Narracio* and the *Vita*. I would explain this fact through the acute rivalry between Milicius' followers whom both authors belonged to and the official Church, which declared them heretics.

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[206] Josef Mácek, *The Hussite movement,* 22.

[207] More on this see Vladimir Kyas, "The dating of the Old Czech Bible," *Slavica Hierosolymitana: Slavic Studies of the Hebrew University*, no 7 (1985), 51-54; Idem, "Problém českých překladů Milíčových [The Problem of Milicius' Czech Translations]," *Listy filologické* 106, no. 2 (1983), 78-84.

[208] Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 435; *Vita Venerabilis,* 408, 413.

[209] Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 432; *Vita Venerabilis,* 406.

[210] *Vita Venerabilis,* 406.

[211] *Ibid*, 413, 417.

[212] *Ibid*, 406.

[213] *Ibid,* 413; Matej Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva"*, 435.

Thirdly, Milicius' enthusiastic preaching is described in the texts as a celestial gift, since the authors reveal that the preacher started speaking publicly "ex gratia dei"[214] or after "the spirit of Christ came to him."[215] According to the *Vita*, although initially people mocked at Milicius because of his Moravian accent and inattentive preaching (he could even forget about holy feasts)[216], gradually his performance became so powerful that not only poor people, but also noblemen and women left their preachers and started visiting Milicius' sermons instead[217]. Although the preacher usually spent around one hour on preparing a sermon[218], he could present it for two or three hours and always modestly relied not only on his memory, but also on his "materials"[219]. Unfortunately, no other accounts of Milicius' preaching have survived, and since a hagiographic manner of describing him while preaching is absolutely clear here, one may perceive the information about the way Milicius preached as a literary figure strengthening his authority.

Lastly, both the *Vita* and the *Narracio* refer to Milicius' high capacity of studying the Scripture and Church Fathers[220]. As Mathew reports, even the postils, which the preacher composed for students, "do not have a lot of thoughts", but rather citations from these authorities[221].

Although Milicius' "sacred biographies" offer a range of data concerning his preaching activity, one should assess them critically because of their obvious hagiographic character. Therefore, to prove whether the information from the "sacred biographies" can be at least partly regarded as credible, I will compare it to Milicius' surviving sermons to the clergy.

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[214] *Vita Venerabilis,* 405.
[215] Matej Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 435.
[216] *Vita Venerabilis,* 405.
[217] *Ibid.*
[218] *Ibid,* 406.
[219] *Ibid*, 407.
[220] *Ibid,* 407.
[221] Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 436.

Milicius as a composer of sermons – features of his narrative

As it can be seen from the list below, Milicius produced a great number of liturgical texts:

- *Abortivus* (postil for students of the University of Prague);

- *Gratiae Dei* (another postil with sermons on feast days);

- *Quadragesimale* (collection of Lent sermons);

- *Gebet* (postil with sermons in German);

- *Sermo de Die Novissimo* (apocalyptic *Sermon on the Last day*)*;*

- *Sacerdotes contempserunt, Grex perditus, Audite reges* (synodic sermons);

- *Oficium za zemřelé, modlitby, životy svatých* (funeral prayers and translations of saints' lives in Czech).

This thesis will consider his three synodic sermons *Sacerdotes contempserunt, Grex perditus, Audite reges* and one sermon on the end of the world, *Sermo de Die Novissimo*. The synodic sermons were chosen because of their homogeneous nature, but they will be compared to the *Sermon of the Last day* to demonstrate similarities and differences in Milicius' preaching.

Apparently, Milicius' synodic sermons were incredibly popular in the late Middle Ages, since their numerous copies from the end of the 14th- beginning of the 15th centuries were preserved all over Central Europe[222]. I will compare the critical edition of the sermons in Latin, which was published by Herold and Mraz in 1974, to digitalized manuscripts located in the Czech National Library[223].

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[222] See Špunar, *Repertorium,* 171-192.
[223] Johannes Milicius de Chremsir, *Sermones synodales*, Prague, Czech National Library, MS X.D.5, ff 132va-147vb.

From the foundation of the archdiocese of Prague in 1344, synodic sermons were presented twice a year to the local ecclesiastical community: on St. Vitus' Day (the 15th of June) and St. Luke's Day (the 15th of October)[224]. The synodic preacher was usually chosen from the most illustrious and humble priests by the highest clergymen to remind them of the role model of an ideal priest and preacher[225]. As Swanson emphasizes, during the clerical synods, bishops issued legislation to maintain discipline and standards within the Church. As a result, it was widely spread that synodic sermons dealt with condemnations of the clergy or their abuses[226]. Hence, a trope such as the critique of clergymen's 'sins' was widespread to stress that *ecclesia semper reformanda est*.

Unfortunately, regarding Milicius' synodic sermons, we encounter some problems. First and foremost, we do not have Milicius' autograph, but a multitude of later copies of the sermons. These are probably the verbatim copies that were composed by someone from his audience while Milicius was preaching. Therefore, to analyze these sources, one should be aware of at least one additional layer of the narrative.

Another obstacle is that the dating of the sermons is still unclear, because we do not acquire this information either from Milicius' *Vitae* or other sources. There are several suggestions in historiography regarding this question. Loskot was the first to approach this problem, dating two of the synodic sermons (the scholar had some doubts regarding the authorship of *Audite reges*) as between the years 1366-1371. Herold and Mraz attributed the sermons to the timespan between 1364 and 1373[227]. Morée proposes a different approach to the date, placing the

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[224] Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 63.

[225] Zdeňka Hledíková, *Svět České Středověké Církve* [The World of Bohemian Medieval Church] (Praha: Argo, 2010), 35.

[226] R. N. Swanson, "Apostolic Successors: Priests and Priesthood, Bishops, and Episcopacy in Medieval Western Europe," in *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages*, Greg Peters and C. Colt Anderson, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 22.

[227] Milan Mráz and Vilém Herold, eds., *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales* (Praha: Academia, 1974), 13.

sermons between 1364 and 1371[228]. I will choose the middle ground between these theories

and place the emergence of the three sermons between 1365 and 1372, since by that time

Milicius had already become famous enough to be invited to preach at the synods (if we accept

Morée's dating of composing *Abortivus*, which was finished between the years 1363-1365[229])

and had not encountered the accusations from his colleagues yet. After 1372 Milicius probably

was occupied with the "Jerusalem" Community. The preacher also produced *Sermo de Die*

Novissimo in 1367 in Rome while he was suspected of heresy and imprisoned.

Before discussing Milicius' liturgical discourse and typologically divide his sermons, it seems

reasonable to define *sermo antiquus* and *sermo modernus* and establish the main differences

between these types of sermons.

The interpretation of *sermo antiquus*, as medieval authors referred to a homily[230], seems to be

clear and coherent among the specialists in sermon studies. They usually interpret it as the

oldest type of preaching, which presumably emerged in the time of the Church Fathers to fight

against paganism and promote Christianity. [231] These sermons were extremely popular

approximately until the 13th century and served as a spoken commentary of a biblical text or a

long lection with no precise structure[232], their aim was to discuss the moral life of a flock[233].

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[228] Morée, *Preaching,* 72.

[229] Idem, "The Dating", 71-72.

[230] Wenzel, *Medieval "Artes Praedicandi",* 64. More on scholastic/university sermon see Nicole Bériou, "Introduction," in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Age: Etudes réunies*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Age, 5) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 7-22; Beverly M. Kienzle, "The Typology of the Medieval Sermon and its Development in the Middle Ages: Report on Work in Progress," in *De l'homélie au sermon: Histoire de la prédication médiévale: Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9-11 juillet 1992)*, ed. Hamesse, Jacqueline & Hermand, Xavier (1993):83-101; Pavel Soukup, "Rytíři ducha na pražské univerzitě. Jakoubkovo kázání Abiciamus opera tenebrarum [The Chivalries of Spirit at The University of Prague. Jakoubek's sermon Abiciamus opera tenebrarum]," in *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku: Sborník věnovaný Františku Šmahelovi* [Europe and Bohemia in the Late Middle Ages], ed. Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný and Pavel Soukup (Praha: Filosofia Praha, 2004), 413-432.

[231] Morée, *Preaching…* p. 90.

[232] David D'Avray, *The Transformation of Medieval Sermon* (Oxford, 1977), 95.

[233] Wenzel, *Medieval*, 16.

As opposed to a homily, *sermo modernus*[234], that existed from the 13th to the early 16th century[235], has a clear organization, which consists of *thema*, *prothema*, *divisio*, and sometimes *subdivisio* as essential parts. The *thema* – a selected citation from the Scripture – opens the sermon, then it is followed by a *prothema*, which functions as prologue, where the preacher introduces his position regarding a certain topic and cites the authorities. After a prayer and the repetition of the selected citation, the text of the sermon is divided into several arguments (usually three), which, in turn, may be "subdivided" as well[236]. By the end of a scholastic sermon, the preacher can propose his own 'recipe' to resolve the problem discussed and closes the sermon with a prayer. Unlike a homily, *sermo modernus* may refer not only to the Bible and to Church Fathers, but to contemporary (i.e. medieval) authors.

Admittedly, by the time of Milicius' activity (roughly from 1363 to 1374) the scholastic sermon was the dominant model of preaching, especially among the mendicants. However, the fact whether Milicius followed it is the matter of further discussion.

First of all, the analysis of the composition of Milicius' synodic texts (with my presumable dating) presented in the table below demonstrates that the preacher followed the scholastic model of the sermon with divisions and subdivisions of topics discussed.

Sacerdotes contempserunt (the first synodic sermon written cca. 1365)	*Grex perditus* (cca. 1365-1372)	*Audite reges* (the last synodic sermon produced before 1372)
Thema – *Priests have despised My holy things and*	Thema – *My people have been lost sheep. Their*	Thema – *Hear therefore, you kings, and understand: learn, that you are judges of*

[234] Scholars refer to it differently: a scholastic, university, modern, thematic sermon. All of these definitions speak for themselves and describe at least the structure and one of the institutional affiliations of these sermons.

[235] D'Avray, *The Transformation,* 93.

[236] Wenzel, *Medieval*, 67.

profaned My Sabbaths [237]. (Ezechiel, 22);	*shepherds have led them astray*[247] (Jeremiah, 50)	*the ends of the earth. Give ear, that you rule the people, and that please yourselves in multitudes of nations!* [265] (Sapientia 6);
<u>Prothema</u> - Citation from Timotheus, 4;	<u>Prothema</u> - citation from Bernard of Clervaux, 1 Corinthians 1, pope Gregory X;	<u>Prothema</u> - citation from Ecclesiastes, 32, St. Augustine);
<u>Prayer</u> - *Ave Maria;*	<u>Prayer</u> - *Ave Maria;*	<u>Prayer</u> - *Ave Maria;*
<u>Divisio 1</u> - *There are three types of laws given to the humanity by God: the natural law, the written law and evangelical law, but people transgressed them*[238];	<u>Divisio 1</u> - *There are three types of sinful love, which lead people astray:*	<u>Divisio 1</u> - *There are three types of kingdoms:*
<u>Primo</u> – *the first transgression occurred when Kain killed Abel*[239];	<u>Primo</u> - *private love to yourself*[248];	<u>Primo</u> - *the kingdom of lay power, which must be directed by justice*[266];
<u>Secundo</u> – *the second transgression was committed by the adoration of a molten calf*[240];	<u>Secundo</u> - *love to property or temporal things*[249];	<u>Secundo</u> - *the kingdom of bodily lust, which must be suppressed by spirit*[267];
<u>Tertio</u> – *the third transgression starts now in evangelic times, during the*	<u>Tertio</u> - *love to excellency and despotism*[250];	<u>Tertio</u> - *the kingdom of spiritual excellence, which must be built on the evangelic law*[268];
	<u>Divisio 2</u>	
	<u>Primo</u> – *lost sheep*;	
	<u>Subdivisio 1</u>	

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[237] Milíč z Kroměříže, *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, ed. Mráz Milan and Herold Vilém (Praha: Academia, 1974), 49: *Sacerdotes contempserunt legem meam, polluerunt sanctuaria mea.*

[238] *Ibid*, 51: *Lex natura, lex scriptura et lex evangelica.*

[239] *Ibid*: *Primae transgressio facta est per Cayn in occisione Abel.*

[240] *Îbid*: *Secunda transgressio facta est in adoratione vituli comflatilis.*

[247] *Ibid*, 73: *Grex perditus factus est populus meus, pastores eorum seduxerunt eos.*

[248] *Ibid*, 76: *amor proprius.*

[249] Ibid: *amor rei sive comodi personalis.*

[250] Ibid: *amor propriae excellentiae sive tyrannidis.*

[265] *Ibid*, 103: *Audite reges et intellegite, discite iudices finium terrae! Praevete aures vos, qui continetis multitudines et placetis vobis in turbis nationum!*

[266] *Ibid*, 105: *regnum potentiae secularis et hoc per iustitiam dirigendum.*

[267] *Ibid*: *regnum concupiscentiae carnalis et hoc per spiritum reprimendum.*

[268] *Ibid*: *tertium [regnum] excellentiae spiritualis et hoc iuxta evangelium gubernandum.*

last persecution of Antichrist[241];	<u>Primo</u> - *there are wolves among the flock[251]*;	<u>Divisio 2</u>
<u>Divisio 2</u> – the are three types of transgressions committed by priests;	<u>Secundo</u> - *the flock is lost because of pastors' negligence[252]*;	<u>Primo</u> - *Hear therefore, you kings, and understand*
		<u>Subdivisio 1</u>
<u>Primo</u> - *Priests*: the violation of priestly dignity[242];	<u>Tertio</u> - *the flock is lost because of the peril [from its pastors][253]*;	<u>Primo</u> - *we should think about the dignity of priesthood[269]*;
<u>Secundo</u> – *they violate [God's] law [243]* : - priests committed many sins, and preaching is the way revive God's law[244];	[<u>Subdivisio 1 ends</u>]	<u>Secundo</u> - *we should remember about the king of profane and holy, i.e. Christ[270]*;
	<u>Secundo</u> –*the resolution of this crisis can be reached through penitence[254]*:	
<u>Tertio</u> – they *profaned My Sabbaths* - the clergymen commit sins, they live like profane[245];	<u>Subdivisio 2</u>	<u>Tertio</u> – *we should remember about profane pride[271]*;
	<u>Primo</u> - *through the love towards prayers[255]*;	[<u>Subdivisio 1 ends</u>]
<u>Closing formula</u> – Priests should not steal, not commit	<u>Secundo</u> - *by the means of suffering[256]*;	<u>Secundo</u> - *learn, that you are judges of the ends of the earth*;

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[241] *Ibid: Tertia transgressio incipit nunc, id est in tempore evangelii, sed adveniente ultima persecutio sub Antichristo.*

[242] *Ibid*, 53*: sacerdotalis dignitatis.*

[243] *Ibid*, 56*: contempserunt legem meam.*

[244] *Ibid*, 58*: Habete igitur, fratres et Domini reverendi, zelum ferventis et egniti eloquii Dei in ore vestro, ut verbum ester praedicationis quasi facula ardeat et contra vitia inflammetur!*

[245] *Ibid*, 62*: nunc sacerdotes sibi iniquitates ongregant, adulteris, fornicationibus, incestibus carnalibus, mulierum ameribus, osculis, amplexibus concubinarum, cohabitationibus meretricum, commerciis…*

[251] *Ibid*, 80: *Primo ex luporum invasione.*

[252] *Ibid*, 82: *Secundo ex pastorum dormitione.*

[253] *Ibid*, 84*: tertio in praecipitium impulsione.*

[254] *Ibid*, 85*: in verbis praemissis tangitur fidelium per penitentiam reconsiliatio.*

[255] *Ibid: orationis devotione.*

[256] *Ibid*, 87*: passionis intercessione.*

[269] *Ibid*, 110*: cogitemus sacerdotii dignitatem…*

[270] *Ibid: sacerdotale et regale in Christo, qui semper fuit rex secundum divinatem at humanitatem.*

[271] *Ibid.*

simony, not transgress the divine law[246]; Prayer	Tertio - *through preaching*[257]; [Subdivisio 2 ends] Tertio - *Their shepherds have led them astray;* Subdivisio 3 – what makes a good pastor: Primo - *a good pastor cares for chastity*[258]; Secundo - *a good pastor must be humble*[259]; Tertio – *a good pastor must have virtues*[260]; Quatro - *a good pastor must have knowledge*[261]; Quinquo - *a good pastor must have kindness towards others*[262];	Tertio - *Give ear, that you rule the people, and that please yourselves in multitudes of nations;* Subdivisio 2 – there are sinful priests, who please themselves among different nations: Primo – *among arrogant nations*[272]; Secundo – *among greedy nations*[273]; Tertio – *among filthy or luxurious nations*[274]; [Subdivisio 2 ends] Closing formula – *to save the world from sins, priest should imitate apostles*[275]; Prayer

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[246] *Ibid*, 70*: Qui furabatur, iam non furetur, qui symoniacus fuit, iam desinat, gat penitentiam. Qui legem Domini transgressus est, iam ipsam apprehendat corde meditando, ore praedicando et opera adimplendo.*

[257] *Ibid*, 88*: verbi Dei praedicatione.*

[258] *Ibid*, 92: *Primum ad bonum pastorem spiritualem pertinet castitas…*

[259] *Ibid*, 93: *ad pastorem bonum pertinet humilitas…*

[260] *Ibid*, 94: *Ad pastorem bonum pertinet frugalitas…*

[261] *Ibid*, 96: *Ad bonum pastorem pertinet scientia…*

[262] *Ibid*, 97: *ad pastorem bonum pertinet caritas…*

[272] *Ibid*, 119: *in nationibus superborum…*

[273] *Ibid*, 121: *in nationibus cupidorum sive avarorum…*

[274] *Ibid*, 122: *In nationibus inmundorum sive luxuriosorum…*

[275] *Ibid*, 126: *…imitatores apostolorum fuerimus, etiam possimus angelos iudicare, et quod maius est, salvatores mundi effici secundum participium deitatis…*

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	<u>Sexto</u> - *a good pastor must respect justice*[263]; <u>Closing formula</u> – *the solution of the crisis is to return to the model of Christ's life*[264]; [<u>Subdivisio 3 ends</u>] <u>Prayer</u>	

Remarkably, the structure of Milicius' synodic sermons was gradually changing and became more complex. If in the first sermon the preacher did not use subdivision, the *Grex perditus* and *Audite reges* demonstrate that Milicius split his texts into subparts. The division of one argument into six sub-arguments in *Grex perditus* seems to be slightly unusual for the scholastic model of composing sermons.

Moreover, the structural analysis of another sermon by Milicius – *Sermo de Die Novissimo* from the year 1367 – shows that the preacher did not choose the scholastic model for all of his texts. The *Sermon on the Last Day* represents a homiletic lecture interpreting the fragment from the Gospel of Matthew 24.15 (*When you see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, as was said by the prophet Daniel, let the reader understand. And then those who are in Iudea will flee to the mountain*[276]). Milicius intentionally imitates the composition of the *Apocalypse* and, hence, constructs the text not as a well-structured argumentation, but rather as a narrative.

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[263] *Ibid*, 99: *Ultimo ad bonum pastorem pertinet iustitia…*
[264] *Ibid*, 100: *Recurramus ad verum pastorem Christum…*
[276] *Sermo*, 35: *Cum videritis abhominationem desolationis, que dicta sunt a Daniele propheta, stantem in loco sancto, qui legit, intellicat. Et tunc, qui in Iudea sunt, fugient ad montem.*

Hence, I will agree with the suggestion proposed by one of the experts on 'Milicius studies' - Zdeněk Uhlíř – that Milicius' style of composing sermons might have drastically changed over time. If Morée convincingly argues that in Milicius' early works, *Abortivus* and *Gratiae Dei*, the preacher followed the scholastic model of the sermon[277], Uhlíř demonstrates that in his late postil *Quadragesimale* the preacher presents himself rather as a patristic author and, thus, chooses a complex mixture of homily and scholastic sermon.[278]

The second criterion to evaluate the composition of Milicius' sermons is the usage of multiple citations in his texts. As it was mentioned before by Matthew of Janow, Milicius' "postils do not have many thoughts, but rather citations from the Bible and the Church Fathers"[279], i. e. they are homilies. Comparison between this interesting report and the sermons per se reveals several fascinating facts.

Indeed, at the first glance, the preacher often refers to more authoritative sources instead of expressing his ideas in his own words to depict sinful clergymen. This is a very clever move: by doing this, Milicius subtly expresses the acutest accusations through the words of authorities and thus legitimizes his point. For example, in the *Sacerdotes contempserunt* the preacher uses citations to depict the level of clergymen's disgrace:

> (Timothy, 4) In novissimus temporibus discedent quidam a fide attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum in hypocrisy loquentium mendatium[280]. [In latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to deceiving spirits and doctrines of demons, speaking lies in hypocrisy.]

> (Ezechiel, 22) Principes eius in medio eius quasi lupi rapientes predam ad effundendum sanguinem et ad perdentas animas et avare sectando lucra[281]. [The

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[277] Morée, "The Eucharist", 67-72.
[278] Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Milič z Kroměříže", 33.
[279] Matej z Janova, *"Zpráva",* 436.
[280] Milíč z Kroměříže, *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, ed. Mráz Milan and Herold Vilém (Praha: Academia, 1974), 49.
[281] *Ibid,* 52.

princes in the midst of the Church are like wolves tearing the prey to shed blood, to destroy people, to get dishonest gain.]

(letter to the Romans, 2) Quid alium doces, te ipsum non doces, qui praedicas non furandum, furaris, qui dicis non mechandum, mecharis, qui abhominaris idola, sacrilegium facis. Qui in lege gloriaris, per prevaricationem legis Deum inhonoras[282]. [You teach others and not yourself; you, who are a preacher and should not steal, steal; you saying not to commit adultery, commit it; you, who are praising idols, commit sacrilege. You boasting on law, dishonor God by transgressing it.]

However, even under the 'veil' of citations Milicius manages to speak for himself by slightly changing the composition of the text. For instance, in one of the passages in the *Grex perditus*, he illustrates the flaws of the sinful clergy by citing Timothy 2, 3. If we compare this part of text to the original Gospel in the table below, the traces of Milicius' editing become obvious.

Grex perditus	*Timothy 2, 3*
Hoc scito quia in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa et erunt homines se ipsos amantes **ecce amantes se Ipsos non Deum** cupidi elati superbi blasphemi parentibus inoboedientes **maxime spiritualibus ut praelatis** ingrati scelesti sine affectione sine pace criminatores incontinentes inmites sine benignitate proditores protervi tumidi voluptatium amatores magis quam Dei	[…] hoc autem scito quod in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa et erunt homines se ipsos amantes cupidi elati superbi blasphemi parentibus inoboedientes ingrati scelesti sine affectione sine pace criminatores incontinentes inmites sine benignitate proditores protervi tumidi voluptatium amatores magis quam Dei habentes speciem quidem pietatis virtutem autem eius abnegantes et hos devita […]

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[282] *Ibid.*

| habentes speciem quidem pietatis virtutem autem eius abnegantes et hos devita.[283] | |

Noticeably, while Timothy speaks about "people" (*homines*) and their flaws in general, Milicius puts the word "prelates" (*praelatis*) before the most severe accusations and, hence, accuses his colleagues of many serious transgressions.

Moreover, although the preacher cites only the Gospels in his apocalyptic *Sermo* following a homiletic model, nevertheless, according to Matthew of Janow's account (mentioned before), one may also find several mentions of 'contemporary' scholastic authors in the synodic sermons. Based on these sermons, the following list presents the diversity of Milicius' citations (at least the ones that he refers to in the manuscripts).

- *Sacerdotes contempserunt*: Ezechiel, Thimothy, Matthew, Paul, John Chrysostom, Augustine, pope Gregory X, Richard of Saint Victor, Jerome[284];

- *Grex perditus*: Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzus, Bernard of Clairvaux, Pope Gregory I, Paul, Timothy, Haymo of Halberstadt, John Chrysostom, Matthew, Zechariah, Richard of Saint Victor, Ezechiel[285];

- *Audite reges*: Ezechiel, Timothy, Augustine, Jerome, Peter Damian, Matthew, Bernard of Clairvaux, Ambrose of Alexandria, Seneca, Peter, John Chrysostom, Petrus Ravennas (Peter Chrysologus), pope Gregory I, Peter of Blois, Hugh of Saint Victor, Jeremiah[286].

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[283] *Ibid*, 76.

[284] See Johannes Milicius de Chremsir, *Sermones synodales*, Prague, Czech National Library, MS X.D.5, ff 132va-136rb.

[285] *Ibid*, ff 136rb-141vb.

[286] *Ibid,* ff 141vb-147rb.

As a result, this data demonstrates that Milicius must have used a scholastic pattern while composing his synodic sermons.[287] I will argue therefore that Milicius presented a certain type of sermon depending on his audience. Given the fact that he preached at synods in front of educated clergymen, who were specialists in doctrinal questions, the most appropriate type to present his ideas was the scholastic sermon. In case of *Sermo de Die Novissimo,* Milicius must have intentionally omitted using this structure (and, thus discussion of doctrinal questions, since he was suspected of heresy) and substitute it by a homily. Moreover, the fact that the preacher cited Seneca in the *Audite reges* shows that he was probably familiar with antique literature and, therefore, was an educated man.

The last important feature of the sermons analyzed is their undebatable connection to Milicius' apocalyptic ideas. Not only does Milicius use metaphors and compares spoiled clergymen to weeds among crops, wolves threatening sheep, unprofessional greedy pastors[288] and others to sound more influential and touching, but also reminds his audience about the coming end of the world. Indeed, in each of the synodic sermons (not only in the *Sermo*, where the apocalyptic topic is obvious) one may find some allusions either to the Antichrist or to the Last judgment, as is shown below:

> *Sacerdotes contempserunt*: Tertia transgressio incipit nunc, id est in tempore evangelii, sed adveniente ultima persecutio sub Antichristo[289];

> *Audite reges*: Quid ergo tibi cum corpore Christi, qui per carnis illecebrose luxuriam membrum factus es Antichristi! [290] […] Ministri Christi sunt et servient Antichristo[291] […]

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[287] As Wenzel demonstrates in his book, there were many variants of scholastic sermons following a three-fold composition but slightly differing in terms subdivision, using exempla and others. Wenzel, *Medieval*, 64.

[288] Milíč z Kroměříže, *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, ed. Mráz Milan and Herold Vilém (Praha: Academia, 1974), 54, 80, 121.

[289] *Ibid*, 49-50.

[290] *Ibid*, 107.

[291] *Ibid*, 113.

This may be the evidence of two tendencies in Milicius' activity: on the one hand, it is clear that by the year 1367 apocalyptics had become one of the central points of the preacher's discourse (apocalyptic *Sermo*, *Libellus de Antichristo* and *Letter to Urban V* were produced in 1367); on the other hand, we cannot be absolutely sure whether Milicius was an eager and genuine proponent of eschatological views or just used this literary tradition in his sermons, which was quite common in the Middle Ages, to call his audience's attention to moral flaws of the Church and society, namely simony, having a concubine, and moral disgrace.

To sum up, despite the fact that Milicius' synodic sermons are not his autographs and we do not know their precise dating, these source units serve well to depict the following features of Milicius' preaching. Firstly, the preacher used either a scholastic three-fold sermon or an exegetic homily depending on the occasion and audience. Milicius' next feature as the composer of sermons is that he often referred to Church authorities, medieval intellectuals and even antique authors (although one of his biographers convinces us that he used only the Bible) and expresses his views by the means of the acutest citations. Lastly, to make the sermons more emotional and touching, Milicius often links the Church's sins to an anticipated end of the world.

Generally, Milicius was not the first and, surely, not the last to call the attention of his audience to the moral crisis within the Church and among laymen. Therefore, regarding his preaching to the clergy, I would use the term "the follower of the tradition *ecclesia semper reformanda est*", rather than a "reformer" or "radical preacher" as he was presented in historiography. Moreover, although Milicius is depicted one-dimensionally in his biographies as the follower of the apostolic church, his synodic sermons demonstrate the difference from his hagiographic image

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and indicate that the preacher would use a scholastic composition for his sermons depending on the audience.

Finally, one may perceive Milicius as an intellectual that was at least partly influenced by the notion of the Bohemian 'proto-humanism', since he referred to at least one antique author in his sermon (hence, was familiar with classic literature) and promoted vernacular language because he was the first to preach in Czech and presumably started translating the Bible into Czech. Pavlína Rychterova regards this of great importance, since the vernacular became an innovative instrument of a cultural and political communication[292].

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[292] Pavlína Rychterova, "The Vernacular Theology of Jan Hus," In *A Companion to Jan Hus* (Brill, 2015), 175.

Conclusion

The presented three-faceted analysis (working as a high official, composing apocalyptic texts and preaching) of Milicius' life and activity revealed several fascinating facts.

 As we could see, there was the 'Bohemian proto-humanism' (as opposed to Kristeller's humanism, since Bohemian 'proto-humanists' belonged to the clergy) at the Charles IV's court. Milicius, who worked there for some time and was surrounded by high officials promoting vernacular, studying classic literature and communicating through letters with the most prominent Italian early humanists out of a genuine interest, might have been affected by this phenomenon. In addition, at the court he may have got acquainted with the contemporary and antique literature that these intellectuals brought to the Bohemian lands from Italy and form private or monastic libraries. Another way for Milicius to familiarize himself with works of early humanists was by travelling to Germany and Italy with Charles IV. Lastly, the personality of the emperor's chancellor - John of Neumarkt – and his colossal epistolary archive at the chancellery must have helped Milicius to find out about Cola di Rienzo and his apocalypticism.

As a result, Cola di Rienzo's stay in Prague in (1349?) 1350 played a crucial role in the formation of Milicius' apocalypticism. Given some facts from Cola's biography and the similarities that were identified when analyzing and comparing Cola's letters and Milicius' texts, we can trace the 'migration' of Joachim of Fiore's ideas from Italy to Prague and underline the possible geographical and chronological continuity between the development of apocalyptic ideas of Bohemian and Italian intellectuals. In addition, there are some striking resemblances between Cola's pro-Joachimite program of the Church's renovation and Milicius' plan of the revival of the clergy. However, this fact does not tell us that Milicius based his ideas on Cola's program and the Joachimite tradition. Nevertheless, Milicius' was not the reformer of the Church or its opponent, since his apocalyptic ideas perfectly fitted in

the continuity of late-antique and medieval apocalyptic discourse. Naturally, the preacher was not the first to speak about moral problems among the clergymen and, therefore, acted not as 'proto-humanist', but rather as a medieval author skilled in doctrinal and exegetic questions. However, his mixture of conciliar, curial and Cola's pro-imperial projects as the way to the Church's salvation was unique and innovative in the Bohemian milieu. The facts presented contradict the 19th- and 20th-centuries historiography tradition that considered Milicius the first apocalyptic prophet in Bohemia and one of the first preachers-reformists in the Late Middle Ages.

The analysis of Milicius' sermons demonstrated that he followed the tradition *ecclesia semper reformanda est,* rather than being a "reformer" or "radical preacher" as he was presented in historiography. Moreover, although in his biographies Milicius is depicted one-dimensionally as the follower of the apostolic church, his synodic sermons demonstrate that he used either a scholastic three-fold sermon or an exegetic homily depending on the occasion and audience. He often referred to Church authorities, medieval intellectuals, apocalyptic texts and even might be familiar with antique authors (although one of his biographers tries to convince us that he used only the Bible). The preacher expressed his views by the means of the acutest citations and slightly changing their composition from time to time to make them even more biting.

As a result, we may perceive Milicius as an intellectual which was at least partly influenced by the notion of the Bohemian 'proto-humanism', since he was surrounded by 'proto-humanists' at the royal court, was familiar with works of Cola di Rienzo, referred to antique literature in his sermons, criticized the clergy and promoted the vernacular language. However, although Cola's influence on Milicius is unquestionable, all of reformist ideas were expressed long

before Milicius, therefore, we can rather contemplate on his figure through the lenses of medieval continuity.

Finally, this three-dimensional examination of Milicius' activity proposes several paths for my further research. The most intriguing and less studied part of the source units that he produced are his unpublished postils. First of all, given the selective approach, one may correlate examined the features of Milicius' synodic sermons with sermons from the postils. Since I am extremely interested in the ideas that could have affected the preacher and the texts he used while composing his sermons, I may continue exploring possible connections between Milicius' and John of Neumarkt's sermons, and Venturino of Bergamo's and Aquinas' influence on the preacher

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