

Doctoral Dissertation

**Preaching the Passion in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia:
The Rhetoric of Good Friday Sermons**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BRRP	<i>Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice</i>
FRB	<i>Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum</i> . Ed. Josef Emler. Prague: Nadání Františka Palackého, 1873-1884.
MHB	<i>Monumenta historica Boemiae</i> . Ed. Gelasius Dobner. Prague: Literis Joannis Josephi Clauser, 1764-1785.
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> . Ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1841-1865.

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INTRODUCTION

The Passion of Christ has been the Christian world's central devotional and cultural cornerstone for many centuries. It would not be an exaggeration to stress that this story remains prominent in our contemporary society, which is much more secularized and religiously diverse. Let me list just a few examples to demonstrate how this topic permeated contemporary popular culture. Only in 2023-2024, when I was writing the major part of this dissertation, Mel Gibson released a sequel to his popular 2004 movie, *The Passion of the Christ*. At the same time, the realm of video games saw the second part of the *Blasphemous* saga, whose plot and visual content are heavily based on Catholic doctrinal understanding and portrayal of Christ's redemptive death. Moreover, the gaming world welcomed a new *I Am Jesus Christ* simulator, which allows players to experience Christ's story from the first-person perspective up to his Passion and subsequent resurrection.¹ On a more traditional note, numerous Passion plays or historical reenactments were held on Easter in different parts of Europe.² These cases are just a tiny fracture of a long-lasting global Passion-centered interest.

Similarly, and yet with a much more pervasive role, Christ's anguish and death constructed one of the most pivotal narratives in late-medieval Christian culture. The Passion piety was vividly expressed in all forms of art and greatly affected everyday life across medieval Europe. Moreover, it shaped religious behaviors: the Holy Week, with Good Friday at its center, marked the emotional peak of the liturgical year and the believers' devotion. Therefore, it is not surprising that scholars have treated the Passion in multiple fields, including performance studies, history of emotions, art, literary, and bodily history. However, as Thomas Bestul befittingly notes, researchers generally tend to overlook sermons and choose other devotional texts instead, primarily treatises on Christ's Passion.³ Predominantly, this observation still holds true: Passion-related sermons, especially those for Good Friday, have scarcely received systematic scholarly

¹ For the visuals in the *Blasphemous* and *I Am Jesus Christ* games, see their official pages on the Steam gaming platform, accessed April 17, 2024: https://store.steampowered.com/app/2114740/Blasphemous_2/; https://store.steampowered.com/app/1198970/I_Am_Jesus_Christ/.

² For instance, each year on Good Friday, the Italian town of Grassina hosts a historical procession and re-enactment of the scenes on Calvary. The re-enactment is coordinated by volunteers and amateur history enthusiasts. For the visual examples of this historical reconstruction, see: "Grassina, la rievocazione storica della Passione di Cristo. Le foto," March 30, 2024, *La Nazione*, accessed April 17, 2024: <https://www.lanazione.it/firenze/cronaca/grassina-rievocazione-storica-venerdi-santo-rfcb2dgy>.

³ Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 2, 10.

attention.⁴ This is surprising given that medieval preaching discourses functioned as a key “mass medium”, which communicated to people what to believe in and how to behave.⁵ This notion is especially prominent in medieval sermons for Good Friday: they aimed to mentally evoke the pain that Christ suffered for humanity, provoke a strong emotional reaction, and ultimately push the faithful to take the sacrament and repent.

The same research lacuna is observed across studies on late-medieval Bohemia under the first Luxembourgs, the period and region this dissertation focuses on.⁶ Throughout the fourteenth century, especially during the reign of King John of Luxembourg (d. 1346) and his son, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (d. 1378), Bohemia (and Prague in its center) underwent a series of political, cultural, and religious transformations. While other parts of Europe were suffering from the disastrous Black Death and the Catholic Church experienced increasing institutional tensions because of the turbulent Avignon Papacy (1309-1377),⁷ the Czech polity enjoyed fast-paced development. Predominantly thanks to Charles IV, who was crowned the Holy Roman Emperor in 1355, Prague gradually became the political, cultural, and devotional center of the empire. Various intellectuals (for instance, the Italians Cola di Rienzo and Giovanni di Marignolli) visited the Czech capital from other parts of Europe, and the emperor himself sought to expand the city and make its cultural and religious importance comparable to that of Rome. In the 1340s-1350s, Charles

⁴ Only in recent years, several scholars have focused on separate Good Friday sermons or geographically-limited selection thereof. Still, this research remains fragmented. Christoph T. Maier, ed., *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Jessalynn Bird, “‘Far Be It from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ’ (Galatians 6:14):’ Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week,” in *Crusading in Art, Thought and Will*, eds. Matthew E. Parker, Ben Halliburton, and Anne Romine (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 127-165; Currently, the most comprehensive monograph on sermons for Good Friday in a given territory is Holly Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday: Macaronic Sermons of Late Medieval England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

⁵ Ronald J. Stansbury, “Preaching and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages,” in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, ed. Ronald J. Stansbury, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 25. In general, the literature on medieval sermons as means of mass communication is vast. For the entry point to this tradition, see David d’Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford, 2001).

⁶ To avoid any possible confusions, I immediately introduce the spatial and chronological backbone of my research. As the title of the dissertation suggests, I will repeatedly refer to “fourteenth-century Bohemia.” In this regard, by the “fourteenth century”, I most often mean the period spanning from the 1330s to the end of the 1370s. The following introductory section on sources will explain the rationale behind this temporal limitation. Next, although fourteenth-century Bohemia was a geographically fluid polity, which embraced Silesia, Lusatia, and even the Margraviate of Brandenburg at the peak of its territorial expansion under Charles IV, “Bohemia” I am constantly referring to is the area of the Kingdom of Bohemia and Margraviate of Moravia, which roughly corresponds to the present-day Czech Republic.

⁷ The papal court relocated to Avignon in France in 1309 due to Pope Clement V’s close ties with the French monarchy. The move from Rome resulted in a loss of papal authority and growing critique of the Church’s moral state.

founded the New Town of Prague, embarked on the erection of new religious houses and secular buildings, and oversaw the reconstruction of the Prague Castle and the St Vitus Cathedral.⁸

In parallel with these important transformations, fourteenth-century Prague saw the emergence of new Christ-oriented performative and literary forms, sculptures, mural paintings, and manuscript illuminations. This process started already under John of Luxembourg around the 1310s, as attested by an expressive painting of the suffering Christ flanked by angels carrying the instruments of the Passion (*Arma Christi*), which appeared in the wall axis of the Stone Bell House in Prague,⁹ or similar illuminations of the *Passional of Abbess Cunigunde*.¹⁰



Figure 1. The Stone Bell House's Man of Sorrows. Photo by Tomáš Rasl. <https://www.ghmp.cz/budovy/dum-u-kameneho-zvonu/>

⁸ Historiography often calls this process as Charles IV's "politics of presentation" or "dynastic politics". More on Prague's expansion and its sacred topography, see Zoë Opačić, "The Sacred Topography of Medieval Prague," in *Sacred Sites and Holy Places. Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, ed. Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 252–281; David C. Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378) as the Architect of Local Religion in Prague," *Austrian History Yearbook 41* (2010): 15–29. For the dynastic and religious politics of Charles IV, consult Martin Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia: Auserwählung, Frömmigkeit und Heilsvermittlung in der Herrschaftspraxis Kaiser Karls IV* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2015).

⁹ Czech scholars connect the set of the Stone Bell House's murals with Elisabeth of Bohemia, the wife of king John and Charles IV's mother. Petr Skalický, "The Medieval Wall Paintings in the Stone Bell House," in *The Stone Bell House*, ed. Marie Foltýnová (Prague: GHMP, 2021), 36–41; Zuzana Všetečková, "Nastěnné malby v domě U Zvonu na Staroměstském náměstí v Praze [Wall paintings in the Stone Bell House on Old Town Square in Prague]," in *Královský sňatek: Eliška Přemyslovna a Jan Lucemburský - 1310* [The royal marriage: Elisabeth of Bohemia and John of Luxembourg - 1310], ed. Klára Benešová (Prague: Gallery, 2010), 144–149.

¹⁰ For the *Passional's* illuminations of the *Arma Christi*, consult the image on page 106.

As noted in the scholarship, devotion to Christ's Passion skyrocketed under John's successor, Charles IV, who was an active promoter of Christological and Marian piety.¹¹ One of the most representative examples of this notion is his obsessive collection of saintly relics across Bohemia and outside of its borders, which resulted in the triumphant entry of Passion-related artifacts the dwellers of Prague saw in 1350.¹² Besides, in 1354, Charles established a special Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails to regularly and publicly exhibit the holy relics and attract pilgrims to the city.¹³ Several researchers raised a possibility that the annual ostentation of the Passion insignia and the influx of pilgrims might have also been connected to the Emmaus monastery.¹⁴ In the 1360s, the convent was richly decorated with a cycle of Christological wall paintings, including Old Testament prefigurations of the suffering Christ and Holy Lance.¹⁵

Sermons for Good Friday by local and foreign authors active in Bohemia were composed in this dynamic context and were an integral part of the 'shared discourse' on Christ's Passion. Consequently, they must have served as a medium that contributed to the interpretation, dissemination, and institutionalization of the Passion devotion in the region. However, strikingly, they received almost no scholarly attention.¹⁶ This

¹¹ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 285.

¹² As fourteenth-century chronicles report, when Charles obtained several Passion relics and imperial insignia in 1350 and 1354, he aimed at turning the holy treasures into the objects of local and international pilgrimage. The Czech king deliberately planned the arrival of saintly artifacts in Prague on Palm Sunday of 1350 and organized it as a massive religious procession, which stretched from Vyšehrad to the newly erected Charles square in the New Town, where the relics were eventually displayed to the people. The *Chronicle* of Beneš Krabice of Vietmile describes the relics' entry to Prague in particular details, see: Beneš Krabice of Vietmile, "Cronica Ecclesie Pragensis," in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, ed. Josef Emler, Vol. IV (Prague: Nadání Františka Palackého, 1884), 519. The anonymous *Czech Chronicle* also holds a brief account of the relics' translation in 1350, see: *Monumenta historica Boemiae*, ed. Gelasius Dobner, Vol. III (Prague, 1774), 57.

¹³ Beneš Krabice of Vietmile, "Cronica Ecclesie Pragensis," 522.

¹⁴ Founded by Charles IV in 1347, the monastery mainly followed the Roman rite, but served its liturgy in Old Slavonic.

¹⁵ Opačič, "The Sacred Topography of Medieval Prague," 271–275.

¹⁶ I was able to identify only two editorial case-studies that also contextualize and analyze Good Friday sermons from the region and period in question. The sermon by Henry Totting of Oyta, who was active at the University of Prague in the 1360s, was edited and analyzed by Riccardo Burgazzi, "Meditating on the Passion: The Sermon 'Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te' (Deut 28,66)," in *Henry Totting of Oyta: Three Sermons of a Late Medieval Intellectual*, eds. Jan Odstrčilík, Riccardo Burgazzi, Francesca Battista (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2016), 23–74. Another example is the Franciscan Henry of Wildenstein's sermon for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday from the 1370s, see: Vojtěch Večeře, "Jindřich z Vildštejna: Sermo de Cena et Passione Christi (Kázání o Večeři a Utrpení Kristově) [Henry of Wildenstein: Sermo de Cena et Passione Christi (Sermon about the Last Supper and Passion of Christ)]," in *Čítanka Latinských Textů z Pozdně Středověkých Čech* [Reader of Latin texts from late-medieval Bohemia], ed. Lucie Doležalová, Jan Ctibor, and Michal Dragoun, (Dolní Brezany: Scriptorium, 2017), 107–121.

study and the edition of Milíč of Kroměříž's (d. 1374) unpublished Good Friday sermons will contribute to our better understanding of how preaching discourses for this pivotal liturgical event were composed in Bohemia in the fourteenth century and which messages they sought to convey.

Research aims and questions

The goal of my dissertation is three-fold. Firstly, on a broader level, it aims to shed light on late-medieval Bohemian piety by reconstructing the shared discourse on the Passion. Secondly, Good Friday sermons were one of the most elaborate forms of late-medieval preaching and became crucial in shaping the religious practices of the time. Therefore, to a lesser degree, I seek to trace the literary, doctrinal, and pastoral 'norms' and 'peculiarities' of preaching texts for this day that originated from about 1330 to 1380. Finally, the main objective of the dissertation will be an illustrative examination of Milíč of Kroměříž's rhetorical toolkit and the preparation of semi-critical editions of his two Good Friday sermons.

Hence, the dissertation aims to provide a better understanding of how Good Friday sermons were composed in fourteenth-century Bohemia and problematize the place of these preaching texts in the local Passion devotion. Three questions, each corresponding to the research aims I have highlighted above, guide my project: 1) What was the role of growing late-medieval Passion piety in the development of Good Friday preaching discourses in fourteenth-century Bohemia? 2) How did Bohemian preachers build their sermons? 3) How did they guide the faithful to interpret and perform key aspects of the Christian life? My preliminary hypothesis is that some of the Bohemian preachers in question may have had some specific, if not even innovative, doctrinal, rhetorical, mnemonical, or other techniques.

As I will argue throughout the dissertation, the growing role of affective Passion piety, which was predominantly transmitted through texts for meditation, impacted some Bohemian preachers too. In turn, their Good Friday sermons must have contributed to the popularization and public institutionalization of private devotional practices that these affective texts contained. Moreover, while most of the Bohemian authors mainly followed the rhetorical and doctrinal 'norms' of the genre, one of them, Milíč, used a peculiar rhetorical strategy to transmit soteriological and pastoral messages through his Good Friday discourses. The provided analysis of his

communicative approach, which I coin as “intellectual-emotional script” or “affective catechesis”, allows us to reconsider the heuristic value of Milíč’s sermons and his place in late-medieval Bohemian preaching, enriching our overall understanding of the preaching practices in that area in the 1360s-1370s.

Sources and methodological limitations

Sermons represent a vital source to better understand the exegetical messages as well as moral and pastoral guidelines, which were transmitted through preaching activity in the dynamic area of late-medieval Bohemia. To evaluate the Bohemian corpus, I use the synchronic method, which has both methodological challenges and advantages. Jussi Hanska has underlined a key problem of this approach for sermons: due to the high number of sources preserved around Europe, it requires reasonable restraints.¹⁷ Undoubtedly, an in-depth holistic study of several Bohemian collections of sermons is a vast task for a researcher. For instance, only for Milíč of Kroměříž - one of the most active Czech preachers of the time - we have 271 surviving sermons. Therefore, a careful thematic selection is necessary to limit the scope of an inquiry in this field. Scholars have already examined the Bohemian corpus (dating mainly to the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) as to the issues of the Antichrist,¹⁸ the reform of the Church,¹⁹ the Bohemian dynastic saints,²⁰ and some selected feasts (e.g., All Saints Day and Holy Thursday).²¹ My strategic focus will be to study Good Friday sermons devoted to the Passion of Christ. Thanks to this thematic selection, it is possible to investigate the characteristics of late-medieval Christological devotion in Bohemia

¹⁷ Jussi Hanska, “Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and its Limits,” in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 300.

¹⁸ The most up-to-date bibliography and discussion of the Bohemian apocalyptic preaching in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is included in Pavlína Cermanová, *Čechy na konci věků: Apokalyptické myšlení a vize Husitské doby* [Bohemia at the end of time: Apocalyptic thinking and vision of the Hussite era] (Prague: Argo, 2013).

¹⁹ Again, I list here the most recent and thorough publication, which also mentions the most important bibliography on the topic, see: Lucie Mazalová and Zuzana Lukšová, “Gradus summus et animus infimus: The Contrast between Ideas of the Ideal Priest and the Real Priest in Prague Synodal Sermons,” *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 64 (2020): 48–65.

²⁰ For the fourteenth century and the case of Milíč, see Eleanor Janega, “Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Emperor Charles IV: Preaching, Power, and the Church of Prague” (London: University College London, 2015). Preaching on dynastic saints is also examined in Jindřich Marek, “The Czech Heaven: Medieval Utraquist Sermons on Czech Patron Saints,” in *Preaching in East-Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Pavel Soukup, Olga Kalashnikova (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

²¹ Peter C.A. 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);

(including salvation and Eucharistic theology),²² that is to say, one of the defining aspects of late-medieval piety.

Following a well-established line of research within the field, my project mainly focuses on model sermons, whose heuristic value was defined by David d'Avray as being a widespread "preaching aid" that formed the essential "core ground" for other sermons.²³ Although later users adjusted each model sermon to their needs, these texts give access to the 'grammar' that formed the basis of shared discourse.²⁴ Given the lack of *verbatim* copies of 'live' sermons in the Bohemian context, model sermons are often the only (yet, limited in terms of their capacity to mirror the performance of a given discourse) access we have to assess the preaching texts in the region. Hence, they fully deserve the scrutiny of scholars. Scholarship in sermon studies has developed a nuanced understanding of the distance and interplay between written texts and oral performances, which does not diminish the crucial importance that model sermons played in society because they served as a "backbone" of a broader communication system.²⁵

As Hanska notes, the main issue of approaching medieval sermons is the meaningful selection of sources to create a representative taxonomy.²⁶ Consequently, I excluded from my analysis Good Friday sermons that originated in Bohemia in the previous or later period. Therefore, for several reasons, I deal solely with the preaching sources coming from the 1330s to the end of the 1370s. First and foremost, the selection of sources for a diachronic overview of Good Friday preaching in the region would turn out extremely imbalanced. As far as I am concerned, there is only one preaching

²² These topics are among the most central ones for the scholarship on the Bohemian Reformation of the late-fourteenth century and the subsequent Hussite movement. Literature on these themes is incredibly vast, so I will list just a few prominent examples, which also summarize the most important historiographical debates. For the sacramental theology of the Bohemian Reform movement, see Olivier Marin, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois (années 1360-1419)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005). The Eucharistic debates of late-medieval Bohemia are discussed in David R. Holec, "The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context," *BRRP 1* (1996): 23–48. The theological origins as well as sacramental ideas of the Hussites are comprehensively presented in Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, eds., *A Companion to the Hussites* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), especially Part 4.

²³ David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 17–18.

²⁴ Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*, xvi.

²⁵ D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*; Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: Un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Âge* (Geneva: Droz, 2018); Anne T. Thayer, "Medieval Sermon Studies since The Sermon: A Deepening and Broadening Field," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58 (2014): 10–27; Pietro Delcorno, *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son: The Pastoral Uses of a Biblical Narrative (c. 1200–1550)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

²⁶ Hanska, "Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching," 300.

collection of Bohemian origin with Good Friday texts, which originated before the fourteenth century (the twelfth-century Homiliary of Opatovice, MS III F 6, Prague).²⁷ There exist other local sermon collections from the late-thirteenth century (*Opus super epistolas* by Robert of Olomouc and *Concordantiae epistolarum et evangeliorum* by Henry of Wernsdorf), but they do not contain any Good Friday materials.²⁸ Secondly, I intentionally try not to fall into the overarching discussion about the Bohemian Reformation, which particularly flourished around the 1380s-90s with the debates about frequent communion, theological-philosophical activity at the University of Prague (Matthias of Janov, Henry of Bitterfeld and others were their integral part), and subsequent Hussite movement. These important milestones of Bohemian history have already enjoyed much scholarly attention and, therefore, will not be the focus of this study.

The main principle behind my logic of constructing the corpus was to look for Good Friday sermons with attributed authorship. Therefore, I looked for sermons' by Czech fourteenth-century authors or foreign preachers active in Bohemia during the period in question. The entry point for this task was the indispensable *Repertorium* by Schneyer, which provides a vast systematic index of sermons produced between 1150-1500.²⁹ However, Schneyer's catalog is often imprecise (increasingly for the period after 1350) and tends to omit some well-known Bohemian cases. Therefore, I supplemented it with the overview provided by Pavel Spunar.³⁰ As I have mentioned, early Bohemian sermon collections often omit Good Friday. The same notion is valid for the examined period too. For instance, for Conrad Waldhauser (d. 1369), a popular Austrian preacher active in Prague in the 1360s, we have sermons for Passion Sunday and Easter, but there are no Good Friday discourses surely attributed to him.³¹

²⁷ For the basic information on this collection and texts of its sermons, see Ferdinand Hecht, *Das Homiliar des Bischofs von Prag*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens, Abtheilung I (Prague, 1863).

²⁸ I am grateful to Anna Pumprová for bringing this fact to my attention. For the overview of the first preacher and his collection, see Anna Pumprová, "Literarische Tätigkeit des Zisterziensers Robert, Bischofs von Olmütz (1201–1240)," *Wiener Studien* 128 (2015): 199–222.

²⁹ Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-1995); Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1350-1500*, CD-ROM, eds. Ludwig Hödl and Wendelin Koch (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2001).

³⁰ Pavel Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum proventum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, Vol. I (Wrocław, 1985).

³¹ Schneyer lists three Good Friday sermons among Waldhauser's discourses, but I do not include them in the corpus because of the sources' dubious authorship. See Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 810.

Overall, the final selection comprised fifteen Good Friday texts. These are the following: eleven sermons by the Cistercian Peter of Zittau (d. 1339); two sermons by the secular preacher, Milíč of Kroměříž (d. 1374); a sermon by the German university master, Henry Totting of Oyta (d. 1397), who was active at the University of Prague in the 1360s-1370s. With caution, I also used a sermon *De cena et Passione Domini* by the Franciscan Henry of Wildenstein (d. 1409), who resided in Litomyšl in the 1370s.³² Apart from the two sermons by Milíč and several preaching discourses by Peter of Zittau, these sermons are published. Except for the mentioned ‘central’ sources, I also occasionally supplement the first, contextual, part of the dissertation with a peculiar instance of the anonymous Good Friday sermon copied at the University of Prague in the fourteenth century. Given that this text is anonymous, I did not include it in the primary corpus due to the impossibility of pinpointing its exact origin.

The analysis of the constructed corpus will highlight theological, pastoral, and literary ‘norms’ common for the genre within fourteenth-century Bohemia. Special attention is paid to sermons by Milíč because he is the only preacher from the corpus who composed sermons that pertain to two different preaching genres – the scholastic sermon and *sermo historialis*. Finally, the schematic juxtaposition of the Bohemian sermons with those of acknowledged ‘stars of the pulpit’ (like Peregrine of Opole, Bonaventura, and Jacobus de Voragine) will serve as a control group to identify common and peculiar aspects of the Bohemian materials.³³

Methods, approaches, ‘model’ studies

The study of medieval sermons broadens our understanding of medieval culture, society, and literary tradition. Not only does the field of sermon studies incorporate methods of literary criticism, but it also comprises exegetical, liturgical, theological, codicological research, and some approaches of cultural and social history and history of emotions. Hence, the interdisciplinary methodological framework, which sermon studies provide, is beneficial to scrutinize key aspects of late-medieval society across a given territory. In what follows, I will schematically describe and assess the most

³² This sermon was primarily composed for Holy Thursday, but its title suggests that its performance could have also been projected for the night falling between Holy Thursday and Good Friday. For this reason, even though its *thema* and content stand out from other collected materials, I will keep this sermon in the corpus.

³³ The main criteria for the selection of ‘preaching bestsellers’ were: a high number of copies from the late Middle Ages, printed copies in the early modern time, and/or a published critical edition.

important methods, which this study incorporates. The reader can find detailed discussions of the adopted methodologies in the introductory sections of corresponding chapters.

My doctoral project primarily follows the multidisciplinary “eclectic” approach advocated by Beverly Mayne Kienzle.³⁴ This method unites elements of essential, functional, historical, and formal analysis. Her approach reflects larger trends within sermon studies scholarship.³⁵ I have chosen this methodology because the “eclectic” (or one may say: interdisciplinary) approach is widely adopted and considered effective among scholars studying medieval sermons and preaching. It has also proven useful for examining Good Friday preaching texts in other geographical contexts (for example, the ones from the British Isles in the mentioned monograph by Holly Johnson, which I consider as one of the model studies for this research).

The essential approach is mostly suitable for scrutinizing sermons performed in front of a given public. With considerable limitations, this approach is partially applicable to the model sermons in question, which were designed (at least in theory) to support future oral performances. Thus, I used the concept of “fictive orality” and cautiously followed Elena Lemeneva’s model study to trace how certain ‘signs of oral discourse’ migrated to model sermons.³⁶

The historical analysis places the sources into a socio-political, cultural, liturgical, and/or theological context. First, it allows us to consider whether and how contemporary events might shape Good Friday texts. Moreover, placing them within the contemporary theological debates and broader literary tradition can open up a possibility to investigate whether the Good Friday narrative was used to treat some innovative concepts. Hence, inspired by the framework tested in Johnson’s work, I sought to recreate the doctrinal, liturgical, and literary preaching conditions of the time in order to glance at ‘a Bohemian preacher’s workshop.’ I combined this method with

³⁴ Beverly Mayne Kienzle, “Introduction,” in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 143–174.

³⁵ These trends are present, for instance, in the aforementioned studies by David d’Avray and other seminal works, such as Giles Constable, “The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century,” *Viator* 25 (1994): 131–52 and Nicole Bériou and David d’Avray, eds., *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1994).

³⁶ Karl Reichl, “Plotting the Map of Medieval Oral Literature,” in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 16; Elena Lemeneva, “From Oral to Written and Back: A Sermon Case Study,” in *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, eds. Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter (Krems and Budapest: Medium Aevum Quotidianum 2001), 210.

the “medieval bestsellers” approach, which allows to trace the circulation of manuscripts with popular and influential texts in a given region and reconstruct the discourse on a given topic. Pietro Delcorno’s monograph *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son* is exemplary in this respect. Finally, on the level of a given preacher, I followed the path paved by Stanislava Kuzmová in her study of sermons on St Stanislaus.³⁷ Following her example, in order to cautiously speculate about the audience of Milíč’s Good Friday model sermons and their later users, I traced the production and circulation of manuscripts with his sermon collections.

My study also adopted the functional approach to focus on the intended effects of sermons. Namely, I attempted to trace reactions and subsequent devotional actions preachers tried to provoke, and how they pursued such an effect by retelling the Good Friday events. Here, since the ability to stir up emotions was crucial in Passion sermons, I adhered to the field of the history of emotions and mostly followed the concept of “emotional script”, which Piroška Nagy and Xavier Biron-Ouellet tested on medieval penitential preaching in Italy.³⁸

Finally, the formal analysis examines the literary style of the preaching texts. It aims to identify the intertextuality within sources, the logic behind the use of biblical verses as the binding ‘building blocks’ of preaching discourses, commonplaces of the genre, systems of references to authoritative prooftexts, and rhetorical devices. Ottó Gecser’s brilliant analysis of the choice of *themata* and dissection of rhetorical ‘modes of interpretation and representation’ in late-medieval sermons for St Elizabeth is among the studies that influenced me the most.³⁹ I followed this framework in my taxonomy of Bohemian ‘preaching models’ for Good Friday. Another important model study, which impacted my analysis of Milíč’s logic of citing authorities and further discussion of the ‘originality’ of his texts, was Pavel Soukup’s thorough study on Jakoubek of Stříbro.⁴⁰

³⁷ Stanislava Kuzmová, “Preaching Saint Stanislaus: Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow and Their Role in the Construction of His Image and Cult” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2010).

³⁸ Piroška Nagy and Xavier Biron-Ouellet, “A Collective Emotion in Medieval Italy: The Flagellant Movement of 1260,” *Emotion Review* 12, no. 3 (2020): 135–45. It should be noted that the very term “emotional script” has several meanings and, consequently, implies different methodologies. I discuss this problematic issue in the introduction to Chapter 4.

³⁹ Ottó Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit: Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235–ca. 1500* (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 2012), especially Part 3.

⁴⁰ Pavel Soukup, *Reformní Kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stříbra* [Reform preaching and Jakoubek of Stříbro] (Prague: Filosofia, 2012).

Roadmap

The dissertation is designed in a three-fold way in order to guide the reader through more general notions to the final case study. Each part is further divided into two or four chapters. Each chapter or section thereof is supplied with a methodological note.

The first part provides a contextual overview of the shared discourse on the Passion in late-medieval Bohemia. This discourse circulated in exegetical (Chapter 1) and theological ‘bestsellers’ (Chapter 2) as well as acknowledged texts pertaining to affective literature, which visualized the Passion (Chapter 3) and offered strategies of its embodiment (Chapter 4). This investigation is supplemented with the examination of important texts of Bohemian origin. The second part of the thesis opens with the reconstruction of the Good Friday liturgy, which potentially served as the most convenient but not the only ‘preaching situation’ for performing a Good Friday sermon (Chapter 5). Then, I construct the schematic taxonomy of Bohemian preaching models and place them (to a reasonable and very limited extent) within broader trends present in sermons by acclaimed preachers from other regions of Europe (Chapter 6). In the third part, the text transitions to a case study about Milíč of Kroměříž, which demonstrates a peculiar pattern of strategically using the combination of doctrinal and affective materials to communicate his didactic messages to the audience (Chapters 7 and 8). The dissertation ends with four Appendices, the first two contain the semi-critical editions of the Good Friday model sermons by Milíč. The other two provide the register of the constructed Bohemian corpus and the list of liturgical *themata* for Good Friday that are mentioned in Schneyer’s *Repertorium*.

PART 1: TEXTUAL PREACHING AIDS AND SHARED DISCOURSE ON THE PASSION

Numerous devotional texts on the Passion formed a long-standing tradition of presenting and treating the story of Christ's suffering and ultimate sacrifice in the late Middle Ages. Therefore, they contributed to shaping what Hans Robert Jauss defined as the "horizon of expectations."⁴¹ Yet, describing and analyzing all the monuments of the medieval Passion literature would pose an unfeasible and unfruitful task for the purpose of my research. It would suffice to say that Thomas Bestul, Tobias Kemper, Richard Viladesau, and others have already provided an extensive overview of Latin and vernacular devotional literature and narratives of the Passion.⁴² Hence, this part of the thesis will selectively focus on several crucial Latin texts that were noticeably present in Bohemia in the fourteenth century and could have served as key textual aids for Bohemian preachers when they were composing Good Friday sermons.

Two methodological principles will guide me in selecting materials for the following chapters. The first one is a codicological analysis of texts that I will define as 'bestsellers' as they were widely copied all over Latin Europe.⁴³ A central criterion for selecting these texts is that they, at least hypothetically, had to be brought to or copied in the Bohemian lands in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. Tracking their diffusion in the local libraries can be done - with certain limitations - through a search of published catalogs of medieval libraries and digital manuscript databases. The second methodological principle is defined by the Bohemian preachers' recurrent use of authoritative commonplaces and influential Passion-oriented texts in their Good Friday sermons. Combined, these two types of analysis will offer a condensed yet comprehensible overview of sources that must have been at the Bohemian preachers' disposal to develop their discourses for Good Friday. Unlike the previous scholarship on the topic, the current part of the dissertation will not follow a chronological author-based approach to the texts. Instead, I combine the chronological and thematic treatment of the studied texts in order to problematize the available sources and topics

⁴¹ See Hans Robert Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," in *New Directions in Literary History*, ed. Ralph Cohen (London: Routledge, 2022 - reprint), 11–42.

⁴² See Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*; Richard Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Tobias A. Kemper, *Die Kreuzigung Christi: Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu lateinischen und deutschen Passionstraktaten des Spätmittelalters* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006).

⁴³ More on the definition and quantitative and qualitative criteria of this notion, see Pascale Bourgain and Laura Light, eds., *Bestsellers* (New York-Chicago-Paris: Les Enluminures, 2014), especially the part entitled "Survival and Success: Medieval Bestsellers."

that were related to the Passion in fourteenth-century Bohemia. Therefore, the texts and their common motifs are thematically grouped into four chapters: the Passion hermeneutics, theology of the Passion, visual language of suffering, and meditative embodiment of the Passion.

While, obviously, the crucial Good Friday preaching aids are the four Gospels and exegetical commentaries, other texts, including historical works, legendaries, and, more importantly for the Bohemian preaching stage as we will see, monastic treatises and texts for private meditations are the fundamental pillars on which preachers, active in the fourteenth-century Bohemian milieu, built their sermons. Combined, these preaching aids treat the Passion through the lenses primarily defined by the long-standing medieval – mostly patristic – hermeneutic tradition. In terms of theology, the available preaching aids follow the ‘affective turn’ of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries that stressed Christ’s humanity and the redemptive value of his sacrifice in the light of the history of salvation, pastoral care, and ecclesiology. Next, another important aspect found in several preaching aids used or originating from Bohemia, is their extensive use of hypotyposis and ekphrastic language to rhetorically visualize Christ’s sufferings and violent shedding of his blood. The final unifying element evident in a number of the analyzed texts is their numerous references to the Virgin to evoke the reader’s (or meditator’s) compassion and engage them in a mental journey through the events of Good Friday. While the turn in Passion theology, textual visualization of the Passion narrative, and ekphrasis can be seen in the light of growing devotion to the *Arma Christi*, Christ’s blood, and the debates over corrupted Church and frequent communion in Bohemia in the fourteenth century, the affective focus on the Virgin Mary and importance of a spiritual union with Christ might indicate - among other things - the growing role of female devotion in relation to the Passion.

Chapter 1. Passion hermeneutics

As a medieval “mass medium”, sermons were closely connected to interpreting the biblical text because they often functioned as a key intermediary for their audience to access and understand the Scripture. For this reason, it is first worth selectively showcasing the crucial texts that offer different methodologies and commonplaces to interpret the Good Friday events. Since this interpretation acquired multiple levels over time, I will discuss the most representative hermeneutical preaching aids - solely those which Bohemian preachers might have used or which were most likely available to them - in a diachronic manner. To problematize the texts and the Bohemian intellectual background they were circulating in, I will additionally group these sources according to their layouts. Starting with a brief discussion of the prophetic reading of the Passion events in the Bible, I will explore patristic and scholastic running homiletical commentaries. I will end the examination by showcasing condensed “patristic mediators” and thematic anthologies from a later period.

The Bible and a prophetic/‘historical’ interpretation

Treatments of the Passion found in the texts that were potentially available to Bohemian preachers are versatile by genres, topics, and approaches and, therefore, cannot be limited to one specific consideration of the subject. However, despite their multiformity, all these texts share one common undeniable feature, which can be expressed by Len Hansen’s words: “all medieval devotional writings on the Passion derive from the Gospels’ accounts.”⁴⁴ As an easily accessible text in the high and late Middle Ages,⁴⁵ the Gospels’ narrative offers the initial methodology of the ‘historical’ interpretation of the Passion.

This hermeneutics is based on the prophetic reading of the Passion story in the Bible. By linking the Gospel episodes to the Old Testament, it draws ‘historical’ connections between the events of Christ’s life and messianic passages from the Jewish Bible. Overall, literary historians and experts on medieval Christology distinguish three

⁴⁴ Len Hansen, “Compassion of and with Christ in the Late Medieval Spirituality of the Bloodied Pen and Paint Brush,” in *Considering Compassion: Global Ethics, Human Dignity, and the Compassionate God*, eds. L. Juliana M. Claassens and Frederik de Lange (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2018), 91.

⁴⁵ H. Houghton mentions several prominent examples of the Bible manuscripts produced in Bohemia in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries: H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 100-101. Moreover, on the Bible in Bohemia, see Vladimír Kyas, *Česká Bible v Dějinách Národního Písemnictví* [The Czech Bible in the history of the national written culture] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1997); Jindřich Mánek, *Bible v Českých Zemích* [The Bible in the Czech lands] (Prague: ÚCN, 1975).

Old Testament clusters of basic prophetic commonplaces concerning Christ's final hours: the Isaianic "Servant Songs"⁴⁶ (primarily verses from Isaiah 52:13–53:12), Zacharian passages (from chapters 9–14), and Lament Psalms (e.g., Ps. 41, 42, 22, and others).⁴⁷ While some scholars occasionally question the situational use of these passages in given New Testament chapters,⁴⁸ it is generally agreed that the aforementioned Old Testament clusters chiefly serve as biblical prefigurations to justify Christ's voluntary and redemptive suffering.

This 'historical' prefiguration of the Passion is evident in regards to the Gospels' portrait of Jesus through the Zacharian typology.⁴⁹ For example, John's description of the post-crucifixion events uses a direct cross-reference to "another Scripture", foreseeing the apostles' first encounter with the dead Christ:

And again another Scripture saith: *They shall look on him whom they pierced* [Zach. 12:10]. And after these things, Joseph of Arimathea (because he was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews) besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus. And Pilate gave leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus. (Jh.19:37,38)⁵⁰

Similarly, the Passion accounts of Matthew (Mt. 26:31) and Mark (Mk. 14:27) adopt the Old Testament archetype of a shepherd from Zachariah 13:7 to demonstrate that Christ anticipated his suffering and subsequent death that would fulfill the messianic messages from the Hebrew Bible: "Scriptum est enim: *Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis*" ("For it is written: *I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed*").

⁴⁶ This definition was first introduced by Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892), 184.

⁴⁷ The most apt discussion of the use of these passages in the New Testament can be found in chapters 2–4 in Douglas J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2007).

⁴⁸ See a hermeneutical debate over the Isaianic figure of suffering servant, laconically summarized in Richard N. Longenecker, *Studies in Hermeneutics, Christology, and Discipleship* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 93–94.

⁴⁹ Although this soteriological prophetic understanding is clearly evident in the case of Isaiah 53 and the Psalms 41, 42, 22, and others, frequently appearing in the Passion narratives of all the four Gospels, I will intentionally not cover some of these verses in the current chapter.

⁵⁰ "Et iterum alia Scriptura dicit: *Videbunt in quem transfixerunt* [Zach.12:10]. Post haec autem rogavit Pilatum Joseph ab Arimathaea (eo quod esset discipulus Jesu, occultus autem propter metum Judaeorum), ut tolleret corpus Jesu. Et permisit Pilatus. Venit ergo, et tulit corpus Jesu."

Understanding the Passion events through the Old Testament prefigurations became an omnipresent approach reproduced and further expanded in patristic exegetical writings.⁵¹

A multifaceted understanding of the Passion and running biblical commentaries

In response to a limited number of Old Testament messianic *figurae* and lack of details in the New Testament's narratives, Origen and Augustine advance the scriptural hermeneutics to the multifold understanding of the text through its literal, allegorical, moral, and - less often - anagogical senses.⁵² This primarily tripartite literal-allegorical-moral interpretation of the holy book became dominant throughout the Middle Ages. It permeated devotional literature and theological works on the Passion, eventually finding its way to Good Friday sermons. On a practical level, such an approach of putting the Passion in the framework of the Old Testament allowed the authors to historicize the distant events of Christ's final hours and turn them into a more tangible and understandable narrative. Furthermore, the threefold hermeneutic strategy placed the medieval audience (readers of texts or listeners to sermons) in a continuity of the history of salvation: Christ's redemption has not just occurred once but is repeatedly at work within the course of Lent and liturgy as long as the faithful follow Christ's moral example and repent their sins.

Scholarship mentions Augustine, Jerome, Bede, and Gregory the Great among the most successful patristic authors who influenced the long-standing tradition of producing Good Friday sermons and affective texts on the Passion.⁵³ Bohemian preachers mainly follow the same selection of the recurrent patristic authorities with a prevalent use of citations-commonplaces from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*

⁵¹ The recent scholarship on the Christological cycle of the frescoes of the Emmaus monastery in the New Town of Prague suggests that from the 1360s on, the visual forms of historical/typological representation of the Passion were available not only to the monastery's dwellers but also pilgrims, coming to Prague for the Feast of the Holy Lance and Spear. Opačić, "The Sacred Topography of Medieval Prague," 271–275

⁵² For a general understanding of patristic hermeneutics and its development, consult Andrew M. Bain, *Passion and Resurrection Narratives: Post Nicene Latin Interpretations* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2019), 26–30; Petr Pokorný, *Hermeneutika jako Teorie Porozumění: Od Základních Otázek Jazyka k Výkladu Bible* [Hermeneutics as a theory of understanding: From basic questions of language to Bible interpretation] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2006), 17–19; Manlio Simonetti, *Lettera e/o allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1985).

⁵³ Holly Johnson provides a general list of the patristic authors commonly present in late-medieval English sermons, see Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*, 54; Thomas Bestul gives a more detailed list of patristic works that influenced the late-medieval production of devotional literature on the Passion. This list includes Augustine's *Tractatus in Johannem*, Jerome's expositions on Matthew, Bede's commentaries on Luke and Mark, and Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in evangelia*. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 30.

and anti-Manichean letters, Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* and *Moralia in Job*. However, their sermons also demonstrate an adequate knowledge of the Greek Church Fathers' tradition: quotations from Origen's, John Damascene's, and Chrysostom's homilies and Old Testament commentaries frequently appear in the preachers' discourses. The use of these sources might indicate the preachers' easy access to the texts and their interest in rich metaphorical language and abundance of doctrinal and moral explanations in Augustine and Gregory and passages creating an intimate response found in Chrysostom respectively.⁵⁴

In this section, it will suffice to say that the Fathers broaden the New Testament Passion hermeneutics primarily by viewing it in the light of the events of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Apart from offering a cluster of significant theological concepts (covered in the second chapter of the thesis), this extension of the arsenal of biblical prefigurations creates several exegetical commonplaces and refines key Christological archetypes, first introduced in the Paulian New Testament books. These types include Adam-progenitor of Gen. 1-3;⁵⁵ innocent Abel of Gen. 4;⁵⁶ sacrificial Passover lamb (Ex. 12:46), and Levitical goat (Lev. 14:33-16:34).⁵⁷ Moreover, we can add Moses, praying with his extended hands in the battle with Amalek (Ex. 17:11), and his sanative bronze serpent of Nm. 21:4-9 to the list as the Fathers interpret these two types as vivid prefigurations of Jesus on the cross.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ A fourteenth-century Bohemian liturgical *Breviarium* from Prague lists Chrysostom's and Gregory's homiletic commentaries as the most appropriate for the Passiontide season. MS VI.F.12a, fols. 202v–205v, Czech National Library, Prague; Vilém Herold demonstrated that numerous Augustine's works were popular in the Prague academic milieu between 1348-1420. Vilém Herold, "Master Jan Hus and St. Augustine," *BRRP* 8 (2011), 44.

⁵⁵ Paul's Book of Romans was the first to mention this type, which was later significantly developed by Origen, Methodius, Augustine, and Cyril of Alexandria. More on the evolution of the Adam-Christ typology, see John VanMaaren, "The Adam-Christ Typology in Paul and Its Development in the Early Church Fathers," *Tyndale Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (2013): 275–97.

⁵⁶ While Paul's Epistle to Hebrews 11:3–5 treated Abel as a Christological model of faith and righteousness, the Church Fathers looked at this type through empathetic optics, presenting Abel as an innocent victim of murder. Emmanouela Grypeou and Helen Spurling, *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity: Encounters between Jewish and Christian Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 117–118.

⁵⁷ Initially appearing in 1 Cor 5:7 as the prefiguration of Christ's Passion in Jh 19:23–36, the symbolic view of Christ as the Passover lamb was refined over centuries predominantly by Augustine and Gregory in connection with the Eucharist. Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 239; Augustine and Isidore understood the goat model from the sacramental perspective as well. Rebecca Maloy, *Songs of Sacrifice: Chant, Identity, and Christian Formation in Early Medieval Iberia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 50; The typological reading of Christ as the Old Testament calf is analyzed in Paolo Siniscalco, *Mito e storia della salvezza: Ricerche sulle più antiche interpretazioni di alcune parabole evangeliche* (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1971), 86.

⁵⁸ Gregory of Nissa, Barnabas, and Tertulian regard these episodes as prefigurations of the main events in the history of salvation. Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 239.

Combined with the tropological moral reading of the Bible, this retrospective treatment of the Passion story offered later authors a wide number of possibilities to construct their devotional discourses.

Over time, Church Fathers' hermeneutic approach gradually migrated to numerous *compendia* of biblical retellings and commentaries. The earliest signs of this extensive migration can be attested by the *Glossa Ordinaria*,⁵⁹ compiled in twelfth-century France and subsequently diffused elsewhere, including Bohemia.⁶⁰ Jerome, Anselm, Rabanus, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Bede, and other patristic authors, occasionally not referred to directly in the text, underpin the *Glossa*'s four-fold running commentary on the Passion accounts in each Gospel. Thus, it assembles different patristic approaches, which range from the allegorical understanding of biblical verses concerning salvation history to the literal-grammatical examination of the Gospels' narrative.

Rather than scrutinizing the plenitude of quotations constituting the *Glossa*'s exegesis, it is enough to mention a few examples to illustrate how it adapts and manipulates the patristic understanding of the Passion narrative. Thus, following the Fathers' vast typological medley regarding the instances where the Gospels are silent, the *Glossa* disseminates their use of the Old Testament verses and turns them into widespread commonplaces. This notion is exemplified in its section on John 19:8,9. Commenting on Christ's silence at Pilate's court, the *Glossa* compares the former to a meek lamb from Isaiah 53:7:

When Pilate, therefore, had heard this saying, he feared the more. And he entered into the hall again, and he said to Jesus: Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer.

⁵⁹ It is well-known that the *Glossa Ordinaria* resulted from an exegetical teamwork of several authors and thus survives in a set of manuscripts. Taking this fact into consideration, I will be using the unifying term "Glossa" in relation to this set. More on the *Glossa* and its popularity, see E. Ann Matter, "The Church Fathers and the Glossa Ordinaria," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 1, ed. Irena Backus (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 1997), 83–112; Lesley Smith, *Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIII^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

⁶⁰ Not only were copies of the *Glossa* brought to Bohemia from abroad in the fourteenth century, but also were copied in Bohemian *scriptoria* as it was, for instance, in the case of the mid-fourteenth-century manuscript XVI.A.3, produced in the Augustinian monastery near Roudnice nad Labem. The manuscript is currently stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. For the approximate (yet, so far, incomplete) estimations of the *Glossa*'s manuscripts, consult the FAMA database, accessed April 21, 2024: <https://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/fr/oeuvres/index?lettre=G>.

[interlinear gloss] Where [Jesus] did not answer, he kept silent like a sheep; where he answers, he teaches like a shepherd.

[marginal gloss] *But Jesus...* Here and in other places, we read that Christ kept silent in order to fulfill the prophecy: *He was offered because it was his own will, and he opened not his mouth.* The similitude of the lamb is given so that he is not considered guilty in his silence but innocent. For he is not convicted as a conspirator but as a meek person [who] is sacrificed for others.⁶¹

In such a manner, the *Glossa* adopts the soteriological reading of the verse which first appeared in the patristic *Epistle of Barnabas*.⁶² Together with many other examples of messianic understanding of the Passion, this allegorical treatment of the Old Testament prophetic verse later spread over late-medieval devotional literature (for instance, Ludolph of Saxony's fourteenth-century bestseller *Vita Jesu Christi* can be mentioned among its most-prominent recipients), iconography, and preaching.⁶³

Another aspect worth to be mentioned is the *Glossa*'s critical selection of patristic sources, combined with a particular emphasis on literal hermeneutical sense when it comes to interpreting biblical events, names or toponyms. For instance, presenting Christ on his way to Golgotha, the *Glossa* on Matthew comments upon the biblical text by marginal notes on the crucial distinction between the reasonable - as it becomes evident from the composers' point of view - Syriac translation of the toponym as "Calvarie" ("skull" in Latin) and a Jewish legend, which "wrongly" links the *locus* with the burial of Adam's skull. The second interlinear gloss supports this critical

⁶¹ "Cum ergo audisset Pilatus hunc sermonem magis timuit et ingressus est in pretorium iterum et dixit ad Jesum: Unde es tu? Jesus autem responsum non dedit ei (Jh. 19:19). [interlin.] Ubi non respondebat sicut ovis silebat ubi respondet sicut pastor docet. [marg.] *Jesus autem...* Hic et in aliis locis legitur siluisse Christus ut prophetia impleatur: *Sicut agnus coram tondente sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum.* Que similitudo de agno data est ut in suo silentio non reus sed innocens habeatur. Non enim ut conscius convincitur sed ut mansuetus pro aliis immolatur." *Glossa Ordinaria*, digital edition, in *Sacra Pagina*. (IRHT-CNRS, 2024), accessed July 3, 2023: https://glossa-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?id=liber&numLivre=58&chapitre=58_19#cap19_verset8.

⁶² Compare the *Glossa* with *The Epistle of Barnabas*, especially as cited in: *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, vol. 1., eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), 139.

⁶³ More on the textual transmission of this commonplace in the late Middle Ages, see James H. Marrow, "Inventing the Passion in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama*, ed. Marcia A. Kupfer (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 44. The iconographical tradition of depicting meek Christ in connection with Isaiah 53:7 is extensively discussed in James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert Pub. Co., 1979), 97.

stance, concluding that Golgotha got its meaning as a place of public executions through beheading:

And they came to the place that is called Golgotha (Mt. 27:33).

[interlinear gloss] As where the area of criminals was, there [were] the banners of martyrs.

[1st marginal gloss] [*Golgotha*] is a Syriac [word], and it is interpreted as ‘skull’ not because of the baldness of Adam, who, [as] they falsely claim [was] buried there, but because of the beheading of criminals. Adam was buried near Hebron [as] it is read in the book of Jesus.

[2nd marginal gloss] Outside the gate, there are places where the heads of criminals were cut off. And Calvarie got the name of the beheaded [...].⁶⁴

Here, the *Glossa* showcases the contrasting interplay of the Fathers’ positions: while Ambrose, whose works were undoubtedly known to the *Glossa*’s composers,⁶⁵ made a clear reference to Adam being buried at Calvary and accepted the possible veracity of the legend;⁶⁶ the interpretation of Jerome (and later Bede), strongly opposing this idea, becomes dominant in the *Glossa*’s exegesis.

The two examples above illustrate the *Glossa*’s exegetical capacity: it is flexible enough to offer different interpretations of the biblical accounts about Christ’s anguish, torture, and death that range from a scholastic lesson on grammar to a moving penitential narrative, using rich typological language and recapitulating some basic aspects of the history of salvation. As a result, the assortment of hermeneutical approaches found in the *Glossa* would produce easily recognizable Passion commonplaces. As Thomas Bestul has already diligently indicated,⁶⁷ these

⁶⁴ “*Et venerunt in locum qui dicitur Golgotha* (Mt. 27:33). [interlin.] Ut ubi erat area damnatorum, ibi vexilla martyrum.

[1. marg.] Syrum est, et interpretatur ‘calvarie’, non ob calvitium Ade quem mentiuntur ibi sepultum, sed ob decollationem damnatorum. Adam juxta Hebron in libro Jesu legitur sepultus.

[2. marg.] Loca sunt foris portam in quibus capita truncabantur damnatorum. Et Calvarie, hoc est decollatorum sumpsere nomen [...]” *Glossa Ordinaria*, digital edition, accessed July 3, 2023: https://glossa-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?id=liber&numLivre=55&chapitre=55_27#cap27_verset33.

⁶⁵ As demonstrated in Jesse M. Gellrich, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 160.

⁶⁶ Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 28; Bain, *Passion and Resurrection Narratives*, 132.

⁶⁷ For the list of Passion commonplaces originated from the *Glossa*, see Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 30–31.

commonplaces included the preceding discussion on the term “Golgotha”; details on the shape and measurements of Christ’s tomb; idea that Christ’s despair in the garden of Gethsemane was caused not by fear but the upcoming loss of the wicked; and other moral and sacramental readings that I will cover in the following chapters. As these hermeneutical clichés enjoyed wide geographical distribution and remarkable popularity in monastic and university milieus, they would subsequently affect exegetical and preaching circles.

Among the exegetical works that adopted the *Glossa*’s commonplaces and patristic triad of hermeneutical senses, there was Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica* composed around 1170.⁶⁸ According to Lucie Doležalová, so many manuscripts of this biblical tool were produced due to its unsurpassed popularity all over medieval Europe, especially in the academic milieu, that “no modern editor has dared to prepare a new edition of the complete text.”⁶⁹ The *Historia Scholastica*’s success also reached out to the Bohemian lands: its numerous copies were brought to and then recopied in Bohemia, and some of the manuscripts with Bohemian origin later circulated in other parts of East-Central Europe as Agnieszka Fabiańska has demonstrated on the example of the Polish lands.⁷⁰

The *Historia Scholastica* heavily relies on the *Glossa* as to its literal fixation on grammar and geography,⁷¹ already mentioned commonplaces, and selection of patristic authorities. However, as David Luscombe has convincingly suggested, Comestor’s hermeneutics and choice of patristic prooftexts frequently adhere to the masters of the Saint-Victor Abbey.⁷² Namely, similar to Hugh of Saint Victor’s (d. 1141) approach, Comestor’s reading of the biblical accounts methodologically refines Gregory the

⁶⁸ For general information on the *Historia Scholastica* and its popularity, see: Giuseppe Cremascoli and Claudio Leonardi, *La Bibbia nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Edizioni dehoniane, 1996); James H. Morey, “Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible,” *Speculum* 68 (1993): 6–35. On the reception of the *Historia Scholastica* in the Czech context, see Ludmila Pacnerová, *Staročeský Hlaholský Comestor* [Old Czech Glagolitic Comestor] (Prague: Euroslavica, 2002).

⁶⁹ Lucie Doležalová, *Obscurity and Memory in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: The Case of the ‘Summarium Biblie’* (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum: Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, 2012), 38.

⁷⁰ Agnieszka Fabiańska, “Średniowieczne Rękopisy *Historia Scholastica* Piotra Comestora w Zbiorach Polskich [Medieval manuscripts of *Historia Scholastica* by Peter Comestor in Polish collections],” *Z badań Nad Książką i Księgozbiórami Historycznymi* 9 (2015): 121–47.

⁷¹ More on Comestor’s literal interpretation of the Bible, see David Luscombe, “Peter Comestor and Biblical Chronology.”

⁷² David Luscombe, “The Place of Peter Comestor in the History of Medieval Theology,” in *Pierre Le Mangeur ou Pierre de Troyes, maître du XIII^e siècle*, ed. Gilbert Dahan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 34–35.

Great's functional analogy of building a house based on history and allegory and reinforced with moral understanding as stated in the *Historia Scholastica*'s prologue:

[God] has the sacred Scripture for a dining room [...]. There are three parts of this room: the foundation, walls, and roof. **History** is the foundation. [...] **Allegory** is the supporting walls, which signifies one deed through another deed. **Tropology** is the roof superimposed on the top of the house, which teaches what we should do through what has been done. The first is plainer, the second is sharper, the third is sweeter. Sometimes, allegory is used through a person, [...] object [...], place [...], time [...], and fact [...]. Tropology is a transformative discourse, pertaining to the moral life of the soul; and it is more moving than allegory, which has to do with the militant church, and **anagogy** [dealing with] the triumphant church and the Holy Trinity.⁷³

Remarkably, as we can see from Comestor's prologue, hermeneutical tradition had already undertaken a major shift by the twelfth century. While clinging to the literal reading of the Scripture, scholasticism turned back to the use of the previously less popular anagogical approach (known at least since the time of Augustine) in addition to the preferred "history-allegory-tropology" model. Hugh of Saint Victor defines anagogical sense as a mystical uplifting that occurs when, through a visible biblical fact, an invisible one (that is, pertaining to the eternal life of Heaven) is declared.⁷⁴

Some of the *Historia Scholastica*'s chapters on Christ's final hours may illustrate Comestor's scholastic Passion hermeneutics in detail. For instance, the text's longest chapter on the Passion events (Chapter CLXII *De suspendio Jude*) depicts sorrowful Judas, trying to make up for his betrayal and return thirty pieces of silver to the Pharisees. Matthew's biblical account (Mt. 27:2-4) is placed at the beginning of the chapter, and the Pharisees' response to Judas - "Tu videris" - is first considered in its literal-grammatical reading in the perfect subjunctive tense: "Quasi dicant: Tu vidisti

⁷³ "Sacram Scripturam habet pro cenaculo [...]. Cenaculi hujus tres sunt partes, fundamentum, paries, tectum. Historia fundamentum est. [...] Allegoria paries superinnitens, que per factum aliud factum figurat. Tropologia, doma culmini superpositum, que per id quod factum est quid a nobis sit faciendum insinuat. Prima planior, secunda acutior, tertia suavior. Sumitur allegoria quandoque a persona [...]; quandoque a re [...]; quandoque a loco [...]; quandoque a tempore [...]; quandoque a facto [...]. Tropologia est sermo conversivus, pertinens ad mores animi; et magis movet quam allegoria, que pertinet ad Ecclesiam militantem, anagoge ad triumphantem et ad Domini trinitatem." The Latin text is taken from Agneta Sylwan, ed., *Petri Comestoris Scholastica Historia. Liber Genesis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 5.

⁷⁴ Cited from Mauricio Beuchot and Juan Tubert-Oklander, "Hermeneutics in Medieval Thought," in *The Routledge Companion to Hermeneutics*, eds. Jeff Malpas and Hans-Helmuth Gander (London: Routledge, 2017), 26.

quid feceris” (“As if [the Pharisees] say: You have seen what you had done”). The following second interpretation of the response in the future perfect tense hints that Judas would eventually realize his grave sin: “Tu videbis, cum senties in pena te peccasse” (“You will see, when in punishment, you feel that you have sinned”). Consequently, this literal examination serves as a logical bridge to the tropological reading of Matthew’s verse. More specifically, quoting Jerome’s commentary on Psalm 108, Comestor points out that Judas made a more serious moral transgression when he hanged himself instead of saving his soul through penance. Finally, the fourfold hermeneutic chain closes with Comestor’s mystical interpretation by stressing that after Judas hanged himself, his body burst to let his doomed soul out because otherwise it could not leave through the mouth, which had kissed Christ at the moment of his arrest.⁷⁵

Further, in the same chapter, the *Historia Scholastica* slowly assesses discrepancies among biblical authors regarding the price of Judas’s betrayal. The Gospels’ verses are supported with Old Testament commonplaces from Isaiah, Zachariah, and Jeremiah and mixed with extensive commentaries from Jerome, Porphyrius, the *Glossa*, Origen, and Augustine. The chapter ends with the idea that Judas mispriced Christ by accepting only thirty pieces of silver. Together with the aforementioned mystical treatment of Judas’ soul sealed in his body, this motif was later found elsewhere, ranging from literature to arts and preaching.⁷⁶

Accordingly, conceived primarily for school students and masters, the *Historia Scholastica* presents a much more complex Passion hermeneutics. However, it does so in a more accessible and comprehensible way by introducing a more convenient layout and harmonizing the four Gospels instead of commenting on each separately. Such a

⁷⁵ “Tunc Judas poenitentia ductus, retulit triginta argenteos, dicens principibus sacerdotum: Peccavi tradens sanguinem justum. At illi dixerunt: Quid ad nos? Tu videris (Matth. XXVII), quasi dicant: Tu vidisti quid feceris, et sic est praeteritum subjunctivi. Vel tu videbis, cum senties in poena te peccasse, et sic est futurum subjunctivi. [...] Dicit Hieronymus super CVIII psal. quia magis offendit Judas Deum, quando se suspendit, quam in hoc quod cum prodidit. Et projectis argenteis in templo, abiens, laqueo se suspendit et crepuit medius, effusis visceribus, et in hoc quodammodo delatum est ori, quo osculatus erat Dominum, ne per os spiritus effunderetur. *Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica in Evangelia*, in *PL* 198, col. 1624–1625.

⁷⁶ Brian Murdoch, *Cornish Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 29; Annette Weber, “The Hanged Judas of Freiburg Cathedral: Sources and Interpretations,” in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 169; Martha Bayless, *Sin and Filth in Medieval Culture: The Devil in the Latrine* (New York - London: Routledge, 2012), 128.

condensed index of authorities and exegetical commonplaces would prove a handy textual aid for later preachers' use.⁷⁷

Later “patristic mediators” and thematic anthologies

Next, it is worth briefly mentioning other exegetical tools that were popular in late-medieval Bohemia and beyond. Among them is the *Catena Aurea* of the Dominican Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), one of the most influential medieval theologians and biblical commentators. As scholars estimate, the *Catena Aurea* - a running commentary on the Gospels with the anthological collection of excerpts from Latin and Greek patristic authors - was one of Aquinas' most copied works throughout the late Middle Ages.⁷⁸ Reaching even distant parts of Europe,⁷⁹ the *Golden Chain* was also copied in Bohemia: the Czech National Library and the National Museum Library of Prague contain several surviving manuscripts that originated in Bohemia from 1349 to 1400.⁸⁰ Katrin Ettenhuber coined this textual aid as a “patristic mediator” and showcased its functional usefulness and impact on later preachers, specifically on the British Isles.⁸¹ As to the Bohemian case, while Zdeněk Uhlíř has already argued that the *Catena* was one of the most favorite aids for Bohemian preachers, especially Thomas of Štítný and Milíč of Kroměříž,⁸² unstudied Passion Sunday sermons of Conrad Waldhauser also demonstrate partial dependency on this biblical *compendium*, thus additionally contributing to the theory about its popularity on the Bohemian preaching stage.

⁷⁷ Anna Pumprová has demonstrated that Robert of Olomouc used *Historia Scholastica* in his *Sermones super epistolas*. Anna Pumprová, “The Earliest Sermon Collections from the Territory of the Bohemian Kingdom: Searching for Sources and Originality,” in *Preaching in East-Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Pavel Soukup, Olga Kalashnikova (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

⁷⁸ Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Initiation à Saint Thomas d'Aquin: Sa personne et son œuvre* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2015), 204. Moreover, the ongoing approximate calculations of the FAMA manuscript database include more than 230 manuscripts of the *Catena* produced all over Europe before 1400, see <http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/en/oeuvre/268435> (accessed on April 24, 2024).

⁷⁹ For example, Jussi Hanska has demonstrated that the source was known to Finnish preachers in the Middle Ages. Jussi Hanska, “Poverty and Preaching between the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. The Case of Ericus Eriici, Bishop of Turku,” in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, eds. Raisa Maria Toivo and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 142.

⁸⁰ I consulted MSS V.D.17, XIII.B.15, XIII.A.3 of the National Library in Prague. The mentioned FAMA database lists ten manuscripts of the *Catena*.

⁸¹ Katrin Ettenhuber, “The Preacher and Patristics,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, eds. Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 39.

⁸² Zdeněk Uhlíř, “Das lateinische und tschechische Predigen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Übersetzung – Adaptation – Mutation,” in *Umbrüche Innerhalb der Schriftlichkeit in profanen und sakralen Übersetzungstexten des Deutschen, Tschechischen und Polnischen vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Sebastian Seyferth (Hildesheim: Olms, 2014), 36.

Following the *Glossa*'s hermeneutical approach, Aquinas presents what Craig Gardiner calls a "polyphonic chain" of authoritative analogies.⁸³ Pietro Delcorno suggested assessing its hermeneutic value for preaching based on the order of authorities cited within the text.⁸⁴ A quick observation of the text's chapters on the Gospels' accounts about the Passion indicates the hierarchic prevalence of paragraphs from Bede in the *Catena Aurea* on Mark; Augustine and Chrysostom in the *Catena* on Matthew and John; and Bede, Augustine, and Ambrose - on Luke. Moreover, choosing excerpts from these patristic authors, Aquinas adheres to the scholastic reading of the Bible as he prefers commentaries on the literal sense of the Scripture over allegorical and tropological ones. Bert Roest perceives this selective literal understanding of the Gospels as the basis for Aquinas' theological argumentation,⁸⁵ and I agree with this interpretation.

Regarding the *Catena*'s practical value for preachers, the scholarship agrees that Aquinas' anthology brought some previously unknown Greek Fathers to Western intellectuals.⁸⁶ It is plausible that Bohemian preachers could have benefited through this textual transmission of patristic texts and ideas as well. This textual migration can be evidenced through the example of Pseudo-Chrysostom's fifth-century collection of patristic homilies known as *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum*.⁸⁷ It should be mentioned here that scholars listed the *Opus* among the patristic sources repeatedly cited by Milič of Kroměříž and Henry Totting of Oyta.⁸⁸ In turn, researchers also highlighted the presence of citations from the *Opus Imperfectum* in Aquinas' *Catena Aurea* (in fact, it is the text most often cited in the *Catena*: 444 times),⁸⁹ which - as I have already mentioned - was known to Bohemian preachers at least since the 1360s.

⁸³ Craig Gardiner, *Melodies of a New Monasticism: Bonhoeffer's Vision, Iona's Witness* (London: SCM Press, 2018), 60.

⁸⁴ Pietro Delcorno, *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son: The Pastoral Uses of a Biblical Narrative (c. 1200-1550)*, 75.

⁸⁵ Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission, c. 1220-1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendendam sanctam Fidem catholicam...* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 90.

⁸⁶ Leo J. Elders, "Thomas Aquinas and the Fathers of the Church," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 1, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 344.

⁸⁷ I will also discuss the text's theological importance for preaching for Good Friday in the following chapter.

⁸⁸ On the *Opus Imperfectum* in Milič's synodal sermons see Vilém Herold, "How Wyclifite Was the Bohemian Reformation?" *BRRP* 2 (1998), 29. On Henry Totting's use of the text, consult Odstrčilík et al., *Henry Totting of Oyta*.

⁸⁹ Jindřich Marek, "Svatováclavská Kázání Českých Utrakvistů [St. Wenceslas sermons of the Czech Utraquists]," in *Cesta k Rozmanitosti: Sborník Příspěvků k Životnímu Jubileu PhDr. Zdeňka Uhlíře* [The road to diversity: A collection of contributions to the anniversary of PhDr. Zdeňek Uhlíř], ed. Renáta Modráková and Tomáš Klimek (Prague: Národní knihovna České republiky, 2016), 169; Jean-Pierre

Notably, the nature of textual aids (whether these were anthologies and conspectus-like *florilegia* - thematic handbooks of authoritative excerpts and commonplaces - or extensive copies of primary sources) that Bohemian preachers might use to access patristic and other authoritative texts remains debatable.⁹⁰ In his compelling analysis of fourteenth-century theological literature, Damasus Trapp pointed out that religious authors switched to a historico-critical approach to sources around that period. As a result, they no longer used *florilegia* and anthologies because these compilations could have potentially contained scribal errors or frivolous misinterpretations and provided authoritative citations without their original context. For these reasons - Trapp continued - similarly to humanists, fourteenth-century theological writers (primarily Augustinians) came back to the *ad fontes* approach.⁹¹

This argument might be partially valid if applied to a Good Friday model sermon *Tu in sanguine testamenti* (composed by Milíč around the 1360s at the beginning of his preaching career) and a sermon-like *Good Friday discourse* by Tomáš Štítný as the authors predominantly cite entire chapters from authorities. It is unlikely that these wordy chunks of *auctoritates* originated from an anthology or *florilegium*, which typically quotes a few lines from a given author. This single case, however, cannot represent the whole Bohemian corpus (including Milíč's later Good Friday sermon, which comes from the 1370s and occasionally relies on the *Catena Aurea*). Neither can I unconditionally accept Trapp's thesis that local theologians - and probably preachers - did not use *florilegia* at their desks because, to my knowledge, there are at least six preserved manuscripts of Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* in Prague libraries. Three earlier copies of this popular compilation originated from the fourteenth century (mainly in the last third of the century): two of them are of Bohemian origin, and the other is of uncertain provenance.⁹² Considering these two facts, one might take a middle ground and assume that the two methods of reading *auctoritates* - condensed anthology or *florilegia* and the *ad fontes* approach - could have been used or at least known to some Bohemian preachers.

Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas. The Person and His Work*, Vol. 1. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 138.

⁹⁰ Herold assumes that *florilegia* might have been known to several composers of sermons in fourteenth-century Bohemia. Herold, "How Wyclifite Was the Bohemian Reformation?" 29.

⁹¹ Damasus Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century: Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Book-Lore," *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), 147.

⁹² These manuscripts are: IV.C.7, Czech National Library, Prague; XII. B. 18, Czech National Library, Prague; and XIV C 8, Library of Czech National Museum respectively.

Similarly to the *Catena Aurea*, Nicholas of Lyra's and Nicholas of Gorran's exegetical anthologies offered similar tactics of mediating the Passion narrative.⁹³ These texts provided the most popular mode of accessing the Fathers and later authoritative authors (in a way similar to the condensed *florilegia*) and, hence, proved helpful for Bohemian preachers to pick necessary citations according to their needs. Together with the biblical accounts, patristic texts, and running scriptural commentaries, these later "mediators of authorities" became one of the primary exegetical tools for preachers. The multi-leveled reading of the Passion narrative and Good Friday events contained in these textual aids also contributed to unfolding basic theological concepts that Bohemian preachers could cover in their discourses.

⁹³ Lyra's biblical commentary was a homiletical bestseller all over Europe and was also known in Prague as attested by the late-fourteenth-century attempts to translate it into vernacular in Bohemia. See Andrea Svobodová and Milada Homolková, *Výklad Mikuláše Lyry na Evangelium Sv. Matouše: Kritická Edice Staročeského Překlada* [Nicholas of Lyra's Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew: A critical edition of the Old Czech translation] (Prague: Scriptorium, 2018). Most likely, Gorran's popular commentaries also circulated in Bohemia, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 8 in the case of Milíč.

Chapter 2. Theology of the Passion

To late-medieval preachers, the treatment of Good Friday events did not encompass a mere knowledge of the Bible and authoritative exegetical commentaries but also embraced a set of theological deductions drawn from the scriptural narrative. The mentioned crucial works and other essential preaching aids circulating in Bohemia in the late thirteenth-fourteenth century created what Berndt Hamm and John M. Frymire define as “normative centering in the theology of the Passion.”⁹⁴ Thus, the use of the most popular texts for preaching in the Bohemian intellectual milieu repeatedly standardized fundamental discursive nods related to Christ’s Passion. These dominating thematic clusters included soteriological polemics, focus on the salvific effects of Christ’s blood and a sinner’s penance in the views of sacramental theology, selected ecclesiological views, and the growing importance of Christ’s corporeality and humanization.

Soteriology: How are people liberated from the devil’s power through Christ’s Passion?

The lion’s share of theological texts and devotional literature circulating in the Bohemian lands throughout the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries transmitted a coherent doctrinal explanation of the reasons and effects of Christ’s sacrifice. These treatments were part of a long-standing narrative of salvation. Apart from utilizing the Old Testament prophetic verses from Isaiah, Zachariah, and Lament Psalms to develop what Longenecker refers to as “the biblical Passion apologetics”,⁹⁵ these texts went beyond the early-medieval understanding of Christ’s death in relation to his subsequent victory over the devil and amplified it with Anselmian complex rationalization of salvation.

In order to provide a sample of soteriological views permeating Prague around the 1300s-1380, it is worth selectively addressing the most popular and influential local and ‘international’ texts on the subject. The texts in question include widely-copied Pseudo-Chrysostom’s *Opus Imperfectum*, Thomas of Ireland’s *De tribus punctis essentialibus christianae religionis*, Pseudo-Anselm’s *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*, an anonymous treatise *Malogranatum*, and numerous theological handbooks (primarily Peter Lombard’s third book of *Sententiae* and a

⁹⁴ Berndt Hamm and John M. Frymire, “Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no. 4 (1999): 307–54.

⁹⁵ Longenecker, *Studies in Hermeneutics, Christology, and Discipleship*, 93–94. I have also discussed these prophetic verses in the previous chapter.

series of commentaries on it). However, to avoid repeating the existing scholarship, I will mention these works only briefly instead of providing their full-fledged analysis, which would be redundant for the scope of the thesis.

Looking at the Good Friday events as part of a grand historical continuum, medieval authors placed Christ's crucifixion in the broader chronological framework of salvation. In doing so, they retrospectively considered Christ's oblation the most effective way to destroy the devil's long-lasting power over sinful humanity, which he had unlawfully established long before Christ's birth. For instance, this strategy is adopted in the second homily of the mentioned *Opus Imperfectum* by Pseudo-Chrysostom,⁹⁶ which was most likely known to Bohemian preachers in the fourteenth century.⁹⁷

The homily first opens by placing Christ's birth and subsequent crucifixion in the global timeline between the times of Daniel and the Antichrist's arrival.⁹⁸ Later in the homily, the author develops in full detail a discourse on Matthew 2:3-4, where the devil is regarded as a potent jailer holding captive sinners, impersonated by Herod:

I think that Herod was not so much disturbed in and of himself as much the devil who was in Herod. Herod was afraid because he had his suspicions, but the devil was afraid [of Jesus] because he truly knew what was happening. Herod thought the king to be a man, but the devil knew him to be God. [...] The more eyewitnesses were added on Christ's behalf, the more the devil feared the destruction of his own power. Therefore, both of them were disturbed in their own fervor and feared the successor to their own kingdom. [...] [Herod] was not governed by his own council but was bound and dragged by the devil's chains.⁹⁹

Hence, in Pseudo-Chrysostom's view, the devil's strategies to govern captured sinners should be looked at from the gloomy perspective of their imminent death, the arrival of the Antichrist, and the end of times. Numerous authors extensively discussed

⁹⁶ I have already demonstrated that some parts of the *Opus* were most likely available to a Bohemian reader through the *Catena Aurea*. Furthermore, Smrčka traced a full copy of the *Opus* circulating in Prague as early as the mid-1360s. Jakub Smrčka, "České Reformní Proudění 14. Století a Devotio Moderna [Czech reform currents of the 14th century and devotio moderna]" (PhD diss., Charles University, 2008), 16–17.

⁹⁷ Stephen E. Lahey, *John Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 155.

⁹⁸ Thomas C. Oden, ed., *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus Imperfectum)*, trans. James A. Kellerman (Downers Grove: IVP Academic), 29–30.

⁹⁹ Oden, *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus Imperfectum)*, 34.

this chronological view on the Passion throughout the medieval period.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, one may suggest that this sequential reading of salvific history and the commonplace of the devil-jailer could have enjoyed particular popularity in Bohemia at least around the 1360s when the kingdom was permeated by eschatological ideas rising because of the Black Plague, papal move to Avignon, and general moral decay of the clergy.¹⁰¹

According to patristic authors, providing a deliverance for humanity's sins through Christ's mediation would prove an effective solution in the light of the inevitable Last Judgment. For instance, the archetype of Christ-mediator "healing" humanity's sins before God is utilized in the chapter *De Passione Christi* of Isidore of Seville's *Sententiarum libri tres* (also known as *De summo bono*), which was favored among monastic clergy and university masters, including Bohemian ones.¹⁰² Interestingly, preserved Bohemian manuscripts from the fourteenth century testify that Isidore's text was sometimes copied together with Thomas of Ireland's well-known treatise *De tribus punctis essentialibus christianae religionis*.¹⁰³ This text refined patristic soteriology with Anselm of Canterbury's "theory of satisfaction" by stressing that the voluntary sacrifice of God-man Jesus,¹⁰⁴ perfect by his nature, provided the only possible way to remediate sinful humankind and satisfy offended God. In fact, in Thomas's view, the Passion's salvific effect was so potent that it could overshadow the power of papal indulgences:

But where indulgences come from, and how many [of them], and to whom they can be of value, is doubted by many. [...] All this was little compared with the Passion of Christ, which was in itself sufficient to pay off for all the sins and punishments of the

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed analysis of their soteriological views, consult Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross*, Chapter 4.

¹⁰¹ Metaphorically, Milič places the crucifixion between the same age of devil's unlawful rule over captured humanity and the imminent end of times and Last Judgment. This soteriological timeline functions as the backbone of his scholastic sermon. For the analysis of the text, see Chapter 8. For the semi-critical edition of the sermon, consult Appendix I.

¹⁰² MS III.G.1, fols. 011v–012v, Czech National Library, Prague. We know about approximately 500 surviving manuscripts of the text in different parts of Europe. Its manuscripts of Bohemian origin include MK-099, Moravian Library, Brno; III.G.1 from the Czech National Library, which contains a note testifying that it belonged to Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov, a master at the University of Prague around the 1370s; X.E.20 from the Czech National Library is another example, coming from the monastic milieu.

¹⁰³ Doležalová refers to at least 150 mss surviving all over Europe, five of them can be found in Prague libraries. Lucie Doležalová, "A 'Book of Knowledge'? The *De tribus punctis christianae religionis* (1316) by Thomas Hibernicus and its Heyday in Late Medieval Bohemia," in *Books of Knowledge in Late Medieval Europe. Circulation and Reception of Popular Texts*, eds. Pavlína Cermanová and Václav Žůrek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 181–200.

¹⁰⁴ The idea that Christ voluntarily accepted responsibility for all human defects originates from John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa*.

whole world, even if there were thousand worlds. But [Jesus] himself did not need those punishments for himself, neither for atonement because he had not sinned, nor for merit because he was full of grace and glory from the moment of his conception, and nothing could be added or acquired for himself thereafter.¹⁰⁵

We may suppose that *De tribus punctis* might have functioned as one of many media informing the Bohemian clergy and, subsequently, the faithful about the soteriological value of Good Friday events because the archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice included the treatise in the ecclesiastical statutes of 1349 and ordered to copy both texts together. Still, it would be naive to assert that the Bohemian clergy had access to Anselm's satisfaction theory solely through *De tribus punctis*. Namely, Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*, circulating in local monastic circles at least since 1319,¹⁰⁶ and an anonymous mystical treatise *Malogranatum*, most likely composed at the Cistercian Zbraslav monastery (also known as Aula Regia) around the 1330s, transmitted the same soteriological idea.¹⁰⁷

A close-up: Soteriology in Peter Lombard's "Sententiae" and later commentaries

The mixture of the patristic understanding of the Passion (as a means to liberate humanity from the devil's tyranny) and Anselm's theory of satisfaction permeate the textual tradition of interpreting Peter Lombard's *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum* (composed ca. the 1150s). Brian FitzGerald regards the original tetralogy as a dominating handbook on theological matters from the thirteenth century onwards.¹⁰⁸ Once the Fourth Lateran Council branded *Sentences* as the primary textbook for

¹⁰⁵ "Unde autem indulgentie proveniunt, et quantum, et quibus valere possunt, a multis dubitatur. [...] hec omnia parum erant respectu passionis Christi, que erat per se solum sufficiens ad satisfaciendum pro omnibus peccatis et penis totius mundi, imo si essent mille mundi. Ipse autem illis poenis non indigebat per se, nec ad satisfaciendum, quia peccatum non fecit, nec ad merendum, quia ab instanti sue conceptionis fuit plenus gratia et gloria, nec sibi postea aliquid accrescere sive acquiri potuit." Beda Dudík, *Statuten des ersten Prager Provincial-Concils vom 11. und 12. November 1349. Im Anhang: Tractatus De tribus punctis essentialibus christianae religionis von Thomas de Hibernia aus dem J. 1316. Nach Handschriften und mit Unterstützung des Mähr. Landesausschusses* (Brno: Břežka, Winiker und Comp., 1872), 104–105.

¹⁰⁶ According to the provenance of XII.D.10 currently stored in the Czech National Library.

¹⁰⁷ I will discuss both texts later. It will suffice to say in the connection with the theory of salvation that the *Malogranatum*'s chapter 4 of the prologue stresses the redemptive and satisfactory value of the Passion for liberating humanity; *Dialogus*' chapters 1 and 2 recap Anselmian theology as well.

¹⁰⁸ Brian Daniel FitzGerald, *Inspiration and Authority in the Middle Ages: Prophets and their Critics from Scholasticism to Humanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 74.

educational institutions in 1215,¹⁰⁹ Lombard's work prevailed at universities and later mendicant schools. Hence, it would be logical to assume that a certain part of late-medieval preachers (primarily members of religious orders but also secular clergy in some exceptional cases)¹¹⁰ was familiar with Lombard's text, which Robert J. Brancatelli refers to as a "theological resource for preaching and [pastoral] instruction."¹¹¹ As to the text's presence on the Bohemian preaching stage, we know that Lombard's work enjoyed popularity among lecturers at the University of Prague around the 1370s-1380s and was later commented on by John Hus.¹¹² Overall, although the existence of *Sententiae*'s manuscripts of foreign origin in East-Central Europe can be traced back up to the 1270s,¹¹³ similarly to the Bible, Lombard's text was often available to a fourteenth-century reader through dozens of commentaries.¹¹⁴

Moreover, regarding *Sententiae*'s additional practical value for preachers, it is generally believed that Lombard paved the way for the emergence of one of the first preaching aids ever, *distinctiones*, when the Franciscan Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) reworked each of the four books into schematic dictionaries of multiple meanings and allegories for every word of the Scripture in the 1220s.¹¹⁵ Existing scholarship can track the use of *distinctiones* to at least two preachers active in Bohemia in the late fourteenth

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Hill, *Dictionary of Theologians to 1308* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Company Limited, 2010), 470.

¹¹⁰ See a brief overview of how the mendicants and secular clergy could access Lombard's text in Chris Schabel, "Were there Sentences Commentaries?" in *Commenter au Moyen Age*, eds. Pascale Bermon and Isabelle Moulin (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin).

¹¹¹ Robert J. Brancatelli, "'Beset on Every Side': Reimagining the Ideology of the Roman Catechism (1566)," in *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations*, eds. Raymond F. Bulman and Frederick J. Parrella (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 288.

¹¹² For an apt discussion of this process, see Chris Schabel, Monica Brinzei, and Mihai Maga, "A Golden Age of Theology at Prague: Prague Sentences Commentaries from 1375 to 1385, the terminus post quem for Evidence of Wycliffism in Bohemia," *AUC Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 55, no. 1 (2015).

¹¹³ Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c.900–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 486.

¹¹⁴ For the statistical data on the commentaries, see Chris Schabel, "Reshaping the Genre: Literary Trends in Philosophical Theology in the Fourteenth Century," in *Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, ed. Spencer E. Young (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 72–75, especially 74.

As to the manuscript evidence, the Czech National Library contains surviving fourteenth-century copies of commentaries by Peter of Tarantaise (IV.E.2, III.E.9) and a compilation of several Franciscan authors (III.B.10). The Regional Museum in Mikulov also has Guillelmus Autissiodorensis' *Summa super quattuor libros Sententiarum sive Summa aurea* (MIK 6365). The Cistercians also used commentaries on *Sententiae*, see section 2 in Monica Brinzei and Chris Schabel, "Critically Editing a So-Called 'Sentences Commentary'," in *Sicut dicit. Editing Ancient and Medieval Commentaries on Authoritative Texts*, ed. Stefan Schorn, Shari Boodts, and Pieter De Leemans (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

¹¹⁵ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 41 (1974): 27.

century - Henry of Wildenstein and Henry Totting of Oyta.¹¹⁶ The latter also produced the first commentaries on Lombard, which originated at the University of Prague.

For these reasons, a brief examination of the third book of Lombard's *Sententiae* and selected most popular commentaries on it might give us a closer insight into soteriological ideas, dominating among the Bohemian educated clergy at the time. The book's distinctions 15-22 discuss Christ's sacrifice, its reasons, *modus operandi*, and salvific effects. However, given that current scholarship has already provided meticulous investigations of these distinctions, it seems redundant to scrutinize them wholly.¹¹⁷ Instead, let us briefly focus on the mentioned motif of humanity's deliverance from the devil by Christ's Passion¹¹⁸ and look at Lombard's distinction 19, chapter 1.

Overall, Lombard's interpretation of the Passion's salvific effects mostly mirrors patristic opinions, primarily that of Augustine. The chapter opens with an argument drawing from Rom. 5:9 ("in sanguine ipsius justificati sumus" - "we are justified by his blood") and stresses that Christ's death was a key instrument in liberating the human race from sins and Satan's chains.¹¹⁹ According to Lombard, this liberation is two-fold. On the one hand, he understands Christ's sacrifice as an act of God's love, turning an individual away from sin and leading them to an internal predisposition to salvation.¹²⁰ Expanding on this idea, Lombard adopts Augustine's self-reflectory moral views on Christian life: "if we look at him who hung on a tree for us with the look of right faith, we are delivered from the chains of the devil, that is from [our] sins."¹²¹ On the other hand, *Sentences* consider the effects of the Passion on a grander soteriological scale as an existential conflict between the offended God and

¹¹⁶ As, for instance, was showcased in Odstrčilík et al., *Henry Totting of Oyta and Večeře, "Jindřich z Vildštejna"*.

¹¹⁷ For the distinctions' overview, consult Jacques-Guy Bougerol, "The Church Fathers and the Sentences of Peter Lombard," in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, vol. 1, ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 151–57; Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross*, 89–92; or Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 135–39.

¹¹⁸ This commonplace was also used in several Bohemian Good Friday sermons, see Chapter 8 on Milíč.

¹¹⁹ "A diabolo igitur et a peccato per Christi mortem liberati sumus, quia ut ait Apostolus 2, *in sanguine ipsius justificati sumus*; et in eo quod sumus justificati, id est a peccatis soluti, a diabolo sumus liberati, qui nos vinctulis peccatorum tenebat." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, Lib. III, Dist. XIX, c.1, n.1, Vol. 2 (Grottaferrata - Rome: Collegium S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1981).

¹²⁰ "Quia per ejus mortem, ut ait Apostolus 3, *commendatur nobis caritas Dei*, id est apparet eximia et commendabilis caritas Dei erga nos, in hoc quod Filium suum tradidit in mortem pro nobis peccatoribus. [...] Mors igitur Christi nos justificat, dum per eam caritas excitatur in cordibus nostris." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XIX, c.1, n.2.

¹²¹ "Si ergo recte fidei intuitu in illum respicimus qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, a vinctulis diaboli solvimur, id est a peccatis." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XIX, c.1, n.3.

Adam-transgressor, who handed humanity into the devil's possession. In this respect, *Sentences*'s soteriology adheres to patristic views, which Lombard expresses in Augustine's words:

[Augustine says:] For we had fallen under the ruler of this world, who seduced Adam and made him a slave [...]. But the redeemer came, and the deceiver was defeated. [...] However, [Christ] did not shed the blood of the debtor, [...] for he shed his own blood so that he would wipe away our sins. Therefore, the devil was possessing us, [and] he was destroyed by the blood of the redeemer. For he did not possess us unless through the chains of our sins.¹²²

In such a way, following the Fathers, *Sententiae* offers a brief overview of the history of salvation from Adam's metaphorical enslavement to a contractual deliverance of captured humanity from Satan-debtor by a worthy payoff. Preachers could use this chronological synopsis as a foundation for their sermons and complement it with pastoral messages according to their needs.

The 'pastoral' way of understanding salvation in relation to Christ's restitution for humanity's sins and an individual's internal cleansing is present in the later tradition of commentaries on *Sententiae*. For instance, in the second question to distinction 19, the Franciscan Bonaventura (d. 1274) adheres to Lombard's two-fold notion of an objective (the sinners' proprietary deliverance from the original sin) and subjective (one's internal absolution from all the committed sins) redemption. Notably, commenting on this concept, Bonaventura enhances *Sententiae*'s original text with the terminology of Anselm's theory of satisfaction and directly cites his *Cur deus Homo*.¹²³ He does so to discuss how powerful Christ's sacrifice was to satisfy the guilt of his crucifiers. Later, in question 4 to the distinction, he generally asserts that Christ's death

¹²² "[Augustinus ait:] "Incideramus enim in principem hujus seculi, qui seduxit Adam et servum fecit [...]. Sed venit redemptor, et victus est deceptor. [...] Ille autem sanguinem fudit non debitoris [...], Ille quippe ad hoc sanguinem suum fudit, ut peccata nostra deleat. Unde ergo diabolus nos teriebat, deletum est sanguine redemptoris. Non enim tenebat nos nisi vinculis peccatorum nostrorum." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XIX, c.1, n. 5.

¹²³ "Et si tu obicias, quod quantitas transgressionis eorum aequabatur quantitati satisfactionis, dicendum quod excusabantur per ignorantiam, sicut dicit Anselmus "si enim cognovissent, nunquam Dominum gloriae crucifixissent". Aliter etiam potest dici quod nunquam illi crucifixo ex tam mala voluntate Christum occidebant ex quam bona voluntate Christus passionem sustinebat; et ideo longe potentior erat passio Christi ad satisfaciendum, quam esset illorum culpa as obligandum." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," in *Opera omnia*, Vol. 3 (Quarachi: Collegium S.Bonaventura, 1887), Lib. III, Dist. XIX, Q. II, Ad objecta 3.

was worthy by being “especially penitential and pleasing to God” in saving humankind.¹²⁴

Bonaventura’s soteriological discourse on question 3 “Whether we are liberated from the devil’s power through Christ’s Passion” might prove especially useful for preaching. Here, in the *sed contra*¹²⁵ part, the commenter first takes an eschatological stance by shifting the focus from the historicity of Good Friday events to the foreseeable arrival of Antichrist. Within this threatening context, the Passion can provide a virtue to the faithful. Yet, he concludes, people are also liable for falling under the devil’s power, which might be otherwise avoided through participating in the sacraments:

But on the contrary: [...] 2 Timothy 3:1 says that *in the last days perilous times will come*, and the same is said in 2 Thessalonians, Daniel, and Revelation, that in the time of the Antichrist, the devil will have the greatest power to tempt and vex.

I answer: [...] for [the devil] was conquering everyone by either dishonesty or violence, [...] and this power is weakened through the Passion, by which the light of truth is revealed against diabolical fraudulence, and the help of virtue is given against diabolical violence.

[...] Although the devil’s power was overcome through the Passion, it is still in us to give strength to the enemy and to subjugate ourselves to the devil’s power. [...] but those who humbly and devoutly submit themselves to the sacraments and sacramentals, which contain power from the Passion, do not fear the diabolical power.¹²⁶

With its clear structure and evident pastoral focus, Bonaventura’s commentary was well adapted to serve as a basis for a penitential sermon. Namely, its centering around the religious instruction of the faithful and promotion of the sacraments reflects the regulations of the Fourth Lateran Council, which required annual confession before

¹²⁴ “Passio Christi maxime fuit poenalis et Deo placita et pro nobis etiam fuit soluta.” Bonaventura, “Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi,” Lib. III, Dist. XIX, Q. IV.

¹²⁵ That is, a part of commentaries which presents a thesis that can dispel the argument of the original text.

¹²⁶ “Sed contra: [...] II as Timotheum 3:1 dicitur quod “in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa”, et hoc ipsum dicitur II ad Thessalonicenses et in Daniele et in Apocalypsi quod in tempore antichristi habebit diabolus maximam potestatem ad tentandum et vexandum. Respondeo: [...] omnes enim vel superabat per fraudulentiam vel per violentiam [...] et haec potestas debilitata est per passionem, per quam lumen veritatis aperitur contra diabolicam fraudulentiam et adiutorium virtutis tribuitur contra diabolicam violentiam.[...] quamvis per passionem sit potestas diabolica superata, tamen in nobis est vires dare hosti et nos subjugare potestati diaboli. [...] qui vero humiliter et devote sacramentis et sacramentalibus se subiciunt, quae a passione habent virtutem, non formidant diabolicam potestatem.” Bonaventura, “Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi,” Lib. III, Dist. XIX, Q. III.

the end of each Lenten season. Moreover, the text's emphasis on pastoral ministry testifies to the Franciscan order's attempt to take a leading role in the ongoing competition with other mendicant orders, primarily the Order of Preachers.

In turn, the Dominicans' interpretation of the same distinction from Lombard indicates a similar focus on considering the effects of the Passion through ministerial lenses. This notion becomes particularly evident if we turn to commentaries on *Sententiae* produced by Thomas Aquinas, one of the most prominent theologians of the order. His brief article 2 of distinction 19 often harmonizes with Bonaventura's line of argumentation discussed above. Thus, utilizing the identical eschatological references to 2 Timothy 3:1 and Apocalypse 5:5 in the *sed contra* part on whether humanity is freed from the devil through Christ's Passion, Aquinas embarks on providing a response, which attributes a great salvific role to the faithful's virtuous lifestyle and the sacraments:

I answer that the devil's power consists of two things, namely, attacking and detaining the conquered. However, one is not made a servant by being attacked but by being defeated [...]. The devil had conquered the whole human race in [the time of] the first parents and had dominion over them [...] so that no one should enter the door of paradise. He also subdues each one individually, while he inclines them to sin [...]. Therefore, Christ completely destroyed the devil's power [...] by the Passion, as far as sufficiency, though not as far as efficiency, except for those who receive the power of the Passion through faith, charity, and the sacraments. [...] However, [Jesus] did not completely abolish the power with which the [devil] attacks, but he weakened [it] at the very time when he defeated the enemy and gave mankind many aids to resist, such as sacraments, more abundant grace, and other things of such kind.¹²⁷

Noticeably, Aquinas' interpretation differs from that of Bonaventura because the former puts a greater emphasis on the sacraments and looks at them from a

¹²⁷ "Respondeo dicendum quod potestas daemonis in duobus consistit, scilicet in impugnando et detinendo devictos. Ex eo autem quod quis impugnatur, nondum servus factus est, sed ex eo quod victus est [...]. Devicerat autem diabolus totum humanum genus in primis parentibus, et eis dominabatur [...] ut nullus paradisi januam introiret. Devincit etiam unumquemque singulariter, dum eum ad peccatum inclinat [...]. Potestatem igitur Diaboli [...] Christus per passionem ex toto amovit quantum ad sufficientiam, licet non quantum ad efficientiam nisi in illis qui vim passionis suscipiunt per fidem, caritatem, et sacramenta. [...] Sed potestatem qua impugnat, non ex toto evacuavit, sed debilitavit, dum ipsum hostem vicit, et hominibus auxilia multa ad resistendum tribuit, sicut sacramenta, gratiam abundantiorum, et alia hujusmodi." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XIX, a. 2.

utilitarian perspective as one of the agents of redemption, on the one hand, and means of reaching closer union with suffering Christ, on the other.¹²⁸ The Dominican's exposition on articles 1 ("Whether humanity is freed from sin through Christ's Passion") and 3 ("Whether we have been freed from eternal punishment through Christ's Passion") of distinction 19 illustrates this point clearly.

Firstly, Aquinas examines Christ's death as an "essential", "accidental", and "instrumental" agent in question 1 of the article. He interprets the first and second categories predominantly in Lombard's terms of merit ("only Christ can sufficiently merit others because of his nature") and Anselm's theory of satisfaction ("by making satisfaction for the whole nature, Christ sufficiently merited the remission of sins for others who had sins") respectively.¹²⁹ Moreover, as to the instrumental perspective, Aquinas stresses the power of sacraments to "blot out human sins because they are the instruments of saving God's mercy".¹³⁰ In such a manner, he steps out from perceiving the Good Friday events as a distant historical fact. Instead, the instrumental examination symbolically makes Christ's death a repeating and more tangible act in which the faithful can physically participate in churches.

Secondly, and more importantly, in contrast to Anselm's views, Aquinas prioritizes the faithful's active participation in Christ's salvific work, which they can fulfill either by *imitatio Christi* or following the savior's sufferings. Aquinas brings on these instructions in articles 1 and 3 respectively:

On our part, however, it is required that we prepare ourselves to receive the effect of Christ's merit in us through the faith of the understanding, the love of the affections, and the imitation of [his] work [...]; and therefore as to the sufficiency of satisfaction and merit, all sins were blotted out by Christ's Passion, but not as to efficiency.¹³¹

[...]

But in order for someone to be freed from these punishments as far as effectiveness is concerned, it is required that they become a participant in Christ's Passion. This

¹²⁸ I will hereby use a commonly accepted Latin term *imitatio Christi*.

¹²⁹ Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XIX, a. 1, Q. 1, Resp.

¹³⁰ "Tertio modo dicitur agens instrumentale; et hoc modo sacramenta delent peccata, quia sunt instrumenta divinae misericordiae salvantis." Ibid.

¹³¹ "Ex parte autem nostra requiritur ut nos praeparemus ad meriti Christi effectum in nobis suscipiendum per fidem intellectus, et caritatem affectus, et per imitationem operis [...]. et ideo quo ad sufficientiam satisfactionis et meriti, omnia peccata per Christi passionem deleta sunt, non autem quantum ad efficientiam." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XIX, a. 1, Q. 2.

happens in two ways. Firstly, through the sacrament of the Passion, that is, Baptism [...]. Secondly, a person becomes a partaker of Christ through real conformity with him, namely, inasmuch as we suffer patiently with Christ, which is indeed done through penance.¹³²

It should also be noted that, as in Bonaventura's case, Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* also influences how Aquinas reshapes *Sententiae*'s original idea of Christ's merit in humankind's salvation. According to Aquinas, Christ removed humanity's sin and thus opened the door of heaven for the faithful by making satisfaction through his Passion.¹³³ Yet, this due satisfaction could not be properly made in any other possible way than by Christ's voluntary death. Expanding on this concept, Aquinas cites Anselm in distinction 20: "[Jesus] could not pass the cup unless he drank [from it]; not because he could not avoid death, but because otherwise, he could not save the world" ("non potuit transire calix, nisi biberet; non quia mortem vitare nequiverit, sed quia aliter mundus salvari non posset"¹³⁴). Here, the Dominican commenter is more flexible than his Franciscan counterpart, who uses the same reference to Anselm in an identical context. Namely, commenting on whether there was any other way for God to save humanity (distinction 20), Bonaventura accepts Anselm's argument unconditionally and uses Ambrose's authority (taken from the *Glossa*) to enhance it in the following response. Remarkably, while Bonaventura's terms theoretically concur with those of Aquinas, the latter states that God's unlimited power could grant another possible way of sinners' deliverance. However, only the Passion was appropriate for providing sufficient satisfaction. To prove this argument, Aquinas applies the authority of the prophetic Old Testament. Let us compare the development of both argumentations in the following table:

¹³² "Sed ad hoc quod aliquis his poenis quantum ad efficaciam liberetur, exigitur quod passionis Christi particeps fiat; quod quidem contingit dupliciter. Primo quidem per sacramentum passionis, scilicet Baptismum [...]. Secundo aliquis fit particeps Christi per realem conformitatem ad ipsum, scilicet inquantum Christo patiente patimur, quod quidem fit per poenitentiam." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XIX, a. 3, Q. 2.

¹³³ "Utrum Christus potuerit nobis mereri." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XVIII, a. 6.

¹³⁴ Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XX, Q. IV, Contra 2.

Bonaventura	Aquinas
<p>[Response:] But regarding the objection raised from the <i>Glossa</i> and Anselm, it should be said that those authorities are understood as far as it pertains to us, presupposed by the divine disposition, which has decided to deliver us in this way and in no other way. Ambrose's authority is also to be understood in this way [...]. He says our sin was so great that we could not be saved unless the only begotten Son of God died for us, the debtors of death. This, I say, must be understood because God did not decide to save us otherwise. In this way, too, similar authorities are to be understood.¹³⁵</p>	<p>I answer the first question by saying that, as far as God is concerned, there was another possible way for our deliverance because his power is not limited, which, if he had chosen it, it would have been most fitting [...]. On the part of man, there was no other possible way except the one which God gave him: because [man] could not satisfy [it] by himself, but only by the divine service. But from our side, and God's, there was, indeed, another possible way, but none so appropriate.</p> <p>To the first, I answer, therefore, that if man were delivered in another way, he would not be redeemed: because redemption implies sufficient satisfaction. But still he could be delivered in another way.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>To the fourth, it should be said that the faith of the ancients was about Christ's future Passion, presupposed by God's ordination that it should be so; from the supposition of which Christ's Passion is necessary, as has been said.¹³⁶</p>

¹³⁵ "Ad illud vero quod obicitur in contrarium de Glossa et de Anselmo, dicendum quod auctoritates illae intelliguntur quantum est ex parte nostra, presupposita dispositione divina, qua nos sic et non alio modo liberare decrevit. Per hunc etiam modum intelligenda est auctoritas Ambrosii [...]. Tantum, inquit, fuit peccatum nostrum ut salvari non possemus, nisi unigenitus Dei filius moreretur pro nobis debitoribus mortis. Hoc, inquam, intelligendum est quia Deus nos aliter non decrevit salvare. Per hunc etiam modum intelligendae sunt auctoritates consimiles". Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XX, Q. IV.

¹³⁶ "Respondeo dicendum ad primam quaestionem, quod quantum ex parte Dei est, fuit alius modus nostrae liberationis possibilis, quia ejus potentia limitata non est, quem si elegisset, convenientissimus fuisset [...]. Ex parte autem hominis non fuit alius modus possibilis nisi quem Deus ei dedit: quia per se satisfacere non poterat, sed solum divino munere. Sed ex parte nostra simul et Dei fuit quidem alius modus possibilis, sed nullus ita conveniens. Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod si homo alio modo liberaretur, non redimeretur: quia redemptio sufficientem satisfactionem importat. Sed tamen alio modo liberari potuit. [...] Ad quartum dicendum quod fides antiquorum fuit de passione Christi futura, praesupposita Dei ordinatione quod ita fieret; ex cujus suppositione, passio Christi necessitatem habet, ut dictum est." Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum* (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2000), Lib. III. Dist. XX, a. 4, Q. 1.

Overall, compared to Lombard, both commenters produced an innovative discourse that could offer a more suitable basis for an evocative penitential sermon emphasizing the Passion's (and subsequently the sacraments') primary role in bringing people to salvation. We may assume that the theological flexibility of Bonaventura's and Aquinas' popular commentaries was available to fourteenth-century Bohemian preachers and could offer convenient models for developing their pastoral discourses. Although Bonaventura was listed in the schooling program of the mendicant orders (obviously, he was primarily known among the Franciscans) before 1350, to my knowledge, there are no indications of manuscripts with his commentaries that circulated in Bohemia before the mid-fourteenth century.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, the existence of relevant Franciscan centers founded in the Czech capital around the 1230s and their support by the Přemyslid and Luxembourg royal families in the end of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (for instance, the female priory founded by St. Agnes of Bohemia or the Franciscan monastery adhering to the Church of St. James the Greater in the Old town own of Prague)¹³⁸ makes it plausible that Bonaventura's commentaries could have been known to Bohemian friars and preachers.

Aquinas' case is equally problematic in tracing surviving manuscripts produced before 1350. Nonetheless, the synthesis of Aquinas' commentaries could have permeated the region through commentaries of Peter of Tarentaise (Aquinas' student who very much adhered to his soteriological concepts),¹³⁹ whose works reached the Bohemian lands as early as the first third of the fourteenth century. After this period, Aquinas' commentaries were most likely known to students and professors at the University of Prague, as Henry Totting of Oyta's case may testify.¹⁴⁰ I have already mentioned Roest's argument that the Dominican master based his theological discourse on a literal understanding of the Gospels, and it may occur that Henry somehow adhered to this methodology. As Albert Lang has shown, regarding the matters of salvation, the

¹³⁷ Yet, Bonaventura's commentaries on Lombard were "passionately" copied in the 15th century. Lucie Doležalová, ed., *Passionate Copying in Late Medieval Bohemia: The Case of Crux de Telcz (1434–1504)* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2021), 52.

¹³⁸ Moreover, scholars have recently established that some members of the Luxembourg dynasty were familiar with Bonaventura's works. Zoë Opačić, *Prague and Bohemia: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe* (Leeds: Maney Pub., 2009), 174.

¹³⁹ See a comparison of the two commentaries in Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Penitential Theology and Law at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), from page 260 onwards.

¹⁴⁰ Henry Totting of Oyta's commentary survives in roughly 20 codices. Schabel, Brinzei, and Maga, "A Golden Age of Theology at Prague," 19–20.

latter's commentaries on *Sententiae* often favored literal reading of the Bible over the other hermeneutical senses, thus "pointing out the sufficiency of scripture".¹⁴¹

As we can see, the analyzed texts are impregnated with detailed soteriological discussions and easily recognizable motifs. Therefore, they were suitable to meet the needs of a preacher, preparing a sermon either for an educated audience or general listeners. Content-wise, the texts' soteriological treatments of the Passion manifest three recurrent characteristics. First, patristic and high-medieval theological works of various genres, whose presence can be traced to fourteenth-century Bohemia, often adopt an eschatological reading of salvation history. Second, as showcased by religious treatises, devotional literature, and the tradition of commentaries on Lombard's *Sententiae*, Anselm's affective chef-d'oeuvre, *Cur Deus homo*, became one of the leading authorities for explaining the doctrine of salvation by the late-thirteenth century onwards. Finally, providing a 'pastoral' way to interpret the Good Friday events as Christ's restitution for humanity's sins and an individual's internal cleansing, the theological texts of a mendicant origin stress the leading role of the sacraments in redeeming humanity. As we will see in the next section, predominantly, this salvific emphasis referred to the sacraments of communion and penance.

Sacramental theology: The Eucharist and penance in the *Malogranatum*

As I have demonstrated in the previous section, from the thirteenth century on, medieval theologians perceived the sacraments as crucial figurative and physical instruments of preserving God's mercy. Among them, the sacraments of Eucharist and penance played the leading soteriological role because they served as primary agents which transmit the Passion's salvific effects to the faithful. Consequently, given the sacraments' central place in the examined texts, it is also worth addressing principal sacramental debates circulating in Bohemia around the 1300s-1380. To do this, I will mention sacramental commonplaces from several mentioned bestsellers and analyze a crucial Bohemian text - *Malogranatum*. Thus, I will single out discursive nodes that were built around the terms "Passion", "sacraments", "Eucharist/communion", and "penance". As I will demonstrate, the texts' recurrent sacramental arguments linked to Christ's oblation can be generally classified into three groups: 1) Christ's body serves

¹⁴¹ Albert Lang, "Das Verhältnis von Schrift, Tradition und kirchlichem Lehramt nach Heinrich Totting von Oyta," *Scholastik* 40 (1965): 216–23.

as a salvific medicine for body and soul, 2) receiving frequent communion can benefit the clergy and the laity, and 3) communion cannot be taken without proper preparation, including participating in the sacrament of penance. Conceived predominantly in the monastic circles around the 1330s and thus initially available to a limited number of readers, some of these ideas gradually penetrated Bohemian public discourse and found popularity among local preachers as well.

“The sinner is a sick man”: Communion as a medicine

Utilizing the long-standing rhetorical trope of Christ-physician,¹⁴² most theological and devotional works known in Bohemia between the 1300s-1370s recognized certain salutary effects of Christ’s Passion and suffering body. Some texts straightforwardly referred to the figure of a celestial medic, as it was in the case of the mentioned patristic works by Isidore of Seville and Pseudo-Chrysostom.¹⁴³ Other authors, like Peter Comestor, enhanced the long-established trope with additional details of non-biblical origin while commenting on the Good Friday events, thus turning them into new commonplaces. For instance, Comestor’s chapter 179 of *Historia Scholastica* introduces to the Passion narrative one of the first symbolical allusions to Christ’s blood as a potent remedy, healing Longinus’ blindness:

And when the first soldiers had broken the robbers’ legs and come to Jesus, finding him dead, they did not break his bone. *But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his right side, and immediately there came out blood and water.* And he [Longinus] who lanced him, as some [people] report, saw clearly, when [Jesus’s] blood accidentally touched his eyes [that] had been almost clouded.¹⁴⁴

Corresponding with the Greek tradition of linking the medical treatment of the body with spiritual care for the soul, Comestor’s symbolic treatment of Longinus’s

¹⁴² It is generally agreed that this biblical trope was ubiquitously popularized in the second century. Meg Leja, *Embodying the Soul: Medicine and Religion in Carolingian Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 146.

¹⁴³ For instance, see homily 8 of *Opus Imperfectum*.

¹⁴⁴ “Cumque milites primi fregissent crura latronum, et venissent ad Jesum invenientes eum mortuum, os non comminuerunt ex eo. *Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus dextrum perforavit, et continuo exivit sanguis, et aqua,* et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt quidam, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus, clare vidit.” *Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica in Evangelia*, col. 1633-1634.

recovery was one of many flexible commonplaces ready to be ‘recycled’ in various genres,¹⁴⁵ including a sacramental discourse.

In the fourteenth-century Bohemian milieu, the sacramental - primarily Eucharistic-centered - treatment of Christ’s death as a medicine for the sick and sinful became one of the principal theological motifs appearing in texts - and later sermons - of a local origin. Some historians tend to traditionally consider these Eucharistic motifs in line with the dominating historiographical metanarrative of the ‘Bohemian Reformation’ and the following Hussite movement, thus chronologically placing its origins around the 1360s-70s.¹⁴⁶ Contrary to this, on the example of the Bohemian treatise *Malogranatum*, Olivier Marin convincingly asserted that the sacramental discourse with a focus on communion sparked in Bohemia at least thirty years earlier in the Cistercian milieu.¹⁴⁷ Accepting Marin’s solid argumentation, I suggest putting more emphasis on the *Malogranatum*’s importance as a sacramental handbook and preaching aid by examining its recurrent motifs regarding the sacraments. The first such motive worth addressing is the treatment of the Eucharist as a symbolic medicine for sinners.

Conceived at the Zbraslav (or *Aula Regia* in Latin) Cistercian monastery before 1335, this anonymous treatise became one of the most popular devotional texts of Bohemian origin by the end of the late Middle Ages.¹⁴⁸ The *Malogranatum* unfolds a dialogue between a disciple and his spiritual ‘father’, meticulously commenting on three successive stages necessary to reach a closer union with God. Discussing the sacraments as an essential means of Christian perfection, the anonymous author gives priority to communion, as evidenced by the opening question to the first of its four extensive chapters on the topic: “[Disciple]: [...] now I desire and long for being taught

¹⁴⁵ See, for instance, Sandro Sticca’s seminal work and his analysis of the treatment of Longinus’s blindness in medieval literature and Passion plays: Sandro Sticca, *The Latin Passion Play: Its Origins and Development* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970), 159.

¹⁴⁶ Historiography on this topic is vast and goes back to the 19th century. The traditional historiographical stance on this topic is summarized and accepted in David Holeton’s seminal articles and monographs. See, for example: Holeton, “The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context.”

¹⁴⁷ Marin, *L’archevêque, le maître et le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois (années 1360-1419)*, 467–68.

¹⁴⁸ I have already mentioned that scholars know about at least 150 manuscripts of the treatise produced since the 1350s. The authorship of the source has been a matter of debates and remains uncertain. More on this topic and bibliography, see a general entry on the FAMA database: “Notice de *Malogranatum*,” FAMA: Œuvres latines médiévales à succès, accessed July 4, 2023: <https://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/en/oeuvre/268490>.

by you, o Father, about where the sacraments, and especially the sacrament of the Eucharist, come from.”¹⁴⁹

While the *Malogranatum*’s explanation of the sacraments’ importance mirrors (and often directly cites) Aquinas’ instrumental approach regarding their salvific efficacy as a means to reproduce the Passion’s redemptive potency and cleanse humanity’s sins,¹⁵⁰ the treatise’s author maintains that “a soul will not be able to achieve any salvation without the worthy consumption of Christ’s body.”¹⁵¹ To deliver this unconditional Eucharistic stance, the *Malogranatum* steadily constructs the discourse around terms and metaphors relating to illness and healing. I was able to single out at least five occasions where these tropes were used.¹⁵²

As a result, throughout the four Eucharistic chapters, the anonymous Cistercian author understands communion as an indispensable medicine for the sick and sinful, which is eventually needed for the purification and salvation of their souls. Interestingly, a similar medicinal motif relating to Christ’s suffering body and shed blood resonates in one of Peter of Zittau’s model sermons. Around the time when the *Malogranatum* was written, this prominent Cistercian chronicler and preacher composed a collection of model sermons at the same Zbraslav monastery.¹⁵³ Thus, in one of his several Good Friday model sermons, Peter of Zittau perceives the Passion as

¹⁴⁹ “[Filius]: [...] nunc de unde sacramentis et maxime de sacramento eucharistie cupio et desidero a te o pater edoceri.” *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum* (Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen, 1487), Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 23. As to my knowledge, despite its popularity, the *Malogranatum* has not been fully edited yet. Some parts of the treatise were published in Pawel Krupa, “La communion fréquente à Prague au XIVe siècle. Malogranatum III, 1, 26: Ses précurseurs et ses continuateurs,” *Memorie domenicane* 30 (1999): 219–258.

¹⁵⁰ (Supported by two citations from Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Lib. III, Q. 16, a. 3) “Sed [...] notandum quod introitus ad regnum celorum clausus fuit propter prevaricationem primi hominis sed per Christi passionem celum iterum fuit reseratum nunc vero peccatum originale vel actuale multis manet clausum et ideo sacramenta sunt necessaria et claves ecclesie per que rolluntur peccata que impediunt introitum regnum celestis.” *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 23.

¹⁵¹ “Anima nullam salutem assequi poterit sine huius salutiferi cibi Christi corpus videlicet digna sumptione.” *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 24.

¹⁵² “Corpus Christi est peregrinantibus dieta, egrotis medicina, debiles confortat, valentes delectat, languores sanat, sanitatem conservat [...]” *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 24.

“Et ideo sicut in egrotantibus non una potest forma servari in dandis medicinis corporis [...]. Ita enim de medicina spirituali que corpus Christi intelligenda est.” *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 26.

“[...] qui se indignum reputat cogitet quod tanto magis eger necesse habet requiere medicinam quanto magis sentit se egrotum. Non enim est opus valentibus medicus sed male habentibus [...]” Ibid.

“Nempe egrotus festinat ad medicum et pauper divitis pulsatur ad ianuam. Accede, pulsa nichil hesitans. Medicus est piissimus distributor largissimusque remunerator.” Ibid.

“Hoc etiam considerandum quod diversi diversis affectibus et intentionibus ad communicandum trahuntur: [...] alios infirmitatis proprie intuitus ut eum quasi medicum ad se vocent per quem ab omni infirmitate curentur.” Ibid.

¹⁵³ Anna Pumprová is the leading specialist on this preacher, see Anna Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau’s Sermons on the Principal Feasts* (Ostrava: Scriptorium, 2020).

a pharmaceutical act which provides sinners with a symbolic cure made of Christ's body and blood:

For just as herbs and flowers are rubbed and some liquid is poured over them, from which a plaster is made for the sick, so Christ made himself as a plaster for us. His body was a noble herb [...] His soul was like a flower [...] These are smashed in the Passion [...]. But the apt liquid is the precious blood of Christ, which washes us from our sins. [...] A sinful man needs the aforementioned plaster, for a sinner is weak in the head, that is, with an evil intent [...], he is weak in the hands because he does bad things [...], and weak in the feet [...] because he is quick to do evil. [He is] also weak in the whole body because *from the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no health therein* [Is. 1:6]. That is why Christ wanted to be wounded and bruised in the head, hands, feet, and the whole body in order to heal us in all our maladies.¹⁵⁴

Although there is no direct indication of the Eucharist, we may speculate that the *Malogranatum*'s sacramental spirituality might have influenced the sermon's contents. The fact that both the sermon and the treatise originate from the same locale and period (the treatise was composed when Peter of Zittau was the abbot of the monastery) might potentially contribute to this assumption. Moreover, "the sinner is a sick man" motif is recurrent in Peter of Zittau's collection,¹⁵⁵ and his model sermon for the feast of Corpus Christi directly refers to "those healed by confession" ("sanati per confessionem").¹⁵⁶ In the mentioned Good Friday sermon's case, it should be noted that the existing scholarship traced a similar medicinal interpretation of sacraments to Milíč's sermons on various liturgical feasts from his postills composed in the 1360s-

¹⁵⁴ "Sicut enim herbe et flores teruntur et aliquis liquor ad hos affunditur, ex quibus pro infirmis emplastrum conficitur, sic fecit Christus se quasi emplastrum nobis faciendo. Herba nobilis fuit ejus corpus [...]. Fuit anima ejus ut flos [...]. Hec sunt contrita in passione [...]. Liquor vero appositus est Christi sanguis preciosus, qui nos lavit a peccatis nostris. [...] Predicto emplastro indiget homo peccator, nam peccator infirmus est in capite, id est cum mala intencione [...], infirmus est manibus, quia mala opera facit [...], infirmus pedibus, quia ad mala promptus veloces habet pedes [...], infirmus quoque toto corpore, quia a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est in eo sanitas. Ideo Christus in capite, in manibus, pedibus et toto corpore voluit vulnerari et atteri, ut nos in omnibus nostris langworibus sanaret." Cited from Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 111.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, his sermon on Corpus Christi I: "Quicumque infirmus est, ad hunc lectulum accedat et sanabitur. In cruce enim est salus, vita et resurrectio nostra." Cited from Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 45. It also appears in the sermon on Corpus Christi II.

¹⁵⁶ For the full passage of the sermon on Corpus Christi II, see page 59.

1370s.¹⁵⁷ However, to my knowledge, there has not been any study that would link this medicinal motif to Good Friday materials from Bohemia, especially those coming from an earlier period. Hence, this brief mention of Peter of Zittau's Good Friday sermon might potentially broaden our knowledge about the topics that preachers considered important to mention in their Good Friday discourses and the *Malogranatum*'s practical value for their composition at the desk.

"The offering is repeated daily for we sin every day": The question of frequent communion

Another sacramental motif the *Malogranatum* strongly emphasizes is the issue of frequent communion covered in the last - and the longest - of the four Eucharistic chapters. Despite admitting that "a uniform rule on this question cannot be given to everyone,"¹⁵⁸ the anonymous author refers to frequent partaking of the Eucharist as an effective way to secure spiritual nourishment and growth. In fact, the *Malogranatum*'s argumentation begins in a preceding chapter on the sacrament's salvific power, where the treatise adopts Augustine's stance to justify the daily repetition of this vital rite:

Augustine: Although Christ suffered once, the offering is repeated every day because we committed sins daily, without which mortal infirmity cannot live. And since we fall every day, every day Christ is mystically immolated for us. He also gave us this sacrament of salvation, so that we may obtain the remission of sins through this sacrament because we sin every day and he cannot die anymore.¹⁵⁹

However, as the Cistercian author admits (again, in Augustine's terms), daily reception of the Eucharist may not be apt for everyone.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, those who are able to receive the sacrament should do so frequently as "when [communion] is

¹⁵⁷ David R. Holeton, "The Sacramental Theology of Tomáš Štítný of Štítné," *BRRP* 4 (2002): 62; Patrick Outhwaite, "Christus Medicus and Religious Controversy in Late-Medieval Europe: Dissidence, Authority, and Regulation" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2021), 93–104.

¹⁵⁸ "Videtur quod super hac questione non possit omnibus dari regula uniformis." *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 26.

¹⁵⁹ "Augustinus: Quotidie oblatio iteratur, licet Christus semel sit passus, quia quotidie peccavimus peccatis, sine quibus mortalis infirmitas vivere non potest et quia quotidie labimur, quotidie Christus pro nobis mystice imolatur. Dedit etiam nobis hoc salutis sacramentum ut quia nos quotidie peccamus et ille iam mori non potest per hoc sacramentum remissionem peccatorum consequamur." *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 25.

¹⁶⁰ "Augustinus: "Quotidie eucharistie communionem accipere nec laudo, nec vitupero." Item dicit licet dixerit quis piam quotidie accipiendam eucharistie, alius affirmat quotidie faciat unus quisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum." *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 26.

partaken more, the participant becomes more capable of benefiting from it.”¹⁶¹ Moreover, the author refuses the idea that only ‘exemplary’ believers are worthy to partake of communion and asserts that the Eucharist was primarily instituted for the salvation of sinners who accept their own imperfections. Therefore, “it is better to approach [the sacrament] every week or even every day with true humility and knowledge of one’s own imperfection than once a year out of presumption about one’s own righteousness.”¹⁶²

Despite the relevance and novelty of these sacramental ideas for a Bohemian reader in the 1330s, we must admit that debates about frequent communion actively circulated in the neighboring German-speaking lands several decades before the *Malogranatum* was conceived. Historians and literary scholars established close stylistic and semantic connections between the Bohemian treatise and the Franciscan David of Augsburg’s (d. 1272) *De Exterioris et Interioris Hominis Compositione* and the Dominican Henry Suso’s (d. 1366) *Horologium Sapientie* and demonstrated that the three texts promote the similar tripartite path of Christian perfection and ideas about frequent access to the Eucharist.¹⁶³

Notably, the German bestsellers’¹⁶⁴ encouragement for frequent communion for the laity can be considered as a reaction to the laity’s reduced access to the sacrament in the early fourteenth century. While members of the clergy were allowed to commune every day, lay people could consume the host only during Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Otherwise, once a week, they could ‘spiritually’ participate in the rite by watching clergymen receive the sacrament of the altar. Even with this non-physical possibility to participate in the sacrament, the laity’s access to the Eucharist remained limited.¹⁶⁵ In this restricting context, the *Malogranatum*’s advocacy of frequent

¹⁶¹ “...illud summum bonum est tam copiosum et infinitum ut quando magis percipiatur, tanto participans quodammodo capatior ipsius efficiatur.” Ibid.

¹⁶² “[Melius ergo, ceteris paribus, accedere ex amore quam abstinere ex timore.] Melius est singulis ebdomatibus vel etiam diebus accedere cum vera humilitate et proprie imperfectionis cognitione quam semel in anno, ex proprie justitie presumptione.” Ibid.

¹⁶³ Marin, *L’archevêque, le maître et le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois (années 1360-1419)*, 469.

¹⁶⁴ David of Augsburg’s and Henry Suso’s texts were widely circulating in Europe in the late Middle Ages. Czech libraries contain several manuscripts of these works of local origin, attesting to their popularity. For Bohemian manuscripts with David of Augsburg’s text produced in the fourteenth century, see: MSS VII.D.2; X.G.8; VI.B.5, Czech National Library, Prague. There is also one late-fourteenth-century Bohemian manuscript with Henry Suso’s text: R 638, Moravian Library, Brno.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 138–40.

communion under both species¹⁶⁶ could have been addressed both to the members of the clergy and lay people. Admittedly, the treatise directly mentions the monks as the recipients of frequent communion on one occasion¹⁶⁷ and does not use any terms that would have been firmly associated with the laity in the chapter on frequent partaking of the sacrament. This fact is understandable because the text was primarily composed for the Cistercians and gradually enjoyed popularity among readers from the Carthusians, Benedictines, and regular canons, as demonstrated by Marin.¹⁶⁸ However, given the fact that it stresses the laity's duty to receive the sacrament and benefit from it in one of the preceding Eucharistic chapters,¹⁶⁹ it is possible to cautiously presume that the *Malogranatum*'s ambiguous impersonal wording ("it is better to...", "let us accept the Eucharist", etc.) could, at least, be used by a later reader - and potentially preacher - to support the idea of frequent communion among non-clerical recipients. If such an assumption holds true, the *Malogranatum*'s importance for Bohemian sacramental theology should be considered pivotal as it would place the Bohemian Eucharistic debates on lay communion several decades earlier than the widely accepted chronology.

We may argue with higher certainty that the *Malogranatum* might leave the monastic milieu and inspire preachers from the secular clergy who promoted the laity's access to frequent communion around the early 1370s. For instance, in line with the ideas expressed in the *Malogranatum*, Milíč's sermon on Corpus Christi from his *Gratiae Dei* collection recommends frequent partaking of the sacrament to spiritually impure people or those whom priests considered unworthy.¹⁷⁰ As Milíč's activity at his penitential Jerusalem community for former prostitutes attests, the preacher, indeed, tried to provide its members with frequent access to the Eucharist.¹⁷¹ Moreover, apart

¹⁶⁶ "Gregorius: Cum redemptoris nostri corpus et sanguinem accipimus debemus nos pro peccatis nostris inflatibus affligere." *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 26.

¹⁶⁷ "Augustinus: Et quidam pater monachorum Appolonius monebat ut si fieri posset quotidie communicarent monachi, ne qui se longe facit ab his, longe fiat a Deo." Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Marin, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois (années 1360-1419)*, 469.

¹⁶⁹ "Et ideo dum offeritur ab ipso sacerdote proficit omnibus Christi fidelibus si autem sumatur alio modo sicut a laico tunc solum proficit sumentibus quia officium eius est non offerre sacrificium sed tamen sumere sacramentum." *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 24.

¹⁷⁰ Stephen Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany: The Passion, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 355–78.

¹⁷¹ See: Jiří Kejř, "Žalobní Články Proti Milíčovi z Kroměříže [Articles of indictment against Milíč of Kroměříž]," in *Výbor Rozprav a Studií z Kodikologie a Právních Dějin* [Selection of debates and studies in codicology and legal history], eds. Jiří Kejř and Stanislav Petr (Prague: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, 2012), 405–16.

from Milič's pupil - Matthias of Janov (d. 1393) - Thomas Štitny adhered to similar ideas about frequent communion in his devotional writings, as demonstrated by the scholarship.¹⁷²

Overall, the possible intellectual ties between the *Malogranatum*'s sacramental theology and the ideas expressed in later sermons by members of the Bohemian secular clergy can potentially strengthen the theory that the treatise might have been known to the local preachers and might have assisted them as a theological preaching aid. Still, coming to such a conclusion would be precarious without examining the *Malogranatum*'s stance on another (and often equally important) salvific instrument, the sacrament of penance.

Taking Christ's body unworthily is as putting him to death: The role of penance

Mirroring the post-Lateran IV pastoral concerns, the *Malogranatum* also stresses the importance of proper preparation for communion. Remarkably, this idea is so crucial for the Cistercian author that he uses a semantically loaded citation from Ambrose to intensify the sacramental discourse in the very first of the four Eucharistic chapters: "Qui indigne sumunt corpus Christi idem est acsi interficiant" ("Those who receive the body of Christ unworthily are the same as [those who] kill him").¹⁷³ Thus, the *Malogranatum* cautions against receiving the Eucharist in a state of mortal sin or without repenting venial transgressions because of one's reluctance or negligence.¹⁷⁴ Chiefly, confession and the following stages of the sacrament of penance are the main remedies necessary to access and maximize the effect of the medicinal communion promoted in the treatise:

And although venial sins do not invalidate the effect of this sacrament as has been said, it is nevertheless better if a person strives to reform themselves from these sins through confession and other remedies because it is certain that the more purity of heart and body one has when approaching this sacrament, the greater grace and more fruitful spiritual effect they will undoubtedly receive.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Marin, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois (années 1360-1419)*, 474–75.

¹⁷³ *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 23.

¹⁷⁴ "Ambrosius: Illi indigne sumunt hoc sacramentum eucharistie qui vel sunt in criminibus, id est mortalibus peccatis, vel sine penitentia de venialibus, id est quedam securitate et negligentia de venialibus nolunt penitere." *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 25.

¹⁷⁵ "Et quamvis venialia peccata non tollant effectum huius sacramenti ut dictum est, tamen majus bonum est si homo per confessionem et per alia remedia etiam ab huiusmodi peccatis se studeat emendare, quia

The *Malogranatum*'s focus on performing penitential acts in order to receive communion and subsequent salvation of the soul echoed in several Bohemian sermon collections produced between the 1330s-1370s. For instance, Peter of Zittau's sermon on Corpus Christi II anew demonstrates how a kindred medico-sacramental motif might be used to stress the remedial effect of confession and its necessity before accessing Christ's salvific body:

The sick are [those who are] either wounded by various sins in [their] souls - as many sins, so many wounds - or have a coldness, namely, their love of God has cooled, or have an excessive heat either towards the desire of the flesh or [that of] the eyes, or [towards] the pride of life. But those who are hungry and thirsty for righteousness, who are healed by confession, who have strong teeth, believe in everything, [...] [they] take this remedy with confidence; eating this food, they are united with Him and carried to eternal joys.¹⁷⁶

Here, the preacher's pastoral advice is transmitted through a vivid bodily metaphor of sin as a wound. Originating from Augustine's understanding of sin as a spiritual disease that requires treatment by penance,¹⁷⁷ this commonplace was developed by later theologians to describe the effects of wrongdoing on a damaged soul.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, built on Augustine's ideas, Thomas Aquinas and Peter Abelard also valued penitence as a sacramental cure, allowing the faithful to begin healing their

quanto quis cum majori puritate cordis ac corporis ad hoc sacramentum percipiendum accesserit, non dubium quin majorem gratiam et uberem fructum spiritualium accesserit." Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ "Infirmi, qui aut sunt vulnerati diversis peccatis in anima – quod peccata, tot vulnera, aut habent frigus, scilicet in amore Dei refriguit caritas eorum, aut habent calorem inordinatum aut ad concupiscenciam carnis aut oculorum aut superbiam vite. Qui vero sunt esurientes et sicientes iusticiam, qui sanati per confessionem, qui dentes habent fortes, omnia credunt, [...] hii sumunt securi, tales sibi incorporat esus edentes et secum perducit ad gaudia sempiterna." Cited from Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 64.

¹⁷⁷ "...if the wound of sin and the attack of the disease is in fact so great that such medicines need to be postponed, one ought to be removed from the altar by the authority of the bishop in order to do penance, and one ought to be reconciled by the same authority. For this is what it is to receive unworthily: if one receives at that time when he ought to be doing penance." Augustine, Letter 54.3.4 in John E. Rotelle, ed., *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century. Part II, Letters. Vol. 1, Letters, I–99* (New York: New City Press, 2001), 211.

¹⁷⁸ James C. Nohrnberg, "This Disfigured People: Representations of Sin as Pathological Bodily and Mental Affliction in *Inferno*," in *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2010), 45.

spiritual injuries.¹⁷⁹ This treatment would be ultimately completed when the sinner receives communion.¹⁸⁰

As demonstrated, Peter of Zittau developed some of his sermons in line with these theoretical terms in the 1330s. Complying with these views, his later counterpart, Milíč, also compares sins to wounds and regards confession as a ‘ligature’ able to bind them and stop the spread of the disease. In his sermon for the twelfth Sunday after Trinity from his *Abortivus* collection, the preacher adopts a citation from Augustine to explain the utmost importance of enacting penance as an indispensable step to begin healing the spiritual injury, which, if left unattended, would constantly grow because of one’s transgressions. From the preacher’s perspective, such ‘hygiene’ should be strictly followed before taking the ultimate Eucharistic medicine:

[Augustine:] For sin is a wound, penitence [is] the binding of the wound. You who do not wish to do penance, undoubtedly neglect to apply remedies to your wounds, and you do not realize that an uncovered wound grows larger and emits a greater stench than one [that is] covered with an apt medicine.¹⁸¹

Notably, proper preparation for communion through the sacrament of penance is equally important for Milíč’s Good Friday discourses, as a medical citation from Gregory the Great about cleansing a stomach from toxic liquids before consuming a meal may attest.¹⁸² Although we cannot draw direct intertextual connections between Milíč’s specific ideas on the sacrament of penance and the *Malogranatum* treatise, their shared interest in the sacramental issues gives us an insight into common topics and debates that might have circulated on the Bohemian preaching stage in the fourteenth century. Overall, as demonstrated in this subchapter on sacramental theology, it is plausible that some Bohemian preachers could have been inspired by the treatise’s sacramental ideas or at least familiar with them at the time when they composed their

¹⁷⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Volume V (Part III: Second Section & Supplement)* (New York: Cosimo classics, 2007), 2612; Ane Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c. 1095–1216* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 107.

¹⁸⁰ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 2478.

¹⁸¹ “[Augustinus:] Peccatum enim vulnus est, penitentia vulneris ligatura [est]. Tu qui penitentiam non vis agere, sine dubio dissimulas medicamenta tuis vulneribus adhibere; et non agnoscis quia plus crescit et maiorem fetorem facit vulnus discoopertum, quam si esset medicamentis appositis involutum.” XXIII. D. 201, fol. 358ra, Czech National Library, Prague; Augustine, *Sermo 257*, in *PL* 39, col. 2220.

¹⁸² “Carnes ergo agni cum lactucis agrestibus sunt edende, ut cum corpus redemptoris nostri accipimus, nos pro peccatis nostris in fletibus affligamus, quatenus ipsa amaritudo penitencie absterget a mentis stomacho perverse vite humorem. See Appendix I, page 247.

Good Friday sermons for different kinds of audiences. With its rich discourse on the medicinal effects of the Eucharist, the relevance of frequent communion for the faithful, and the necessity of spiritual preparation for partaking in the Eucharist through the sacrament of penance, the *Malogranatum* indicates a decisive shift in Passion-centered spirituality and pastoral instruction in late-medieval Bohemian lands and merits consideration as a preaching aid. Obviously, it should be noted that the sacramental debates of the *Malogranatum* and other textual aids available to Bohemian preachers at the time went hand in hand with ecclesiological discussions, primarily focusing on the moral state of the Church and the clergy, administering the sacraments.

Ecclesiology: the Passion through the lenses of the Church and clergy

The mentioned sacramental concepts circulating in the Middle Ages were often linked to ecclesiological polemics, primarily originating from John 19:34: “unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua” (“one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water”). Starting from Augustine, patristic writers interpreted this biblical verse as a representation of the Church’s symbolic birth from Christ’s wounded body: the Fathers figuratively considered the blood and water as the sacraments of communion and baptism respectively. Such understanding stressed the Church’s unifying role as a sacramental community ministering to believers the possibility to follow Christ’s redemptive work. Throughout the patristic period and beyond, this concept of *Ecclesia de latere Christi in cruce formata est* (“the Church is formed on the cross from Christ’s side”) provided a theological basis for the Church’s institutional authority and legitimacy as it directly followed Christ’s salvific doctrine. Eventually, this concept became an ecclesiological commonplace and played an important role in preaching too, especially in sermons addressed to an ecclesiastical audience.

Among the first theoreticians known for enhancing the ecclesiological trope of the Church being born from Christ’s side was Gregory the Great. As his popular *Moralia in Job* attests, the Father metaphorically regarded the Church as an extension of Christ’s suffering body (in turn, prefigured by the Old Testament prophets). Consequently, any harm inflicted upon the Church would also torment Christ himself.¹⁸³ Researchers extensively demonstrated that Gregory often used this Passion-

¹⁸³ A more detailed analysis of this metaphor in Gregory can be found in Martien Parmentier, “Job the Rebel: From the Rabbis to the Church Fathers,” in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, eds. Joshua Schwartz and Marcel Poorthuis (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 240–41.

related metaphor to draw attention to the moral decay and corruption within monastic communities. In Gregory's view, just as Christ's physical body had been beaten and violated, so was the spiritual body of the Church suffering from the transgressions of its members.¹⁸⁴ Later theologians used the ecclesiological consideration of the Passion to highlight the importance of maintaining the clergy's moral purity and upholding the example of the apostolic Church. More importantly, Gregory's metaphorical parallel provided a powerful moralistic and rhetorical tool for educating the clergy and preaching. Drawing on the rich imagery of Christ's sufferings, later medieval texts continuously inspired the Church's moral reform and priests' spiritual renewal.

This section will demonstrate that this notion also holds true regarding selected ecclesiological texts which circulated in Bohemia in the fourteenth century. While Bohemian sermonizers could have directly use some of the available aids' reformist arguments to address an institutional crisis within the Church at the time, the discourse about corrupted prelates and the significance of preaching might have also provided preachers with a possibility to establish their moral authority in Passion-related sermons.

Corrupted prelates and the role of preaching

One of the first ecclesiological works comprising theories of preaching and pastoral care was Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* (also referred to as *Regula Pastoralis*) - a late sixth-century handbook composed for those to be ordained at the episcopal office.¹⁸⁵ Franco Mormando defines this text as one of the two major patristic works most consulted by later medieval preachers (along with Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*).¹⁸⁶ One of the possible reasons for its popularity might be Gregory's broader focus on the utmost importance of preaching in providing pastoral ministry and building the Church's relationship with the secular world. Moreover, the *Regula* provided comprehensive instruction on a micro-level of a given ecclesiastical official. According to Gregory, religious instruction does not so much deal with complex

¹⁸⁴ Gregory's ecclesiological stance drawn from this metaphor is laconically, yet sufficiently, summarized in Bernard Green, "The Theology of Gregory the Great: Christ, Salvation and the Church," in *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, eds. Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 154–56.

¹⁸⁵ James Jerome Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of the Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1981), 279.

¹⁸⁶ Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 9.

dogmatic concepts but with tangible examples of Christian morality and virtues in daily life. Thus, a priest's personal example represents the most influential component of effective pastoral care, including preaching.

An emotionally charged image of Christ's Passion helps Gregory to promote his ecclesiological ideas and stress the pastoral importance of the clergy's humility and self-sacrifice. The Father argues in the first book of his *Cura* that just as Christ humbly submitted himself to suffering and death, so should a priest meekly put his own material needs and earthly desires aside while serving the faithful:

Because [Jesus] had come in the flesh, he might not only redeem us by his Passion but also teach us by his conversation, offering himself as an example to his followers, he would not be made a king; but he went of his own accord to the gibbet of the cross. He fled from the offered glory of pre-eminence but desired the pain of an ignominious death, so that his members might learn to fly from the favors of the world, to be afraid of no terrors, to love adversity for the truth's sake, and to shrink in fear from prosperity.¹⁸⁷

This pastoral imagery served as a powerful tool for moral instruction and spiritual guidance: it was widely accepted by generations of preachers and theologians, inspiring priests to meet the standards of Christian virtue. The *Cura* was, indeed, disseminated even in distant parts of Europe from the early Middle Ages onwards,¹⁸⁸ and Gregory's reformist ideas enjoyed popularity in late-medieval Bohemia as well.¹⁸⁹ Due to the text's practical value for the formation of ordinary priests, Gregory's works, including the *Pastoral Care*, were often used as a primary basis for synodal sermons composed to provide moral instruction for the members of the Prague archdiocese or criticize those who failed at following virtuous life.¹⁹⁰ However, the text's utility as a preaching aid is not solely limited to synodal speeches. It also proves useful for Passion-oriented sermons.

¹⁸⁷ Gregory the Great, "The Book of Pastoral Rule," in *The Sacred Writings of Gregory the Great*, trans. James Barmby (Augsburg: Jazzybee Verlag, 2017), 3.

¹⁸⁸ Carolin Schreiber, "Searodonca Hord: Alfred's Translation of Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*," in *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, eds. N. G. Discenza and P. E. Szarmach (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 175–76.

¹⁸⁹ There are at least two preserved fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Regula* of Bohemian provenance: manuscript A 99 stored in the Moravian Library and XIII.D.4 at the Czech National Library.

¹⁹⁰ Herold, "How Wyclifite Was the Bohemian Reformation?" 29.

One of Milič's sermons for Passion Sunday - the first day of the Passiontide (two-week liturgical Passion cycle) - is an illuminating example of how Gregory's ecclesiological ideas can be incorporated into an affective Passion-oriented discourse. The sermon built on a biblical pericope from John 8:59 ("Tulerunt ergo lapides ut jacerent in eum" - "They took up stones therefore to cast at him") reflects on the soteriological role of priests as main agents to serve the sacraments and lead their flock to salvation. In the introduction to the sermon, Milič straightforwardly uses Gregory's book on pastoral care to blame vices that impede inadequate pastors from properly caring for their flock and promotes the necessity of the clergy's inner transformation and self-reflection:

Suggesting that if such prelates are good, they can greatly benefit their subjects. But when they are evil, they do much more harm in the Church than any other rebels [do] by word. Therefore, [these] preachers or priests deserve to be disproved more than others. As blessed Gregory says in [his] Pastoral Book: '[...] Suddenly, they teach things which they have learned not by practice but by meditation; and what they preach in words, they impugn by their manners. [...] For certainly no one in the Church does more harm than one who, acting perversely, has the name and rank of sanctity. For nobody dares to refute such a transgressor, and the fault spreads forcefully as an example, when a sinner is honored out of reverence to his rank.'¹⁹¹

Further on, the sermon introduces the main points of the polemics towards fallen prelates. Some are unwilling to be found worthy of blame and refuse to repent their transgressions. Others indulge in carnal desires. Although too afraid to ask themselves why God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah and to contemplate their lascivious behavior, priests see no other reason why God created women if not to sin with them. Those who persevere in avarice are gradually paving their way straight to hell. Hence, according to Milič, the clergy's stubbornness, excessive fornication, and pursuit of material wealth are symbolic stones the corrupted priests throw at Christ together with the insolent Pharisees described in the sermon's *thema*. All of these options correlate with

¹⁹¹ "[...] innuendo quod tales prelati cum boni sunt multum prodesse subditis possunt. Cum autem mali sunt multo plus in ecclesia nocent, quam quicumque alii verbo rebelles. Ideo predicatorum sive sacerdotum plus redargui merentur, quam alii. Sicud dicit beatus Gregorius libro Pastoralium. '[...] Repente docent, que non opere, sed meditatione didicerunt, et quod verbis predicant, moribus impugnant. [...] Nemo quippe in ecclesia amplius nocet, quam qui perverse agens nomen vel ordinem sanctitatis habet. Delinquentem namque hunc redarguere nullus presumat et in exemplum culpa vehementer extenditur, quando pro reverencia ordinis peccator honoratur.'" MS I.D.37., fols. 74va-vb, Czech National Library, Prague. Compare the Latin text with the original in *PL* 77, 15-16.

long-standing ecclesiological debates. For example, Parisian masters Alan of Lille (d. 1202), Peter Cantor (d. 1197), William of Saint-Amour (d. 1272) or even the anonymous author of the Bohemian *Malogranatum* would also promote the clergy's moral purification or disapprove disgraced priests who are unworthy to serve the Eucharist.¹⁹² In the Bohemian milieu, these acute themes became anew discussed at the times of the Avignon Papacy.

Previous research tended to connect every sort of ecclesiastical polemics found in the texts of late-medieval Bohemian preachers to their reform campaign of the Church that was ardently advocated for since the 1360s.¹⁹³ However, these themes were not unique to the medieval ecclesiastical bestsellers and their treatment of Christ's Passion. The commonplaces about the moral restoration of the Church were used by popular preachers and theologians who often assumed duties to instruct the university students or fellow clerics at the archdiocese's synods.¹⁹⁴ Following recent discussions of authority and performativity in medieval literature and preaching,¹⁹⁵ I suggest perceiving such criticism towards the fallen clergy as a rhetorical instrument (ethos) that was used to construct a collective social identity in terms of the preacher's moral exemplar. After all, a sermon's efficaciousness and the transformation of the audience consistently stood as main goals of preaching in the Middle Ages. As Beverly M. Kienzle has convincingly demonstrated, the idea that the sermon's ability to convert the audience depends closely on the preacher's visible moral fiber dominated medieval preaching theories.¹⁹⁶ She has coined this notion as the preacher's "moral performance".

Admittedly, Gregory's moralizing stance towards the mission of the Church functioned not only as a rhetorical tool but was also steadily topical given the privileged

¹⁹² Compare, for instance, the summary of Cantor's ideas in Eva Matthews Sanford, "The Verbum Abbreviatum of Petrus Cantor," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 74 (1943): 33–48 and *Dialogus dictus Malogranatum*, Lib. 3, Dist. I, chapter 23 on the dignity of priests in serving sacraments.

¹⁹³ This concept was argued in *Milíč z Kroměříže, Otec České Reformace* [Milíč of Kroměříž, the father of the Bohemian Reformation] (Prague: Volná myšlenka, 1911) and *Konrad Waldhauser, Řeholní Kanovník Sv. Augustina* [Conrad Waldhauser, regular canon of St. Augustine] (Prague: Volná myšlenka, 1909). The Czech historiography eagerly reproduced this idea throughout the last century.

¹⁹⁴ The most updated analysis of these moralistic tropes in the Bohemian milieu can be found in Mazalová and Lukšová, "Gradus summus et animus infimus."

¹⁹⁵ See Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn A. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 87–124; M.B. Pranger, "The Persona of the Preacher in Bernard of Clairvaux," *Medieval Sermons Studies* 51 (2007): 33–40; and Reid S. Weber, "'The Knowledge and Eloquence of the Priest is a Gift from God.' The Homiletic Self-Promotion of Jan Hus," *BRRP* 10 (2015): 28–48.

¹⁹⁶ Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their Performance," 96.

social and economic position that the clergy held in medieval society, which, consequently, could lead to temptation and corruption. From the late twelfth century on, medieval thinkers refined the Father's ecclesiological discourse and incorporated it into debates about the necessity of the Church's purity and poverty. These discussions of whether the clergy should own property and accumulate wealth intensified in the 1220s with the rise of new religious orders, primarily the Franciscans and Dominicans, who advocated the apostolic life of poverty, simplicity, and pastoral ministry. However, by the last third of the century, the mendicant orders became increasingly popular and began accumulating material goods and social capital in urban communities as well.¹⁹⁷ This notion led to a reconsideration of the orders' pastoral role and moral standards, thus penetrating the ecclesiological discourse from the 1270s onwards.

Bohemian preachers' arsenal of preaching aids contains examples of this ecclesiological controversy. Among them is the Dominican Nicholas of Gorran's (d. 1295) *Enarratio in quatuor Evangelia* - a comprehensive commentary on the four Gospels that became a homiletical bestseller at the University of Paris and quickly spread all over Europe.¹⁹⁸ In the Bohemian milieu, the earliest manuscripts with Gorran's commentaries appeared in the fourteenth century (their dating is mostly not precise).¹⁹⁹ We can suggest that the flow of this biblical commentary to the region intensified from the 1360s when Bohemian masters went to attend the University of Paris and then brought some theological books to Prague as it was in the case of Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov.

A crucial aspect of Gorran's commentary is its focus on the practical application of the Bible. Adhering to Gregory the Great, the Dominican theologian offers a moral interpretation of the Gospels aimed to urge people to live more virtuous lives. More importantly, given the internal ecclesiological controversies within the mendicant clergy, he often provides critique and moral lessons for preachers and priests to use in their ministry. The importance of these topics for Gorran becomes clearer if we look at the thematic index at the end of each commentary and trace how the author breaks up the Gospels into particular aspects of the Church's state and mission. For instance,

¹⁹⁷ The latest historiographical controversies on this topic are well mediated in Donald Prudlo, ed., *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

¹⁹⁸ Christopher Ocker, *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 47.

¹⁹⁹ See MSS XII.E.11; I.D.28; IV.D.16, Czech National Library, Prague and MS XII.A.2, Czech National Museum Library, Prague.

commentaries on Matthew and Mark appear to be more concentrated on the issues of moral conduct of prelates and necessary qualities for preachers because the indexes on these keywords (“clergymen”, “preacher/preaching”) appear to be the longest. Some of these passages could include extensive lists of the clergy’s transgressions, as evidenced in Matthew 23, where Gorran criticizes the hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees serving the Antichrist instead of Jesus.²⁰⁰ A similar critique of the fallen clergy becomes even more effective in the emotionally charged framework of the Passion story. Commenting on the verses from Mark 15:15-20, Gorran directly compares corrupted prelates to Pilate’s soldiers humiliating Christ on his way to the cross:

Morally, the soldiers of Pilate are bad prelates who serve Pilate, who fight for Pilate, that is for the devil, through greed and robbery. And they strip Christ of his clothes, that is the group of faithful people who, by their real examples, take away Christ’s true teachings from the people. The scarlet cloak that they put on Christ signifies the group of kindred whom they establish in the Church for such deceit and insult.²⁰¹

Gorran’s ecclesiological stance was particularly influential in the development of the mendicant (primarily Dominican) orders, which emphasized the importance of preaching to the masses, thus mirroring the order’s attempt to take a leading role in providing pastoral services to the faithful at the time. His practical approach to scriptural interpretation offered a valuable tool for these orders, and the Passion story might help them to communicate complex theological - mostly penitential - concepts to a lay audience. Such is the example of Gorran’s commentary on Matthew 26, where he compares in the patristic terms the preacher’s sermon, which moves people to do penance with a rooster’s voice, bringing Peter to contrition after his denial of Jesus.²⁰² As will be demonstrated in Chapter 8, Gorran’s commentaries, including this passage,

²⁰⁰ “Moraliter, prelatus malus est idolum abominationis et desolationis [...]. Dicitur autem, abomination propter fastidium respectu Dei. Abominabilis quippe est Deo propter pravitatem cordis [...], propter indignitatem oblationis [...]. Unde totus est abominabilis sed additur desolationis propter dispendium sive damnum respectu proximi. Desolatur autem proximus vel per negligentiam officii, vel per corruptionem exempli, vel per subtractionem temporalis subsidii, sed stat in loco sancto propter ministerium respectu officii. Tunc qui legit intelligat, videlicet Ecclesie destructionem, prelati damnationem, populi periclitationem.” *Nicolai Gorran Enarratio in Quatuor Evangelia*, vol. 1, ed. Jacobo Legall (Lyon: Anissonios, Joan., Posuel & Claud, 1690), 288.1.

²⁰¹ “Moraliter, milites Pilati sunt mali prelati qui Pilato, id est diabolo, militant per avaritiam et rapinam. Et veste sua Christum exuunt, id est cetum fidelium quos exemplis realis ei auferunt [...]. Chlamys coccinea quam Christum induunt significat cetum consanguineorum quos in ecclesia constituent ad ejusmodi illusionem et contumeliam.” *Nicolai Gorran Enarratio in Quatuor Evangelia*, vol. 1, 648.2.

²⁰² *Nicolai Gorran Enarratio in Quatuor Evangelia*, vol. 1, 336.1.

appear in sermons of at least one Bohemian preacher, thus proving the text's importance as a preaching aid in the region at the time.

Moreover, in parallel with Gorran's tactics, Conrad Waldhauser, an Austrian preacher active in Bohemia in the 1360s, uses the Passion story in his Passion Sunday sermon to criticize the fallen clergy by portraying them as similar to the enemies of Christ who caused his suffering and death. Believing that the immoral prelates were no different from the Pharisees who rejected Christ and plotted against him, Waldhauser drew attention to the fact that the clergy's immoral actions had a direct impact on the faithful, just as the actions of the enemies of Christ affected the people of his time:

For the cause of his death was the transgression of the divine commandment, which they did not understand when they were caught in malice. Hence, Origen: [...] Therefore, when a person has stood by Jesus in an intellectual place, he does not taste death [...]. According to that, there are those standing here who will not taste death. And when a person receives and keeps the word of Christ, he will not see death. From these sayings of Origen, it is gathered that the Jews had changed the words of Christ, just as pseudo-teachers and false brothers and universally all the enemies of Christ do today: for they change the words of the teachers.²⁰³

Associating the modern-day "pseudo-doctors" and false brothers with the Pharisees from the biblical pericope from John 8:46-59, Waldhauser might have utilized the Biblical story to indirectly establish his preaching authority and promote the necessity of "moral performance" as Milíč did. On the other hand, as Christopher Ocker assumes, it is also possible that this particular comparison might have reflected the preacher's ardent criticism towards the mendicant orders: throughout his preaching career, Waldhauser demonstrated that the clergy failed at providing a moral example to the flock and that the problems within the Church were not just isolated incidents, but were part of a larger pattern of corruption and moral decay that needed to be

²⁰³ "Causa enim mortis eius fuit transgressio divini mandati, quod ipsi in malicia excecati non intelligebant. Unde Origenes: [...] Cum ergo quis steterit per Ihesum in intellectuali loco, mortem non gustat [...]. Secundum illud sunt de hic stantibus, qui non gustabunt mortem. Cum autem aliquis sermonem Christi acceperit et custodierit, mortem non videbit. Ex hiis dictis Origenis colligitur, quod Iudei mutaverant dictum Christi, sicut hodie faciunt pseudo doctores et falsi fratres et universaliter omnes hostes Christi: mutant enim verba doctorum." Mk 44, fols. 102vb–103ra, Moravian Library, Brno.

addressed.²⁰⁴ According to his *Apologia*, this endeavor guided Waldhauser's activity during the second half of the 1360s.²⁰⁵ A potential argument in favor of Ocker's viewpoint might come from a quick examination of the anti-mendicant terminology used in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries by William of Saint Amour and his followers: "pseudo-doctores", "doctores falsi" or "doctores perversitatis" were just a few terms that they used to refer to the mendicants.²⁰⁶ I would take the middle ground in attempting to define the function of this terminology in Waldhauser's Passion Sunday sermon: rivals for university chairs between friars and secular clergy might also be a reason for the preacher's critical stance, just as it happened at the University of Paris at the time of Gorran. After all, as David Mengel has argued, for Waldhauser, personal hatred of the mendicants and moral reform of the society could have become two aspects of a single undertaking.²⁰⁷

As I have demonstrated, the theological and exegetical texts for preaching, circulating in Bohemia in the fourteenth century, dealt not only with the symbolical birth of the Church but also served as an important tool to build a preacher's own identity in a Passion-oriented discourse. Lastly, to fully understand the doctrinal debates regarding the Passion at the time and their usefulness for constructing a sermon, we now turn to theological treatments of Christ's human nature.

Christology: From the triumphant to the suffering Christ

One of the defining features of patristic Passion-related theology was its inclination to consider Christ as an impassible, omnipotent, and triumphant figure. The late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christological discussions of the very essence of Jesus's dual nature and its role in how he must have experienced the Passion events led to a major doctrinal shift, which resulted in a greater emphasis on the Lord's humanity and his ability to suffer, both physically and emotionally. Summarized in the mentioned

²⁰⁴ Christopher Ocker, "Armut und die menschliche Natur," in *Die "Neue Frömmigkeit" in Europa Im Spätmittelalter*, eds. Martial Staub and Marek Derwich (Göttingen: Vandenoek und Ruprecht, 2004), 125.

²⁰⁵ Conrad Waldhauser, "Apologia Konradi in Waldhausen," in *Geschichtschreiber der husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen*, vol. 2, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, ed. Konstanin Höfler, (Graz, 1969), 22–23.

²⁰⁶ For connections between the anti-mendicant polemics and Waldhauser's *Apologia*, see Jana Kaderová, "Pseudohildegardino Proroctví Insurgent gentes v Českém Kontextu. Srovnání Textu Prophecia Beate Hildegardis de fratribus minoribus z Třeboňského Rukopisu a Apologie Konráda Waldhausera [Pseudohildegard's prophecy Insurgent gentes in the Czech context. Comparison of Prophecia Beate Hildegardis de dratribus minoribus from the Třeboň manuscript and Apologia by Conrad Waldhauser]," *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 17, no. 2 (2012): 79–94.

²⁰⁷ Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV," 26.

far-reaching *Sententiae* by Peter Lombard and further developed in its later commentaries (primarily by Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas), these Christological debates reverberated in late-medieval Europe. They were known in Bohemian fourteenth-century intellectual circles as well. The following section will briefly address these principal discussions.

‘Ouchy’ or impassible Christ?

As Marilyn McCord Adams wittily formulated, the tormented Christ of patristic theology “would not be acquainted with the ‘ouchy’ sting of pain that shows how bad the pain really is.”²⁰⁸ A vivid example of this understanding can be found in Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367), who holds that even though Christ truly suffered in the Passion because he was visibly scourged and crucified, he still experienced it impassibly and painlessly:

Although these types of suffering affect the weakness of the flesh, nevertheless, God [even if he is the] Word, [which was] made flesh, could not be mutable from himself in suffering. For the Word that became flesh, although it subjected itself to suffering, was not changed in its capacity to suffer. For it could suffer, and yet it could not be susceptible to suffering because susceptibility to suffering is an indication of a weak nature; but suffering is the endurance of those things which are inflicted.²⁰⁹

For Hilary, the Son of God had a special body, one of its kind, which was immune to the weaknesses that sinful human flesh could be subjected to. This resistance also included non-susceptibility to pain. Hence, even though the tortures did occur to him and wounds were, indeed, inflicted on his human body, Jesus could not experience the real pain of the Passion and only sensed a certain physical force that the torturers

²⁰⁸ Marilyn McCord Adams, “Some Paradoxes of Pain for Rational Agency,” in *Philosophy of Suffering: Metaphysics, Value, and Normativity*, eds. David Bain, Michael Brady, and Jennifer Corns (Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2020), 287.

²⁰⁹ “Cum haec passionum genera infirmitatem carnis afficiant, Deus tamen Verbum, caro factus, non potuit a se demutabilis esse patiando. Verbum enim quod caro factum est, licet se passioni subdiderit, non tamen demutatum est passibilitate patiendi. Nam pati potuit et passibilis esse non potuit, quia passibilitas naturae infirmae significatio est; passio autem eorum est quae sunt illata perpassio.” Hilary of Poitiers, “De synodis,” in *PL 10*, col. 516.

applied to his body.²¹⁰ Thus, as Kevin Madigan put it, Hilary's Christ was "both an actor in and dispassionate spectator of his own Passion."²¹¹

Hilary's Christological ideas migrated to Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* in the twelfth century. While the scholastic master almost uncritically incorporated the Father's opinion about the Lord's impassible physicality in distinction 15 of the third book of his *opus magnum*,²¹² later commentators expressed much more attention to Christ's bodily experience and, therefore, gave the patristic author different assessments. To demonstrate the growing theological preoccupation with Jesus's physical suffering, let us briefly turn to Bonaventura's and Aquinas' commentaries on Lombard's third book of *Sententiae*.²¹³

In line with the Franciscan Christocentric spirituality, Bonaventura's argumentation presented in distinction 16 of the *Sententiae* straightforwardly refutes the patristic idea of Christ's physical immunity to the Passion. As to the Lord's perception of his torture, the Franciscan emphasizes its genuine nature already in the first article of the distinction with an exposition of the question "Whether there was true suffering in Christ." Thus, he confirms that Christ really felt pain inflicted upon him:

There was true suffering in Christ. [To that] I answer: It must be said that undoubtedly, as the Gospel states and the Catholic faith affirms, there was a true experience of pain in Christ. Because in him, there was flesh capable of suffering and being pierced, as well as the power of feeling, according to which the soul sympathizes with the injured body. Therefore, since these two elements, namely, genuine injury and the true

²¹⁰ "Conlatis igitur dictorum adque gestorum virtutibus demonstrari non ambiguum est, in natura eius corporis infirmitatem naturae corporeae non fuisse, cui in virtute naturae fuerit omnem corporum depellere infirmitatem; et passionem illam, licet inlata corpori sit, non tamen naturam dolendi corpori intulisse. Quia quamvis forma corporis nostri esset in Domino, non tamen in vitiosae infirmitatis nostrae esset corpore [...]." Hilary of Poitiers, "De Trinitate," in *PL 10*, col. 371.

²¹¹ Kevin Madigan, *The Passions of Christ in High-Medieval Thought: An Essay on Christological Development* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 54.

²¹² "Audisti, lector, verba Hilarii, quibus dolorem excludere videtur. Sed si excussa sensus et impietatis hebetudine, praemissis diligenter intendas atque ipsius scripture circumstantiam inspicias, dictorum rationem atque virtutem percipete utcumque poteris, et intelligentiam arguere non attentabis. Intellegitur enim ex ratione dixisse dolorem passionis in Christum non incidisse, et virtutem corporis Christi excepisse vim poenae sine sensu poenae, quia causam et meritum doloris in se non habuit. Quod videtur notasse ubi ait: 'non habens naturam ad dolendum.' Et ideo non iudicanda est caro illius secundum naturam nostri corporis. Nec in eo etiam dominium habuit passio." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XV, c.3, n. 5. It should be noted, however, that earlier Lombard carefully states that Hilary's views on the impassible Christ are somewhat "obscure". *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XV, c.3, n. 1.

²¹³ I analyzed this preaching textual aid and its later commentaries in the soteriological section of the current chapter.

perception of the injury, truly constitute pain, and these two elements were, indeed, present in Christ, it must be firmly held that there was a true experience of pain in Christ.²¹⁴

More importantly, Bonaventura vehemently dismisses Hilary's argument (which Lombard incorporated in his handbook) that Jesus only appeared to experience pain without really feeling it and calls it "erroneous" and even "heretical". After all, as the Franciscan theologian further asserts in the commentary to the same article of distinction 16, by questioning the fact that Christ truly suffered, one not only contradicts Christian faith and the Bible but also undermines the basis of humanity's redemption and subsequent salvation.²¹⁵

Correspondingly, another influential commentary on *Sententiae* by Thomas Aquinas offers a 'humanized' consideration of this key Christological issue as well. It should be noted that the Dominican theologian's explanation of whether Christ endured physical pain in article 3 of distinction 15 ("Whether there was true pain in the senses in Christ") is very much comparable to the ideas expressed by Bonaventura. Aquinas provides a clear answer to the debate about Christ's capacity to suffer from physical manipulations with his body at the very beginning of the article. In its first question (*quaestiuncula*), the theologian explains that despite Christ's unique nature, which Hilary previously used as an argument for his impassibility, Jesus inevitably suffered from real bodily pain when the nails pierced his flesh. Although embraced voluntarily, this type of sensory suffering could not be alleviated by any divine contemplation:

²¹⁴ "Dicendum, quod absque dubio, sicut Evangelium dicit, et fides catholica sentit, vera doloris passio fuit in Christo. In ipso enim fuit caro passibilis et perforabilis, fuit etiam virtus sentiendi, secundum quam anima compatitur corpori laeso. Quoniam ergo haec duo verum dolorem faciunt, scilicet vera laesio et verus laesionis sensus et haec duo vere fuerunt in Christo: indubitanter tenendum est, quod in Christo fuit vera doloris passio." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XVI, A. 1, Q. I.

²¹⁵ "Nam si aliquis aliter dicat, secundum quod quidam haeretici sunt, et est error antiquus Saracenorum, quod Christus, etsi videretur pati et dolere, non tamen veraciter habuit dolorem et passionis sensum: non solum evacuat fidem Christi et Christi Evangelium, sed etiam evacuat redemptionem nostram et dicit, Christum non esse Christum. Dum enim dicit ipsum non fuisse veraciter passum,- dicit, ipsum non satisfacisse, ac per hoc non genus humanum esse redemptum. Dum vero dicit, ipsum simulasse se pati; dicit, ipsum esse mendacem, et ita nec vere fuisse Dei Filium nec Dei nuntium, et ita nec mediatorem, sed potius deceptorem." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XVI, A. 1, Q. I.

I respond by saying that [...] sensory pain arises from the conjunction of something incongruous with the sense. [...] bodily] pain occurs only in touch, resulting from the injury to the body's constitution. Hence, since there was a true injury in Christ's body [...] by the nails and there was true tactile perception, it must necessarily be said that there was true pain. [...]

In response to the first objection, although there was divine power in Christ's body, [...] he did not resist but allowed his flesh to suffer [...] . As for the second objection, the rational will does not exclude sensory pain, just as someone may [...] wish to be burned for the sake of healing but still experiences sensory pain in the burning. So it was with Christ. Regarding the third objection, there cannot be such a strong power of contemplation that it removes sensory pain from bodily injury [...] unless the lower faculties are entirely withdrawn from their activities [...]. But in Christ, one faculty did not withdraw another from its act except as ordered by reason and divinity conjoined. Therefore, the perfection of contemplation did not remove sensory pain.²¹⁶

In such a way, Bonaventura's and Aquinas' stances about Christ's physical suffering oppose Lombard's conformity with the Christological framework suggested by Hilary. Consequently, the thirteenth-century commentators' stronger emphasis on the suffering savior's corporeal experience mirrors a crucial theological transition in medieval spirituality. It should be noted, however, that this shift was not solely limited to the reconsideration of Christ's bodily agony. As we will see in the next section, theologians also extended the question of whether Jesus truly suffered to the emotional dimension. Their debates primarily focused on how he could have experienced fear and sorrow during his final hours.

²¹⁶ "Respondeo dicendum [...] dolor sensibilis causatur ex conjunctione ejus quod non est conveniens sensui. [...] in solo tactu est dolor, qui accidit ex laesione temperamenti ipsius corporis. Unde cum in corpore Christi fuerit vera laesio [...] per clavos, et fuerit ibi verus tactus; de necessitate oportet dicere, quod fuerit ibi verus dolor. [...]"

Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod quamvis in corpore Christi esset vis deitatis, [...] non tamen resistebat, sed dimittebat carnem pati quidquid proprium [...].

Ad secundum dicendum, quod voluntas rationis non excludit dolorem sensus; sicut aliquis vult [...] comburi, ut sanetur, sed tamen in combustionem dolorem sensibilem experitur; ita et fuit in Christo.

Ad tertium dicendum, quod non potest esse tanta vis contemplationis quod dolorem sensibilem ex laesione corporis tollat [...], nisi per eam abstrahantur vires inferiores omnino a suis actibus [...]. Sed in Christo una vis non tollebat aliam a suo actu, nisi secundum quod ratio et deitas conjuncta ordinabat: et ideo perfectio contemplationis dolorem sensibilem non tollebat." Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, Lib. III. Dist. XV, Q. 2, A. 3, QC. 1.

Was Christ frightened and saddened?

To better understand another side of the Christological shift in the Middle Ages, let us turn back to the starting point of the current subchapter's investigation, Lombard's third book of *Sententiae*, distinction 15. As Kevin Madigan has thoroughly illustrated, while trying to address Jesus's capacity to undergo emotional anguish, this crucial theological handbook of the time gathers and interprets patristic treatments of Christ's fervent prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane.²¹⁷ At the same time, it allows later commentators to speculate on the Lord's humanity and his psychological perception of the Passion.

Lombard begins his examination of patristic authorities with an overview of Ambrose's opinions expressed in his *De Trinitate*. As the scholastic master demonstrates, Ambrose considered Christ capable of emotional suffering because of his human nature, which "received the passions of the soul". Nevertheless, the Father stresses that the troubled states of fear and sorrow could not affect Jesus's divine nature, which remained immutable:

Ambrose says: [...] "As a man [Christ] is troubled, as a man [he] weeps, as a man [he] is crucified." "His divinity is not troubled, but his soul is troubled: it is troubled according to the assumption of human fragility. For he who received a soul, also received the passion of the soul: for God was not such that he could be troubled or die."²¹⁸

Sententiae then quotes Jerome, who similarly views Christ's emotionally passible human nature. However, his psychological perturbations could not be compared to those of an ordinary man. While emotional Passion can dominate the human soul, Jerome explains, Christ went only through inner "half-passions". After all, as the Father comments on the Gospel's verse *he began to be saddened*, "to be saddened is one thing, [and] to *begin* to be saddened is another."²¹⁹ After the

²¹⁷ Madigan, *The Passions of Christ in High-Medieval Thought*, 66–67.

²¹⁸ Ambrosius [...] ait: [...] "Ut homo turbatur, ut homo flet, ut homo crucifigitur." [...] "non turbatur eius divinitas, sed turbatur anima: secundum humanae fragilitatis assumptionem turbatur. Nam qui suscepit animam, suscepit etiam animae passionem: non enim eo Deus erat, aut turbari, aut mori posset." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XV, c.1, n. 11.

²¹⁹ "Ut verumtamen, inquit, probaret assumpti hominis, vere contristatus est; sed non passio eius dominatur animo, verum propassio est. Unde ait: *Coepit contristari*. Aliud est enim contristari, aliud incipere contristari." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XV, c.2, n. 3.

observation of these citations from Ambrose and Jerome, Lombard then turns to a conforming opinion of Augustine: Christ suffered from sadness because he accepted human nature, but his divine part remained untroubled.²²⁰

Hilary is the last patristic opinion found in the scholastic master's overview. Similarly to the immunity to physical agony, the Father affirms that the Lord was free from emotional anguish, especially fear and sorrow. The patristic author argues that Christ could not be troubled by the approaching torments and death because of his unique nature. Therefore, unlike typical humans, Christ felt no emotional agony during his final hours:

[Hilary says in the book *De Trinitate*]: "For it is not possible that [Christ's] fear may be expressed in words when his confidence is contained in his actions. Therefore, [...] did he seem to fear? [...] Did he fear Annas who went forth armed to meet [him]? [...] But perhaps he feared the pain of wounds?" [...] "[Christ] did not have a nature to fear or to be sad because he did not have such a nature in which there would be a cause for fear or sadness. Therefore, the necessity of fearing was not in him, as it is in us."²²¹

Lombard's interpretation seems to harmonize the views expressed in Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Hilary. Thus, the scholastic thinker suggests that while "the passion (*passio*) and the necessity of fear and sadness" were removed from Christ, the Lord accepted these psychological states in the form of "half-passion" (*propassio*). However, even though he truly experienced emotional anguish in his human nature, he endured it differently than men do.²²²

In a similar manner, Bonaventura's and Aquinas' discussions of the Christological formula expressed in the *Sententiae*'s distinction 15 conclude that Christ was subjected to sadness, anger, and fear during the Good Friday events. It is notable, however, that the mendicant commentators remain very cautious and precise about the

²²⁰ *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XV, c.2, n. 4.

²²¹ Nec enim fieri potest ut timor eius significetur in verbis, cuius fiducia contineatur in factis. Timuisse igitur [...] passionem videtur? [...] Anne timuit qui armatis obuius prodiit? [...] Sed forte dolorem vulnerum timuit? [...] "Non habuit naturam ad timendum vel tristandum, quia non habuit talem naturam, in qua esset causa timoris vel tristitiae. Itaque necessitas timendi non fuit in eo, sicut est in nobis." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XV, c.3, n. 3.

²²² "Harum auctoritatum verba in hunc modum accipienda dicimus: ut non veritatem timoris et tristitiae vel propassionem, sed timoris et tristitiae necessitatem et passionem a Christo temovisse intelligantur. - Habuit enim Christus verum timorem et tristitiam in natura hominis, sed non sicut nos." *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae*, Lib. III, Dist. XV, c.2, n. 1.

limitations of these feelings in Jesus and their main discrepancies from what an ordinary man would feel. For instance, they unanimously state that while there was actual sadness in the Lord, it differed from that of humans because it was directed only by reason (*ratio*). For Bonaventura, there existed three types of sadness: the one lying beyond reason's control, the one which is against reason's right judgment, and the one subjected to reason's command. Christ felt sadness only in this third manner, "[as if] when someone becomes sad, with reason dictating and persuading that he should be sad only in this manner and to this extent about something."²²³ For Aquinas, Christ's human nature, which had lower and higher faculties, experienced sadness only on its former level. Yet, this feeling differed from that of men: while the human soul's lower faculties are less subjected to reason and can become dominated by sadness, it could not happen in the Lord. In Christ, reason governed emotional sensuality and, therefore, could not be prevailed by it at any time.²²⁴ Moreover, the commentators express similar opinions regarding how much Christ felt anger and fear.²²⁵ Thus, even though Jesus experienced

²²³ "Dicendum, quod [...] in Christo fuit vera tristitia, non tamen omni modo, quo in nobis est. Est enim quaedam tristitia, quae est praeter rationis imperium; et est tristitia, quae est contra rationis iudicium rectum: et est tristitia, quae est subiecta rationis imperio et iudicio. Et illa tristitia est praeter rationis imperium, quae consurgit ex quadam necessitate et surreptione, sicut motus primi: et haec quidem communis est sapientibus et insipientibus, et bonis et malis. Illa vero tristitia est contra rationis iudicium rectum, in qua ratio subiicitur sensualitati nec tantum turbatur, sed etiam perturbatur. Illa autem est secundum rationis imperium et iudicium, quando quis tristatur, ratione dictante et suadente, ipsum tantum et taliter super aliquo debere tristiari. Dico ergo, quod in Christo fuit tristitia tantum isto tertio modo, quia de nullo tristatus fuit, nisi secundum quod dictabat ei ratio." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XV, A. 2, Q. II.

²²⁴ "[...] et ideo cum accidebat aliquid contrarium delectationi inferiorum partium, erat de eo tristitia; sed tamen aliter in ipso et in nobis: quia in nobis inferiores vires non sunt perfecte subjectae rationi; et ideo quandoque praeter ordinem rationis insurgunt in nobis passiones tristitiae, quas quidem virtus refrenat in virtuosus, sed in aliis etiam rationi praevalent: sed in Christo nunquam surgebat motus tristitiae nisi secundum dictamen superioris rationis, quando scilicet dictabat ratio quod sensualitas tristaretur secundum convenientiam naturae suae; et ideo non fuit in eo tristitia rationem pervertens, nec fuit necessaria, sed voluntaria quodammodo." Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, Lib. III. Dist. XV, Q. 2, A. 2, Q. 1.

²²⁵ Compare Bonaventura and Aquinas. Bonaventura: "[...] fuit in Christo passio irae sive affectio irae, videlicet prout dicit affectum detestationis et commotionem partis sensualis, quae tamen subiecta est rationi. Et sic procedunt rationes ad primam partem inductae probantes, affectionem irae in Christo fuisse, ut aspicienti patet: et ideo sunt concedendae. Quodam etiam modo non fuit, videlicet prout dicit perturbationem oculi mentalis, si prout dicit affectum repunctionis, in quantum ille affectus est ex libidine vindictae, non ex zelo iustitiae; sic enim est passio perturbans." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XV, A. 2, Q. III. "Timor natem gratuitus est in triplici differentia: quidam enim est timor poenae, quidam est timor offensae, quidam reverentiae. Prima et secunda non fuit in Christo, [...] sed secundum tertiam differentiam fuit in Christo, quia sic a perfecta caritate non expellitur, sed potius consummatur [...]. Et per hoc patet responsio ad primum obiectum. Est et alius timor libidinosus, et iste similiter in multiplici differentia est: quia est timor mundanus, et est timor humanus: et nullus istorum fuit in Christo nec etiam in viro perfecto [...]. Et per hoc patet responsio ad secundum. Est iterum timor in tertia differentia, timor scilicet naturalis, et iste est in triplici differentia: quidam est sensualitatis praevenientis rationem, quidam sensualitatis subiacentis rationi, quidam vero est ipsius partis rationalis. Primus timor est naturae corruptae et quodam modo inordinatae, similiter et tertius: secundus vero est naturae corruptae, sed tamen ordinatae. Quoniam ergo in Christo, quamvis

human-like feelings, their effect on him remained limited because sorrow, anger, and fear could not overcome his rational capacities.

Overall, Lombard's, Bonaventura's, and Aquinas' theological accent on Christ's bodily and emotional experience could contribute to rendering the Passion story more understandable and dramatic. Hence, they may be considered as a perfect fit for a Good Friday preaching discourse, which ultimately aims to explain and evoke these sufferings to people. Moreover, these theological discussions were part of the growing interest in Christ's tortured body. The next chapter will address this preoccupation and various attempts to visualize the Lord's suffering in selected devotional texts.

esset defectus passibilitatis, non tamen fuit defectus inordinationis et vitiositatis: hinc est, quod fuit in eo timor medio modo, non primo vel tertio. Et per hoc patet tertio obiectum." Bonaventura, "Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi," Lib. III, Dist. XV, A. 2, dub. III.

Aquinas: "Ad secundam quaestionem dicendum, quod ira tripliciter dicitur. Quandoque enim ira ponitur pro habitu vel actu vitii, quod opponitur mansuetudini, quod irascibilitas dicitur: quod contingit ex hoc quod virtus, ut in 2 Ethic. dicitur, quandoque magis opponitur uni extremorum, sicut mansuetudo superfluitati irae, magis quam diminutioni; et ideo oppositum vitium nominatur ira: et sic ira non fuit in Christo. Alio modo dicitur ira voluntas vindicandi aliquod malefactum; et sic ira non est passio, proprie loquendo, nec est in irascibili, sed in voluntate: et sic ira est in Deo et beatis, et in Christo fuit. Tertio modo dicitur ira proprie quaedam passio vis irascibilis, quae contingit ex hoc quod vis irascibilis tendit ad destructionem alicujus quod apprehenditur contrarium voluto vel desiderato: et si quidem sit ex ordine rationis insurgens, vel ordinata ratione, sic dicitur ira per zelum, et sic fuit in Christo; si autem sit inordinata, sic erit ira per vitium, quae in Christo nullo modo fuit." Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, Lib. III. Dist. XV, Q. 2, A. 2, QC. 2. "Ad tertiam quaestionem dicendum, quod timor etiam multipliciter dicitur. Uno modo nominat habitum vel doni vel vitii quod opponitur fortitudini, et dicitur timiditas: et sic habitus doni fuit in Christo, non autem habitus vitii. Alio modo sumitur pro actu vel vitii vel doni; et sic similiter dicendum ut prius. Alio modo dicitur quaedam passio in irascibili, quae consurgit ex hoc quod appetitus sensitivus refugit aliquod nocivum apprehensum; et sic loquimur hic de timore. Unde dicendum, quod hoc modo fuit timor in Christo per eundem modum sicut et de tristitia et ira dictum est, inquantum scilicet ex dictamine rationis et deitatis adjunctae, appetitus sensibilis refugiebat ea quae sunt sibi contraria." Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, Lib. III. Dist. XV, Q. 2, A. 2, QC. 3.

Chapter 3. *Imagines agentes* and the visual language of pain

While prominent trends in the representation of Good Friday events in the high and late Middle Ages echoed long-standing exegetical and theological traditions, another key element that defined preaching aids' shared discourse on the Passion was the texts' growing interest in depicting the pain and gruesome physical abuse inflicted on Christ's body. Indeed, as phrased by Caroline Walker Bynum, the violent imagery of late-medieval piety can be generally characterized as an obsession with suffering, bleeding, dismemberment, and death.²²⁶ Esther Cohen labeled this notion as philopassianism to convey the extent to which late-medieval Christian culture embraced bodily pain.²²⁷ In line with this feature, as Thomas Bestul and Giles Constable also confirmed, Passion-oriented texts became increasingly graphic and violent, especially from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards.²²⁸

This chapter will first selectively inspect the most prominent commonplaces regarding Christ's bodily injuries from key preaching aids available in Bohemia. Special attention will be paid to the texts' potential to invent and visualize the violence towards Christ going beyond the Gospel narrative and to objects relating to his suffering and blood-shedding, especially the trope of the Virgin's blood-stained veil (*peplum cruentatum*). I will then review specific cultural and religious processes happening in Bohemia at the time and local interest in the relics of the *peplum*. Finally, upon providing the literary and historical context of the visualized representation of the Passion, the chapter will connect the description of the *peplum* in Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogue with the Virgin* and several preaching discourses from the Bohemian milieu.

Omnipresent commonplaces and their distribution through *Legenda Aurea*

Despite the abundance of details about Christ's sufferings and mockeries in the Gospels' Passion accounts and extra-biblical Apocrypha, high and late-medieval texts of various genres often sought to invent new ones or draw from the rich imagery of the

²²⁶ Caroline Walker Bynum, "Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 30 (2002): 3; Caroline Walker Bynum, "Violence Occluded: The Wound in Christ's Side in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, eds. Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Billado (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 95; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

²²⁷ Esther Cohen, "Towards a History of European Physical Sensibility: Pain in the Later Middle Ages," *Science in Context* 8, no. 1 (1995): 47.

²²⁸ See Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, chapter 2; Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, the Ideal of the Imitation of Christ, the Orders of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 218.

Old Testament in order to portray the Passion events more vividly and reinforce their stirring effect.

We may trace one of the earliest examples of this philopassianist creativity to the Benedictine John of Fécamp's (d. 1078) *Meditations*, known by its incipit "Domine deus meus da cordi meo". Initially attributed to Augustine, this work is considered one of the most widely read Christological texts before Thomas of Kempis' (d. 1471) *Imitation of Christ*²²⁹ and, arguably, a pioneering example of affective spirituality, which preceded Bernard of Clairvaux and Anselm of Canterbury by several decades.²³⁰ Although I could not find any direct manuscript evidence in favor of the text's distribution in Bohemia for the period in question,²³¹ we can, nevertheless, assume that this popular spiritual work was somehow known to local composers of the sermons. Large excerpts from selected chapters of Fécamp's *Meditations* appear in Milíč's Good Friday sermon, *Tu in sanguine testamenti*. Given that these chunky fragments were integrated into the sermon, I assume that he had a direct access to the *Meditations*' full text or at least a compilation of its most important passages.²³² More specifically, the sermon includes a large part of chapter 6 that vividly illustrates the text's hypotyposis in regard to Christ's tortured body. Therefore, despite the text's clear connection to a nascent affective spirituality, which will be discussed in the following chapter, it also deserves to be briefly considered as a textual aid that provides additional visual details about the Passion story.

In the chapter entitled "The Passion of the Son is displayed to the Father", Fécamp straightforwardly invites God - and thus the reader - to sequentially fix his eyes on each weakened member of his injured Son. Rhetorically constructed as a series of antitheses, the *Meditations*' imagery of physical violence utilizes the disparity between Christ's tender body and the injuries inflicted upon it:

²²⁹ Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), 61.

²³⁰ This argument has been recently stressed in Lauren Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism Affective Piety in the Eleventh-Century Monastery of John of Fécamp* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021).

²³¹ There is, however, a Bohemian manuscript containing the *Meditations*, it is partially dated to 1389. See, V.D.2, Czech National Library, Prague.

²³² Given the high number of various meditations falsely attributed to Augustine (and other authors) and lack of possibility to run a targeted search for manuscripts based on an incipit, more work is needed to trace the manuscript distribution of John of Fécamp's work in Bohemia. The fact that some later users, like Milíč, referred to the text as Bernard of Clairvaux's *Contemplationes* additionally demonstrates how elusive it might be to trace or at least attribute this text.

The stripped chest shines, the blood-stained side reddens, the stretched organs are desiccated, the beautiful eyes grow weak, the royal lips turn pale, the tall arms stiffen, the marble-like legs hang, and the blessed stream of blood is watering the pierced feet.²³³

As Bestul indicates, this striking portrayal is the earliest known example of this kind among early Passion treatises.²³⁴ Derivatives of this motif can be found in various later texts of different genres, thus proving that other authors considered Fécamp's work effective in visually animating the biblical narrative.

For instance, we find a similar commonplace in a popular text which was probably written (or at least inspired by) Bernard of Clairvaux. There is a consensus that Bernard's sermons enjoyed popularity far beyond the Cistercian order and were highly respected as exemplary preaching models around Europe, including Bohemia, as attested by the analyzed corpus.²³⁵ In an unspecified sermon, which was later copied by major medieval legendaries and mystical treatises,²³⁶ Bernard uses Psalm 44 as a source of inspiration to construct an akin rhetorical dichotomy between Christ's fineness and the repulsiveness of what the torturers did to him:

The head, trembling with angelic spirits, is pricked by the density of thorns; the face *beautiful above the sons of men* (Ps. 44:3) is disfigured by the spitting of the Jews; the eyes brighter than the sun are clouded in death; the ears that hear angelic songs, hear the insults of sinners; the mouth that teaches angels, is given gall and vinegar to drink; the feet whose footstool is worshiped, are nailed to the cross; the hands that formed the heavens, are outstretched on the cross and affixed with nails; the body is scourged, the side is pierced with a lance.²³⁷

²³³ "Candet nudatum pectus, rubet cruentum latus, tensa arent viscera, decora languent lumina, regia pallent ora, procera rigent brachia, crura pendent marmorea, rigat terebratos pedes beati sanguinis unda." John of Fécamp (Pseudo-Augustine), "Meditationes," in *PL* 40, col. 906.

²³⁴ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 37.

²³⁵ More specifically, this commonplace appears in the mentioned *Tu in sanguine testamenti* by Milíč. See Appendix I.

²³⁶ I was not able to establish the precise source of this quotation, but it seems that this paragraph enjoyed a remarkable popularity among later authors. Thus, this passage can be found in the *Legenda Aurea*'s chapter "On the Passion of Christ" and in Bonaventura's *Soliloquium*, chapter 1. Below, I cite this passage by the *Legenda Aurea*.

²³⁷ "Caput angelicis spiritibus tremebundum densitate spinarum pungitur, facies pulchra pre filiis hominum sputis Judeorum deturpatur, oculi lucidiores sole caligant in morte, aures que audiunt angelicos cantus, audiunt peccatorum insultos, os quod docet angelos, felle et aceto potatur, pedes quorum scabellum adoratur, cruci clavo affiguntur, manus que formaverunt celos, sunt in cruce extense et clavis affixe, corpus verberatur, latus lancea perforatur." Cited by Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. (Sismel: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 340–341.

On a practical level, unlike Fécamp, Bernard provides a more detailed overview of the Passion atrocities (at least, broadened to the spitting during the second mockery of Christ and the following flagellation) and turns them into short and catchy mental images. With certain limitations, this paragraph may be perceived as what Frances Yates described as *imagines agentes*. Their essence lies in combining certain real or imagined *loci* with bizarre or emotive formulations of speech. Antique and medieval authors used this technique to create easily recognizable mnemonic *topoi*.²³⁸ From this perspective, Bernard's "active image" of delicate, yet tortured, Christ can be seen as almost sequential conjunctions of the Passion narrative and antitheses of beauty and ugliness. Suitable for easy memorization of either spiritual concepts or the biblical account itself, this motif proved enduring as it migrated to writings of later authors, including Eckbert of Schönau, Bonaventura, and others.²³⁹

Notably, the creative visualization of violence presents itself not only in Passion treatises and sermons but also in more emotionally rigid scholastic bestsellers, circulating in Bohemia as well. Such was the example of the aforementioned *Glossa ordinaria*. In its commentary on Luke 23:22, the *Glossa* introduces a popular motif that the column of flagellation bears traces of Christ's blood up to "the present day".²⁴⁰ Moreover, the *Historia Scholastica* creates two other key commonplaces. In chapter 168, *De illusionem militum*, it first states that the crown of thorns drew blood from Christ's head. Then, it reconsiders a line from Isaiah 63 to add that so much blood emanated during Christ's agony in the garden of Gethsemane, the flagellation, and the derisive coronation that it covered Jesus's whole body:

It is credible that the thorns of the crown drew blood from [his] head. Also, by the scourges, the blood was drawn from [his] back, and the bloody sweat stained other parts of [his] body so that we may say that not only the hands, feet, and side were

²³⁸ Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

²³⁹ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 38.

²⁴⁰ "Hanc correptionem deridendo et flagellando nefandorum desideriis exhibuit, ne usque ad crucifigendum seirent quod et verba Ioannis evangeliste et ipsa columna testatur ad quam ligatus fuit Dominus, que usque hodie dominici sanguinis cernentibus certa signa demonstrat." *Glossa Ordinaria*, digital edition, accessed July 6, 2023: https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?id=liber&numLivre=57&chapitre=57_23#cap23_verset22.

sprinkled with blood, but that Christ ascended *from Bosra clothed in all his garments dyed* (Isa. 63).²⁴¹

Many of these graphic commonplaces eventually found their way to the *Legenda Aurea*, a famed thirteenth-century compilation of saints' lives and texts on major Christian feasts composed by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298). Due to its practical advantages for clergymen, who found the book exceptionally useful, it enjoyed an especially privileged position in the late Middle Ages and surpassed other compelling legendaries,²⁴² thus turning into one of the most copied late-medieval bestsellers: it is estimated that the text transmitted all over Europe in more than a thousand manuscripts.²⁴³

The *Legenda Aurea* was widely acclaimed in the Bohemian lands as well. According to Anežka Vidmanová, at least 53 medieval manuscripts of the legendary were stored in Czech libraries at the end of the last century.²⁴⁴ Available digital databases and printed catalogs of medieval Bohemian codices can attest that some of them originated in Bohemia.²⁴⁵ For instance, the earliest versions of the legendary of a

²⁴¹ "Credibile est autem aculeos coronae cruorem de capite extraxisse. Etiam flagellis cruor dorsi extractus est, et sanguineus sudor alias partes corporis tinxit, ut non tantum manus, et pedes, et latus dicamus aspersa sanguine, sed tota veste tincta Christum ascendisse de Bosra (Isa. LXIII) [...]" *Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica in Evangelia*, col. 1628.

²⁴² Notably, as Pavel Soukup has demonstrated, another Dominican legendary, *Speculum sanctorale* (composed ca. the 1320s), was also used as a textual tool for preaching in Bohemia by the end of the fourteenth-beginning of the fifteenth century as its traces can be found in Hus' sermons Pavel Soukup, "K Pramenům Husových Punkt: Jan Hus a Bernard Gui [About the sources of Hus' Puncta: Jan Hus and Bernard Gui]," *Studia Historica Brunensia* 62, no. 1 (2015): 235–47. Nevertheless, I could not find any intertextual connections between Bohemian Good Friday sermons from the earlier period and the *Speculum's* treatment of the Passion. Moreover, the Dominican legendary contains no visual details as to Christ's sufferings and death. Hence, it is not discussed in this chapter.

²⁴³ Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda aurea* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1991). There is also a more modest estimation up to several hundred manuscripts in Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 197–98.

²⁴⁴ Anežka Vidmanová, "K Autorství Života Sv. Elišky ve Zlaté Legendě [About the authorship of the Life of St. Elizabeth in the Golden Legend]," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae* 31, no. 1 (1991), 24.

²⁴⁵ As the manuscript evidence demonstrates, Jacobus de Voragine's legendary reached Bohemia already in the thirteenth century and was often copied with his model sermons. See the oldest foreign manuscript of the Legend, XII.D.19, Czech National Library, Prague; a fourteenth-century local manuscript IV.E.3, Czech National Library, Prague; a copy of the *Legenda* from the monastery of Český Krumlov - VII.F.24, Czech National Library, Prague; and other manuscripts of Czech provenance: IV.C.17, Czech National Library, Prague; XIX.B.1, Czech National Library, Prague. The Czech National Library also has manuscripts, which combine sermons and the legendary: XII.E.14; XIII.B.11.

local provenance appeared in the Bohemian lands as early as the turn of the fourteenth century, presumably in the Cistercian milieu.²⁴⁶

The scholarship generally assesses the text's chapter *De Passione Domini* as a complex compendium of traditional commonplaces for medieval Passion narratives and sermons.²⁴⁷ It should be noted, however, that Jacobus de Voragine does not invest himself in creatively decorating the events of the Passion with new graphic details but rather structures the chapter as an affective meditative text with developed scholastic divisions and subdivisions. Therefore, the *Legenda*'s relevance for preaching lies in the fact that it disseminated key graphic commonplaces from other texts instead of creating new ones. Moreover, its heavy use of exegetical *auctoritates* and affective writings also made it a perfect material for preaching. In fact, one may find some traces of the reworked section *De Passione Domini* in Jacobus de Voragine's own collections of model sermons, which also circulated in Prague and other towns according to the surviving manuscripts.²⁴⁸ Additionally, Jacobus' scholastic enumerations of the five causes of Christ's pain, the five sheddings of Christ's blood, and others turned into traditional themes for late-medieval texts on the Passion. They later served as outlines for numerous scholastic sermons, including Bohemian ones.²⁴⁹

As we shall see, in the Bohemian context, some less common tropes of visualizing the Passion also became pronounced. One of them was a motif of the Virgin's blood-stained veil, the *peplum cruentatum*, closely connected to Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus Beatae Mariae*.

²⁴⁶ Anežka Vidmanová, "Legenda Aurea a Čechy," in *Jakub de Voragine: Legenda Aurea*, ed. and trans. Václav Bahník and Anežka Vidmanová (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1984), 23; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 32–33.

²⁴⁷ Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*, 13–15; David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300*, 71.

²⁴⁸ See the mentioned Bohemian manuscripts with sermons and the legendary - XII.E.14; XIII.B.11; Jacobus's sermons and *prothemata* can be also found in I.G.46, as well as his *sermones quadragesimales* - III.E.17; another copy of his sermons probably of Bohemian origin is IV.A.6; All the manuscripts are stored in the Czech National Library. Additionally, Anna Pumprová has traced that Jacobus' Lenten sermon collection was acquired in the 1340s by representatives of the Order of St John in Zittau and was used by one of its preachers, Henry of Warnsdorf. Pumprová, "The Earliest Sermon Collections from the Territory of the Bohemian Kingdom: Searching for Sources and Originality."

²⁴⁹ For instance, in Peter of Zittau's *De Passione Christi sermo secundus*.

Local peculiarities: Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus*, royal interest in the Passion relics, and the trope of the blood-stained veil.

The literary motif of the Virgin's blood-sprinkled garment

The *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*, for a long time attributed to Anselm of Canterbury and thus initially dated around 1033-1099,²⁵⁰ most likely originated in Central Europe in a Franciscan milieu after the second half of the thirteenth century as demonstrated by Amy Neff.²⁵¹ According to Bestul's estimations, there are at least ten surviving manuscripts of the *Dialogus*.²⁵² However, the actual number of its copies, which circulated in Europe in the late Middle Ages, could be much higher.²⁵³ An argument in favor of the text's popularity stems from the fact that it was translated into vernacular languages, including Middle German and Old Czech, in verse and prose already in the fourteenth century.²⁵⁴

The *Dialogus* presents a rich text which mostly follows the biblical Passion narrative. As its title suggests, it is constructed as an affective dialogue between Anselm and the grieving Virgin.²⁵⁵ The former questions Mary about the Good Friday events and receives her 'witness testimony'. The lamenting Virgin opens her account with the episode of her son's arrest, adds the details about his interrogation at Pilate's court, and finalizes it by describing what she saw at Calvary and how she participated in Christ's burial.

To demonstrate the *Dialogue's* creative potential to conjure up non-biblical *imagines agentes*, I will now turn to its chapter 10, *De crucifixione et crucis erectione*. After all, as Mary confesses to her interlocutor at the beginning of the chapter, what she is about to describe there is "exceedingly lamentable, and none of the evangelists writes about it" ("[...] quod modo referam nimis est lamentibile, et nullus evangelistarum

²⁵⁰ See, for instance, Oskar Schade, ed., *Interrogatio Sancti Anselmi de Passione Domini* (Konigsberg: University of Konigsberg, 1870) or the attribution in Pseudo-Anselm, "Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini," in *PL* 159, col. 271.

²⁵¹ Amy Neff, "The Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini: Toward an Attribution," *Miscellanea Francescana* 86 (1986): 105–8. Neff's dating is concurrent with the one proposed by Bestul, who places the text around the last third of the thirteenth century. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 53.

²⁵² Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 189.

²⁵³ I base my assertion on Eltjo Buringh's calculations of medieval manuscripts' survival and loss rates. See Eltjo Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Explorations with a Global Database* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), especially chapter 4.

²⁵⁴ Michal Šroněk, "Karel IV., Jan Rokycana a Šlojř Nejstý [Charles IV., Jan Rokycana and the 'uncertain veil]," in *Zbožnost Středověku* [Piety of the Middle Ages], ed. Martin Nodl (Prague: Filosofia, 2007), 83.

²⁵⁵ Most likely, the *Dialogus'* focus on the Virgin's perspective is taken from the Marian planctus *Quis dabit*. Bestul traced some intertextual connections between these two sources. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 53. I discuss the *Quis dabit* in the next chapter.

scribit”).²⁵⁶ Namely, after reporting about Jesus’s arrival at Calvary and the stripping of his garments to Anselm, she embarks on an itemized account of how each nail of the crucifixion perforated her son’s body and what physical effect they had on it.²⁵⁷ Apart from some widespread commonplaces, like the Psalms-inspired description of Jesus’ body stretched on the cross, which frequently appears in other Passion-centered texts, Mary’s version of the crucifixion presented in the *Dialogus* exhibits a peculiar visual aspect. She introduces it at the end of the corresponding chapter:

And when [Christ] had been raised up, then, because of the weight of his body, all the wounds were torn and opened, and then for the first time blood flowed more copiously from his hands and feet. And I was dressed in a certain garment, which women of that region usually use, with which the head and whole body are covered, and it is like a linen cloth; and this garment was entirely sprinkled with [his] blood.²⁵⁸

Further on, the indication of the blood-stained garment appears in chapter 16, which follows Mary’s account of Christ’s burial:

But John brought me into the city as if taking me by force. And the people, seeing me dressed in the garment sprinkled with blood, as I had stood before Jesus and his blood had dripped upon me, unanimously cried out lamenting: ‘Oh, what a great injustice was done today [...]!’²⁵⁹

The motif of the Virgin’s blood-stained veil described here is rather uncommon for high- and late-medieval texts on the Passion. As Jeffrey Hamburger indicates, the earliest hint of Mary’s blood-sprinkled garment appears as early as the twelfth century

²⁵⁶ Pseudo-Anselm, “*Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*,” col. 282.

²⁵⁷ “Cum venissent ad locum Calvariae ignominiosissimum, ubi canes et alia morticina projiciebantur, nudaverunt Jesum unicum filium meum totaliter vestibis suis, et ego exanimis facta fui; tamen velamen capitis mei accipiens circumligavi lumbis suis. Post hoc deposuerunt et incutiebant primo unum clavum adeo spissum quod tunc sanguis non potuit emanare ita vulnus clavo replebatur. Acceperunt postea funes et traxerunt aliud brachium filii mei Jesu, et clavum secundum ei incusserunt. Postea pedes finibus traxerunt, et clavum acutissimum incutiebant, et adeo tensus fuit ut *omnia ossa sua et membra apparerent* [...]” Ibid, col. 282–283.

²⁵⁸ “Et cum erectus fuisset, tunc propter ponderositatem corporis omnia vulnera lacerata sunt et aperta, et tunc primo sanguis de manibus et pedibus copiosius emanavit. Ego autem induta fui quadam veste, qua mulieres regionis illius uti solent, qua tegitur caput et totum corpus, et est quasi linteum; et fuit ista vestis tota respersa sanguine.” Ibid, col. 283.

²⁵⁹ “Johannes vero me tandem accipiens et quasi violenter deducens in civitatem introduxit. Populus autem me videns indutam vestem aspersam sanguine, sicut ante Jesum steteram, et sanguis ejus super me stillaverat, unanimiter clamabant gementes: ‘O, quanta injuria facta est hodie [...]!’” Ibid, col. 288.

in the *Vita beate virginis Marie et salvatoris rhythmica*, which was translated to German in 1172.²⁶⁰ It could have later influenced the *Dialogus*, too, which potentially originated in the German lands, according to Bestul's list of the earliest known manuscripts of this work.²⁶¹ In addition to the *Vita rhythmica* and the *Dialogus*, Michal Šroněk has traced the further textual distribution of this trope in the German-speaking milieu in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For instance, he points out that the mentions of the Virgin's bloody veil appear in the Marian poem *Rheinisches Marienlob* (roughly dated around the first half of the thirteenth century) and a fourteenth-century treatise *Minnenbüchlein* with disputable authorship.²⁶² We know with certainty that the Anselmian peculiar textual portrayal of Mary's bloody veil reached Bohemia not later than 1299 when the Cistercian Zlatá Koruna monastery acquired a manuscript containing the *Dialogus*.²⁶³ Subsequently, by 1319, this work was also known in Prague as a manuscript from St. George convent attests.²⁶⁴

Visual and material traces of the 'Bloody veil' motif

Almost simultaneously with the textual distribution of the *Dialogus*' 'bloody trope', Bohemia witnessed a search for material evidence of the Virgin's direct contact with her son's sacred blood, which he poured on the cross. Although it is impossible to determine where and when the *peplum cruentatum* relic first appeared in Europe, Czech scholars suggest that it found its way to Prague thanks to King John's wife, Elisabeth of Přemysl (d. 1330), who was known for her extensive collection of holy artifacts.²⁶⁵ Based on Peter of Zittau's *Zbraslav Chronicle*, I would very cautiously surmise that she could have received the blood-stained relic in 1326 as part of a massive donation from

²⁶⁰ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Bloody Mary: Traces of the *peplum cruentatum* in Prague - and in Strasbourg?," in *Image, Memory and Devotion: Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, eds. Zoë Opačić and Achim Timmermann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 25.

²⁶¹ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 53.

²⁶² Michal Šroněk, "Karel IV., Jan Rokycana a Šlojř Nejistý," 83. These findings were also summarized in Michal Šroněk, "The Veil of the Virgin Mary: Relics in the Conflict between Roman Catholics and Utraquists in Bohemia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Umění* 57 (2009): 118–39.

²⁶³ Ivan Hlaváček, *Středověké Soupisy Knih a Knihoven v Českých Zemích. Příspěvek ke Kulturním Dějinám Českým* [Medieval inventories of books and libraries in the Bohemian lands. Contribution to the Czech cultural history] (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1966), 115. This manuscript is currently stored in the Czech National Library in Prague with the shelf mark VI.B.17. Notably, King Přemysl Ottokar II founded the monastery in 1263 and devoted its name to a Holy Thorn, which he received from French King Louis IX, who was known for his collection of the Passion-related relics: "Unam spinam coronae domini rex Franciae magnis precibus ei contulit, qua ipsam fundationem decoravit, et ab hoc Coronam sanctam appellavit." "Johannes Victoriensis und andere Geschichtsquellen Deutschlands im Vierzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum I*, ed. Johannes F. Boehmer (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1843), 311.

²⁶⁴ MS XII.D.10, Czech National Library, Prague.

²⁶⁵ Šroněk, "The Veil of the Virgin Mary", 118.

different people and churches.²⁶⁶ Moreover, the *Chronicle of Francis of Prague* mentions that the queen organized processions with relics involving the clergy and people of Prague in 1328 during a serious plague outbreak.²⁶⁷ Given the gravity of the pestilence described in the source, one would expect that these relics must have been potent to alleviate the situation. In this respect, it would be very tempting to assume that the procession also included the Virgin's blood-sprinkled veil. However, this theory remains speculative due to the lack of more precise sources. A much more substantial piece of evidence in favor of Queen Elisabeth's ownership of the relic is her 1330 bequest to the Cistercian monastery of Waldsassen since the document lists the *peplum* among numerous holy objects, including Passion-related ones.²⁶⁸

Correspondingly, as the Bohemian visual arts demonstrate, the fame of Mary's bloody veil rose in Prague during the 1330s-1340s. For instance, we can find very specific portrayals of the crucified Christ accompanied by his grieving mother in the stained garment in the Missal of Henricus Thesaurus as well as in panel paintings which were created in the Czech capital at the time.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Notably, the same year she acquired another Holy Thorn from France: "Hoc anno Alizabeth, regina Boemie, a diversis personis et ecclesiis sollempnes sanctorum reliquias obtinuit [...]. Ad devotam petitionem eciam eiusdem regine Karulus, rex Francie, sibi unam spinam, sive particulam ad unius digiti longam, sed gracilem de sacrosancta corona spinea Domini destinavit [...]." Peter of Zittau, "Zbraslav Chronicle," in *FRB* IV, 280.

²⁶⁷ Eodem anno in plenunio mensis Marcii luna eclipsatur, ventus validissimus per ebdomadas quattuor continuatus subsequitur. Post hanc eclipsim mense Aprili moritur hominum multitudo et in pluribus mundi partibus pestilencia pecorum oritur valde gravis. porro Elizabeth regina metu tante plage perterrita processiones cum reliquiis sanctorum universo clero et populo Pragensi indicit, quibus factis notabiliter quassacio cessavit et dominus Deus populo suo factus est placatus. "Chronicle of Francis of Prague," *FRB* IV, 401.

²⁶⁸ "Elizabeth of Přemysl, the recently deceased queen of Bohemia, donated her personal collection of relics to the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen. [...] The second and third [boxes] contained numerous martyrs and Apostles' relics, and memorial relics of Christ and the Virgin (manna, pannum, cradle, column, tunics, deb, and the Sepulchre of Christ, the Holy Cross, stones from Calvary and Mount of Olives, and milk, hair and bloodied Veil of the Virgin." The translation is taken from Kateřina Horníčková, "In Heaven and on Earth: Church Treasure in Late Medieval Bohemia" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2009), 201–2. The original text was first published in Zdenka Hledíková, "Závět' Elišky Přemyslovny [Testament of Elisabeth of Přemysl]," in *Královský Vyšehrad III*, ed. Bořivoj Nechvátal (Prague: Kostelní Vydří, 2007), 139–40.

²⁶⁹ Jeffrey Hamburger adds to this list a manuscript illumination from the Missal of Chotěšov (MS XIV.C.3., fol. 185v, Czech National Library, Prague). Hamburger, "Bloody Mary," 10–11. Nevertheless, the manuscript's illumination slightly diverges from the particular visual motif of the Virgin's blood-stained cloth. Instead of representing the Virgin's mantle covered in her son's blood, it depicts Mary in a clean veil standing by the cross and observing a profuse amount of blood coming from Christ's side wound and right hand, which has not reached her clothes yet.

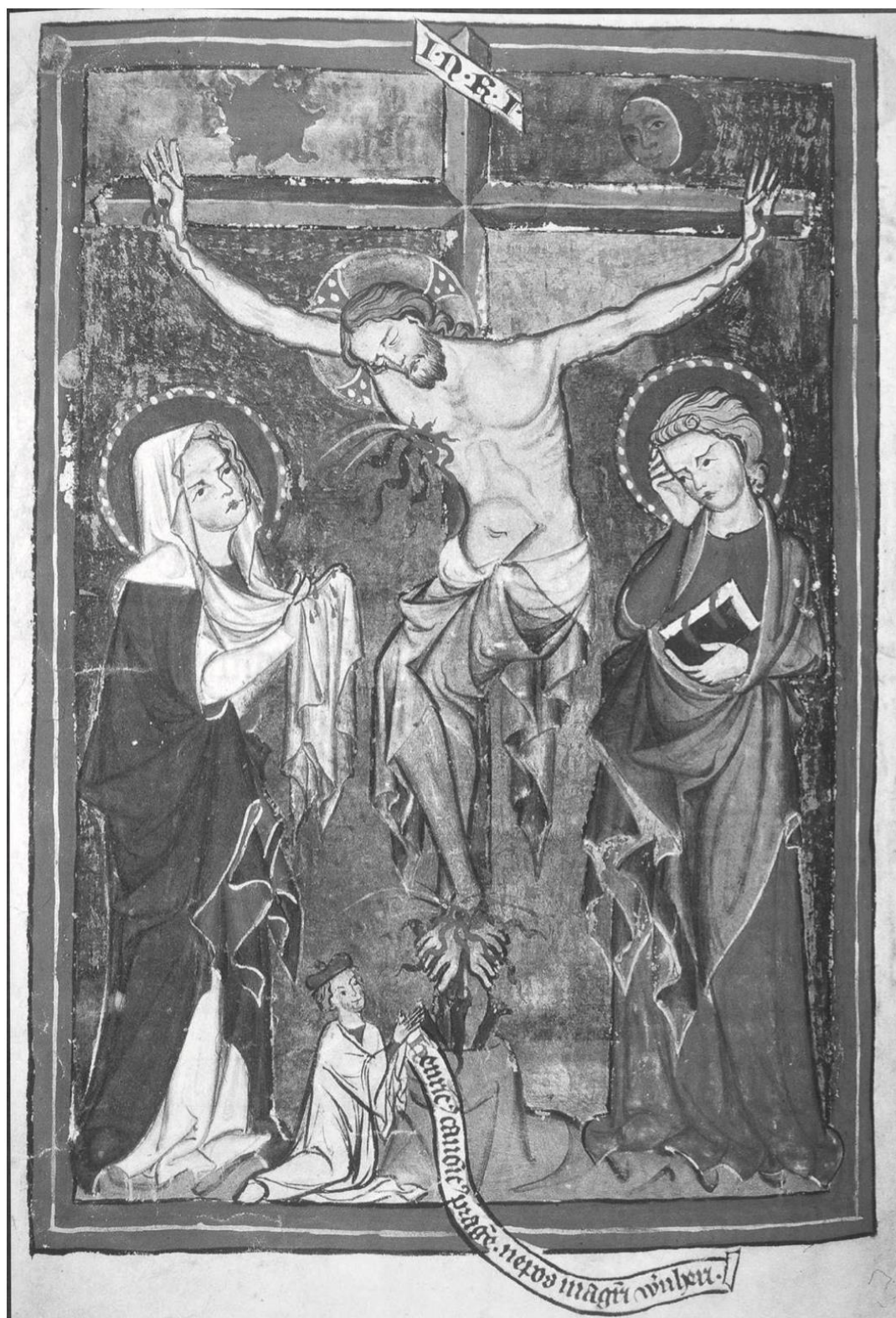


Figure 2. Folio 42v from the Missal of Henricus Thesaurus. MS XVI.B.12, National Museum Library, Prague.
Source: Hamburger, "Bloody Mary," 10.



Figure 3. The Crucifixion of the Vyšší Brod panel cycle (also known as the Hohenfurth altarpiece), around 1347. Photo: The National Gallery, Prague. CC BY-SA 4.0.

It is hard to tell whether it was the textual distribution of the mentioned literary motif found in the *Dialogus*, Queen Elisabeth's acquisition and supposed demonstration of the *peplum*, or the combination of both that affected the local depictions of the crucifixion in the 1330s-1340s. As scholars tend to agree, Elisabeth's son, Charles IV, was, most likely, aware of these two intertwined philopassianist phenomena. For instance, Šroněk has convincingly demonstrated that Charles expressed some interest in Passion-related devotional literature and even referred to Pseudo-Anselm's work in his own spiritual writing about Mary. Based on that, the researcher argued that the

Czech king was familiar with the *Dialogus* and its trope of the Virgin's blood-stained garment.²⁷⁰

Moreover, just as his mother, Charles was a passionate collector of saintly relics. Scholars agree that he must have obtained three relics of the Virgin's veil between 1349 and 1365.²⁷¹ Thus, the St. Vitus Cathedral's inventory from 1354 mentions the *peplum cruentatum* and the Virgin's clean white veil, which the king obtained in 1354.²⁷² Kateřina Horníčková has diligently traced the former relic's origins back to Queen Elisabeth's treasury and demonstrated that the cathedral received the *peplum*, among other important artifacts, around 1349-1350.²⁷³ The Virgin's white cloak, which the inventory also lists, was obtained by Charles IV during his trip through Southern Germany, where he visited several cities and abbeys and requested to open their shrines and give him pieces of the preserved relics.²⁷⁴ Charles' visit to Trier was exceptionally fruitful in this respect because the monarch exploited the death of the local archbishop Baldwin to gain free access to local treasures, including the white cloak of the Virgin.²⁷⁵ The third relic he obtained was Mary's stained veil, which she allegedly used to cover Christ's naked body once he had been mocked and stripped off. Charles received it in 1365 from Pope Urban V and stored it in the Karlštejn royal treasury.²⁷⁶

More importantly, Charles further contributed to the popularization of the *peplum cruentatum*'s fame in Bohemia. Namely, with the papal support of Urban V, he established the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails in 1354. From that moment on, each

²⁷⁰ Šroněk, "Karel IV., Jan Rokycana a Šlojír Nejistý," 86. For Charles' reference to the Anselmian text, see *Spisové Císaře Karla IV.*, ed. Josef Emler (Prague: Nákladem Matice České, 1878), 127.

²⁷¹ Kateřina Horníčková, "In Heaven and on Earth"; Hamburger, "Bloody Mary"; Šroněk, "The Veil of the Virgin Mary."

²⁷² "Beatissimae Virginis Mariae duplex peplum, alterum cruentatum Christi sanguine, inclusum pyxidi crystallinae argento circumdatae; alterum non cruentatum albo panno insutum, quod Carolus Imp. obtinuit an. 1354." Cited from Hamburger, "Bloody Mary," 7.

²⁷³ Horníčková, "In Heaven and on Earth", 91.

²⁷⁴ Beneš Krabice of Vietmile, "Cronica Ecclesie Pragensis," 522. Notably, this trip was not the first time when Charles 'raided' for relics. In 1350, the Czech king went to the Bavarian lands. From there, he brought to Prague precious imperial relics, including the ones associated with Christ's torments, namely: a part of the Holy Cross, the Holy Lance and a Holy Nail. The Chronicle of Beneš of Krabice describes the relics' entry to Prague in particular details, see: Beneš Krabice of Vietmile, "Cronica Ecclesie Pragensis," 519. The anonymous Czech Chronicle also holds a brief account of the relics' translation, see: *Monumenta historica Boemiae*, 57. More on this trip, see Karel Stejskal, "Karel jako Sběratel", in *Karolus Quartus: Pia memoriae fundatoris sui Universitas Carolina*, ed. V. Vaněček (Prague: Karlova univerzita, 1984), 458. On the itinerary, see Jakub Pavel, "Studie k Itinerári Karla IV.," *Historická Geografie* 2 (1969): 38–78

²⁷⁵ Zoë Opačić, "Architecture and Religious Experience in 14th-century Prague," in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument: Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext*, eds. J. Fajt and A. Langer (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 136–49.

²⁷⁶ Šroněk, "Karel IV., Jan Rokycana a Šlojír Nejistý," 82–83.

Friday after Quasimodo Sunday (i.e. the second Sunday of Easter), Prague dwellers observed a massive procession marching through the city with the most precious Passion relics and imperial insignia. The procession started from the Castle Hill, headed through the Lesser and Old Town, and culminated on the Ox Market square (modern Charles Square) in the New Town of Prague. During Charles' lifetime, a provisional wooden platform was erected to demonstrate the relics to the people. After his death, a special Corpus Christi Chapel was constructed in the middle of the square.²⁷⁷

The final ostentation of relics on the Ox Market square was split into four main phases according to the artifacts symbolic function. The first stage comprised the relics of Bohemian dynastic saints (St. Wenceslas, Vitus, Adalbert, and Sigismund), the Evangelists Mark and Luke, and the Popes Urban and Gregory, all taken from the treasury of the St. Vitus Cathedral. Then, Passion-related objects came, including the *Arma Christi* (the Holy Sponge, a Nail, a part of the Holy Cross, and the Column of Flagellation) and the mentioned *peplum cruentatum* from the cathedral. The third phase displayed several relics of the apostle martyrs and other objects from the royal treasury.²⁷⁸ The last phase displayed the imperial insignia with the Holy Lance and other symbols of the imperial power, like the swords of St. Maurice and Charlemagne (who was also considered a saint at the time) and the latter's crown.²⁷⁹ Arguably, the Czech king was personally invested in the establishment and promotion of the feast to attract the local population and pilgrims from all over Europe and might have even participated in the composition of its liturgical office.²⁸⁰

So far, all of the textual, visual, and material cases examined in this chapter have demonstrated that the Passion piety and interest in the contact relics that bore traces of Christ's blood, including the *peplum cruentatum*, were notable in fourteenth-century Bohemia. The question remains: How could these aspects affect the shared preaching discourse for Good Friday? Surely, the discussed public demonstrations and visual depictions of the Virgin's blood-stained garments deserve due consideration in this respect. The popularity of this object and its annual public displays reached wide audiences and must have been known to local composers of sermons. As a result, I

²⁷⁷ Opačić, "Architecture and Religious Experience in 14th-century Prague," 136–49.

²⁷⁸ Notably, later this group incorporated the cradle and the Virgin's stained veil-loincloth, which Charles received in 1365. Horníčková, "In Heaven and on Earth," 122.

²⁷⁹ For the detailed list of the relics, see Horníčková, "In Heaven and on Earth," 120–22. Kateřina Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae. Karel IV. a Řím* [Imitatio Romae. Charles IV and Rome] (Prague: Artefactum, 2006), 291–294.

²⁸⁰ Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 228–235.

believe that together with various textual aids, the growing interest in the material representation of the *peplum* (as well as the *Arma Christi*) constituted a part of the shared discourse on the Passion in the Czech capital and beyond. Therefore, these processes might offer us an additional contextual level of interpretation for Bohemian Good Friday preaching texts of the time. Nevertheless, it is impossible to trace local preachers' interactions with the visuals of the bloody veil and find direct references to the relic's ostentations in their sermons. Luckily, this is not the case of Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus*, which could find its way to Bohemian preaching discourses as I will briefly show in the closing part of this chapter.

The blood-sprinkled veil's textual migration: From the Anselmian Dialogus to Good Friday sermons

In Bohemian Good Friday sermons, we encounter careful suggestions that Mary could have been colored with Christ's blood already in the 1330s in Peter of Zittau's preaching discourses. The first, yet distant, hint of such kind comes from his *De Passione sermo IV*, which generally states that "[Christ's] blood has been poured out [on Good Friday] not as a drop but as a flowing river" ("sangwis hodie effusus [est], non ut gutta, sed ut fluvius decurrens").²⁸¹ Another Good Friday sermon by Peter of Zittau built on the biblical verse *Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa* from the Song of Songs speaks of the wounded Lord, who lovingly shows his injuries to Mary, the Church, and each devout soul.²⁸² In line with this structure, the sermon's first part presents an affective monologue, which the suffering Christ addresses to his sorrowful mother while hanging on the cross. Although Jesus tries to console her and promises a soon reunion, these attempts prove vain, as Mary's reaction shows:

²⁸¹ Cited from Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 111.

²⁸² "*Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa* [...]. Verba proposita, que amorem et dolorem exprimunt, Cristi passioni quam nostre devocioni conveniunt. Quando puer vulneratur, ad matrem et ad patrem currit, ostendit eis vulnus, aut ad illos, quos maxime diligit. Sic facit Dominus – maxime suis fidelibus servitoribus et dilectis et spiritualibus vulnus ostendit, et tamen vulneratus quandoque tantum unum vulnus ostendit, ne nimis propter multa vulnera perturbentur. Sic hodie fecit Kristus, cum esset vulneratus in omnibus membris suis [...]. Tunc ipse videns matrem et predilectos, [...] stantes iuxta crucem, bene dicere potuit: *Vulnerasti cor meum* etc. [...] Hec verba Kristus dicere poterat ad matrem Mariam, ad ecclesiam, quam tunc de latere suo produxit, et ad quamlibet devotam animam." Ibid., 38.

What did Mary do to such words? Anselm and other saints describe: Often she fell, [she was] colored red in blood, and [she] cried out: ‘Alas, my son.’ Therefore, she is called the Red Sea because her grief [was] great like the sea.²⁸³

While the comparison of Mary to the sea signifies the extraordinary extent to which she lamented during her son’s final hours, the adjective “red” and the participle “reddened/colored red” (*rubricata*) may refer to the Anselmian *Dialogus* and its trope of the Virgin’s garment, which received Christ’s blood when she stood next to the cross. Peter of Zittau’s reference to Anselm potentially contributes to the assumption that this preacher was aware of the *Dialogus* and could have used it as a preaching aid.

Apart from Peter of Zittau’s sermons, we can find more substantial evidence that the *Dialogus* and its trope of the blood-sprinkled veil were directly incorporated in Good Friday sermons in Bohemia. Thus, when I was looking for Bohemian Good Friday materials that would construct the main corpus of this dissertation, I stumbled upon a peculiar preaching text based on the *thema Stabat juxta crucem Jesu mater ejus* (“There stood by the cross of Jesus his mother”, John 19:25).²⁸⁴ It is a part of a fourteenth-century manuscript of an anonymous Lenten sermon collection, which Johannes Schneyer connected to the University of Prague in his *Repertorium*.²⁸⁵ Currently, the manuscript is stored in the National Library in Prague with a shelf mark VIII.F.25. Let us briefly examine this sermon and its appropriation of the bloody trope in question in more detail.

The sermon is structured around four instances which demonstrate the extent to which the Virgin’s separation from her son is miserable and lamentable (*ex moriendi*

²⁸³ “Quid ad talia verba Maria fecit? Anselmus et alii sancti describunt: Sepe cecidit, rubricata sanguine fuit et clamavit: Heu me, fili mi. Ideo vocatur mare rubrum, quia velud mare magna contricio sua.” Ibid., 39.

²⁸⁴ Despite the text’s rich symbolical imagery and its clear connection with Pseudo-Anselm’s *Dialogus* and the trope of Mary’s bloody veil, I did not include it in the final corpus of the analyzed Bohemian Good Friday sermons. As I have stated in the introduction to the dissertation, the thesis’ corpus includes preaching text with an attributed authorship. *Stabat juxta crucem Jesu mater ejus* was composed by an anonymous author and the scholarship has not yet clarified who he could have been. Therefore, I excluded this text from the principal analysis and will use it only in this section for illustrative purposes.

²⁸⁵ Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 9, 350. It should be noted that the *Repertorium* lists an anonymous sermon from the University of Paris with the identical *thema* and *prothema* (introduction to the sermon), see Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 6, 124. This sermon comes from a fourteenth-century manuscript UER MS 320 stored in the University Library, Erlangen-Nürnberg. I compared both sermons and came to a conclusion that, although the sermons share the same introductory elements, their main *divisiones* significantly differ from each other. See UER MS 320, fols. 207ra-208ra, University Library, Erlangen-Nürnberg and VIII.F.25, fols. 152ra-154rb, Czech National Library, Prague. I would suppose that either these texts’ authors used the same source for their *prothemata* or these are two different redactions of a third text, which is not preserved.

afflictione,²⁸⁶ *ex licentie donatione*,²⁸⁷ *de personali filii expiratione*,²⁸⁸ *ex sepulture traditione*²⁸⁹). To make the sermon's content more moving and provide an imitable and relatable model of compassion, each part of this four-fold structure follows Mary's Passion testimony. In doing so, the anonymous preacher repeatedly incorporates citations with the Virgin's affective monologues either from Pseudo-Bernard's *planctus Quis dabit*²⁹⁰ or Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus*.

Notably, the sermon's dependence on the latter source is particularly evident in the fourth part of the main division, where the author expands on the Virgin's pitiful separation from Christ during his burial. Here, except for rare instances of grammatically switching the narrative from first to third person singular or substituting personal names with pronouns (these parts are underlined in the text below), the anonymous author follows the *Dialogus*' chapter 16 almost word by word (these parts are put in **bold**). In order to better demonstrate how the sermon incorporates the Anselmian *Dialogus* and appropriates its trope of Mary's bloody veil, I will compare both texts in Latin:

Anonymous <i>Stabat juxta crucem</i> :	Pseudo-Anselm's <i>Dialogus</i> , chapter 16:
Quartum accidit ex sepulture traditione. Nota secundum Anselmum, quod multum est lamentabile , quia cum Joseph corpus deponeret de cruce, <u>Maria stabat sursum prospiciens</u> . [...] <u>Maria caput ejus in sinum suum accipiens</u> , <u>amare flere cepit</u> , dicens : 'Heu mihi, dulcissime fili, qualem consolationem nunc habeo , quia te mortuum coram me video.' Tunc	Nota hoc, Anselme, quod multum est lamentabile . Dum Joseph corpus deponeret , <u>ego stabam juxta crucem sursum respiciens</u> . [...] Et <u>ego caput ejus in sinum meum recipiens</u> , <u>amarissime flere cepi</u> , dicens: 'Heu, dulcissime fili, qualem solationem habeo , quae mortuum filium coram me video.' Tunc accurrens

²⁸⁶ "Primum accidit ex moriendi afflictione. Maria enim, mater Christi, quamvis ipsa libentissime videret pro humanae generis redemptione Filium pati, cum ex materna dilectione tota deficeret, cum tam inauditum dolorem videret eum pati." VIII.F.25, fol. 152va, Czech National Library, Prague.

²⁸⁷ "Secundum accidit ex licentie donatione. Ipse enim Christus de cruce respiciens matrem suam taliter clamantem, compatiens ei, dixit (Johannes): 'Mulier, ecce filius tuus.' Quasi diceret: 'O, mater dulcissima, mollis ad flendum, mollis ad dolendum, tu scis quid ad haberi nem et de te carnem assumpsi, ut per crucis patibulum salvarem genus humanum.'" VIII.F.25, fol. 153ra, Czech National Library, Prague.

²⁸⁸ "Tertio accidit de personali Filii expiratione et hic patet infletu et clamore. [...] Mattheus: 'Jesus autem iterum clamans voce magna emisit spiritum.'" VIII.F.25, fol. 153rb, Czech National Library, Prague.

²⁸⁹ VIII.F.25, fol. 153va, Czech National Library, Prague.

²⁹⁰ I will discuss this text and its usefulness for preachers in the next chapter.

<p>accurrens Johannes evangelista cecidit super pectus suum, dicens: ‘Heu mihi, de isto pectore potabam quondam dulcia pocula, sed modo tristitia et lamentabilia.’[...]</p>	<p>Johannes evangelista cecidit super pectus Jesu, plorans et dicens: ‘Heu, heu, de isto pectore heri potabam dulcia verba, hodie tristitia et lamentabilis.’[...]</p>
<p>Et cum eum sepelire vellent, beata Virgo corpus ejus fortissime tenebat, nec sepelire permisit, dicens: ‘Karissime Johannes, relinque mihi [...].’</p> <p>Quam cum videret populus et vestem sanguine conspersam induta, sicut ante crucem steterat et sanguis super eam stillaverat, unanimiter clamaverunt, dicentes: ‘O quanta injuria facta est in Jerusalem hodie in ista pulcherrima domina et filio ejus.’</p> <p>Et omnes qui eam viderunt toto cordis compatiebantur ei. Rogemus.²⁹¹</p>	<p>Et cum eum sepelire vellent, cum magno merore corpus fortissime tenui et sepeliri vix permisi, dicens: ‘Charissime Johannes, relinque mihi [...].’</p> <p>Populus autem me videns indutam vestem aspersam sanguine, sicut ante Jesum steteram et sanguis ejus super me stillaverat, unanimiter clamabant gementes: ‘O quanta injuria facta est in hodie Hierusalem in ista pulcherrima domina et filio suo.’²⁹²</p>

The provided comparison of the *Dialogus*, with the trope of the bloody veil in its center, vividly shows how this textual preaching aid could be converted into sermon material in the fourteenth-century Bohemian milieu. Pietro Delcorno has recently demonstrated that the text’s dramatic potential and adaptability for preaching secured its popularity among later acclaimed stars of the pulpit, including Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419) and John of Capistrano (d. 1456).²⁹³

To conclude, vivid descriptions of vicious atrocities inflicted on Christ’s suffering body helped to animate the distant biblical narrative and provoke the audience to emotionally intense responses to the horrific Good Friday events by identifying with the suffering savior. Therefore, the preaching aids’ visual commonplaces depicting

²⁹¹ VIII.F.25, fols. 153va–154rb, The Czech National Library.

²⁹² Pseudo-Anselm, “*Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*,” col. 286-288.

²⁹³ Pietro Delcorno. “‘Frater Fredericus predicavit’: The Sermons of a ‘Translator’ of Giovanni of Capestrano,” in *Preaching in East-Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Pavel Soukup, Olga Kalashnikova (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

unparalleled cruelty towards Christ often appealed to empathy and compassion. Besides, in parallel with Christocentric obsession with blood and Passion-related violence, the unusual trope of the bloody veil of Mary was clearly pronounced in some texts available in fourteenth-century Bohemia. Developing in parallel with the growing Passion and Marian piety as well as the cult of the *Arma Christi* and Mary's blood-stained contact relic, this publicly circulating motif provided an instruction of how to imitate and embody the Passion, which will be more closely examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 4. Embodiment of the Passion

As medieval Passion piety became more focused on Christ's corporeality and philopassianism, the texts on Christ's death embraced a new spiritual turn that was communicated across various literary genres and religious practices. In his seminal monograph, Richard Southern defined these innovative literary forms as those belonging to "affective devotion", that is expressing "compassionate tenderness for the suffering Christ."²⁹⁴ Mostly being part of meditative literature, some of these texts pertained to preaching and reflected the intensification of religious devotion among those lay people, who, according to Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, "hungered for new forms of spirituality that went deeper than the minimal observances required by the Church".²⁹⁵

This chapter will examine preaching aids of different types used to assist affective devotion to Christ's Passion and, most importantly, the embodiment thereof in fourteenth-century Bohemia. Based on their functionality, these texts used for preaching can be divided into two major clusters: some of them, like pseudo-Bernardian *Stimulus amoris/dilectionis* or Pseudo-Bede's *De meditatione passionis Christi per VII horas diei* promote participatory meditation on Christ's mental and physical sufferings; the others, including Pseudo-Anselmian *Dialogus Marie* and Marian lamentations (*planctus*) transmit a compassionate meditation on Christ's mother in anguish. By looking at these instances, I will combine two methodological frameworks trending in the field of the history of emotions - emotive and emotional 'scripts'. These trends require a brief explanation.

In what follows below, "emotive scripts" are understood in Sif Ríkharðsdóttir's terms as a certain vocabulary with a literary expression of "emotive signposts". On the one hand, these symbolic codes are influenced by generic specifics and cultural conventions. Hence, they respond to a fixed 'horizon of feeling'. In other words, our expectations of feelings described in courtly romances and religious literature would differ. On the other hand, "emotive scripts" were designed to guide the reader through the text. Presenting literary characters that follow specific patterns of performative

²⁹⁴ Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 237. More on the historiographical debates about the term, see Paul Megna, "Dreadful Devotion," in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe: 1100–1700*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London: Routledge, 2021), 72.

²⁹⁵ Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France: Narrative Theology in the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2021), 229.

emotional display, medieval texts created emotive literary identities, which dictated sets of emotional values appropriate for a given literary situation. Consequently, these identities imposed some norms of emotive behavior on medieval reading communities.²⁹⁶

Next, I define “emotional scripts” as a chain of fixed and stereotypical feelings and actions defining a well-known situation. Piroska Nagy’s and Xavier Biron-Ouellet’s discussion about Italian flagellants’ collective emotional display is, perhaps, the most fitting model study to illustrate this concept in the context of the Passion-related penitential devotion. As the scholars pinpoint, promoting the religious practice in question, Italian medieval preachers followed a normative emotional blueprint based on biblical *figurae*. That is, they turned to biblical exegesis to rhetorically encode and make memorable for the believers a set of emotions and expected religious actions leading to salvation.²⁹⁷ As a result, when the congregation recognized a certain well-known situation, each individual knew what to feel and how to act.²⁹⁸ This definition significantly refines Barbara H. Rosenwein’s initial understanding of “emotional scripts”.²⁹⁹

As we will see, the purpose of the affective texts that could be used for preaching was to generate a powerful emotional response to the Passion narrative and provide a general introduction to individual spiritual practices, primarily meditative prayer. Although, initially, most of these practices were conceived in the monastic milieu as early as the eleventh century,³⁰⁰ the high and late Middle Ages marked the adaptation of these forms of devotion by laypeople, thus simultaneously representing the individualization and internalization of affective devotion to the Passion as well as its institutionalization and socialization.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, *Emotion in Old Norse Literature: Translations, Voices, Contexts* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2017), 18–27.

²⁹⁷ Nagy and Biron-Ouellet, “A Collective Emotion in Medieval Italy,” 135–45.

²⁹⁸ As I will demonstrate in Part 3, with certain limitations, the concepts of emotive and emotional scripts are befitting Milíč’s reading/preaching community too.

²⁹⁹ The definition of “emotional script” was first suggested by Barbara H. Rosenwein. In her view, emotions are social elements, and their ‘scripts’ are constructed in words linked with actions. Together, they form rhetorical conventions in reading communities. For the most recent bibliography and overall overview of this framework, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Periodization? An Answer from the History of Emotions,” in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe: 1100–1700*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London: Routledge, 2021), 15–29.

³⁰⁰ Rebecca F. McNamara, “The Emotional Body in Religious Belief and Practice,” in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe: 1100–1700*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London: Routledge, 2021), 109.

³⁰¹ These parallel processes are discussed in Dyan Elliott, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women, 200–1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania

(Com)Passion with Christ and imitatio Christi

Through the evocation of mental and bodily anguish, affective texts invited medieval devotees to imitate Christ's Passion by identifying with the chronologically distant and theologically intangible matters with their minds and bodies.³⁰² In doing so, some works intensified the focus on suffering Jesus, thus offering comprehensible examples of imitative devotional behavior to diversified groups of believers, ultimately leading them to salvation. For instance, we find traces of this approach already in the *Glossa ordinaria*. Thus, one of the most fundamental motifs that the *Glossa* transmitted was Bede's edifying interpretation of Christ's way to Calvary through the lenses of *imitatio Christi*:

And they forced one (Mark 15:21)

[Marginal note by Bede:] The Lord himself first carried his own cross, as John says, and then Simon, about whom others also speak, and this is quite fitting in the order of the mystery: 'For Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow in his footsteps.'³⁰³

Praying with Christ in anguish

The affective texts with Good Friday representation echoed Bede's long-standing interpretation in the high and late Middle Ages. Among them is a text quite relevant in our corpus of sermons, Pseudo-Bede's *Meditationes Passionis Christi per*

Press, 2012); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), especially 357–58; Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London-New York: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 76; Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality. Bd. 2: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. J. Raitt (London: SCM Press, 1989), 76; Susan M. Arvey, "Private Passions: The Contemplation of Suffering in Medieval Affective Devotions" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2008).

³⁰² Current scholarship on the history of emotions regards the devotee's embodied imitation of Christ's bodily practices as focal as to the construction of religious belief and identity. McNamara, "The Emotional Body in Religious Belief and Practice," 106.

³⁰³ "*Et angariaverunt quempiam* (Mc 15:21)

[marg. Beda:] Ipse Dominus primo crucem suam portavit, sicut Ioannes dicit, post iste Simon de quo et alii dicunt et hoc satis congruo ordine mysterii: 'Christus enim passus pro nobis nobis reliquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius'. "*Glossa Ordinaria*, digital edition, accessed July 7, 2023: https://glossa-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?id=liber&numLivre=56&chapitre=56_15#cap15_verset21.

VII horas diei.³⁰⁴ This crucial text is a well-known thirteenth-century bestseller³⁰⁵ used for various purposes, including preaching.³⁰⁶ It promotes what scholarship on affective literature and the history of emotions defines as participatory meditative practices – “a remembrance of the Passion, a moment of compassion in which the [devotee takes] part in the suffering of Christ.”³⁰⁷ Indeed, as the prologue of the *Meditationes* indicates, it is necessary that the meditator reflects on the Good Friday events “as if you were present at the time when [Christ suffered]”, thus allowing to “immerse yourself in sorrow as if you had the suffering Lord before the eyes.”³⁰⁸

Since the work is a guide for meditating on the Good Friday events throughout the day based on the canonical hours, its text is divided into seven parts, each associated with a given stage of the Passion narrative. Focusing on imaginative dialogues between a devout soul and Jesus, the *Meditationes* presents a structured approach to contemplating and embodying the Passion. The way how Pseudo-Bede’s work portrays the episode of Christ’s anguish and prayer in the garden of Gethsemane is especially

³⁰⁴ Compare the cited passage with the excerpt from the *Glossa*: “Domine, quo ibimus? et ipse tibi in spiritu respondebit: Ibimus ad passionem meam, ibimus ad angustiam meam, et ad separationem a vobis, corporaliter in hoc mundo. Et: Quicumque voluerit venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me. Et tu respondebis: Ibo, Domine, et ego tecum, et sequar te [...]” Pseudo-Bede, “De Meditatione Passionis Christi per septem diei horas,” in *PL* 94, col. 562.

³⁰⁵ The earlier historiography wrongly attributed this text to Bede, as it is indicated in the *Patrologia Latina*. In the Middle Ages, the work also circulated with attributions to Augustine, Bonaventura, and Bernard of Clairvaux as the Bohemian manuscripts X.G.8, I.F.13 from the Czech National Library attest. Although contemporary scholarship refuses these versions on the authorship and its dating, the research struggles to provide a conclusive attribution to the *Meditationes Passionis Christi per VII horas diei*. Most commonly, historians refer to this text as one of the Franciscan origin because it served as a fundamental source for the Franciscan *Meditations on the Life of Christ* composed in the fourteenth century. See, for instance, Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours* (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2003), 58 or Sarah McNamer, “The Origins of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,” *Speculum* 84, no. 4 (2009): 905–55.). The most recent debates and findings about the source and its authorship are summarized in Dávid Falvay, Péter Tóth, *L'autore e la trasmissione delle Meditationes Vitae Christi in base a manoscritti volgari italiani* (Rome: Grottaferrata, 2015). However, based on the text’s stylistics, some historians speculated that it could also derive from the Cistercian milieu: Jürgen Bärsch, “Liturgy and Reform: Northern German Convents in the Late Middle Ages,” in *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann, and Anne Simon (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 33; Patrick F. O’Connell, “Aelred of Rievaulx and the ‘Lignum Vitae’ of Bonaventure: A Reappraisal,” *Franciscan Studies* 48 (1988): 57.

³⁰⁶ As showcased in James H. Marrow, “Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ’s Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance,” *The Art Bulletin* 59, no. 2 (1997): 167–81. In the Bohemian corpus, I was able to trace the direct use of this text in one of Milíč’s Good Friday sermons, as will be analyzed in Chapter 8.

³⁰⁷ Damien Boquet and Piroška Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), 96.

³⁰⁸ “Necessarium etiam esse, ut aliquando ista cogites in contemplatione tua, ac si praesens tum temporis fuisses, quando passus fuit. Et ita te habeas in dolendo, ac si Dominum tuum coram oculis tuis haberes patientem, et ita ipse Dominus praesens erit, et accipiet tua vota.” Pseudo-Bede, “De Meditatione Passionis Christi per septem diei horas,” col. 561–562.

remarkable in this regard because it showcases not only the text's emotive potential but also its ability to provide explicit instructions pertaining to daily religious practices. To exemplify this strategy of embodiment in detail, let us look more closely at how this episode is treated in the *Meditationes*' first chapter, *On the Compline*.

The author assigns the chapter with a catechetical function of instructing the devotees on the exemplary prayer which Christ performed while foreseeing his torments. Narrating this scene, Pseudo-Bede simultaneously constructs a rhetorical 'bridge' between the audience and the biblical events. In doing so, he directly invites his readers to contemplate the abundance of visual details relating to Christ's departure to the Mount of Olives and bodily signs of his religious fervor as well as to "observe" the apostles that rest behind their master praying in distress.³⁰⁹ The combination of fictive dialogues, mental visualizations, and direct addresses to the meditator creates a sense of presence for the audience/readers.³¹⁰ Such an approach opens up a possibility for literary *imitatio Christi* by performing the prayer with Christ through "body gestures and devout words":

Take note of all [his] words and manners. Likewise, you should do the same, that is, falling on your face. Do not look back but keep the things you ask for before you and hold them in your mind [...]. Let your will be present, and let your prayer be [...] accompanied by great effort and sorrow, just as God did. Let it be not brief but prolonged. [...] And not once but frequently one should pray, as [Christ] showed by his threefold prayer. And you should pray for the living, sinners, yourself, and your friends and entrusted ones.³¹¹

³⁰⁹ "Respice etiam, qualiter jacebant discipuli dormientes, et qualiter ostendit modum orandi in gestu corporis et verbo pio, et per angelum ibi apparentem. Dicitur enim quod procidit in faciem suam super terram, et oravit ibidem dicens: Pater, si fieri potest, transfer calicem hunc a me. Verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu. Et ecce apparuit illi angelus de coelo confortans eum, et in agone prolixius orabat, et factus est sudor ejus tanquam guttae sanguinis decidentes infra." Ibid., col. 563.

³¹⁰ Some researchers refer to it as "spiritual tourism" or "mental pilgrimage". This concept is often discussed in relation to preaching: Kathyne Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 205–10. For "spiritual tourism" as to medieval arts, see Henry Luttikhuisen, "Still Walking: Spiritual Pilgrimage, Early Dutch Painting and the Dynamics of Faith," in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, eds. Sarah Blick and Laura Deborah Gelfand (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 199–226.

³¹¹ "Nota ergo hic omnia verba et modum; ita et tu debes facere, scilicet cadens in faciem tuam: non retro videas, sed ea quae rogas coram te habeas et teneas in mente [...]; et quod voluntas praesens sit, et [...] cum magno labore ores et dolore, sicut Deus fecit, et quod non parum, sed prolixo [...]; et non semel, sed frequenter est orandum, sicut ipse ostendit per trinam suam orationem; et tu ora pro vivis, pro peccatoribus, pro te et amicis tuis et commissis." Pseudo-Bede, "De Meditatione Passionis Christi per septem diei horas," col. 563.

Notably, not only does this passage serve as a valuable resource for individuals looking for practical guidance on the attitude, posture, intention, and frequency of a private prayer, but also demonstrates how meaningful participatory meditation on the Passion events was among medieval devotional practices. In line with this notion, the rich Franciscan tradition (especially Bonaventurian *Vitis Mystica*,³¹² *Lignum Vitae*, *Soliloquia* and Pseudo-Bonaventurian Passion treatises like the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*) also stresses the centrality of prayer for spiritual growth in various contexts of “mental Passion pilgrimage”, including that of the agony in the Gethsemane garden.

Among these texts, Bonaventura’s treatise *Lignum Vitae* provides a classic illustration of affective catechetical meditation on the Passion, one of the key elements of Franciscan pastoral mission and spirituality. The book is metaphorically designed as the ‘tree of Christ’s life’ with twelve ‘fruits’, each standing for Jesus’s virtues, providing examples for the faithful. More specifically, discussing the fifth ‘fruit’ that Christ demonstrated when he prostrated himself in the garden, Bonaventura turns to the visceral depiction of Christ’s agony supported by the popular biblical detail of bloody sweat running down from his entire body. According to the Franciscan master, the savior’s prayer in “vehement anxiety and anxious supplication” creates an opportunity to provide the faithful with an educative theological message and offer them to re-experience the Passion by imitating Christ:

To shape us in faith by believing that you have truly shared our mortal nature, to lift us up in hope when we must endure similar hardships, to give us greater incentives to love you - for these reasons you exhibited the natural weakness of the flesh by evident signs which teach us that you have truly borne our sorrows and that it was not without experiencing pain that you tasted the bitterness of your passion.³¹³

As pointed out by Viladesau, this positive example of endurance found its way to preaching and the genre of penitential sermons.³¹⁴ Although none of the preachers

³¹² The attribution of this Passion treatise has not been finalized yet as stated in Andrea Alessandri, “I Francescani e la meditazione del tema della Passione: Il caso della *Vitis Mystica* di Bonaventura di Bagnoregio,” *Specula. Revista de Humanidades y Espiritualidad* 3 (May 2023): 39–58. For this reason, I refer to this text as one adhering to the Bonaventurian tradition.

³¹³ Bonaventura, *The Soul’s Journey into God; The Tree of Life; The Life of St. Francis*, trans. Ewert H. Cousins (London: SPCK, 1978), 142.

³¹⁴ Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross*, 107.

from the studied Bohemian corpus directly refer to the mentioned widespread Franciscan texts for meditation, including *Lignum Vitae*, the texts' presence can be traced to the Bohemian lands and should be duly mentioned as they contributed to forming the shared discourse on Good Friday outside of the Franciscan order too.³¹⁵

Imitating the crucified Christ

Going further than inviting to re-experience and imitate Christ's emotional anguish and prayer in the garden of Gethsemane, some texts for meditation reenact the bodily agony of his crucifixion and even encourage its mimetic play among the audience.³¹⁶ Such literal conformity or compassion (etymologically deriving from *cum+passio* - "fellow-suffering", "fellow-feeling") allows the meditator to become immersed in the enactment of the Good Friday events and join Christ in his suffering on the cross.

The theme of embodying the suffering Christ is especially pronounced in the *Stimulus amoris* - a mid-twelfth-century meditative text composed by the Benedictine Eckbert of Schönau (d. 1184) for a female religious community.³¹⁷ Loaded with affective exhortations and biblical allusions, it stylistically mirrors the works of Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux. Due to its rhetorical proximity with these authors, the *Stimulus* was wrongly attributed already in the thirteenth century, when it began to widely circulate and influence other affective works.³¹⁸ In the Bohemian milieu, it was often copied as *Sermo de vita et passione Domini*, thus directly indicating that this "oral discourse" might have been also used either for a collective reading or preaching.³¹⁹

³¹⁵ For instance, the Benedictine convent of Saint George owned a manuscript of *Lignum Vitae*, which is currently stored under a shelf mark XIII.E.14c at the Czech National Library. Apart from this example, the treatise circulated in collections of affective and meditative texts as showcased by the manuscript XIII.D.12 at the Czech National Library.

³¹⁶ The relation between affective mimesis and the dramatic representation of the Passion in various genres is discussed in Donnalee Dox, "Repertoires and Genres: Emotions and Play," in *A Cultural History of Theatre in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, ed. Jody Enders (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2017), 163–78.

³¹⁷ Sara Margaret Ritchey, *Holy Matter: Changing Perceptions of the Material World in Late Medieval Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 117.

³¹⁸ More on the text and its authorship, see: Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 40–41; Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, 210. This text should not be confused with Pseudo-Bonaventura's (in fact, James of Milan's) Passion meditation composed in the late-thirteenth century under the same name. More on the Pseudo-Bonaventurian text, see Falk Eisermann, *Stimulus amoris: Inhalt, lateinische Überlieferung, deutsche Übersetzungen, Rezeption* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001).

³¹⁹ Notably, the text was circulating in the Bohemian manuscript XIII.D.12 containing "ascetic texts" and prayers as it is defined in the Manuscriptorium database of the Czech National Library. There is also a later fourteenth-century manuscript composed at the Golden Crown monastery containing the *Stimulus*. XII.B.16, Czech National Library, Prague.

Eckbert's allegorical interpretation of the crucifixion is especially illustrative considering rhetorical strategies of the embodiment of the Passion. For instance, narrating the scene of Christ's way to Calvary and his subsequent execution, the *Stimulus* develops Peter's (1 Pt. 2:21) commonplace of following Christ's steps in carrying the cross and invites the meditator to undergo a voluntary crucifixion. In this imaginative process, Eckbert compares each part of the cross and instruments of the Passion with the four cardinal virtues:

Fix [...] my hands, my feet, and the entire form of your Passion upon your servant. [...] I shall consider my left hand pierced by the nail of temperance, but my right hand I shall deem pierced by the nail of justice on that sublime cross. Grant that my mind may continually meditate on your law [...], and let my right foot be affixed to the same tree of life by the nail of prudence [...], and let my left foot also be held by the nail of fortitude on the cross. So that some likeness of the thorns of your head may appear in me, I beseech you, grant to my mind the salutary compunction of repentance and compassion for the misery of others [...]. I desire that you extend a sponge to my mouth through a reed and apply the bitterness of vinegar to my taste.³²⁰

Through these extremely detailed mental images, the *Stimulus* seeks not only to visualize and commemorate Christ's torments but also to invite the reader (or listener) to actively participate in the individualized bodily performance. After all, the cross-form posture was a widespread evocative prayer position in the Middle Ages: imploring before a crucifix in such a manner, one might effectively place oneself in the presence of the crucified Christ and connect with the distant events of the Passion story.³²¹ As a result, by this bodily mimesis, the torments of Christ are not solely mentally conjured but also lived through by the faithful to "attain an emotional intimacy with the

³²⁰ "Confige [...] manus meas, et pedes meos, et totam formam Passionis tuae servo tuo. [...] sinistram quidem meam clavo temperantiae, dexteram vero clavo iustitiae in illa sublimi cruce confixam arbitrabor. Da menti meae jugiter meditari in lege tua [...] et dexterum pedem meum eidem ligno vitae prudentiae clavo affige, [...] et sinister quoque pes meus fortitudinis clavo in cruce tenebitur. Ut autem et spinarum capitis tui aliqua in me similitudo appareat, detur, obsecro, menti meae et salubris poenitentiae compunctio, et alienae miseriae compassio [...] Libet ut et spongiam per arundinem ori meo porrigas, et aceti amaritudinem gustui meo adhibeas." Eckbert of Schönau, "Stimulus amoris," in *PL* 158, col. 759.

³²¹ Iva Jetvić, "Becoming-Birds: The Destabilizing Use of Gendered Animal Imagery in Ancrene Wisse," in *Animal Languages in the Middle Ages: Representations of Interspecies Communication*, ed. Alison Langdon (Cham: Springer International Publishing, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 23.

divine.”³²² Predominantly monopolized by the Franciscans in the thirteenth century,³²³ the private practice of mimicking the crucified Christ during prayer gradually migrated from the Passion-oriented meditative literature to genres pertaining to communal practices, like theatrical texts and sermons,³²⁴ and turned into what Friedemann Kreuder defines as a collective mental visualization of compassion and salvation.³²⁵

Moreover, the *Stimulus* anticipates the mystical interest in the instruments of the Passion and Christ’s wounds that particularly flourished in the Bohemian fourteenth-century milieu: “I humbly bow down to the glorious symbols of your Passion: [...] the royal banner of your victorious cross; your crown of thorns, the nails stained with your blood, the lance that pierced your sacred side, your wounds, your blood, your death [...].”³²⁶ To a certain extent, Eckbert’s ecstatic enumeration parallels the mystical devotional behavior practiced at the female Benedictine convent of Saint George in Prague. By the fourteenth century, the nunnery, which, in fact, was closely connected to the Přemyslid and Luxembourg royal families, became one of the main religious centers in the region. Eliška Kubartová-Poláčková has diligently traced codicological evidence of devotion to the side wound and instruments of the Passion at the convent based on the example of the early-fourteenth-century codex most commonly known as the *Passional of Abbess Cunigunde*.³²⁷ In a way similar to the Eucharistic symbolic reenactment of Christ’s death in liturgy, the female meditators on the Passion narrative contemplated a lavishly illustrated folio with a detailed inventory of the *Arma Christi* and Christ’s excruciated body. They could immaterially enter the

³²² Niklaus Largier, “Medieval Mysticism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, ed. John Corrigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 374.

³²³ It goes without saying that this allegory has many similarities with the episode of Francis of Assisi receiving stigmata while ardently praying before the crucifix. Bonaventura’s *Lignum vitae* and *Vitis mystica* also utilize it. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 41.

³²⁴ Dox, “Repertoires and Genres,” 165. Additionally, as I have mentioned, Milíč directly utilized the *Stimulus* and its affective passage with the voluntary crucifixion in his Good Friday discourses. Besides, Thomas of Štitný (he is not in the studied corpus because his texts were produced in the 1390s) totally builds sermon-alike Good Friday discourse on a chapter from the *Stimulus*.

³²⁵ Friedemann Kreuder, “Flagellation of the Son of God and Divine Flagellation: Flagellator Ceremonies and Flagellation Scenes in the Medieval Passion Play,” *Theatre Research International* 33, no. 2 (2008): 185–86.

³²⁶ “[...] ad tuae passionis gloriosa insignia [...] totum me inclino. Tuae victoriosae crucis regale vexillum [...]; tuum spineum diadema, tuo rubentes sanguine clavos, tuo sancto lateri immersam lanceam, tua vulnera, tuum sanguinem, tuam mortem [...].” Eckbert of Schönaue, “Stimulus amoris,” col. 757.

³²⁷ Eliška Poláčková, “Planctus Mariae: Performing Compassion as a Means of Social Promotion,” *Theatralia* 23, no. 2 (2020): 82.

the Prague University's textual environment,³³¹ so it is plausible that the local secular circles could have shared the same mystical techniques of prayer and meditation on Christ's death.

Kubartová-Poláčková also stresses the general importance of meditative texts contained in the *Passional* manuscript because they played a crucial role in the development of the Passion devotion in female religious communities in Prague. Supporting this argument, I will extend the consideration of these affective texts in the following section - especially those which allow the reader to follow the Virgin's example of compassion - as materials assisting preaching.

The Virgin as an example of contemplation and compassion

The central role of the Virgin Mary in providing compassionate agency in the Passion narrative is widely accepted in medieval literary tradition. As researchers state, crucial textual cornerstones framing imitative spiritual behavior after Mary originate from the works of two medieval thinkers: Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux.³³² Bohemian textual culture demonstrates a certain sensitivity to this Marian affective model. Since it would be impossible to detail all of the works where the Virgin takes a prominent role, this section will concentrate on two crucial examples of emotive and emotional 'scripts' present in the affective bestsellers circulating in the Bohemian domain or exceptional affective texts of local origin. As I will argue, works containing these 'scripts' (primarily the genre of Marian *planctus* and the aforementioned Pseudo-Anselmian *Dialogue with the Virgin*) have full performative potential to be considered as preaching aids: they offer preachers effective strategies to cultivate *compassio Mariae* among the audience. More specifically, on the one hand, the texts' emotive coding urges the faithful to imagine themselves alongside the Virgin and, consequently, participate in the Good Friday events as first-hand agents. On the other hand, they provided a possibility to theatrically imitate her grief by shedding tears as if it were their own.

Following the Virgin's first-hand testimony of the Passion

It has been persuasively asserted in the scholarship on literary history that the lion's share of affective meditations often employs multifaceted imagining of the

³³¹ I have previously mentioned the case of Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov, the rector of the University of Paris in the mid-1350s, who moved to the Prague University and brought his extensive library in the second half of the century.

³³² Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 237.

Gospel events and spurs meditators into picturing themselves within the fictive landscape of the Passion story. In relation to this trend, Fulton stresses in her seminal study on devotion to Christ and the Virgin that the decrease of ‘distance’ between Christ and the sinner marked the decisive turn in the eleventh-century affective texts.³³³ It would not be an exaggeration to extend this notion to the late-medieval texts for meditation, where the human supplicant seeks to obtain the ultimate union with God.³³⁴

The focus on closing the distance between the two is essential in the texts devoted to the Virgin’s role in the Passion events. Not only do they allow the meditator to follow the events of Christ’s final hours together with Mary, but they also offer remarkable intimacy and a sense of physical presence by inviting the audience to hang on the cross and embrace Christ’s tormented body with his mother. As Miri Rubin pinpointed, the late-medieval devotional environment “respected Mary and approached the Passion through Mary’s eyes.”³³⁵ The development of this technique of first-hand agency is vividly exemplified in the Pseudo-Bernardian *Planctus beatae Mariae* with an incipit “Quis dabit capiti meo aquam.” Bestul attributes this text to Ogier of Locedio, thus placing its origins around the end of the twelfth-beginning of the thirteenth century. From that time onwards, the *Quis dabit* influenced the genres of Christocentric meditations and Marian laments, as can be attested by the textual migration of the Virgin’s prosopopoeial speeches from this Pseudo-Bernardian text to other works (for instance, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* or Pseudo-Anselmian *Dialogus*).³³⁶ Apart from being partially spread across various works thanks to this intertextuality, the full version of the lament was numerous copied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries³³⁷ and reached the territories of Silesia,³³⁸ Moravia,³³⁹ and Central Bohemia³⁴⁰ around the fourteenth century.

³³³ Rachel Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 153.

³³⁴ Carla Bino, *Dal trionfo al pianto: La fondazione del “teatro della misericordia” nel Medioevo (V–XIII secolo)* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2008), 164.

³³⁵ Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), especially pages 79–110.

³³⁶ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 52.

³³⁷ As marked by Bestul in his preliminary catalog of Passion narratives. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 188.

³³⁸ Manuscripts I.F.627 and I.O.19 at the University Library of Wrocław bear origin from the Silesian Duchy of Sagan.

³³⁹ Manuscript M.III.45 at the Research Library in Olomouc.

³⁴⁰ Manuscript V.G.21 at the Czech National Library.

The necessity of dealing with the devotee's separation from Christ is pivotal in the *Quis dabit*, as it directly addresses the meditator in the opening paragraphs of the lament: "Reflect, reflect, think with a diligent mind, how bitter it is to be separated from him to whom you have promised yourself."³⁴¹ Seeking a proximity to Jesus, the author implores the Virgin to describe what she saw during Christ's final hours. She begins her narration from the episode of the second mockery of Christ that followed the condemnation at Pilate's court, continues with an extensive account of the crucifixion, and concludes with the deposition and burial of Christ's body. While the Virgin describes the agony she experienced witnessing her son dying, her concern for being separated from him becomes the most pronounced:

Since you [the Jews] crucify my only child, crucify the mother [...], so as long as I might die together with my son. It is wrong for him to die alone. [...] Away, hang the mother with her child! [...] Unhappy Jesus, [...] take up your mother with you on the cross, so I might live with you always after death. Nothing, indeed, is sweeter to me than to embrace you and die with you on the cross.³⁴²

Throughout the whole crucifixion scene, the Virgin's frustration is at its peak because her access to the son remains limited.³⁴³ Although she finally achieves intimate proximity to his body after the deposition from the cross,³⁴⁴ she is neither satiated nor satisfied with it: "Say, dearest son, [...] why do you allow me to sorrow so? Why are you so distant from me?"³⁴⁵ The remaining vexing distance is to be mourned and also signifies the meditator's own desire to be reunited with Christ.

Similar preoccupation with closely witnessing the Good Friday events alongside the Virgin is expressed in the mentioned Pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus beatae Marie*, where Mary vainly tries to follow Christ led to Calvary.³⁴⁶ Compared to the *Quis*

³⁴¹ Cited from Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 167.

³⁴² "Ex quo natum meum unicum crucifigitis, matrem crucifigite [...], dummodo cum meo simul moriar filio: male solus moritur. [...] Tollite, suspendite matrem cum suo pignore! [...] Infelix Jesu, [...] Suscipe matrem tecum in cruce, ut vivam tecum post mortem semper, nil vero dulcius est michi quam te amplexo in cruce tecum mori." Ibid., 172–173.

³⁴³ "Juxta crucem stabat Maria intuens vultu benigno pendentem in patibulo [...]. In altum manus levabat, crucem amplectens, in osculatum ruens [...]. Illuc se vertit anxia, circuibat ut Christum valeret amplecti [...]. Ex quo non poterat, manus erigere volebat." Ibid., 178–179.

³⁴⁴ "[...] dumque eum tangere potuit pammper, in osculis et amplexibus ruens, quia suo dilecto saciari non potuit." Ibid.

³⁴⁵ "Dic, fili karissime, [...] quare sic me dolere permittis? Cur tam longe facus es a me?" Ibid., 180–181.

³⁴⁶ "[...] volui eam sequi et videre, sed non potui prae maxima multitudine populi, quae ad opprobrium filii mei convenerat. Sed tandem cum Maria Magdalena deliberavi quod per viam adjacentis plateae circa

dabit, the Virgin's physical access to the son's body is stressed much less in Pseudo-Anselm's work. Instead, its text focuses on the Virgin's continuous but mostly unsuccessful efforts to move closer to Jesus. Eventually, she reaches the son only in chapter 10 of the *Dialogus*. Presenting Christ's nailing to the cross as a fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy from Psalm 44, Mary embarks on describing a fictional monologue of her suffering son. Accordingly, his invitation to the mother to experience the scene of crucifixion on the optic and auditory levels mirrors the author's - and thus the audience's - own longing to get a first-hand report of the Passion events:

Hear, o daughter, and see. As if my son were saying: 'Hear, my dearest mother, the sound of the hammers, and see how they fixed my hands and my feet; and no one sympathizes with me except you alone, my chosen mother. Hear, my daughter, and have mercy on me.' Hearing and seeing this, the *sword of Simeon pierced my heart and my soul*.³⁴⁷

Overall, the combination of extra-biblical details, creative monologues, and dramatic actions of the Virgin in the *Quis dabit* and Pseudo-Anselmian *Dialogue* creates the physical and emotional immediacy between Mary, narrating her first-hand testimony, and the audience, sharing her frustration from physical separation with the son and thus co-participating in the Good Friday events. Additionally, the mixture of these rhetorical techniques and imitable physical gestures (for instance, Mary reaching her hands to the cross or fainting on the ground because of her emotional infirmity) was flexible enough to turn the text into a theatricalized performance or a sermon by a charismatic preacher. The scrutiny of their performative and emotive potential for preaching, however, would remain incomplete without a proper look at the texts' capacity to generate sorrow and compassion through another bodily practice of shedding tears.

quemdam fontem circuiremus, quatenus illi obviaremus." Pseudo-Anselm, "Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini," 282.

³⁴⁷ "Audi, filia, et vide. Quasi diceret filius meus: Audi, charissima mater mea, sonum malleorum, et vide qualiter manus meas et pedes meos confixerunt; et nemo mihi compatitur nisi tu sola mater mea electa. Audi filia et compatere mihi. Hec audiens et visies, gladius Simeonis cor meum et animam meam transfixit." Ibid., 283.

Mary's tears as an instrument of compassion

Over the last decades, the bodily signs of emotional engagement have become one of the major focuses of the formative literature on the history of emotions.³⁴⁸ Historical studies on shedding tears and facial expressions are often connected to the analysis of devotional practices and codified perceptions of feeling.³⁴⁹ Karma Lochries was one of the first to trace the valency of tears as a model of compassion in the medieval environment on the example of Margery Kempe's mysticism and link it to performative techniques of English medieval dramas.³⁵⁰ The collective volume entitled *Crying in the Middle Ages* investigated socio-cultural components of generating affect and contrition through the lenses of Stanislavsky's psychophysiological approach to devotional practices relating to the Passion of Christ as demonstrated in Christopher Swift's contribution.³⁵¹ Adhering to the 'Annales School' of socio-cultural history, Rubin has also pointed out that the imitation of the crying Mary and her sympathy for the crucified Christ became a more widespread model of compassion in late-medieval piety.³⁵² McNamer's *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* is another landmark in the field as it enhanced Rubin's understanding with a gendered rereading of medieval compassion. What historiography generally agrees upon is that depictions of the crying Virgin usually invited devotees to mimic Mary's sorrow by tears in order to demonstrate a sincere remorse for Christ's death. Expanding this scholarly interest to the Bohemian fourteenth-century milieu, it is worth briefly discussing some popular examples of the extant corpus of the Virgin-centered affective texts for preaching available in the region, and their concrete strategies to communicate compassion through weeping.

Physical signs of tearful empathy toward Jesus are already clearly mediated in the mentioned thirteenth-century bestsellers, Pseudo-Bernardian *Quis dabit* and Pseudo-Anselmian *Dialogus*. As demonstrated by the texts' shared extra-biblical remark (probably hinting at the texts' close proximity) put in the lips of Mary, her son "suffered so greatly and endured such things that no one can describe [them] without

³⁴⁸ Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), 62–102.

³⁴⁹ McNamara, "The Emotional Body in Religious Belief and Practice," 105–18.

³⁵⁰ Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 8.

³⁵¹ Christopher Swift, "A Penitent Prepares: Affect, Contrition, and Tears," in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (London: Routledge, 2011), 79–101.

³⁵² Rubin, *Mother of God*, 243–55.

shedding tears.” However, since not the Virgin but the audience is supposed to weep over tormented Jesus,³⁵³ the texts assign Mary with an emotionally passive portrayal of the main narrator, who is predominantly responsible for guiding the reader through the Passion events, thus leaving to them first-hand agency to relive the feelings in question. Nevertheless, by the end of the Passion account both *Quis dabit* and *Dialogus* provide a more developed emotional and bodily identification with the sorrows of Mary. The scene when she finally bursts into tears (during the deposition from the cross or the burial respectively) serves as a catechetic component for the audience which signals when they should cry with the Virgin over the Lord’s death. Let us compare how these scenes of weeping are depicted in the *Dialogue* and *Quis dabit*:

<i>Quis dabit</i> - deposition	<i>Dialogus</i> - burial
While Joseph took down the body, I stood near the cross looking above. I was waiting for the arm to be loosened, so that I might touch it and kiss it as I did. [...] And I, receiving his head in my lap, <i>began to weep bitterly</i> : ‘Alas, my sweetest son, what consolation shall I have, [who] see my dead son before me?’ ³⁵⁴	There were angels with her, sorrowing with her [...]. They wept bitterly, I think, troubled in mind that they saw the mother of Christ bound with such sorrow. O what angel or archangel would not weep here, even against their nature? [...] And they saw that [...] sweet Mary, his most blessed mother, tortured with such great sobs, filled with such bitter pains, weeping so bitterly, could by no means restrain her tears. ³⁵⁵

³⁵³ “Tanta et talia passus est dilectus filius meus quod nullus sine lacrymarum effusione dicere potest. Tamen, quia glorificata sum, flere non possum: ideo tibi passionem mei filii per ordinem explicabo.” Pseudo-Anselm, “*Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*,” 271; for the *Dialogus*; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 168 for *Quis dabit*.

³⁵⁴ “Dum Joseph corpus deponent, ego stabam juxta crucem sursum respiciens. Exspectabam quando brachium solveretur ut tangerem et deosculater sicut et feci; [...] Et ego caput ejus in sinum meum recipiens *amarissime flere cepi* dicens: Heu! Dulcissime filii, qualem consolationem habeo que mortuum filium coram me video?” Pseudo-Anselm, “*Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini*,” 286–87.

³⁵⁵ “Erant et angeli cum ipsa, simul dolentes [...]. Flebant, ut arbitror, amarissime, mente turbati, quod matrem Christi tanto videbant dolore teneri. O quis angelorum vel archangelorum, etiam contra naturam illic non flesset? [...] Videbant [...] dulcem Mariam, suam beatissimam matrem, tantis cruciari singultibus, tam amaris repleti doloribus, tam amarissime flere, quod nullo modo poterat suas lacrimas refrenare.” Cited from Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 180–83.

A more nuanced mimetic strategy with more emotionally active Mary can be observed in a fourteenth-century *Planctus Marie* of Bohemian origin. Preserved in the *Passional of the Abbess Kunigunde*, the text was most likely composed between in the first quarter of the century by the Dominican Colda of Colditz who oversaw the female community at the St. George priory in Prague. Despite surviving in the only manuscript, the *planctus* deserves full attention as a representative of the genre adaptable to an oral discourse due to a marginal note “Collatio in parasceve”, accompanying the lament in the manuscript. The Czech scholarship has voiced a possibility that the manuscript’s rich decoration was intended for a public use and that the term *collatio* might have been used to refer to preaching performed by an assigned priest for the rest of the convent.³⁵⁶ Kubartová-Poláčková has recently enhanced this hypothesis with a brilliant investigation of the performative strategies to portray suffering, redemption, and compassion in the Bohemian corpus of Marian laments from the fourteenth century, thus showcasing the genre’s ability to be adjusted to preaching as well.³⁵⁷

In fact, the performative effectiveness of Marian lamentations and liturgical hymns (transformed into dialogues to generate compassion) was proved already in the high Middle Ages when Marian lamentations became staged in churches on Good Friday or in the evening of Holy Thursday.³⁵⁸ Moreover, the initially gendered emotive archetype in *planctus* became well adapted to offer a possible model of an ideal compassionate listener or reader to an audience of a mixed nature once the mendicants popularized it. This can be seen in a verse that originated from a Marian hymn, migrated to *planctus*, and later appeared in mystery plays performed by the clergy and members of guilds in Italy, England, and other parts of Europe.³⁵⁹ This versed text was also known to the nuns at the St. George convent.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ This argument was first expressed in Jan Vilikovský, *Písemnictví Českého Středověku* [Literature of the Czech Middle Ages] (Prague: Universum, 1948), 34–40. However, some historians, including Pavel Spunar, refuse this idea and stress that the manuscript was intended to be used solely by the abbess. Pavel Spunar, “Česká Devotio Moderna — Fikce a Skutečnost [Czech devotio moderna — Fiction and reality],” *Listy Filologické* 127, no. 3/4 (2004): 360.

³⁵⁷ Eliška Kubartová-Poláčková, “Marian Laments from Medieval Bohemia: Performing Suffering and Redemption through Compassion,” *European Medieval Drama* 25 (2021): 65–90.

³⁵⁸ Scholars also demonstrated that *planctus* were a part of liturgy and were performed on stage, see: Donna Spivey Ellington, “Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin’s Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion Sermons,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (1995): 227–61; Sticca, *The Latin Passion Play*.

³⁵⁹ On the hymn’s migration to other performative genres, see Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 265.

³⁶⁰ The hymn’s connections with the convent is discussed in Kubartová-Poláčková, “Marian Laments from Medieval Bohemia,” 65–90.

Qui per viam pergitis,
 hic mecum sedete,
 Si est dolor similis
 ut meus, videte;
 Meum dulcem filium
 pariter lugete...

[You who pass by on the road,
 sit here with me.
 If there is any sorrow alike
 to mine, see;
 Mourn for my sweet son
 together with me...] ³⁶¹

Concurrent with the *Quis dabit* and *Dialogus*, the incipit of the Bohemian *Planctus Marie* demonstrates the Virgin's similar readiness to cry over her deceased son.³⁶² The following vivid depiction of Mary's spiritual torments serves as an emotive 'transmitter' modeling the personal experience to a devotee through her immense suffering. This model of embodying compassion assumes great importance because the Virgin acts here not as the passive observer or emotionally reserved narrator but the active co-performer of the Good Friday events. Even more, her functionality is so potent that she directly summons the audience to perform what Fulton defines as a compassionate mimesis:³⁶³

The mute elements sympathize with him: the sun is darkened, the light grows dim, the earth trembles, the veil of the temple and the rocks are split. And yet, you say to the mother: 'Why do you grieve? Why do you weep?' [...] Therefore, lament, all you

³⁶¹ Cited from Sandro Sticca, *Il Planctus Mariae nella tradizione drammatica del Medio Evo: Arte & spiritualità* (New York: Global Academic Publishing, 2000), 191. The translation is mine. Interestingly, the paragraph paraphrases a line from the Lamentations that was also frequently used as a *thema* in Good Friday sermons.

³⁶² "Et dormicione et quietacione sponsi in vespere grandis secuta est desolacio virginis et matris Mariae. Et Jeremie vaticinium luc-tum unigeniti fecit sibi et planctum amarum Symeonis gladio transverberata flens et eiulans lamentabiliter incedebat dicens: 'Quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum ut plorem die at nocte, contricionem dilecti filii mei. Heu heu, longe factus est a me, qui consolabatur me.'" XIV.A.17, fol. 11r, Czech National Library, Prague.

³⁶³ Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion*, 197.

people, and weep with me because the tears of everyone of you are nothing for such a mockery of horrible torture [that] perpetrated most impiously in my beloved womb.³⁶⁴

As Pietro Delcorno has demonstrated, this bodily model of compassion could be found in preaching as well: the Passion sermons asked the audience to see the Good Friday events “through the weeping eyes of [Christ’s] mother.”³⁶⁵ Admittedly, as Rosenwein’s, Piroska Nagy’s, and others’ recent methodological deconstructions of the history of emotions have shown, such powerful emotive models cannot be studied in a vacuum as they work together in a complex combination, forming a sort of script that may be described sequentially.³⁶⁶ For instance, although the feeling of bitter sorrow that the Virgin, and consequently, the meditator are supposed to experience through weeping, is dominant in the analyzed texts, it is mixed with love and gratitude for the redemptive Christ and hope that he would conquer the devil and death.³⁶⁷ In the framework of the Passion theology, this script could function not only as a performative emotive tool but also as an effective mnemonic aid helping the audience to grasp key stages of salvation history. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 8, creating scripts or chains of emotions was a common - and thus proven effective - practice among some Bohemian preachers as well.

To recap, late-medieval affective literature constructs a world in which the reader or listener is brought to a new understanding of devotional practices by embodying the praying or wounded Jesus and the Virgin in emotional anguish.³⁶⁸ Available texts for meditations and laments, independently or in combination, might be considered as useful preaching aids contributing to forming the shared discourse on (com)Passion aimed to encourage an almost physical presence that might be activated

³⁶⁴ “Elementa muta illi compatiuntur, sol obscuratur, lux tenebrescit, terra tremitur, velum templi et petre scinduntur. et tu matri dicis: quid doles? quid ploras? [...] Dolete igitur, omnes populi, et plorate mecum quia nichil sunt omnium lacrimae vestrum ad tam horrendi supplicii ludibrium in dilecti mei uteri impiissime perpetratum.” XIV.A.17, fol.12v-13r, Czech National Library, Prague.

³⁶⁵ Pietro Delcorno. “‘Frater Fredericus predicavit’: The Sermons of a ‘Translator’ of Giovanni of Capestrano.”

³⁶⁶ Rosenwein, “Periodization? An Answer from the History of Emotions,” 15–29; Nagy and Biron-Ouellet, “A Collective Emotion in Medieval Italy,” 135–45.

³⁶⁷ Consider, for example, how complex the Virgin’s “emotional script” is in the *Quis dabit*: “She did not despair, but piously and rightfully sorrowed, hoping bravely and firmly believing that he would rise on the third day according to his promise, when he had conquered death”. Cited from Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 181.

³⁶⁸ Ellen M. Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 30.

through conjuring mental images suitable for self-identification with the biblical characters.

The communicative and evocative power of these mental images lies in the fact that the devotee's mimicking body became not only a means to identify with Christ or Mary but also a way to intensify religious fervor and enter a state of mystical receptivity regarding the texts' catechetical instructions. By following them, the meditator's praying, self-tortured, or weeping body of the meditator could be brought to subsequent salvation.

Although affective works on the Passion, especially those stylistically connected to Anselm and Bernard, were initially confined in the monastic milieu or performed solely in churches, the spread of affective spirituality among the mendicants, primarily the Franciscans, and their pastoral missions brought it out to the general public, thus contributing to forming a "horizon of expectations" for Good Friday preaching in Bohemia at the time as well.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 58.

PART 2. PREACHING FOR GOOD FRIDAY IN BOHEMIA

Having analyzed the vibrant discourse on the Passion in the Bohemian Kingdom, I now proceed to examine Good Friday sermons produced and circulated in the region around the 1330s–70s. The surviving texts under consideration are predominantly model sermons as no *verbatim* accounts or *reportationes*, that is, notes either in Latin or vernacular about a given sermon composed by a member of the audience while the preaching discourse was delivered, are preserved.³⁷⁰ With all the limitations of the model sermon as a genre,³⁷¹ I aim to schematically show how the Good Friday events might have been presented and interpreted by local and foreign preachers whose sermons were particularly well-known in Bohemia at the time. I follow a methodological approach of choosing the same liturgical occasion and analyzing the choice of biblical verses for *themata* in sermons. This method was first justified by David d’Avray and later elaborated by Jussi Hanska and Ottó Gecser.³⁷² I also follow a literary/formal approach to look from a rhetorical point of view at the sermons’ structure and the preachers’ tactics to interpret and present Christ’s death. Overall, I define the combination of all these elements as “preaching modality” or “preaching strategy”.

The second part of my dissertation begins with an overview of the Good Friday liturgy, setting the stage for the potential preaching context and the expected emotional reactions.³⁷³ I proceed to the literary analysis of the texts, looking in particular at the structures available to the preachers. Then, I provide a basic taxonomy of the choice of *themata* and the discussion of their role in the construction of sermons’ instructive and affective messages. In doing so, I will address Good Friday sermons by some non-

³⁷⁰ For the definition and basic characteristics of *reportationes*, see Carolyn Muessig, “Medieval reportationes: Hearing and Listening to Sermons,” in *L’éloquence de la chaire entre écriture et oralité*, eds. Cinthia Véronique Meli and Amy Heneveld (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018), 77–90. While the number of Good Friday preaching texts from the fourteenth-century Bohemian milieu is scarce, some local *reportationes* were composed in the fifteenth century. For instance, that was the case of John Hus. See, Jan Odstrčilík, “Multilingual Medieval Sermons: Sources, Theories and Methods,” *Medieval Worlds* 12 (2020): 140–47, František Šmahel, “Literacy and Heresy in Hussite Bohemia,” in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*, eds. Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 243; Soukup, *Reformní Kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Strážnice*, 131.

³⁷¹ Obviously, it often remains unknown whether some model sermons were composed for oral delivery, private reading, or to be used by other preachers ‘at desk’ while composing their own discourses.

³⁷² Hanska, “Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching,” 293–315. Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit*, 152.

³⁷³ It should be stressed, however, that while some sermons from Bohemia were probably designed in connection with Good Friday liturgy, others were written for a context dissociated from it.

Czech acknowledged preachers and single out given peculiarities of the preaching modalities in the Bohemian milieu.

Chapter 5. Setting the tone and preaching context: Good Friday liturgy

Specialists in sermon studies fairly suggest perceiving liturgy as a ‘guiding star’ for preachers to compose sermons for a given feast day because it often framed basic expectations for theological, emotional, and pastoral messages.³⁷⁴ Hence, before exploring preaching modalities for Good Friday, it is necessary to provide a short overview of its liturgy.

In the late Middle Ages, the last Friday of Lent marked the peak point of Passiontide – a fourteen-day period before Easter. More specifically, within this framework, it constituted the central part of the Triduum, a particular liturgical service lasting from the evening of Maundy Thursday until Holy Saturday without interruptions. Devoted to the commemoration of Christ’s redemptive sacrifice, this day was known by several names in sermon collections, liturgical treatises, missals, and breviaries: the sixth day of Holy Week (“feria sexta de hebdomada/septimana sancta”), Friday before Holy Saturday or the day of preparation (“dies Parascheves”), and Great Friday (Old Czech: “Veliký patek”) as it was referred to in contemporary vernacular literature.³⁷⁵

As a pivotal day within Lent, Good Friday comprised several specific rituals summarized in the Roman Rite. These ceremonies sought to focus the faithful’s attention on lamenting Christ’s death in order to become “saddened to do penance”.³⁷⁶ To stress the feast’s liturgical importance, authoritative medieval liturgists and theologians, whose works were widely copied in the late Middle Ages, explained that the Church observed the most strict fasting and silence on this day precisely as it did not celebrate the usual Mass and rather followed rites close to the funeral ones.³⁷⁷ Such interpretation hints at the clear connotation and purpose of the liturgical day: once the

³⁷⁴ Hanska, “Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching,” 293–315. Peter Francis Howard, ‘Preaching and Liturgy in Renaissance Florence,’ in *Predication et liturgie au Moyen Age*, eds. Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2008), 313–33; Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*, xvii.

³⁷⁵ For the typology of terms, see annotations to the entry “pátek” in the Old Czech dictionary database: “Vyhledávání,” Vokabulář Webový, accessed February 2, 2024: <https://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz/hledani.aspx>.

³⁷⁶ “Hac interim die tristitia regnet, hac inquam die a tristitia denominata, id est tristi die, contristemur ad poenitentiam.” *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. H. Haacke (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), 191.

³⁷⁷ “Hac die ecclesia arctissimum jejunium et silentium agit: nullum tamen officium solemniter celebrat sed hora nona convenit ad adorandum crucem non ad misse officium quo hec dies caret sed quasi ad funeris obsequium dicendum.” Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, lib. 6., ed. Jacques Huguétan, Lyon 1516, fol. cxxxiii.

office of the Eucharist had been established in the evening of Maundy Thursday, the congregation was expected to pay undivided attention to the suffering Christ.

The Church assisted the faithful in doing so by stripping the altar, silencing the liturgy (the initial introit and final benediction were cut out),³⁷⁸ clapping boards instead of ringing bells, and extinguishing candles. Liturgists symbolically compared these rituals to several key scenes of the Passion story.³⁷⁹ For instance, the denudation of the altar was interpreted as an allusion to Christ, both left alone by his disciples and stripped of his vestments on the cross.³⁸⁰ The candles were extinguished at sext as the reminder of the Lord's death when the sun was darkened.³⁸¹ The Church did not ring the bells because the apostles failed Jesus: not only did they remain silent and flee from Christ, but also Judas betrayed him and Peter denied his teacher.³⁸² Instead of the ringing bells, the rattling wooden boards that represented Christ crying on the cross invited people to churches and marked important stages of the liturgy.³⁸³

Similarly, the liturgical pericopes for the day aimed to spur the congregation into the commemoration and mental re-enactment of Christ's excruciating experience. Sources are univocal in assigning two Old Testament readings, from Hosea 6:1-6 (*In tribulatione sua mane...*) and Exodus 12:1-11 (*Dixit dominus ad Moysen et Aaron in terra Egypti...*), as prefigurations of the Passion that would be further read according to the Gospel of John. As noted by the Dominican Guillaume Durand, the author of the *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, the excerpts from the Bible were to be read without

³⁷⁸ "Et notandum, quod officium huius diei capite caret, quia Christus caput nostrum nobis sublatus fuit. Caret etiam invitatorio, ut scilicet non imitemur illam pravam invitationem. [...] Officium quoque mortuorum non debet habere invitatorium nisi corpore presente, nec in missa debet dici Dona nobis pacem nec Gloria Patri per totum officium, quia sequitur et imitatur exequias Salvatoris." John Belet, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. Heribert Douteil (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 171–72.

³⁷⁹ Remarkably, the same symbolic Christological interpretation of Good Friday liturgy migrated to sermons as attested by Jacobus de Voragine's *In die parasceves* from his *Quadragesimale* collection.

³⁸⁰ "Denudatio significat primo recessum discipulorum domini seu apostolorum. Altare namque Christum seu corpus ejus significat. Altaris vero vestimenta apostolos seu sanctos dei designant. Secundo denudatio altaris designat quod Christus fuit nudatus in cruce." Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, fol. cxxxiii.

³⁸¹ *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*, 180; Belet, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, 186.

³⁸² "Signa ecclesiae que campanas dicimus sanctos Christi praecones significare suo loco jam dictum est qui caritatis igne excocti et divina institutione formati [...]. notum est autem primos hujusmodi praecones scilicet sanctos apostolos non solum conticuisse sed et relicto eo omnes fugisse. Petrus [...] vocem illam clarissimam repressit, conticuit, Christum reliquit, fugit et tertio negavit. Igitur ea hora qua dominus traditus est, recte signis ecclesiae silentium indicimus." *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*, 183.

³⁸³ "Ad officium tenebrarum non cum campanis, sed cum tabulis ligneis est pulsandum. [...] Tabula lignea Christum significat, qui de ligno clamabat." Belet, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, 186. "Christumque solum torcular calcantem solumque in ligno crucis extenso corpore tympanizantem testimoniumque veritati humili ac solitaria voce perhobentem ligneo malleolo in tabula suspenso et personante populumque ad ecclesiam invitante significamus." *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*, 183

titles, thus reminding the faithful that they “lost Christ as the head who enlightens [them] just as titles illuminate books.”³⁸⁴ The readings were deliberately supplemented with touching tracts *Domine audiui auditum tuum*³⁸⁵ and *Eripe me domine ab homine malo*³⁸⁶ that also appeared in Nativity liturgy and that of Passion and Palm Sundays respectively. Accordingly, a clear conceptual and even acoustic connection between the celebrations of Christ’s birth, his triumphant entry to Jerusalem, and ignominious death was created.

Good Friday liturgy in the Czech lands

The same initial Good Friday agenda pertaining to the Roman Rite also dominated in the Kingdom of Bohemia.³⁸⁷ Throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, two large dioceses existed in these lands: the bishopric of Prague and that of Olomouc. After 1344, when Prague was granted the status of the archbishopric, Olomouc became formally subordinate to the capital.³⁸⁸ Based on a wide range of surviving liturgical sources, Petr Uličný has recently assumed that, most likely, these centers determined two major (yet not the only ones) uses of the Roman Rite in the region.³⁸⁹ I will refer to them as the liturgy of Prague and that of Olomouc. Apparently,

³⁸⁴ “Leguntur lectiones sine titulis quomodo tunc amissimus Christum caput qui nos illuminat sicut tituli illuminant libros.” Durand, *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, fol. cxxxiii.

³⁸⁵ “Domine audiui auditum tuum et timui,” Fontes Cantus Bohemiae: Plainchant Sources in the Czech Lands, accessed February 25, 2024: <https://cantusbohemiae.cz/chant/20471>; “Domine audiui,” USUARIUM: A Digital Library and Database for the Study of Latin Liturgical History in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, accessed February 25, 2024: <https://usuarium.elte.hu/texts/4135/view>.

³⁸⁶ “Eripe me domine ab homine malo,” Cantus Index: Online catalogue for Mass and Office chants, accessed February 25, 2024: <https://cantusindex.org/search?t=Eripe%20me%20domine%20ab%20homine%20malo>.

³⁸⁷ Under Charles IV, at the peak of its territorial expansion in the fourteenth century, the Crown of Bohemia embraced the lands of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. In this thesis, I intentionally omit the detailed examination of liturgies practiced in the two latter border regions and leave this task for further research. In some occasional cases, I will address the regions’ Good Friday liturgy based on the overview provided by Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL II* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976).

³⁸⁸ It should be noted that before 1344 the dioceses were controlled by the archdiocese of Mainz. Moreover, another, much smaller, diocese or Litomyšl was created in 1344. Zdeňka Hledíková, Jan Janák, and Jan Dobeš, *Dějiny Správy v Českých Zemích: Od Počátků Státu po Současnost* [History of administration in the Czech lands: From the beginnings of the state to the present] (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2007), 172–84. Pavel Krafl, “Liturgy and Ecclesiastical Law,” *Anales de Historia Antigua, Medieval y Moderna* 57, no. 1 (2023): 69.

³⁸⁹ As the Catholic Church did not have a unified widely-accepted rite before the Council of Trent of 1570, it is not surprising that some variations existed in the Bohemian liturgical uniformity. For instance, in 1347, Charles IV founded the Emmaus monastery, which belonged to the Roman rite but served liturgy in Old Church Slavonic. Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 188; Robin Fried, “Liturgy in the Czech Vernacular from Early to Late Middle Ages,” *TCNJ Journal of Student Scholarship* X (April 2008): 1–14. Another prominent example is the Benedictine convent of St. George in Prague. For a partial overview of its Good Friday liturgy, see Petr Uličný, “Good Friday Ceremonies of the Burial of Christ in Medieval Bohemia,” in *Good Friday Ceremonies with Articulated Figures in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Christophe Chaguinian (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2023), 201–31.

the former was the most well-known and far-reaching ceremony not only in the Prague diocese but also beyond its borders.³⁹⁰ Given its outstanding popularity, it seems logical to describe the following stages of the local Good Friday liturgy following the rite of Prague with Saint Vitus Cathedral in its center.³⁹¹

Discrepancies: Veneration of the cross

Once the Gospel reading and nine collective prayers,³⁹² ending in a prostrate pose, were finished,³⁹³ the next part of the ceremony began. It commenced with three presbyters ascending the pulpit to sing *Popule meus*³⁹⁴ - the first out of twelve reproaches (*improperia*) that Christ addressed to the ungrateful Jews when he was hanging on the cross. Meanwhile, according to the rubrics, four barefoot deacons started to carry a veiled cross, moving away from the altar. Typically for the Roman Rite, their procession was divided into three stages. At the end of each, the deacons genuflected and chanted the Greek hymn *Agyos otheos, agyos yskyros, agyos athanatos, eleyson ymas*. The choir responded with *Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis, miserere nobis*, and the three presbyters sang the corresponding part of Christ's reproaches.³⁹⁵ Scholars interpret the combination of the Greek and Latin hymns about Christ's divinity and omnipotence with the Old Testament reproaches as an emotive

³⁹⁰ Uličný's examination of intertextual similarities in late-medieval liturgical texts for Palm Sunday traced impact of the liturgy of Prague on the Cistercian monastery of Zlata Koruna in Southern Bohemia, Augustinian monastery of Roudnice, Premonstratensian monastery in Chotěšov, and even Benedictine monastery of Rajhrad in Moravia. Petr Uličný, "Christ in Motion: Portable Objects and Scenographic Environments in the Liturgy of Medieval Bohemia," *Theatralia* 14, no 1 (2024): 41. Petr Uličný, "Good Friday Ceremonies," 210.

³⁹¹ The most up-to-date inventory of the fourteenth-century liturgical books with the Prague agenda are listed in this database: "Manuscripti Liturgici Ecclesiae Pragensis," Medieval Liturgical Repertory and Manuscripts from Bohemia, accessed April 12, 2024: http://hymnologica.cz/sources?field_century_tid%5B%5D=8&siglum=. I checked the earliest extant liturgical order in the St Vitus breviary XIV.A.19, fol. 138v, Czech National Library, Prague. The manuscript comes from 1230-1250. I also compared it with the preserved Prague missals from the 1360-1370s. See MSS M.III.9 stored at the Olomouc Research Library and XVI.A.12, National Museum Library, Prague.

³⁹² More on these prayers and their function, see Lawrence E. Frizzell and J. Frank Henderson, "Jews and Judaism in the Medieval Latin Liturgy," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, eds. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), 176-78.

³⁹³ "Passione finita presbiter stans ad altare prosequitur: Oremus. Populus vero stat erectus donec presbiter hac oratione finita iterum subjungat: Oremus et Flectamus genua. Tunc populus prostravitur nec erigitur donec sequens oratio." XIV.A.19, fol. 139r, Czech National Library, Prague. A similar procedure is prescribed in, M.III.9, fols. 154v-156r, Olomouc Research Library.

³⁹⁴ Micah 6:3.

³⁹⁵ Apart from the verse from Micah, which accompanied the first genuflection, the *improperia* also included verses from Isaiah 5:4 and Lamentations 2:21. Rupert of Deutz linked the reproaches to the inscription on the cross in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. However, he stated that there is no hymn in Hebrew because the Jews "still deny Christ as their king and curse and detest that title." *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*, 201.

tool, urging the faithful present at the liturgy to feel contrition for the Lord's torments, which they contributed to through everyday acts of sin, and do penance in light of the imminent Last Judgment.³⁹⁶

After the cross was delivered in the specially prepared spot (*in locum preparatum cruci*),³⁹⁷ its unveiling took place. According to the adepts of the Roman Rite, the rood ought to be unveiled in three stages, each corresponding to the mockeries Christ was held up to.³⁹⁸ In the liturgy of Prague, however, the veil was removed at once by the presbyter chanting the *Ecce lignum crucis* antiphon.³⁹⁹ For the following adoration of the cross, the rubrics of Prague missals prescribe the presbyters and elders to prostrate themselves on the ground and recite penitential psalms and prayers three times (Psalms 6, 31, and 37 for the first prostration, 50 and 101 for the second, and 129 and 142 for the last one).⁴⁰⁰ In this liturgical context, the penitential psalms (sometimes referred to as psalms of confession) potentially served as a clear expression of contrition for sin, preparing the congregation for the following confession. As noted in the scholarship, reciting penitential psalms while lying in prostration on the ground was part of the communal rite of the *adoratio crucis* on Good Friday practiced in some monastic communities in continental Europe and the British Isles in the high Middle Ages.⁴⁰¹ Therefore, it was cloistered from the lay population. Notably, the ritual of Prague, which is described by rubrics as open to the laity, blurred the borders between

³⁹⁶ More on the emotive function of the *Improperia* and the discussed hymns, see Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*, 8. Frizzell and Henderson, "Jews and Judaism," 179.

³⁹⁷ M.III.9, fol. 156v, Olomouc Research Library; XIV.A.19, fol. 138v, Czech National Library, Prague.

³⁹⁸ See Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, 180; Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, fol. cxxxiii.

³⁹⁹ "Interim dyaconi ponunt crucem in loco preparato ad quam presbiter qui orationes dixit accedens auferret velamen et intuens in eam incipit Ecce lignum." XIV.A.19, fol. 139r, Czech National Library, Prague; M.III.9, fol. 156v, Olomouc Research Library.

⁴⁰⁰ On the function of these psalms in medieval prayer, see Michael Driscoll, "The Seven Penitential Psalms: Their Designation and Usage from the Middle Ages Onwards," *Ecclesia Orans* 17 (2000): 153–201.

⁴⁰¹ Susan Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters," *Speculum* 82, no. 4 (2007): 912; Katie Anne-Marie Bugyis, "Remakers of Reform: The Women Religious of Leominster and Their Prayerbook," in *Women and Monastic Reform in the Medieval West, c.1000–1500: Debating Identities, Creating Communities*, eds. Julie Hotchin and Jirki Thibaut (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2023), 75; Lilli Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis: Manuscript Studies in the Early Medieval Church of Norway* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1961), 13–14. Previously, during the Carolingian period, the recitation of the penitential psalms pertained to practices of private devotion, see Jonathan Black, "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin's Confessio peccatorum pura and the Seven Penitential Psalms (Use 1)," *Mediaeval Studies* 65 (2003): 1–56.

While in the Prague agenda the prostration in prayer and penitential psalms come before the emotive antiphons, the British variant places these practices after, David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2012), 15.

communal liturgy and private devotion: as the liturgical order prescribed, once the prelate saluted the cross with a kiss, the rest of the audience, including the clerics and laymen, were invited to do so as well.⁴⁰²

To honor Christ's pain and glory on the cross, the traditional *Pange lingua*, *Crux fidelis*, and *Dum fabricator mundi* were sung, aiming to evoke an affective response from the rite's participants.⁴⁰³ Several late-medieval liturgical sources from Bohemia additionally supplemented these chants for the adoration of the cross by the less common antiphons *Beati immaculati in via* and *Crucem tuam adoramus domine*.⁴⁰⁴ Based on the hymnological overview of selected feasts (yet, not including Good Friday), Czech scholars point out that the repertoire of the liturgical manuscripts containing these chants, in fact, corresponds to that of Switzerland and southern Germany.⁴⁰⁵ The same notion holds true for the additional Good Friday antiphons in question as a basic search on the Cantus database attests.⁴⁰⁶

Interestingly, for the same part of the ceremony, some manuscripts with the Prague agenda also ordered to venerate other "relics prepared for the purpose" along with the cross. This rubric comes from the earliest preserved breviary with the liturgy of the Saint Vitus Cathedral composed around the 1230s-1250s.⁴⁰⁷ The same wording is preserved in two other manuscripts composed in the Prague diocese around the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴⁰⁸ While it seems impossible to say which saintly objects might have been used on Good Friday in the cathedral in the thirteenth century,⁴⁰⁹ it is clear that they were directly involved in the liturgical office. As to the same rubrics from the later period, if we accept that the liturgical agenda in question could have been also practiced at the Saint Vitus Cathedral, it is tempting to assume that some Passion relics might have been used in the Good Friday liturgy there around

⁴⁰² XIV.A.19, fol. 139r, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁴⁰³ XVI.A.12, fol. 89v, National Museum Library, Prague. XIII.B.2, fol. 82, National Museum Library, Prague; VI.F.12a, fol. 222r, Czech National Library, Prague; M.III.9, fol. 157r, Olomouc Research Library.

⁴⁰⁴ These additions appear in a missal from the mid-thirteenth century XIV.D.12, fol. 182v, National Museum Library, Prague as well as in a fourteenth-century Gradual XIII.B.2, fol. 82, National Museum Library, Prague.

⁴⁰⁵ The examination is mostly based on the Visitation rite of Holy Saturday. Hana Vlhová-Wörner, *Repertorium troporum Bohemiae Medii Aevi I: Tropi proprii missae* (Prague: Editio-Bärenreiter, 2004), 18–19.

⁴⁰⁶ "Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies," Cantus Index Online Catalogue for Mass and Office Chants, accessed April 18, 2024: <https://cantusindex.org/>.

⁴⁰⁷ "Tunc prelatus salutatur crucifixum et alias reliquias ad hoc preparatas." M.III.9, fol. 157r, Olomouc Research Library; XIV.A.19, fol. 139r, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁴⁰⁸ See the Breviary VI.F.12a, fol. 222r, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁴⁰⁹ The Cathedral's earliest extant inventory was composed only in 1354.

the 1360s. Objects related to the Holy Cross or at least cross-form reliquaries might seem the most suitable for the occasion.⁴¹⁰

In fact, we know that the wood of the Holy Cross was directly involved in the Good Friday liturgy practiced at the Saint Wenceslas Cathedral in the diocese of Olomouc, as the bishop of Olomouc, John of Neumarkt, attested in 1376. His *Rubrica ecclesie Olomucensis* referred to the “old custom” of the adoration involving two crosses: “a gilded silver cross-form reliquary containing the wood of the Holy Cross” and “a cross with the image of the crucified Lord”. These objects were to be separately worshiped by the clergy and laymen respectively.⁴¹¹ One might carefully project a similar ceremony in the Prague diocese. After all, by the same time, Emperor Charles IV had already acquired a massive collection of Passion-related objects, including several Holy Thorns, parts of the Holy Cross, Holy Lance and Nails, Sponge, and several versions of the Virgin’s veil. Moreover, in 1354, the sovereign established a special feast day of the public ostentation of relics, which, according to historiography, happened on the Ox Market and presumably involved the Emmaus monastery and Saint Vitus Cathedral as well.⁴¹² Obviously, the rest of the religious centers, following the agenda of Prague and Olomouc, must have used other, more common, relics.

Discrepancies: Burial of the cross

The Good Friday ceremony also included communion (with hosts reserved from the previous day) and vespers, followed by the final Burial of the cross. First recorded in the Saint Vitus Breviary from the mid-thirteenth century, the ceremony prescribes the following order to close the Good Friday liturgy:

Immediately after vespers, [the deacons] go to the middle of the church, and having taken the cross, they carry it to a place adorned with solemn curtains, singing: ‘Behold how he dies’ [...]. Candles, crosses, blessed water, and incense [are first] placed in the designated spot sprinkled with holy water, incense, and covered with a sacred pall by the prelate with reverence. The verses ‘His place was made in peace, and his dwelling

⁴¹⁰ The tradition of using the cross-related saintly objects comes from the ceremony practiced in the Santa Croce in Gerusalemme church in Rome on Good Friday Erik Thunø, *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 2002), 22. Daniel Cardó, *The Cross and the Eucharist in Early Christianity: A Theological and Liturgical Investigation* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 128.

⁴¹¹ “Crucem argenteam deauratam, in qua reconditum est lignum sancte Crucis” and “aliam crucem, in qua est ymago crucifixi”. Cited from Uličný, “Good Friday Ceremonies,” 216.

⁴¹² Opačić, “The Sacred Topography of Medieval Prague,” 271–275.

in Zion' are said. The burning light is placed back at the Lord's sepulcher, and the canons, starting with the seniors, read the Psalter [...], sitting at the sepulcher, two by two, until the morning visitation of the sepulcher.⁴¹³

Although some of the fourteenth-century manuscripts, belonging to the Prague diocese's order, omit this ritual,⁴¹⁴ Walther Lipphardt's schematic overview of the surviving materials vividly demonstrates that the Burial of the cross was widespread at the time in many churches following the liturgy of Prague.⁴¹⁵ As Uličný has suggested, it is probable that the *depositio crucis* similar to the Prague agenda became widely popular approximately in the 1350s because it was also followed by the monasteries, which used their own liturgy. He bases his argument on a rubric from a mid-century manuscript from the Premonstratensian monastery in Chotěšov. The laconic rubric mentioned that "it was customary - but not always - to place a cross in the sepulcher" on Good Friday.⁴¹⁶ Another example was the Benedictine convent of St George in the Prague Castle, where a burial place made of curtains was installed in the church on the liturgical occasion. Yet, the linen fabric, symbolizing the clothes wrapping Christ's body, was placed in the burial place instead of the veiled cross.⁴¹⁷ To complete the picture drawn by Uličný, I would additionally assume that, to some extent, the burial ritual practiced in Prague might have become known in Silesia before 1364. My surmise stems from Lipphardt's inventory of manuscripts containing the *depositio crucis*. Among them is the Processional of the Austin Canons of Glatz with a Prague-alike description of the rite. Although the text is preserved only in a sixteenth-century

⁴¹³ "Statim post vespervas eunt in medium ecclesiae et accepta cruce deferunt eam ad locum sollemnibus auleis ornatum, cantantes: "Ecce quomodo moritur," cum versu suo. Precedentibus cereis, crucibus, aqua benedicta et incenso, reposita in loco cum reverentia a prelato, aspergita et incensata, ac cooperitur sacra palla. Et dicuntur versiculis: "In pace factus est locus ejus et in Syon habitatio ejus." Lumen ardens reponitur ad sepulchrum Domini, et legunt canonici a senioribus incipientes psalterium vel vicarii canonicorum. Sedentes ad sepulchrum, bini et bini, usque ad visitationem sepulchrum matutinalem." XIV.A.19, fol. 139v, Czech National Library, Prague. The same wording is inserted in a Prague Breviarium composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, see IV.D.9, fols. 109r-109v, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁴¹⁴ As it was in the case of the Prague Missal M.III.9 composed around 1365.

⁴¹⁵ See Walther Lipphardt, ed., *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL IV* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976).

⁴¹⁶ Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL II*, No 382.

⁴¹⁷ Uličný, "Good Friday Ceremonies," 204: Apart from the Church of St Vitus, this rite is present in the liturgical books of religious institutions in Prague (Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL II*, No 387; Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL V* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), No. 802) as well as the Premonstratensian Monastery in Chotěšov (Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL II*, No 381–382), and the Benedictines in Rajhrad (Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL II*, No 390).

manuscript, Lipphardt notes that it is a copy of a fourteenth-century Processional that the local Augustinians received as a gift from the Archbishop of Prague, Arnošt of Pardubice (d. 1364).⁴¹⁸ Clearly, further codicological examination is needed to validate this thesis, and I will leave it for future research.

Regarding the diocese of Olomouc, the *depositio crucis* was practiced there as well. The ordinance provided in the mentioned *Rubrica ecclesie Olomucensis* (1376) is concurrent with the liturgy of Prague except for mentioning a stone that was placed next to the buried cross so that the symbolic burial place would look more similar to the one described in the Gospels.⁴¹⁹ Another interesting object is mentioned in a fourteenth-century Missal of Olomouc (its precise date of composition is not specified). The Burial described in the manuscript, followed the procedure similar to that of Prague and additionally instructed to “place the Lord’s body (*Corpus Christi*) in a very clean sealed box, cover it with a linen cloth and put it on the casket with the cross.”⁴²⁰ Despite being not very common among the local fourteenth-century sources, such indication can be considered through the prism of the growing Eucharistic devotion and the intensifying Eucharistic cult in Bohemia at the time.⁴²¹

Remarkably, it seems that the latter peculiar variation of the Good Friday *depositio* was occasionally practiced already around the middle of the thirteenth century in some German churches. Thus, around 1260, Conrad of Mure - rector of the diocesan school of the Zurich Minster in the diocese of Constance - composed his *Liber ordinarius*, which scholars fairly consider one of the most detailed sources for the religious history of Southern Germany in the late Middle Ages.⁴²² Commenting on the liturgy celebrated in the region, Conrad found “absurd” the burying of the Corpus Christi in the sepulcher on Good Friday, which was practiced at some local churches.⁴²³

⁴¹⁸ Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL II*, No 383.

⁴¹⁹ Uličný, “Good Friday Ceremonies,” 216. The scholar links this practice to Salzburg thus hinting that Olomouc might follow some customs of the Austrian lands instead of Hungary as it was erroneously suggested by Lipphardt.

⁴²⁰ “Novissime Corpus Domini in unam valde mundam pixidem ponatur sigilloque sigillatur atque subtus lintheamen et pallium ad pectus Crucis collocetur.” Cited from Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele TEIL II*, No 383.

⁴²¹ See, for instance, the previously mentioned studies by Hóleton.

⁴²² Sylvie Aballéa, *Les saints sépulcres monumentaux: Du Rhin supérieur et de la Souabe (1340–1400)* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2003), 9–25.

⁴²³ “Sed interim, dum legitur predictus Ps. Miserere mei deus vel Ps. Notus in Iudea deus, sacerdotespredictam parvam crucemponunt et signando claudunt in archam, que intra testudinem retro altare martyrum candido velo circumpendente posita sepulchrum dominicum representat. Nam contra omnem rationem est, quod in quibusdam ecclesie eucharistia in huiusmodi archa sepulchrum representante poni consuevit et claudi. Ibi enim eucharistia, que est verum vivum corpus Christi, ipsum

This interesting note serves as evidence of the uncommon Eucharist-oriented rite in the region that enjoyed intense religious and cultural contacts with Bohemia in the fourteenth century.⁴²⁴ Moreover, the fact that Christ's body was symbolically buried in some Bohemian churches might signify the growing demands for the dramatization of the Good Friday liturgical rite.

Another argument in favor of the liturgical ceremony's dramatization in the region is the use of a statue of the dead Christ that could be also placed in the sepulcher apart from the cross or Corpus Christi. Although the majority of textual and material evidence of this practice comes from the fifteenth century both from Prague and Olomouc, some earlier instances can be traced. Among them, scholars list an expressive figure of Christ carved around the mid-fourteenth century for the Church of Saint Benedict at Hradčany in Prague⁴²⁵ and a certain statue with movable arms that must have been used for the *depositio* in John the Baptist Church in Přebyslav in the 1360s.⁴²⁶

Christi corpus mortuum representat, quod est indecens penitus et absurdum." Conrad of Mure, *Liber ordinatus*, ed. Heidi Leuppi (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1995), 254–260.

⁴²⁴ For the cultural contacts, see, S. Harrison Thomson, "Cultural Relations of Bohemia with Western Europe before the White Mountain," *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America* 2, no. 2 (1944): 301. Moreover, Jeffrey Hamburger has connected some elements of the Bohemian cult of blood-stained veil of the Virgin with similar practices in Salzburg. Hamburger, "Bloody Mary".

⁴²⁵ Uličný, "Christ in Motion," 44.

⁴²⁶ Uličný, "Christ in Motion," 46. Horníčková, "In Heaven and on Earth", 47.



Figure 5. Figure of Christ from the Church of St Benedict at Hradčany in Prague. Photo by Petr Uličný. Source: Uličný, *Good Friday Ceremonies*, 224.

As we have seen, despite following the common Roman Rite, Bohemian liturgical ceremonies for Good Friday contained some differing elements. Together, the combination of these emotive and dramatic commonplaces and peculiarities allowed to turn the congregation's participation in the rite into an affective and memorable religious experience, ultimately aiming at re-enacting the Passion events and spurring the faithful into doing penance. Regardless of whether Bohemian Good Friday sermons were conceived as a part of the liturgy or to be preached outside of it, it seems logical to perceive the liturgical experience as their determining situational context. How much did the liturgical prescriptions impact the structure and content of preaching modalities

circulating in the region? How integrated were Bohemian sermons under consideration in the liturgical context? The following chapter will attempt to tackle these questions.

Chapter 6. Preaching modalities and rhetoric

Having discussed the liturgical context, which provided the primary emotional, pastoral, and thematic framework for Good Friday sermons, I will now provide a general introduction to the rhetoric of the fourteenth-century Good Friday preaching texts. In doing so, I will first focus on the genres and structures these discourses could follow. The second part of this chapter will provide a schematic overview of the Bohemian preachers' logic of selecting the sermons' *themata* and their use of authoritative prooftexts. The examination of these basic rhetorical principles is crucial to better understand Milič's rhetorical strategies for Good Friday, which I will thoroughly analyze in Chapter 8.

Possible structures: Homilies, scholastic sermons or hybrids?

Generally, medieval sermons can be classified into two primary categories, representing the specific structure they follow. These are the *homily* and the *sermo*. The former appeared in patristic times and, according to some later treatises on the art of preaching, was mainly characterized by developing the text "as if narrating":⁴²⁷ the homily uses a given biblical extract - usually from a liturgical pericope of the day - as a 'rhetorical skeleton' as it thoroughly explains the entire biblical passage verse by verse. The other category, the more structured *sermo*, appeared as early as the twelfth century and widely diffused after 1200.⁴²⁸ As opposed to the homily, the *sermo* selects a *thema* - a short biblical verse from the liturgy of the day or any other thematically fitting part of the Scripture - and utilizes it to build the content of a sermon, dissecting the *thema* into several (typically three) focal points.⁴²⁹ Mostly referred to as the "scholastic" or "thematic" sermon,⁴³⁰ this mode of structuring a preaching discourse was dominant in the late Middle Ages.

⁴²⁷ For instance, see how an anonymous "Art of Preaching" defines the 'ancient mode' of composing sermons: "Quod observant antiqui Sancti, sicut Augustinus et Bernardus et multi alii, quorum sermones in Ecclesia recitantur, in quibus non proponitur aliquod thema, quod sit materia predicandi, nec solent divisiones vel distinctiones fieri, que postmodum concordentur, sed quasi narrative procedit." Cited from Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 17, no. 1 (1942): 28.

⁴²⁸ Louis-Jacque Battalion, "Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons," *Leeds Studies in English* 11 (1980): 19–35, especially 28.

⁴²⁹ Nicole Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200," in *The Sermon*, ed. B. Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 370–82.

⁴³⁰ While scholars universally use the term "homily" for the first type of sermons, the labeling of the *sermo* is less univocal. Scholarly definitions of the genre include "scholastic sermon", "thematic sermon" (the latter is preferred by some Czech researchers, see Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Literární Prameny Svatováclavského Kultu a Úcty ve Vrcholném a Pozdním Středověku* [Literary sources of the St Wenceslas cult and veneration in the high and late Middle Ages] (Prague: Národní knihovna ČR, 1996), 87–96), or *sermo modernus*. In this dissertation, I use the terms "scholastic/thematic sermon" interchangeably. More on the terminology, see Kienzle, "Introduction," 160–62.

The prevalence of the scholastic structure is also common for fourteenth-century sermons for Good Friday composed in Bohemia. Interestingly, even though some of the local preaching texts preserved in the so-called *postilla* collections (the term, which usually refers to patristic-alike homilies with running commentaries on the Scripture),⁴³¹ they are typically called “sermo” in the manuscripts. Overall, with only one exception, the analyzed preaching texts from the corpus belong to the genre of the thematic sermon.

The genre of the homily appears to be peripheral among the Bohemian Good Friday preaching texts. However, there existed another kindred, yet more complex, method of composing sermons on Christ’s Passion. Known as *sermo historialis*,⁴³² it interpreted Good Friday events in the form of a continuous narrative which was commonly based on the concordance of all the Gospels. Johnson regards its structure being closer to that of Passion meditations as the *sermo historialis* was usually divided into fragments, each devoted to a given biblical scene. Often, the genre’s structure followed the liturgy by dividing the narrative according to the canonical hours.⁴³³ This method of composing sermons closely adheres to the genre of the homily because it also provides a running commentary on a biblical passage supplemented with doctrinal and moral instructions. However, according to Wenzel, the structure of the *sermo historialis* is more complicated. Firstly, contrary to the homily, historical sermon covers much larger passages from the Bible as it builds the Passion narrative on all four Gospels and sometimes complements it with extra-biblical details. Secondly, providing exegetical commentaries and moral instructions, it utilizes divisions and subdivisions that are rather typical for the scholastic sermon.⁴³⁴ Hence, the historical sermon cannot be considered through the constrained “scholastic sermon-homily” binary as, in fact, it shares some characteristics of both. Instead, it may be looked at as a hybrid structure,

⁴³¹ The genre of postil gained popularity in the circles connected to the University of Prague around the 1360s. A popular example of this notion is Conrad Waldhauser’s *Postilla* for students of the University of Prague, which, however, does not have any Good Friday sermons. The other two postils were composed by Milič. In the latter’s case, scribes did not write *omelia* in the manuscript rubrics even if the Good Friday sermon bore the homily-alike structure. Thus, Milič’s historical homily or *sermo historialis* in Wenzel’s terms was often laconically entitled in rubrics as “Feria sexta in parascheven” or just “In parascheven”.

⁴³² Rudolf Cruel. *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), 37.

⁴³³ Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*.

⁴³⁴ Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 149–51.

allowing more rhetorical flexibility for preachers to develop their Good Friday discourses.

Nicole Bériou placed the earliest surviving example of Good Friday sermon with this historical structure as early as the thirteenth century.⁴³⁵ In turn, based on the circulation of Henry of Frimar's historical sermons on the Passion,⁴³⁶ Vidmanová argued that this genre was known in the Bohemian milieu already in the fourteenth century and became commonly adopted at the turn of the fifteenth century.⁴³⁷ As to my tentative observations, the earliest instance of the Good Friday *sermo historialis* produced by an author active in the Bohemian Kingdom is the early-1370s sermon from Milíč's *Gratiae Dei* collection, which I will thoroughly dissect in Chapter 8.⁴³⁸

A common denominator for many Good Friday sermons from the region was the *prothema*. As an optional structural element,⁴³⁹ it immediately followed the *thema* and preceded the main division of the thematic sermon or the exegetical part of the *sermo historialis*. This introductory element usually incorporated another biblical verse and/or authoritative citation that would fit a preacher's needs: to lay the emotive groundwork for the sermon's main message,⁴⁴⁰ prepare the audience to better concentrate on it,⁴⁴¹ or function as a trope of humility to ask for divine assistance in composing/delivering a discourse.⁴⁴² Most often, the *prothema* ended with a communal

⁴³⁵ Nicole Bériou. "Latin and the Vernacular. Some Remarks about Sermons Delivered on Good Friday during the Thirteenth Century," in *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter. Internationales Symposium* (Berlin, 1989), 277.

⁴³⁶ While Schneyer lists two sermons on the Passion by this author (*Repertorium*, vol. 2, 673), Vidmanová does not specify which one was circulating in Bohemia. More on the author, see Eric Leland Saak, *Augustinian Theology in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2021), 347–86.

⁴³⁷ Anežka Vidmanová, "K autorství Husovy Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi [On the authorship of Hus' Passio]," *Listy filologické/Folia philologica* 91 (1968): 116.

⁴³⁸ It should be noted that Milíč was not the first one to use the genre of *sermo historialis* in Bohemia. Conrad Waldhauser's postil followed the same hybrid structure in Sunday sermons for Passiontide. Unfortunately, the postil does not contain any Good Friday sermons.

⁴³⁹ For instance, Peter of Zittau omits it in two of his Good Friday sermons, thus immediately proceeding to treating the *themata*.

⁴⁴⁰ Peter of Zittau: "Tempus est flendi, hodie est dies miserie, quia dixit Cristus: *Tristis est anima mea* etc. Omnis anima, que afflicta non fuerit die isto, delebitur de libro vite. Hec dies est querimonie, quia hodie *filius regis mortuus est*, scilicet Dei Patris. Aliis quidem festis quando aliquid loqui volumus, tunc divinum auxilium et gratiam invocamus, hodie vere Dei passio est specialiter invocanda, et digne, quia est origo omnis gracie et salutis, quia nobis celos reserabit omnibus, qui pie eandem hodie passionem peragunt." Cited from Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 90.

⁴⁴¹ Milíč: "Ita et vobis dico: si hodie vocem ejus non audieritis, dum ejus passio clamatur in auribus vestris, celum et terra, petre et monumenta, mortui resurgentes et Tartaree legiones testimonium in dampnationem vestram in die judicii dabunt. Sed ne hec vobis eveniat, audite eum cum latrone, sero penitenciam agentes, ut hora mortis sue dicat unicuique vestrum: *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*." For the full version of the *prothema*, see Appendix I, page 242.

⁴⁴² Henry of Wildenstein: "Pro Spiritus sancti inpetranda gracia interpello thronum divine clemencie dicens cum beato Augustino *Libro meditationum* capitulo 2: 'Invoco te, Deus meus, invoco te, quia prope es omnibus invocantibus te, in veritate: tu enim veritas es. Doce me clemenciam tuam, sancta

prayer, which Blake Beattie lists among the most effective and interactive rhetorical techniques that enhances the audience's sense of participation in the act of preaching (or private reading).⁴⁴³ Bohemian preachers usually inserted communal prayers into their introductions unless they completely omitted the *prothema*. For instance, in line with the growing Marian devotion in the region, communal addresses to the Virgin were prominent in the Good Friday sermons by Peter of Zittau⁴⁴⁴ and *Sermo de Cena et Passione Christi* by Henry of Wildenstein.⁴⁴⁵ Alternatively, Milič considered *Pater noster* as a more appropriate communal prayer for Good Friday preaching texts instead of “greeting Mary with *Ave* when she is full of sorrow”,⁴⁴⁶ thus underscoring a certain flexibility inherent in the composition of *prothemata* for the feast day.

Notably, Passion-related *prothemata* could significantly vary in length, sometimes constituting almost a full-fledged elaborated sermon within a sermon. For instance, Waldhauser went so far in his Passion Sunday homily from the *Postilla* composed for students of the University of Prague.⁴⁴⁷ Although this text does not

veritas doce me te invocare in veritate, quia hoc fieri quomodo oporteat nescio, sed a te doceri, bona veritas, imploro. Abs te enim sapere est disipere, te vero nosse est perfecte scire. Erudi me, divina sapiencia, et doce me legem tuam. Credo enim, quia quem tu erudieris, *beatus erit et de lege tua docueris eum*. Desidero invocare te, quod queso fiat in veritate. Quid est in veritate invocare veritatem, nisi in Filio Patrem? Ergo, sancte Pater, sermo tuus veritas est principiumque verborum tuorum veritas. Hoc quippe est verborum tuorum principium, quod in principio erat verbum. In ipso principio te summum adoro principium. In ipso veritatis verbo te, perfecta, invoco, veritas, quod in ipsa eadem dirigas me veritate et doceas.” Cited from Vojtěch Večeře, “Jindřich z Vildštejna: Sermo de Cena et Passione Christi,” 112.

⁴⁴³ Blake Beattie, “Coram Papa Preaching and Rhetorical at Papal Avignon,” in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002), 70.

⁴⁴⁴ “Modo convertamus hodie nostros oculos cordis ad Mariam, ad quam cottidie clamamus: Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte, orando ipsam, ut propter gladium, qui hodie eius animam pertranssivit, iuvet nos hodie aliquid dicere, quod cedat ad eiusdem passionis et eius honorem etc.” Cited from Pumprova, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 90. “Rogabimus ipsum Cristum hodie mortuum et matrem eius, cuius animam pertranssivit gladius, pro gracia audiendi et loquendi in presenti et obtinendi in futuro vitam sempiternam devote dicentes: Ave, Maria.” Cited from Pumprova, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 108.

⁴⁴⁵ “Quapropter dico illud Hester 14: *Domine, rex deorum et universe potestatis, tribue sermonem compositum in ore meo et adiuva me*, quia in nullo alio habeo auxilium, nisi in te, Domine, qui habes omnium scienciam. Ut igitur prefata dignius inpetremus monstrare, graciae fontem nunc devote salutemus dicentes: Ave Maria et cetera.” Cited from Vojtěch Večeře, “Jindřich z Vildštejna: Sermo de Cena et Passione Christi,” 112.

⁴⁴⁶ Milič's Good Friday sermon from the *Abortivus* collection: “Quod ut nobis meritis sue dulcissime matris, cujus animam eo patiente doloris gladius pertranssivit, donare dignetur, ipsum sinceris mentibus exoremus, dicentes Pater noster.” Appendix I, page 245.

Milič's Good Friday sermon from the *Gratiae Dei* collection: “Quomodo autem pro impetracione glorie dolorosam matrem dulcissimam Mariam per Ave salutabimus cum sit plena dolore? Nisi ut patri Christo et matri Marie compatientes, dicamus Pater noster.” Appendix II, pages 263–264.

⁴⁴⁷ Its *prothema* is lengthy compared to other sermons for Judica Sunday. A quick look at the text's outline in several preserved manuscripts illustrates well that the *prothema* takes around 20% of the whole sermon. For instance, in manuscript Mk 44 (Moravian Library, Brno) it is placed on three out of fifteen columns of the sermon (fols. 100ra–104va), in manuscript XVIII.A.40 (National Museum Library, Prague) - four out of seventeen columns of the text (fols. 113vb–119rb).

pertain to the preaching corpus in question, it still deserves a brief examination. Thus, before commenting verse by verse on the pericope of the day (John 8:46–59), Waldhauser inserts into the *prothema* a massive list of the Passion Sunday liturgical components, which are further complemented with a discussion about the liturgy’s meaning and its connection to Good Friday. In fact, this introductory part is heavily based on Durand’s *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Not only does the Austrian preacher adopt *Rationale*’s text but also selectively comments on it, either directly addressing the audience or emphasizing the didactic importance of the liturgical day. For instance, while following Durand extensively, Waldhauser first briefly mentions that “the Church rubricated all our books, missals, and chorals as if with the blood of a true lamb”⁴⁴⁸ and later describes how his audience should lament and weep for the Lord’s coming death. In doing so, the preacher invites the audience to a communal prayer to learn the basic principles of mourning after the Virgin:

For, therefore, the prophet [Jeremiah 9:17] sent mourners to provoke people to weep for the future captivity of Jerusalem and the slaughter of a multitude of sinners and evildoers, how do we not mutually provoke ourselves in these days to mourn for the future most innocent death of our Father? We will recall it almost immediately, so that when the days of his death come, we may know how to lament and weep. [...] Let us pray to the greatest mourner of his death, the Virgin Mary, so that as our teacher, she follows the lamentation of her innocent son in the future occasion.⁴⁴⁹

The provided example demonstrates the adaptability of Passion-related *prothemata*, which can become an object of liturgical study and a dramatic tool. They explain clearly the expected emotional reaction for the day and allow the audience to actively participate in the sermon, be it a scholastic discourse or a patristic-alike *sermo historialis*.

⁴⁴⁸ “Et tunc lugendo recitat [ecclesia] misterium crucis et acetum et fel et arundinem clavos et lanceam perforati corporis et dilusiones inimicorum et insidias eorum et hiis similia consuscipit de autentis scripturarum veteris et novi testamenti quibus omnes libros nostros missales et corales tamquam veri agni sanguine in hiis diebus rubricavit.” Mk 44, fol. 100ra, Moravian Library, Brno.

⁴⁴⁹ “Quia igitur propheta misit adduci lamentatrices provocantes homines ad fletum pro futura captivitate Jerusalem et occisione pluritudinum peccatorum et malorum, quomodo non mutuo nos provocamus istis diebus ad lugendum pro innocentissima patris nostri morte futura? Quasi cito recalemus, ut cum veniunt dies mortis ejus, lugere et flere sciamus. [...]. Rogemus maximam ipsius mortis deploratricem, virginem Mariam, ut sicut magistra nostra, doctrina nos filii sui innocentem occasionem futuram deplorare sequitur.” Mk 44, 100va, Moravian Library, Brno.

The choice of *themata* for Bohemian Good Friday sermons

As Ottó Gecser validly noted in his comprehensive study of late-medieval sermons for the feast of Saint Elizabeth, each *thema* remains the most preserved rhetorical part (and, quite often, the most determining element) of each sermon. Thus, the investigation of preachers' logic behind the choice of *themata* for a given feast day can shed light on their "patterns of interpretation and representation."⁴⁵⁰ The scholarship on Bohemian pre-fifteenth-century preaching texts, including materials for Good Friday, still lacks a taxonomy of this kind.⁴⁵¹

Liturgical modalities

Medieval sermons from *de tempore* cycles (composed for Sundays and main celebrations of the liturgical year, like Advent, Pentecost, Marian feast days, and others) are typically based on their daily liturgical readings, pericopes.⁴⁵² Whereas this tendency holds true for some Passion-related *de tempore* sermons (for example, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, and Easter), it seems that it is not the case of Good Friday materials.⁴⁵³ The constructed Bohemian corpus demonstrates the same trend. Out of fifteen sermons that I have collected for analysis, only two (one by Peter of Zittau and another by Milíč)⁴⁵⁴ are built on lines from the liturgical readings for the day. Their *themata* are taken from the culminating part of the Gospel reading, which describes Christ's last moments on the cross and those immediately after his death. The *themata* are *Jesus dixit: Sitio...* (John 19:28-30) and *Unus militum lancea latus ejus* (John 19:34) respectively. As a result, when turning to the daily pericopes, the preachers' selection

⁴⁵⁰ Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit*, 151–53.

⁴⁵¹ It would be also worth analyzing the Bohemian corpus from the comparative perspective in this section. However, this remains beyond the scope of this dissertation, especially since it would require a close-reading analysis. Therefore, in this section, I deliberately focus on the Bohemian materials' choice of *themata* and their function. Occasionally, I will use Schneyer's monumental *Repertorium* to comparatively look at the frequency of selecting a given biblical verse. I leave the promising perspective of comparing the Bohemian Good Friday sermons with preaching texts from other parts of Europe for future research.

⁴⁵² Nicole Bériou, "La Madeleine dans les sermons parisiens du XIII^e siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 104, no. 1 (1992): 275.

⁴⁵³ For instance, this discrepancy is particularly evident in Schneyer's *Repertorium* for the period between 1150 to 1500. While it lists 188 Good Friday sermons based on liturgical pericopes from Hosea, Exodus, and John, its enumeration of non-liturgical Good Friday *themata* is much higher. While I leave a precise calculation of the latter *themata* and their comparative overview for future research, I will selectively address several non-liturgical models in the next section.

⁴⁵⁴ For the analysis of Milíč's *sermo historialis* with a liturgical *thema*, see Chapter 8.

favors the Gospel more than Hosea and Exodus and, therefore, corresponds to a general trend demonstrated in Schneyer's *Repertorium*.⁴⁵⁵

As Ottó Gecser implies, preachers who chose line of the liturgical pericopes as backbones of their sermons must have projected their discourses to be presented within the context of the daily liturgy.⁴⁵⁶ I find this theory plausible in the mentioned cases of Peter of Zittau and Milič. Apart from choosing parts of the liturgical Gospel reading for the day as *themata*, these preachers also apply two different strategies to connect their discourses with the liturgical reality.

The first model is exemplified by Peter of Zittau. Notably, his sermon *Jesus dixit: Sitio...* adopts the structure of Jacobus de Voragine's Good Friday scholastic sermon, which has the same *thema*.⁴⁵⁷ Its main division closely follows the Dominican's soteriological-penitential interpretation and, ultimately, leaves behind any discussion of the liturgical context.⁴⁵⁸ Nevertheless, to facilitate a better concordance between the religious rite and the sermon's main part, Peter of Zittau inserts a *prothema* at the beginning of his Good Friday sermon, which functions as an intermediary between the two. The preacher harmonizes the liturgical *thema* and the main body of the discourse in the following way:

Father, into your hands I commend my spirit. (Luke 23:46) My weakened spirit begs that, strengthened by your principal spirit, I may say something for the compassion of your Passion and for our edification. On other feast days, we invoke the grace and mercy of God. Today we will invoke his Passion [...]. On other feast days, we serve the Lord in joy. Today, in sadness. [...] We strip the altars, we do not ring the bells, etc. Therefore, we will invoke Mary, whose soul the sword of Simeon passed today, so that she may grant us to speak and listen with devotion.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ Among the mentioned 188 Good Friday sermons based on liturgical pericopes, 13 are based on lines from Hosea, 13 are taken from Exodus, and 162 are built on lines from John. See Appendix IV.

⁴⁵⁶ Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit*, 154.

⁴⁵⁷ This insightful observation was first made by Anna Pumprová in 2022 at the international conference "*Ex parva predicatione magnus ignis accenditur*" *Preaching in East-Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages*.

⁴⁵⁸ MS 434, fols. 146va–147vb, University Library, Leipzig and Jacobus de Voragine, "In die Parasceves I," in *Sermones quadragesimales*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: Sismek, 2005), 486–94.

⁴⁵⁹ "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum. (Luke 23:46) Meus spiritus attenuatus petit ut tuo spiritali principali confirmatus aliquid dicere possim ad tue passionis compassionem et ad nostram edificationem. Aliis festis locuturi invocamus Dei gratiam et misericordiam. Hodie invocabimus ejus passionem [...]. Aliis festis servimus Domino in letitia. Hodie cum tristitia. [...] Altaria spoliamus, campanas non pulsamus etc. Igitur Mariam cuius animam pertransivit hodie gladius Symeonis invocabimus ut nobis det cum devotione loqui et audire." Ms 434, fol 146va–146vb, University Library, Leipzig.

The principle of the second strategy to connect a sermon with the liturgy is demonstrated in Milič's *Unus militum lancea latus ejus*. As I will show in Chapter 8, its text is built on a historical retelling of the Passion based on the Gospel reading. I tend to believe that the preacher could have intended the sermon's narrative to mirror canonical hours. After all, as we will see, there is direct evidence that later users perceived Milič's preaching text as one that was meant to be performed according to this schedule of liturgical offices.

'Straightforward' models

The non-liturgical principles of selecting *themata*, which the examined Bohemian preachers prefer, offer much greater creativity and different approaches to develop sermons' content. The most obvious and simplest among them is to choose a 'straightforward' *thema* that would immediately place a preaching exposition within the framework of death, suffering, and subsequent sorrow, which, after all, are central to Good Friday. This approach manifests itself in the sermon of Henry of Wildenstein and is particularly evident in six out of eleven preaching texts by Peter of Zittau. Therefore, almost half of the examined sermons (seven out of fifteen) follow this logic of choosing the *themata*. Let us briefly overview them.

The first group of *themata* symbolically refers to Jesus' bodily and spiritual sufferings. It consists of three sermons, whose biblical lines are taken from the Song of Songs (especially its chapters 4 and 5). All of these suffering-related scholastic discourses are by Peter of Zittau: twice, he utilizes the very rare *thema* "Thou hast wounded my heart" (*Vulnerasti cor meum*, Song of Songs 4:9)⁴⁶⁰ and once he turns to more common "They have struck me, and they have wounded me" (*Percusserunt me et vulneraverunt me* Song of Songs 5:7).⁴⁶¹ As the *themata* suggest, the content of

⁴⁶⁰ According to the index provided by Schneyer, this *thema* is more typical for other liturgical occasions like a virgin saint's feast day (C8) or Assumption (S28). Despite the fitting literal application for Good Friday, Peter of Zittau's use of this line for this day is unique. See Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 11, 467. Schneyer's CD-register mentions only one sermon with this *thema*. The register attributes it to by Johannes Ludovici, but it is unclear what occasion this sermon was written for. Peter's rare choice of *thema* can be considered as a distinctive feature which singles out the Good Friday sermons from Bohemia of the time.

⁴⁶¹ It must be emphasized here that Schneyer erroneously quotes this *thema* in singular: "Percussit me et vulneravit me." Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 4, 816. While this *thema* appears in Good Friday sermons (see Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 810), it is usually associated with the feast day of St. Bartholomeus

Peter's sermons can be developed in a visceral direction to describe the signs or stages of Christ's Passion.⁴⁶² Alternatively, he expands on these verses to unfold a theological exposition, explaining the necessity and effect of the Lord's sacrifice on various recipients. Namely, this strategy is applied in Peter of Zittau's second sermon *Vulnerasti cor meum*. The division of the *thema* discusses the immediate effect of the Passion on the Virgin (compassionate reaction in response to Christ's voluntary sacrifice necessary to reconcile humanity with God), the Church (its formation from Christ's side), and each Christian soul (its liberation from the original sin and possible salvation through compassion to Christ and participating in the sacraments).⁴⁶³

The second set of sermons embraces three *themata* that were directly linked to the moribund Christ thanks to their use of the words "dead" (*mortuus*), "I die" (*morior*), or "he will die" (*morietur*). These come from the second Book of Samuel (Peter of Zittau's *Filius regis mortuus est*, 2 Samuel 18:20), Genesis (Peter of Zittau's *En ego morior*, Genesis 48:21), and the Book of Sirach (Henry of Wildenstein's *Hodie est rex et cras morietur*, Sirach 10:12). The first two *themata* commonly appear for Good Friday in Schneyer's *Repertorium*, while the third is typical for Palm Sunday and Holy Thursday.⁴⁶⁴

The last small group of *themata* that can be straightforwardly applied to Good Friday consists of two sermons focusing on the words "I grief/lament" (*doleo*) and "you all must cry" (*flete*). Again, due to his absolute numeric prevalence in my corpus, these come from Peter of Zittau's 'pen'. Similarly to the cases from the second group, the preacher uses the second Book of Samuel. However, this time he picks lines from its first chapter: "The illustrious [people of] Israel, you all must lament" (*Incliti Israel, flete*, 2 Samuel 1:24) and "I grieve for you, Jonathan my brother" (*Doleo super te, frater meo Jonatha*, 2 Samuel 1:26). The selection of these *themata* for Good Friday is

(S61). For instance, see Peregrine of Opole's and Henry of Friemar's entries in Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 4, 569 and Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 2, 666 respectively.

⁴⁶² As in Peter of Zittau's sermon *Percusserunt me*, where the preacher describes the stages of the Passion: In verbo proposito Christi describitur passio ex tribus: percussione, vulneratione, et pallii ablatione." Ms 434, fol. 144vb, University Library, Leipzig.

⁴⁶³ Cited from Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau's Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 38-40.

⁴⁶⁴ For example, Bonaventura used *En ego morior* (Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 546), and Nicholas of Gorran and Berthrandus of Turre selected *Filius regis mortuus est* for their Good Friday sermons (Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 4, 279 and Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 590 respectively). The third option proves more suitable for Palm Sunday and Holy Thursday, consult Schneyer's index in Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 10, 417. It is not surprising given that Henry's sermon is primarily composed for the day that precedes Good Friday. I explained why I put this sermon in the Bohemian corpus in the Introduction.

absolutely unique in these instances. As to *Incliti Israel*, there are no other sermons (even for other occasions) listed in Schneyer.⁴⁶⁵ *Doleo super te* appears in the *Repertorium* three times, but Peter's sermon is the only one which uses this *thema* for Good Friday.⁴⁶⁶ As demonstrated below, the main structures of these preaching discourses refer to Christ allegorically or typologically and rather focus on the literal interpretation of *who*, *how*, and *why* should lament the Passion on Good Friday. Here are their opening lines:

[*Doleo super te.*] In the proposed sentence, when understood allegorically, the Passion of Christ is described, as will be evident. The lamentation of Mary and the women as well as our own sorrow is depicted. Mary weeps for her son, the women for their teacher, and we for our brother.⁴⁶⁷

Incliti Israel, etc. [In the words proposed], illustrious are those who are very glorious, that is, Christians. [...] Why must we weep? Because Saul, who was a king chosen by the Lord, who was symbolizing Christ, has fallen.⁴⁶⁸

In my opinion, the rareness of these *themata* for Good Friday and the content of Peter's sermons may signal the growing interest in the compassionate response to the Passion around the 1330s in Bohemia. This notion can be seen in the light of the growing preoccupation with the literary and material visualization of the Passion in the region around the 1310s-1370s as well as the 1330s-1370s Eucharistic discussions with a particular focus on Christ's blood and body as a salvific medicine, which I analyzed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Other Old Testament models

Another non-liturgical tactic of the Bohemian preachers' selection of *themata* is more diverse as it searches for Old Testament *figurae* that would personify the suffering Christ, prophesize his role in humanity's eternal salvation, or mystically

⁴⁶⁵ Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 10, 465.

⁴⁶⁶ Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 10, 218. The CD version mentions one Good Friday sermon by a later preacher, Virgilius Wallendorfer de Salzburg. However, Virgilius chooses the latter part of the biblical verse for his *thema*: *Sicut mater unicum amat filium suum*.

⁴⁶⁷ "In verbo hec proposito allegorice intellecto pertinetur describitur Christi passio ut patebit. Describiri in Marie et mulierum planctus et noster dolor. Maria flet pro filio, mulieres pro magistro, nos pro fratre." Ms 434, fol 36vb, University Library, Leipzig.

⁴⁶⁸ "Incliti Israel, etc. [In verba proposita] incliti sunt qui valde gloriosi, id est christiani. [...] Quare flendum? Quia cecidit Saul qui erat rex virtus a domino qui significat Christum." Ms 434, fol 35rb–35va, University Library, Leipzig.

portray his union with a devout supplicant. Five sermons from the corpus (including two texts by Peter of Zittau, one by Milič, and one by Henry Totting of Oyta) follow this principle of selection. Their *themata* are taken from different parts of the Scripture. Generally, they demonstrate the preachers' allegiance to common trends, but there are also some more peculiar attempts to use rare or previously unexplored biblical quotations.

One of the most conventional ways to present the Passion through the lenses of Old Testament typology comes from the Book of Lamentations. One preacher of the Bohemian corpus, Peter of Zittau, follows this path too and chooses the *thema* which can be unfolded to compare Christ's miserable sufferings to those of Jerusalem's people: "O, you all who pass by the way, attend, and see if there is any sorrow like my sorrow" (*O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite, et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*, Lamentations 1:12).⁴⁶⁹ According to my Schneyer-based estimations, this *thema* was extraordinarily popular in Good Friday sermons throughout the Middle Ages. Its popularity may be explained by the interpretational flexibility it could offer to preachers. As Peter of Zittau's text shows, this *thema* allowed to develop an extensive discussion of the physical atrocities that happened to Christ in order to reinforce the pitiful mood of the sermon. At the same time, the biblical line provides the possibility to supplement the discourse with theological details about the *modus operandi*, reasons, and effects of Christ's Passion.⁴⁷⁰

The Song of Songs is another perfect source of Old Testament *themata* to prophetically portray the main Good Friday agents, Christ and his mother. This biblical book was particularly popular in the Cistercian milieu in the high and late Middle Ages due to Bernard of Clairvaux's exegetical texts.⁴⁷¹ From a typological point of view, Bernard interpreted the Song of Songs' story about two lovers as an affective union between Christ and Mary. Still, in line with a broader tradition, he also considered it as

⁴⁶⁹ To assess the extraordinary popularity of this *thema*, consult Schneyer: his *Repertorium* lists around 50 sermons based on this line, several dozens of them are for Good Friday. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 11, 100–101.

⁴⁷⁰ The sermon's marginal notes that illustrate its schematic development show this fixation on visceral details in particular detail. The theological treatment is introduced in the sermon's main division: "*O vos omnes* etc. Circa Christi dolorem et vehementem passionem tria sunt notanda, scilicet opus, modus et causa. In opere patientia, in modo humilitas, in causa caritas commendatur." Ms 434, fol 140va–142rb, University Library, Leipzig. Peter probably takes this division from Bernard's Sermon for Holy Thursday. See Bernard of Clairvaux, "Sermones de tempore," in *PL* 183, col. 263.

⁴⁷¹ More on this, see Suzanne LaVere, *Out of the Cloister: Scholastic Exegesis of the Song of Songs, 1100–1250* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

a symbol of the mystical marriage between the Church or a devout soul and Christ. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Cistercian Peter of Zittau chooses the line “Do not look upon me because I am dark because the sun has tanned me” (*Nolite me considerare quod fusca sim, quia decoloravit me sol*, Song of Songs 1:5) to expand on how the Virgin, the Church, and each Christian soul sympathizes with and grieves for the suffering Lord on Good Friday. Notably, in doing so, he reworks the scholastic structure proposed in Jacobus de Voragine’s sermon *Inspice et fac secundum exemplar* (Exodus 25:40).⁴⁷² Moreover, Peter’s choice to substitute the Dominican’s more popular *thema* for Good Friday with the *Nolite me considerare* verse appears to be particular for the liturgical occasion. Even though European preachers frequently use quotations from the first chapter of the Song of Songs (especially “A bundle of myrrh is my beloved to me,” Song of Songs 1:12), Schneyer lists only two other sermons with *Nolite me considerare* as a biblical theme. One of them is for Good Friday, and the other is composed for the Feast of Saint Dominic.⁴⁷³

The next Bohemian Good Friday *thema* comes from the Book of Nehemiah. One of Peter of Zittau’s sermons chooses its line “And Esdras the scribe stood upon a step of wood, which he had made to speak upon” (*Stetit autem Esdras scriba super gradum ligneum, quem fecerat ad loquendum*, Nehemiah 8:4). Peter’s choice of this quotation, drawing a typological line from Esdras to Jesus, seems to be motivated by two factors. Firstly, as the preacher notes, Esdras befittingly prefigures Christ because just as the former “rebuilt the destroyed Jerusalem and the temple with labor,” the latter “rebuilt with great effort heavenly and earthly Jerusalem through his Passion, namely [he rebuilt] the Church and our soul.”⁴⁷⁴ The second corresponding category between the Old Testament figure and Jesus is the wooden stair. As Peter of Zittau explains, Esdras went up to a wooden step to read the law to people, while Jesus symbolically climbed the ‘stairs’ of his Passion to read the last seven words to his Father and redeem

⁴⁷² Compare Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau’s Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 105–108 and Jacobus de Voragine, “In die Parasceves II,” in *Sermones quadragesimales*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: Sismek, 2005), 495–500.

⁴⁷³ The Good Friday sermon is composed by an anonymous Dominican preacher. The sermon for the Feast of Saint Dominic is by Peter of Remis. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 6, 585 and Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 4, 741.

⁴⁷⁴ “Esdras reedificavit Jerusalem destruttam et templum cum labore. Sic et Christus reedificavit suam per passio Israelem celestem, Jerusalem terrestrem, scilicet ecclesiam et nostram animam cum magno labore.” Ms 434, fol. 38ra, University Library, Leipzig.

humanity.⁴⁷⁵ As Pamela Gravestock indicates, the ladder was a popular Passion-related motif among late-medieval and early-modern artists, who considered it to be one of the instruments of Christ's execution.⁴⁷⁶ Schneyer lists four more Good Friday sermons with this *thema* by other preachers, and I would expect to find similar imagery there.⁴⁷⁷

Henry Totting of Oyta's selection of the *thema* "And your life will be as if it were hanging before you" (*Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te*, Deuteronomy 28:66) follows the same prefigurative logic. The preacher interprets the line as a symbolic image of the crucifixion and invites to meditate on the crucified Christ as the exemplary "book of life", which makes its reader "benevolent, peaceful, and attentive".⁴⁷⁸ Schneyer lists two more Passion-related (Good Friday and Holy Saturday) sermons with the same *thema*.⁴⁷⁹ Riccardo Burgazzi has diligently demonstrated that all three sermons share the same figurative treatment of the biblical line as the image of the crucifixion. He has also linked it to long-standing exegetical tradition.⁴⁸⁰

The last Old Testament *thema* originates from the Book of Zachariah. As Chapter 8 will reveal, Milíč selects the quote "You by the blood of your testament has sent forth your prisoners out of the pit, where there is no water" (*Tu in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu in quo non est aqua*, Zachariah 9:11) because of its thematic suitability to develop a theoretical soteriological discourse and combine it with pastoral-sacramental instructions.

⁴⁷⁵ "Stetit autem Esdras et Christus super gradum ligneum ad loquendum. Licet Christus pro nobis semper loquatur patri tamen ista verba maxime voluit in fine dicere ut melius servarentur. Sunt autem verba quasi septem corde in cithara." Ms 434, fol. 38ra, University Library, Leipzig.

⁴⁷⁶ Pamela Gravestock, "Comforting the Condemned and the Role of the Laude in Early Modern Italy," in *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, eds. Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock (Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 141.

⁴⁷⁷ These sermons were composed by Robert de Sorbon, Guiard de Laon, certain Sifrid, and Guilelmus de Malliaco. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 5, 253; vol. 2, 261; vol. 5, 429; vol 2, 485 respectively.

⁴⁷⁸ "*Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te*. In hiis verbis mystice nobis proponitur Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, quasi liber vite ad studendum in eo aliis postpositis, ut assidue in ipso legamus, tamquam in exemplari correctissimo et subtilissimo et saluberrimo, in quo nostros defectus corrigamus. [...] Iste ergo liber nobis proponitur studendus per Moysem. [...] In quibus verbis Spiritus Sanctus, qui est huius libri doctor, tria facit more boni doctoris. Reddit enim primo discipulos suos circa hunc librum studendum benivolos, cum dicit *vita tua*. Secundo dociles, cum dicit *pendens*. Tercio, attentos, cum dicit *ante te*." Cited from Burgazzi, "Meditating on the Passion: The Sermon 'Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te' (Deut 28,66)," 48, 50.

⁴⁷⁹ Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 10, 312.

⁴⁸⁰ Burgazzi, "Meditating on the Passion: The Sermon 'Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te' (Deut 28,66)," 38–40.

As we can see, while choosing Good Friday sermons' thematical orientation, Peter of Zittau, Milíč of Kroměříž, Henry of Wildenstein, and Henry Totting of Oyta predominantly follow the logic of literary and typological (historical-prefigurative) representations of the Passion. The chosen *themata* allow the Bohemian preachers to address and combine three representational goals: some discourses try to show the gruesome details of Christ's Passion and evoke a strong emotional response, other sermons engage in more emotionally constrained theological discussions of the Passion's causes and salvific effect, some turn to more general instructions about the objects, actors, and modes of mourning the Good Friday events. Notably, either because of his absolute numerical prevalence in the corpus or due to his own creative approach, Peter of Zittau's selection singles out three very rare *themata*, which do not have any other Good Friday counterparts in Schneyer's *Repertorium*.

Authorities and support of the arguments

Typically for many medieval sermons, all examined Good Friday preaching discourses from Bohemia follow the same rhetorical rule: in order to support a given line of argumentation, the preachers embellish their texts with acclaimed theological authorities (*auctoritates*). While following this common principle, the preachers from Bohemia demonstrate two different degrees of dependance on these prooftexts. Let us briefly inspect them.

Medieval composers of preaching manuals often advised preachers to be restrained "in the use of authorities for the proof of words to avoid using so many proofs that the patience of the audience is affected."⁴⁸¹ Apparently, this rhetorical strategy is inherent in the majority of the examined Bohemian sermons. Peter of Zittau, Henry Totting of Oyta, and Henry of Wildenstein draw on a limited number of short quotations, which are usually taken from the Church Fathers (especially Augustine and Gregory) and Bernard of Clairvaux (or alike from the Pseudo-Bernardian tradition). Notably, such an approach often lacks critical reflections as they do not debate authorities at all. Instead, prooftexts serve either to provide brief exegetical explanations or to support the preachers' theological and pastoral statements. For instance, Peter of Zittau's *Percusserunt me et vulneraverunt me* sermon compares the Passion to a plaster that "the sinful man needs, since the sinner is weak in the head, that

⁴⁸¹ Cited from Sofia Menache and Jeannine Horowitz, "Rhetoric and Its Practice in Medieval Sermons," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 22, no. 2 (1996): 323–24.

is, with evil intention” because, according to Augustine, “intention is the head of the soul.”⁴⁸² Moreover, in Henry Totting of Oyta’s sermon *Erit vita tua quasi pendens*, which compares Christ to the book of life and considers his Passion as an example the faithful should contemplate and follow, we read that “Gregory’s *Sermons on Job*, in which he prophesied about the Passion of Christ, were written in a book, that is, in our Lord Christ, with iron stylus, with which his hands and feet were pierced.”⁴⁸³ Here, Gregory’s work becomes not a tool of argumentative reinforcement but functions as a physical object, which serves to illustrate the book-oriented allegory of Christ’s Passion.

Out of the four Bohemian preachers from the corpus, only Milíč demonstrates an unusual and, to some extent, inventive approach to authoritative prooftexts.⁴⁸⁴ As his two Good Friday sermons illustrate, he heavily relies on *auctoritates*, which do not merely serve to strengthen the sermon’s argument but rather to almost completely substitute Milíč’s ‘voice’. Thus, in his Good Friday discourses, Milíč incorporates extremely lengthy quotations from two groups of authors. For theological aspects, he generally cites the Church Fathers, especially Augustine, Gregory, and Ambrose as his scholastic Good Friday sermon shows. Beside these authors, he also occasionally turns to exegetical notes from Bede, Jerome, John Damascene, Chrysostom, and others. As it becomes evident in his *sermo historialis*, these biblical expositions by the Church Fathers as well as additional comments on them are taken from two leading scholastic Dominican theologians, Thomas Aquinas and Nicholas of Gorran. The second group of authorities originates from texts pertaining to affective literature. They include, for instance, John of Fécamp’s *Meditations*, Eckbert of Schönau’s *Stimulus amoris*, *Meditationes Passionis Christi per VII horas diei*, and others. As I will seek to demonstrate in the final part of this thesis, Milíč’s interplay of prooftexts of various kinds is intentional and strategic. His careful selection and disposition of the prooftexts plays a crucial role to transmit and explain complex theological messages as well as provide understandable pastoral instructions and imitable models of affective piety.

⁴⁸² “Predicto emplastro indiget homo peccator, nam peccator infirmus est in capite, id est cum mala intencione (est enim intencio caput anime secundum Augustinum).” Cited from Pumprová, *Peter of Zittau’s Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, 111.

⁴⁸³ “Gregorius sermones Job, quibus de Christi passione prophetavit, scripti fuerunt in libro, id est in Christo Domino nostro, stilis ferreis, quibus manus eius et pedes confossi sunt.” Cited from Burgazzi, “Meditating on the Passion: The Sermon ‘Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te’ (Deut 28,66),” 49.

⁴⁸⁴ I discuss Milíč’s very specific utilization of authorities in Chapter 8. I define his strategy of combining huge chunks of theological prooftexts with quotes from affective texts for meditation as “affective catechesis” or “intellectual-emotional script.”

PART 3. A PREACHER AT WORK: THE CASE OF MILÍČ OF KROMĚŘÍŽ

Arguably, one of the most prominent and enigmatic fourteenth-century Bohemian preachers was Milíč of Kroměříž (ca. 1320-1374).⁴⁸⁵ Historians regard Milíč as a prolific local author: there are at least two surviving model sermon collections *de tempore et de sanctis* surely attributed to him, the *Abortivus* and *Gratiae Dei*. Composed between 1363 and 1374, when Milíč was active on the preaching stage, these collections could potentially compete with the Polish Dominican Peregrinus of Opole's sermonaries as they enjoyed a wide diffusion all over Europe and became fairly popular among several generations of fifteenth-century preachers.⁴⁸⁶ Admittedly, two Good Friday model sermons contained in these collections are overlooked in the existing scholarship. Still, these texts can shed light on Milíč's Passion discourse developed in two different genres, the scholastic sermon and *sermo historialis*,⁴⁸⁷ and thus may contribute to our better understanding of this outstanding figure. For this reason, his model sermons for Good Friday deserve a thorough scholarly analysis.

The final part of the dissertation will provide an insight into Milíč's biography,⁴⁸⁸ his style of composing sermons, and changing strategies to 'communicate the Passion' at the beginning and the end of his preaching career. Before proceeding to the analysis, I must stress two crucial facts. Firstly, one should critically and cautiously approach narrative sources, telling about the preacher's abilities. While contemporary Bohemian chronicles are mainly laconic about his preaching skills, Milíč's two postmortem biographies bear clear hagiographical features. Secondly, the genre of model sermon *per se* also poses limitations on the reconstruction of Milíč's actual preaching style. Even if ever preached under certain circumstances to given audiences, model sermons were primarily conceived as handy exemplars for future preachers to follow. Unlike *reportationes*, these sources contain scarce information on a preacher's articulation, gestures, use of visual aids or the audience's reaction. After all, as

⁴⁸⁵ It should be noted that although some researchers refer to the preacher's Latin name, Johannes Milicius de Cremsir, the majority of present-day scholarship in Czech and English uses its Czech version. Moreover, presumably following Bohuslav Balbin's seventeenth-century quasi-hagiographical invention, some historians adopted the first-name basis, thus referring to the preacher as Jan Milíč of Kroměříž. Contemporary Czech scholarship refutes this debatable denomination, and I follow the Czech colleagues in this regard.

⁴⁸⁶ Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum*, vol. 1, 171–192.

⁴⁸⁷ For the detailed discussion about these genres and their characteristics, see Part 2, Chapter 6.

⁴⁸⁸ It should be stressed that the aim of this biographical entry is not to reconstruct Milíč's life because it has been already successfully done in the most up-to-date study by Peter Morée. Instead, my goal is to contextualize the two Good Friday sermons that I am going to analyze later in Chapter 8.

Stanislava Kuzmová befittingly stressed, what usually makes a model sermon successful and valuable is “its versatility, usefulness, and easiness to be used, re-used, and tailored for various audiences, places, and times.”⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁹ Kuzmová, “Preaching Saint Stanislaus: Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow and Their Role in the Construction of His Image and Cult,” 173.

Chapter 7. Milíč of Kroměříž and his place in historiography

The life of Milíč of Kroměříž

Details about Milíč of Kroměříž's early life remain unclear. The current scholarship mostly adopts Miloslav Kaňák's critical evaluation of all the existing theories about his origin, thus stating that the preacher was probably born around 1320 into a noble family of Bohunko and Rychka of Tečovice, a town near modern-day Zlín in the south-eastern part of Moravia.⁴⁹⁰

Having received sufficient schooling at the Latin church school in Olomouc, Milíč did not embark on studying at university but stayed in Moravia to pursue the career of a cleric.⁴⁹¹ Yet, he did not join any religious order. He was ordained a priest in 1348, and ten years later moved to Prague (according to Morée, thanks to the connections with the Bishop of Olomouc, Jan Očko).⁴⁹² Up to 1360, Milíč worked at Charles IV's imperial chancellery as a registrar, then he was promoted to a copy editor and held this position for two years. Eventually, in 1362, he became a notary.⁴⁹³ Most likely, he accompanied the emperor on his journeys, including the ruler's tours to the German lands and Silesia.⁴⁹⁴ More importantly, as one of the emperor's officials, Milíč got directly acquainted with the representatives of the so-called "Czech pre-humanism", namely, the Royal Chancellor, John of Neumarkt, and Archbishop Arnošt of

⁴⁹⁰ The date 1320 was suggested by František Loskot and Miloslav Kaňák. See, Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 15–6; Miloslav Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže* (Prague: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1975), 11. Historians discuss four theories of Milíč's origin. The first one places Milíč among descendants from the lords of Citov near Brodek u Přerov. The second theory suggests that he might have originated from the lords of Miličín who moved to Moravia in the late Middle Ages. The third hypothesis that Milíč was of common origin was most likely inspired by the anonymous *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii, praelati ecclesiae Pragensis*, bearing clear hagiographical traces. Kaňák convincingly refuted these theories and extensively discussed the fourth possibility, which I follow as well. He based his argument on the fact that one of Bohunko's and Rychka's sons was mentioned in 1348 as a priest named Milíč. This figure is often identified with a Kroměříž canon named Militius (mentioned in documents in 1353). Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 10. The same argument is expressed in Lucie Mazalová, "Původ Milíče z Kroměříže [The origin of Milíč of Kroměříž]," *Časopis Matice Moravské* 131, no. 1 (2012): 135–43.

⁴⁹¹ Emler raised a possibility that the preacher might have studied abroad (probably in Italy). See Josef Emler, "Život Milíče z Kroměříže [The Life of Milíč of Kroměříž]," in *FRB*, vol. I, ed. Josef Emler (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1873), XXXII. Kaňák supported this assumption as it might have provided Milíč with qualification to work in the office of one of the highest Moravian authorities: either in Kroměříž at Jan Očko's office of the Olomouc bishopric, or in Brno or Olomouc at the margrave Jan Jindřich's office. Kaňák found an archival document signed by Miliczius de Chremsir, attesting that the latter bought a house in Kroměříž. For this reason, the historian favored the first theory that Milíč worked for Jan Očko at the early stage of his career. Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 14. Morée accepted this thesis as well, Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 61.

⁴⁹² Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 61.

⁴⁹³ Johann Böhmer, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV. (1346–1378)*, vol. VIII, *Regesta Imperii*, ed. Alfons Huber (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1877), 2800.

⁴⁹⁴ Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 61; Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 19.

Pardubice.⁴⁹⁵ At the chancellery, Milíč must have also explored its colossal archive, containing numerous letters that Charles IV, Arnošt, and John had previously exchanged with early Italian humanists (Petrarch, Giovanni Marignola, and Cola di Rienzo).

In 1361, Milíč was granted a benefice.⁴⁹⁶ In late 1362, he left the chancellery since he was appointed as deputy archdeacon to John of Marolio.⁴⁹⁷ Based on a surviving visitation protocol from that period, Kaňák and others assumed that Milíč must have traveled around the diocese to inspect the state of local parishes.⁴⁹⁸ Finally, up to the end of his official career, he worked as a canon of the Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague.⁴⁹⁹ Although Milíč held such prestigious positions, he suddenly resigned his benefices and duties to flee to Horšovský Týn in 1363. With the support of Archbishop Arnošt, the future preacher spent six months there, preparing himself for preaching, and then returned to Prague to spread the Word of God.⁵⁰⁰ This episode represented a decisive turning point in Milíč's life. As some Czech scholars state, the Austrian

⁴⁹⁵ More on the notion of the Bohemian pre-humanism, see Eduard Winter, *Frühhumanismus, Seine Entwicklung in Böhmen und deren europäischen Bedeutung für die Kirchenreformbestrebungen im 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964).

⁴⁹⁶ Besides this lucrative position, František Palacký listed a farmhouse in Tmaň among Milíč's properties. František Palacký, *Dějiny Národu Českého v Čechách a v Moravě Dle Původních Pramenův* [History of the Czech nation in Bohemia and Moravia according to original sources], vol. 3 (Prague: Bursík & Kohout, 1894), 17.

⁴⁹⁷ This information is absent from the sources and was reconstructed by Morée, see his *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 62. Interestingly, *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii* assigns the archdeacon's position to Milíč, which seems to be a hagiographical embellishment. "Život Milíče z Kroměříže [The Life of Milíč of Kroměříž]," in *FRB I*, 404. I will further refer to this source as the *Vita*.

⁴⁹⁸ Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 16. The assumption is based on the document from Ivan Hlaváček and Zdeňka Hledíková, eds, *Protocolum visitationis archidiaconatus Pragensis annis 1379–1382 per Paulum de Janowicz archidiaconum Pragensem factae* (Prague: Academia, 1973).

⁴⁹⁹ Jan Novák, ed, *Acta Innocentii VI., Pontificis Romani 1352–1362*, vol. 2, Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia (Prague: Typis Gregorianis, 1907), 471; František Antonín Tingl and Josef Emler, eds, *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidioecesim*, vol. I, pars altera (Prague: Ed. Grégr, 1875), 16.

⁵⁰⁰ Flegl hypothesized that Milíč could have started preaching at the Church of Peter and Paul already in Horšovský Týn at the turn of 1363–1364. Michal Flegl, "K Životopisu Milíče z Kroměříže [About the Biography of Milíč of Kroměříž]," *Listy Filologické* 103, no. 3 (1980): 166.

charismatic preacher from the Austin Canons, Conrad Waldhauser, who preached in Prague on Easter 1363,⁵⁰¹ might have galvanized him into action.⁵⁰²

We know much more about the next stage of Milíč's life thanks to his two biographies, the anonymous *Vita venerabilis presbiteri Milicii* (most likely, written in the seventeenth century by Bohuslav Balbín) and Matthias of Janov's (the preacher's disciple) account. Yet, contemporary research on Milíč disputes the credibility of the sources as the biographies demonstrate clear apologetic and hagiographical features.⁵⁰³ Despite experiencing some initial difficulties - especially with his Moravian accent according to the *Vita*⁵⁰⁴ - Milíč became a prolific secular preacher highly popular in Prague. By 1365, he composed his first collection of model sermons, the *Abortivus*, intended for students of the University of Prague, which may attest in favor of the preacher's established connections with the local *studium generale*.⁵⁰⁵ His biographies hyperbolically report that he addressed his audience (university students, nuns, nobility, and burghers) in Latin, Czech, and German and could deliver sermons up to five times a day at different locations in Prague and Olomouc dioceses throughout his preaching career.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰¹ The date when Waldhauser moved to Prague is still disputable in historiography. Thus, some assert that Charles IV invited the Austrian preacher to the Czech capital in 1358. See, for example, František Lützow, *The Story of Prague* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902), 19. The same idea was expressed much later, see, for instance, Ludvík Nemec, "The Czech Reform Movement: 'Devotio Moderna' in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124, no. 5 (1980): 386–97.

However, Waldhauser's presence in Prague was documented only in 1363. Imperial Chancellor John of Neumarkt reported emphatically that Waldhauser's Easter preaching was so powerful and his sermons were so elegantly composed that "Cicero became silent in their brightness, and the power of Virgil's rhetorical style weakened." Cited from Jana Nechutová, "Konrád Waldhauser a Myšlenkové Proudý Doby Karla IV [Konrad Waldhauser and the currents of thought in the time of Charles IV]," *Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské Univerzity* 28–29 (1979 1980), 54.

⁵⁰² František Šmahel, *Husitská Revoluce* [The Hussite revolution], vol. II, (Prague: Karolinum, 1996), 191; Vilém Herold, "The Spiritual Background of the Czech Reformation: Precursors of Jan Hus," in *A Companion to Jan Hus*, eds. Ota Pavlicek and František Šmahel (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 75.

⁵⁰³ More on the critical assessment of these sources' hagiographical features, dating, authorship, and veracity, see Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*; David C. Mengel, "A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit: Making the Life of Milíč," *BRRP* 5, vol. 1-2 (Prague: The Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2004), 33–55.

⁵⁰⁴ *Vita*, 405. Notably, the *Vita* compares the ridicule inflicted on Milíč by his congregation with mockeries of Christ. Therefore, I assume that this account may also be a trope of humility.

⁵⁰⁵ Morée conducted a brilliant investigation on the postil's dating and demonstrated that its structure corresponds with the Church calendar for 1363. He noted, however, that the preacher might have edited the collection up to 1365. Assuming this dating, I would cautiously argue that Milíč must have finalized the *Abortivus* mostly in 1364–1365 when he acquired enough knowledge and some experience in preaching.

⁵⁰⁶ At the beginning of his preaching career, Milíč gave sermons at the church of Saint Nicolas in the New Town of Prague and at the church of Saint Giles in the Old Town. By 1372, he preached at St. Giles', the Tyn Church in the Old Town, the Jerusalem Community, and Saint George Church within the Prague Castle. *Vita*, 408, 410, 416, 418. Such productivity is remarkable and should be considered with

Moreover, Milíč preached to the clerics at the Prague archdiocese synods three times. This fact tells us more about his homiletic talent: the highest clergymen usually chose a synodic preacher from the most illustrious and humble priests to remind the local clergy of how an exemplary pastor should behave. In his sermons, Milíč blamed the clergy's and laity's moral decay and urged to restore the Church to its apostolic state. The preacher linked the crisis within the Church to the imminent end of time. Within this apocalyptic framework, allegedly, he even might have called the emperor Antichrist.⁵⁰⁷

In 1367, Milíč headed to Rome to present his ecclesiological and eschatological views (closely related to the critique of the Avignon Papacy) to Pope Urban V, who tried to move the papal see from France back to the eternal city. Contrary to his expectations, Milíč's plan was not approved and he was instead imprisoned and accused of heresy because of an attempt to preach about the end of time at Saint Peter's. In confinement, the cleric produced two works explaining his apocalyptic views to the inquisitors – *Sermo de die novissimo* and *Libellus de Antichristo*.⁵⁰⁸ By virtue of the Pope's brother, Cardinal Angel de Grimoard (d. 1388), Milíč was able to clarify his position and good will and eventually returned to Prague, where he continued to eagerly criticize the 'fallen' lay people and corrupt clergymen. This zeal would supposedly result in his first conflict with the mendicants.⁵⁰⁹

caution. For instance, the *Vita* also reports that Milíč learned German shortly after Waldhauser's death in 1369 when he decided to take up his friend's congregation at the Church of the Holy Virgin in front of Tyn. Given that charismatic preaching would require a fluent command of the language, it seems improbable that Milíč could start to preach in German in such short notice. Matthias of Janov's description about the frequency of Milíč's preaching seems more realistic. He states that usually Milíč preached two or three times on a festive day but generally he delivered at least one sermon on a daily basis. Matthias of Janov, "Zpráva o Milíčovi z Kroměříže [The report about Milíč of Kroměříž]," in *FRB*, ed. Josef Emler, vol. I. (Prague: Museum Království Českého, 1873), 435.

⁵⁰⁷ This episode seems to be invented by Matthias of Janov and does not reflect the actual relationships between the preacher and the emperor. Matthias of Janov, "Zpráva o Milíčovi z Kroměříže," 433. Eleanor Janega and David Mengel have persuasively demonstrated that Milíč's actual preaching activity, in fact, corresponded with Charles IV's dynastic "politics of representation" (that is, religious promotion of selected saints). Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV," 15–29; Janega, *Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Emperor Charles IV*.

⁵⁰⁸ Milíč's eschatological views have received much historical attention and will not be analyzed here. For the most comprehensive overview of Bohemian apocalypticism in the late Middle Ages and Milíč's place in this phenomenon as well as the latest bibliography on the subject, see Cermanová, *Čechy na konci věků*, especially 47–55.

⁵⁰⁹ Thus, Menčík includes an undated fragment of an interrogation, involving Milíč: Ferdinand Menčík, "Milíč a Dva Jeho Spisy z r. 1367 [Milíč and his two writings from 1367]," in *Věstník Královské České Společnosti Nauk, Třída Filosoficko-historicko-filologická*, ed. Ferdinand Menčík (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1890), 317–18.

Morée dates the conflict as early as 1368 because it is mentioned in the letter to the Pope, which, as the historian believes, was composed around 1368–1369. Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 73. Given the uncertainty about the letter's dating (see the next footnote), I would carefully place the

Although he did not convince the Pope of the necessity of a profound religious reform in 1367, Milíč persevered in his attempts to contact and persuade him. Between 1367 and 1369, he composed an emotional letter to the pontiff, describing the Church's dire state and advocating its purification.⁵¹⁰ In 1369, Milíč went to Rome again to address Urban V but had to give up his plan and urgently return to Bohemia because of the unexpected death of his fellow Waldhauser.

The last period of Milíč's life seems to be the most challenging and dramatic. He spent his last years in Prague focusing on more fervent preaching and penitential activity. Apparently, at some point, groups of prostitutes started to attend his sermons and, reportedly, experienced collective conversions.⁵¹¹ Consequently, in 1372, Milíč embarked on the project, which seems to be the most well-known in his career and, as David Mengel characterized, one of the "most important for Prague's fourteenth-century local religion."⁵¹² With the support of powerful patrons, he acquired two buildings in the notorious Benátky [Venice] district in the New Town of Prague and transformed them into a religious house with a chapel dedicated to holy harlots: Mary Magdalene and Mary and Afra of Egypt.⁵¹³ Gradually, Milíč obtained twenty seven

conflict with the mendicants between late 1367 (after Milíč's first visit to Rome because he does not mention any conflicts in the *Sermo* and *Libellus*) and 1369.

⁵¹⁰ The dating of the letter remains imprecise. Mencik, Molnár, and others argued that Milíč composed it in 1367 during his first visit in Rome or shortly after it. Menčík, "Milíč a Dva Jeho Spisy," 318; 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), 15; Morée refutes this dating and places the letter between 1368 and 1369. Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 70.

⁵¹¹ Interestingly, the *Vita* narrates how Milíč successfully urged a group of former prostitutes to do penance shortly before the foundation of the Jerusalem Community. The source refers to this episode as a "miracle": "Inde factum est, ut majori miraculo prae omnibus, quae divina gratia cooperante praedicando gessit miraculis, etiam publicae meretrices de prostibulis per ejus praedicationem ad poenitentiam converterentur." *Vita*, 418.

Mengel has demonstrated that the *Vita* has many intertextual connections with the hagiography *Vita Prima Bernardi*. Mengel, "A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit," 51. Matthew of Janov's text also lists a public conversion of 200 repented prostitutes among Milíč's achievements: "Quapropter stupenda et a seculis inaudita illi dominus Jesus donavit, quoniam ipse in brevi tempore prope ducentas meretrices ad penitentiam convertit notorias et publicas, exceptis aliis peccatoribus sexus utrusque, qui latenter penitentiam assumpserunt." Matthias of Janov, "Zpráva o Milíčovi z Kroměříže," 432. Still, despite these accounts, I will not embark on analyzing Milíč's connections with fallen women in Prague as this topic has already received enough scholarly attention.

⁵¹² Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV," 24.

⁵¹³ The *Vita* tells us that the emperor and archbishop assisted Milíč in this endeavor. *Vita*, 419. Beneš Krabice of Vietmile's *Chronicle* corresponds with this account, see Beneš Krabice of Vietmile, "Cronica Ecclesie Pragensis," 546. Mengel considers this information credible and fitting Charles IV's urbanistic plans. He also notes that Milíč probably received these two houses as a bequest from a former brothel-keeper, whom he might have converted. Most likely, her name was Geruša Hoffart as city records attest. Mengel, "Emperor Charles IV," 24; David C. Mengel, "From Venice to Jerusalem and beyond: Milíč of Kroměříž and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague," *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (2004): 431.

more houses in close vicinity and christened this property New Jerusalem as an embodiment of the biblical prophetic vision of a heavenly city.

Embracing repented prostitutes and lay preachers, this penitential community aimed to become the stronghold of the moral reformation that Milíč and his followers eagerly promoted by their lifestyle and preaching.⁵¹⁴ Predictably, already in 1373, its members' activity caused some discontent among Prague clergy. For instance, Morée inspected Prague judicial acts from that period and came to the conclusion that at least two Milíč's pupils were banned from preaching in January and April 1373 because one of them harshly criticized prelates in his sermons and the other quarreled with the mendicants.⁵¹⁵ Although the account from January 1373 does not directly mention Milíč or the community, I agree with Morée's interpretation that a certain Prague preacher Woyslaus from the Czech nation ("Bohemorum"), who spoke about prelates' communion and stated that they spent their goods on prostitutes, could potentially be Milíč's follower or sympathizer.⁵¹⁶ The mention of Milíč's fellow-preacher with the same name in another court article from the same year may also speak in favor of this theory.⁵¹⁷ It should be noted, however, that the scholar probably misread the April entry about an argument between the mendicants from the villages of Lažišťka ("Laziscz") and Milíčov ("Miliczow"), thus confusing the latter toponym with the preacher's name.⁵¹⁸ In any case, by June 1373, the community definitely received unnecessary attention from Prague clergy. According to the court protocols, a certain parish priest from Saint Stephen's Church, located next to the New Jerusalem, engaged with Milíč in a protracted litigation about the community's income. Frustrated that his parish no longer received the tithes from the Jerusalem's properties, especially the newly-erected chapel, the priest claimed that his church was at risk of losing income and congregation,

⁵¹⁴ Around the period when the community was formed, the preacher probably composed his second collection of model sermons, the *Gratiae Dei*.

⁵¹⁵ Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 73.

⁵¹⁶ "Quarta feria post Anthoni die XIX. m. Januarii hora vesp. d. Woyslaus predicator Boemorum in Praga interrogatus per mag. Borssonem respondit, quod predicavit de communione prelatorum et quod expendunt bona sua cum meretricibus. Ibidem mag. Borsso ipsum suspendit a predicacione tamdiu done fuerit secum per dominum archiepiscopum super premissis dispensatum." Ferdinand Tadra, ed., *Acta judiciaria consistorii Pragensis (1373–1379)*, vol. I. (Prague: Česká akademie Cisaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1893), 4. I will further refer to this source as *Acta judiciaria I*.

⁵¹⁷ *Acta judiciaria I*, 50–51.

⁵¹⁸ "Sabbato in crastino ostensionis reliquiarum die ultima dicti mensis d. Bernhardus plebanus ecclesie in Laziscz in causa, quam sibi movere intendit d. Odolenus plebanus ecclesie in Miliczow coram m. Borssone, m. Druzonem cum potestate substituendi constituit meliori modo et forma x presentibus d. Habardo plebano ecclesie in Netolicz et fr. Gregorio professo monasteri s. Crucis, plebano ecclesie in Szekna et Henzlino clerico." *Acta judiciaria I*, 27.

which apparently attended Milíč's services instead. Therefore, he demanded that the religious community should transfer the rights over the chapel back to his parish.⁵¹⁹ Despite Milíč's initial reluctance and continuous attempts to fight the priest's complaint, the court ruled in favor of the Saint Stephen Parish in August. The preacher tried to oppose this decision in the papal court but retracted his appeal in November 1373.⁵²⁰

It seems that Milíč's and the Jerusalem's growing popularity was the last straw for his mendicant opponents, who composed twelve articles of accusation and sent them to Pope Gregory XI.⁵²¹ Apart from several other charges, the friars claimed that he wanted to establish a new religious order in the community without papal approval. Another striking accusation was that he recommended quotidian communion to the lay people, just as the Jerusalem's members received in order to guarantee themselves salvation. Other articles stated that he criticized the clergy for usury and owning private property and placed the emperor's power above the pontiff's authority in his speeches.⁵²² The Pope's reaction did not take long: in January 1374, he sent bulls to Prague demanding to suspend Milíč's activity and open an inquisitorial investigation.⁵²³ Understanding that a trial in Prague would hardly end up in his favor, the preacher went with an appeal to the papal court in Avignon, where he proved able to defend his position once again. However, little could the Jerusalem community and its sympathizers profit from this victory since Milíč passed away in Avignon on June 29, 1374.

Before the news about his death reached the Bohemian capital, a wave of discontent engulfed Prague: the judicial protocols from July and August of 1374 mention at least three instances when different preachers attempted to dispel the twelve articles of accusation and defend Milíč in their sermons.⁵²⁴ One of these preachers even went to Kroměříž to inform Moravian people that their compatriot had nothing to be

⁵¹⁹ *Acta judicaria I*, 38–39.

⁵²⁰ *Acta judicaria I*, 65–66.

⁵²¹ Apparently, this incident evolved from 19 December, 1373 onwards as there is a court article containing information about a certain collective complaint from the mendicants against Milíč. *Acta judicaria I*, 71. Gregory XI became a new pontiff in 1370 after the death of Urban V.

⁵²² Caroli Stloukal, ed., *Acta Gregorii XI Pontificis Romani 1370-1378*, vol. 4, Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia (Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 1949), 444–45; František Palacký, ed., *Ueber Formelbücher, zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte*, vol. 2 (Prague: Kronberger, 1847), 183–84.

⁵²³ Palacký, *Ueber Formelbücher*, vol. 2, 182.

⁵²⁴ See, for instance, *Acta judicaria I*, 90–91; 96–97.

blamed for.⁵²⁵ We can assume that Prague city-dwellers were concerned about Milíč's case because once they even murmured about the twelve articles during another preacher's sermon, so he had to stop his discourse and calm down the audience.⁵²⁶ It is likely that many people might have even believed that Milíč was innocent because at some point, the articles and papal bull were read aloud to the people at Saint Clement Church, and those who had publicly expressed support to the preacher were prohibited from doing so.⁵²⁷ Nevertheless, stripped of Milíč's energetic and visionary leadership, the Jerusalem Community did not last long and was dissolved. Its property was transferred to the Cistercian order in December 1374.⁵²⁸

This brief sketch of Milíč's life highlights that one cannot underestimate the complexity, ambiguity, and importance of this preacher, who moved between emperors and popes as well as prostitutes and lay preachers. He was believed to be "an illustrious preacher" ("predicator egregius"), bravely criticizing the clergy's sins, and, allegedly, one of the first to preach in Czech in late-medieval Bohemia. For his contemporaries, Milíč had many faces: some of them called him the "second Elijah", others saw him as a dedicated imitator of Christ or dangerous heretic. Yet, since some historians considered him as a forerunner of Hus and the "father of Bohemian Reformation",⁵²⁹ Milíč's complexity and richness of nuances somehow got lost for a long time.

Milíč's place in historiography

Milíč has attracted historians' attention since the second half of the seventeenth century. Through time, the study of his work evolved within the framework of several historiographical 'streams': the baroque history writing, the romantic tradition, the positivistic historiography, and other 'schools' dominating in the twentieth century.

The Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín (d. 1688) was the first historian who tried to evaluate and shape Milíč's enigmatic biography. As it was convincingly argued in the 1990s, Balbín turned out to be the author of *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii, praelati ecclesiae Pragensis*, which is indeed close to a hagiographical text, as its own title suggests.⁵³⁰ The Jesuit historian aimed to rehabilitate the Bohemian lands and defend the idea of *patria/vlast* ("motherland" in Czech) by means of promoting its patrons

⁵²⁵ *Acta judicaria I*, 92–93.

⁵²⁶ *Acta judicaria I*, 94.

⁵²⁷ *Acta judicaria I*, 95.

⁵²⁸ Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, 30.

⁵²⁹ I will expand on this notion in the following section.

⁵³⁰ The source was firstly published in Bohuslav Balbinus, *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum* (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinanae, 1677).

because the Catholic Counter-Reformation had harshly criticized the local ‘aberrational’ religion in the seventeenth century. In a full-fledged hagiographical manner, Balbín’s biography presented Milíč as a pious orthodox Catholic.⁵³¹

Since the nineteenth century, Czech historians have been particularly interested in Milíč as a forerunner of John Hus. The period of the National revival, principally characterized by the search for the national cause and, hence, the ‘rebirth’ of the Czech literary language, greatly affected the construction of the preacher’s image. On the one hand, historians became interested in the publication of sources concerning the origins and legacy of the Hussite movement.⁵³² On the other hand, nineteenth-century scholars nostalgically examined the Bohemian Middle Ages through the perspective of romanticism in order to emphasize the distinctive character of Czech culture and history. František Palacký’s interpretation of the Hussite movement and its genesis, perhaps, represents the most spectacular example of these notions. In 1842, he wrote an essay *Předchůdcové husitství v Čechách* [*The Precursors of Hussitism in Bohemia*], devoted to fourteenth-century popular preachers.⁵³³ Palacký depicted their activity in the context of the longstanding struggle between the Germans and Czechs. In his opinion, this clash between Catholicism and pre-Protestantism resulted in Hus’ teaching and the subsequent Hussite wars. Palacký especially underlined the role of Bohemian late-medieval preachers and university intellectuals (Milíč and Matthias of Janov respectively) as the driving force for the Bohemian Reformation. Moreover, the scholar claimed a national origin for the Hussite reform movement. Influenced by the Hegelian idea of *Geist*, he stated that Milíč, allegedly one of the first to preach in Czech, had a specific kind of ‘Czech piety’ unlike his German-speaking counterpart Conrad Waldhauser. Thus, it was Palacký who laid the foundation for the consideration of Milíč through the lenses of Hussite studies.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Palacký’s ideas greatly shaped the understanding of the Bohemian reform movement and its origins. German historians strongly criticized Palacký for his chauvinistic position towards the medieval German

⁵³¹ More on Milíč’s image in the source and its deconstruction, see Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 42–60; Mengel, “A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit,” 33–56.

⁵³² For instance, the two biographies of Milíč appeared in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, I extensively referred to them in the previous section. Two other sources – *Epistola ad Papam Urbanum V* and *Libellus de Antichristo* – were published by Menčík. See the previous section on Milíč’s biography for a proper reference.

⁵³³ František Palacký, “Předchůdcové husitství v Čechách [The precursors of Hussitism in Bohemia],” in *Radhost, Sbírka spisův drobných* [Radhost, collection of minor writings], vol. II, ed. František Palacký (Prague: Nákl. B. Tempského, 1872), 297–356.

population that resided in Bohemia. Therefore, they depicted Bohemian preachers as radical and disloyal to the Catholic Church.⁵³⁴ For instance, Konrad Burdach claimed that Milíč was a sectarian who criticized non-Czechs in his sermons.⁵³⁵ Some Czech scholars, by contrast, continued idealizing Hus and sought further evidence for advocating the national origins of his doctrine. For instance, František Loskot explored the lives and practices of the pre-Hussite preachers in the series of books called *Velicí Mužové České Reformace [The Great Men of the Bohemian Reformation]*. There, he anachronistically compared them with *buditelé* (Czech and Slovak activists of the Enlightenment and the Slavic National revival).⁵³⁶ In his biographical book on Milíč, Loskot followed Palacký's view and concluded that the preacher's mystic nature represents the so-called "Czech spirit" opposing foreign ecclesiastical institutions. In line with his ideological project, the author also connected Milíč's ecclesiastical views with those of Hus and emphasized the former's vital role in the genesis of Hus' doctrine, thus totally omitting John Wycliff's impact on it. Although there is no solid evidence whether Hus was familiar with Milíč's works, Loskot had no doubt in it. Hence, the author continued, Milíč ought to be regarded as the "Father of the Bohemian Reformation", as the title of his seminal book suggests.⁵³⁷

As opposed to Palacký's and Loskot's analysis, a new generation of scholars put aside the 'nationalistic' nature of Milíč and saw in him a zealous critic of the Church. They portrayed the cleric as an orthodox preacher, who never wanted to renounce the Catholic faith but urged the Church's inner – chiefly moral – renovation. Moreover, Jan Sedlák and Otakar Odložilík disagreed with the idea that the domestic tradition had a predominant influence on the Bohemian reform movement. Instead, they argued that the doctrine of Hus combined some moderate ideas of his Bohemian forerunners and the more radical Wycliffite concepts.⁵³⁸

As we have seen, during the National revival and after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Palacký's followers were trying to search for a Czech national identity. They depicted Milíč's activity as a root of the Bohemian 'Reformation' in

⁵³⁴ Karl Höfler, *Concilia Pragensia 1353–1413. Prager Synodal-Beschlüsse* (Madrid: Hardpress, 2020).

⁵³⁵ Konrad Burdach, "Zur Kenntnis altdeutscher Handschriften und zur Geschichte altdeutscher Litteratur und Kunst," in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. VIII (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1891), 1–21.

⁵³⁶ See, for instance, Loskot, *Konrad Waldhauser Řeholní Kanovník sv. Augustina*; František Loskot, *Matěj z Janova* (Prague: Volná myšlenka, 1912).

⁵³⁷ Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*.

⁵³⁸ Jan Sedlák, *M. Jan Hus* (Prague: Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1915); Otakar Odložilík, *Jan Milíč z Kroměříže* (Kroměříž: Kostnická Jednota v Kroměříži, 1924).

order to identify and emphasize the distinctive character of Czech history. However, at the turn of the 1930s, historiography reconsidered Hussitism and its origins. In his essay, *Smysl českých dějin* [The meaning of Czech history], Josef Pekař refused the anachronistic idealization of ancestors and asserted that Bohemian history – and the Hussite movement in particular – was always European and did not stand out from common trends in the continent’s historical development.⁵³⁹ Generally, the controversy between the romantic and positivistic approaches in the search for the Czechs’ place in history has also determined the development of ‘Milíč studies’: the preacher’s ecclesiological ideas have been analyzed either to find some original national features or to connect the Bohemian reform movement to broader European processes.

In the second half of the twentieth century, historical materialism compared the Bohemian reform movement to the Reformation and classified it as a ‘superstructure’ that was represented by the enmity between the ruling classes (the nobility and the clergymen) and the common people.⁵⁴⁰ Consequently, along with Waldhauser, Matthias of Janov, and Thomas Štitny, Milíč was considered a radical spokesman of the ordinary people oppressed by the Church’s taxation.⁵⁴¹ Focusing on his criticism towards the Church, scholars were eager to study Milíč as an entry point to better understand the economic and social factors of perturbations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁴² Hence, for ideological reasons, this interpretative framework almost entirely neglected Milíč’s pastoral or soteriological ideas. More importantly, in order to contribute to the search for national originality, some historians placed the late-medieval reform movement in Bohemia within the so-called “Czech national humanism”. They stated that Hus’ idea of religious individualism led to the secularization and the promotion of the vernacular. Even more, researchers supposed that Hus’ viewpoints must have stemmed from Charles IV’s cultural policy and active contacts between Bohemian intellectuals (including Milíč) and early Italian humanists.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ Josef Pekař. *Smysl Českých Dějin: O Nový Názor na České Dějiny* [The meaning of Czech history: About a new view on Czech history] (Prague: Nákladem vlastním, 1929).

⁵⁴⁰ By using the term “superstructure”, I refer to the set of ideologies that dominate a particular era.

⁵⁴¹ Reginald R. 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.

⁵⁴² Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967); Josef Macek, *Husitské Revoluční Hnutí* [The Hussite revolutionary movement] (Prague: Rovnost, 1952).

⁵⁴³ Emil Pražák, “Český Humanismus a Husitská Tradice [Czech humanism and Hussite tradition],” in *Studia z Dawnej Literatury Czeskiej, Słowackiej i Polskiej*, eds. Kazimierz Budzyk and Josef Hrabák (Warsaw, Prague: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1963), 50–9; Winter, *Frühhumanismus*; Milan Kopecký, *Český Humanismus* [Czech humanism] (Prague: Melantrich, 1988).

Since the middle of the twentieth century, under the influence of the Lovejoyan history of ideas and what was later called “intellectual history”, scholars have reconsidered and reinterpreted Milíč using a more flexible approach and pluralistic methodology. Their analysis focused on the evolution of the preacher’s ideas within the fourteenth-century context and their further dissemination in the following period. František Michálek Bartoš was one of the first to examine Milíč from this perspective. He meticulously studied the preacher’s doctrine, biography, and personality, compared them to those of Hus, and concluded that the Hussite movement originated from Milíč’s activity.⁵⁴⁴ Kaňák produced a detailed biography of the preacher and linked his ideas to the emperor’s secular policy.⁵⁴⁵ Josef Tráška studied the literary value of Milíč’s selected works and their relevance to explore the rhetorical discussions at the University of Prague.⁵⁴⁶ In the introduction to a critical edition of Milíč’s synodal sermons, Milan Mráz and Vilém Herold also conducted a literary survey and demonstrated that the reformist ecclesiological ideas expressed in the sermons went hand in hand with the general late-medieval trends.⁵⁴⁷ Molnár and others contributed to the source-publishing and asserted that the Hussite and the Brethren eschatological ideas derived from Milíč’s concept of the Antichrist.⁵⁴⁸ Other researchers examined the preacher as a representative of *devotio moderna*, here considered in its broad definition.⁵⁴⁹ As we can see, these studies contributed to the discussion of the dichotomous nature of the Hussite movement. Moreover, researchers linked Milíč’s ideas to long-standing medieval traditions and, hence, connected them to broader trends not only geographically but also chronologically.

In recent decades, some Czech and international scholars have scrutinized Milíč’s biographies and their veracity.⁵⁵⁰ One of them, Mengel, also approached the

⁵⁴⁴ František Bartoš, *Čechy v Době Husově, 1378–1415* [Bohemia at the times of Hus, 1378–1415] (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1947).

⁵⁴⁵ Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže*.

⁵⁴⁶ Josef Tráška, *Literární Činnost Předhusitské University* [The literary activity of the prehusite university] (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1967).

⁵⁴⁷ Milan Mráz and Vilém Herold, eds., *Johannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales* (Prague: Academia, 1974).

⁵⁴⁸ Molnár, Opočenský, and Opočenská, eds., *The Message for the Last Days*.

⁵⁴⁹ 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; Ludvik Nemec, “The Czech Reform Movement: ‘Devotio Moderna’ in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124, no. 5 (1980): 386–97.

⁵⁵⁰ Jan Podlešák, “Matěj z Janova jako Kritik Středověké Církve [Matthias of Janov as a criticizer of the medieval Church,” in *Mistr Matěj z Janova ve Svě a v Naší Době. Sborník z Vědeckého Symposia, Konaného na Teologické Fakultě Jihočeské Univerzity 29–30 listopadu 2000*, eds. J. B. Lášek and K.

foundation and activity of the Jerusalem Community through the interplay between space, power, and local religion in medieval Prague.⁵⁵¹ By means of textual and linguistic analysis of Milíč's treatises and selected sermons, several researchers have scrutinized him as the composer of apocalyptic texts in a broader European context.⁵⁵² For instance, Pavlína Cermanová has asserted that the cleric was not the first to produce apocalyptic texts in Bohemia. Furthermore, she has argued that Milíč was perfectly aware of the European textual tradition on the Antichrist and did not deviate from it.

Milíč's ecclesiological idea of the 'mystical body of preachers' in his sermons and his significance in the development of Czech historiography are a central point of the book by Peter Morée.⁵⁵³ So far, his monograph is also the most thorough study of two Milíč's unpublished collections, the *Abortivus* and *Gratiae Dei*. Yet, Morée's thematic approach remained selective. For instance, the scholar overlooked two Good Friday sermons that I will analyze later in the following chapter. The relationship between Milíč and Charles IV's court as well as the role of the former's preaching in the dynastic and international policy of the Bohemian king have recently been examined by Eleanor Janega. To some extent, she has refused the traditional identification of the cleric as a precursor of the Hussites. She has argued that the preacher did not perceive the emperor and the Catholic Church as enemies and helped the ruler to promote Bohemian saints and to make Prague a new spiritual center of the Holy Roman Empire.⁵⁵⁴ Janega has analyzed sermons from the *Abortivus* and *Gratiae Dei* as well but mostly focused on the sermons on the feasts of Bohemian saints or those related to Milíč's 'political theology'. Just as in the case of Morée, her corpus did not include Milíč's Good Friday materials. Another important scholar, Olivier Marin, has looked at the preacher through the traditional lenses of the Bohemian 'Reformation'. For instance, studying the activity of the Jerusalem Community and Milíč's Eucharistic theology, Marin drew a continuity between him and his less-studied Hussite

Skalický (Brno: L. Marek, 2002), 31–46; Mengel, "A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit," 33–56; Flegl, "K Životopisu Miliče z Kroměříže," 164–66; Mazalová, "Původ Miliče z Kroměříže," 125–43; Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*.

⁵⁵¹ David C. Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2003).

⁵⁵² Pavel Kolář, "Milíč's Sermo de Die Novissimo in Its European Context," *BRRP* 5 (2004): 57–63; Cermanová, *Čechy na konci věků*.

⁵⁵³ Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*.

⁵⁵⁴ Janega, *Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Emperor Charles IV*.

counterparts.⁵⁵⁵ Patrick Outhwaite has recently conducted an akin enterprise with a broader comparative scope in his doctoral dissertation.⁵⁵⁶

While the formal analysis of Milíč's texts for preaching has evidently attracted researchers much less, some advancement was achieved in that direction too. For instance, Zdeněk Uhlíř has studied Milíč's place in the development of Central-European preaching in the late Middle Ages. The scholar has concluded that in some cases Milíč's style of composing sermons was mostly "receptive" because, according to him, the *Gratiae Dei* collection practically followed Thomas Aquinas' *Catena aurea*. Despite that, Uhlíř assumes that the cleric's approach may contain "innovative" features for the Bohemian milieu.⁵⁵⁷ Overall, he stresses that one of the possible directions to really move forward the studies on this preacher is the stylistic and qualitative assessment of his sermons.⁵⁵⁸ While useful, Uhlíř's works also demonstrate that still much research is needed for a better understanding of both Milíč and his sermons.

⁵⁵⁵ Marin, *L'archevêque, le maître et le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois (années 1360-1419)*.

⁵⁵⁶ Outhwaite, "Christus Medicus and Religious Controversy".

⁵⁵⁷ Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Central European Preaching in the High and Late Middle Ages and Its Polymorphic Unity," in *REDISCOVER: Final Conference Proceedings: Prague, 15 September 2010*, ed. Doina Hendre Biro (Prague: National Library of the Czech Republic, 2010), 118.

⁵⁵⁸ Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Středověké Kazatelství v Českých Zemích: Nástin Problematiky [Medieval preaching in the Bohemian lands: An outline of the issues]," *Almanach Historyczny* 7 (2005): 57–93; Uhlíř, "Central European Preaching".

Chapter 8. Milíč's model sermon collections and Good Friday sermons

Collections, their manuscripts and users

Milíč's biographies mention that the preacher composed several sermon collections, and, until recently, experts believed that he left behind four postils: the *Abortivus*, *Gratiae Dei*, *Quadragesimale*, and *Aurissa*. This section will omit exploring the *Aurissa* and *Quadragesimale* as independent works as they are methodologically problematic. Firstly, although some scholars accept the theory about Milíč's authorship of the *Aurissa*,⁵⁵⁹ the preserved manuscripts contain no proof (like incipit or explicit) to support this hypothesis, as far as I know.⁵⁶⁰ Moreover, similar to all manuscripts of Milíč's extensive legacy, none of the *Aurissa*'s surviving copies was actually written or signed by the preacher's hand. Determining whether Milíč wrote the collection would be possible only after having a clear picture of his literary style, something still missing in the scholarship. Secondly, although earlier research voiced a possibility that the *Quadragesimale* was an independent work, Morée has persuasively demonstrated that it is, in fact, identical to the Lenten cycle included in the *Gratiae Dei*.⁵⁶¹ I have compared *themata*, *prothemata*, and the main bodies of Passion Sunday and Holy Week sermons of the *Gratiae Dei* with those of the *Quadragesimale* and found them concurrent. Hence, I strongly agree with Morée's argument and consider the *Quadragesimale* as part of the *Gratiae Dei* in my analysis.

A possible reason for the confusion of whether the *Quadragesimale* was a different collection might have originated from two factors. Firstly, the late-medieval binding placed Milíč's sermons from the *Gratiae Dei* with patristic or Carolingian texts. These texts share stylistic similarities. Secondly, these works were erroneously attributed by later users. Such is an interesting example of the manuscript IX.A.5 from the Czech National Library. The first half of the manuscript contains Milíč's Lenten cycle from the *Gratiae Dei* up to the Ascension and Heiric of Auxerre's (d. 876)

⁵⁵⁹ Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Středověké Kazatelské Sbírký a Jejich Místo v Procesu Kázání [Medieval sermon collections and their place in the preaching process]," in *Przestrzeń religijna Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w Średniowieczu*, eds. Krzysztof Bracha and Paweł Kras (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 211–20; Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Milič z Kroměříže a Kazatelský Styl Jeho Homilií [Milič of Kroměříž and the preaching style of his homilies]," in *Manu Propria: Sborník Příspěvků k Životnímu Jubileu PhDr. Aleny Richterové*, eds. Zuzana Adamaitis and Tereza Paličková (Prague: Národní knihovna České republiky, 2012), 25–34.

⁵⁶⁰ See, for instance, MS X.E.5 in the Czech National Library, Prague.

⁵⁶¹ Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 101.

homilies for Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. This part finishes with a colophon on the folio 121r indicating that it was copied in 1390 (the rest of the manuscript is Milíč's homilies from the *Gratiae Dei* up to Rogation Sunday and a commentary on *Pater Noster*). An ownership inscription on the same folio made by a later hand says that the book belonged to Francis Ronberg of Zittau, who served as an altarist at the Church of Saint Erhard of Regensburg and Saint Odile of Alsace in Prague. The same late-medieval hand inserted another ownership inscription on the manuscript's binding and attributed the whole work (together with the mentioned sermons of Heiric of Auxerre) as "Miliczius super ewangelia quadragesime" (sic!). In turn, a later cataloger accepted the same attribution, as can be seen in the images below.⁵⁶² Logically, one may assume that the Lenten sermons of the *Gratiae Dei* could be transmitted separately with other popular texts predominantly due to their usefulness among those who copied them.⁵⁶³ Consequently, this chapter will focus on Good Friday sermons only from the *Abortivus* and *Gratiae Dei* collections. It will only occasionally refer to copies of the *Quadragesimale* to comment on the *Gratiae Dei*'s users and distribution.

⁵⁶² In general, the manuscript's content almost totally corresponds to another manuscript of the *Quadragesimale* attributed to Milíč, X.A.7 from the Czech National Library in Prague. However, the latter manuscript does not contain Milíč's Good Friday sermon as well as Heiric of Auxerre's homilies that are present in IX.A.5 (Czech National Library, Prague).

⁵⁶³ For example, there is another manuscript containing Milíč's Lenten *prothemata* from the *Gratiae Dei*. They are bound with Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Sermones dominicales* and Heiric of Auxerre's Lenten collection. MS IX.D.5, Czech National Library, Prague.



Figure 6. MS IX.A.5., Czech National Library. Left: Folio 121r with a colophon in red (the left column) and an ownership note (the right column). Right: the manuscript's binding with ownership notes (at the top) and notes by a later cataloger (in the middle).

Despite the high number and wide geographical distribution of manuscripts with Milíč's collections, the existing scholarship still lacks a comprehensive codicological study on this prolific preacher. The entry point to evaluate the manuscript flow of the *Abortivus* and *Gratiae Dei* is Pavel Spunar's *Repertorium*,⁵⁶⁴ demonstrating that these model sermon cycles were widely copied in various parts of East-Central Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nowadays, many of their copies can be found in libraries of Prague, Brno, Olomouc, Wrocław, Budapest, Vienna, Klosterneuburg, and other, much distant, localities.⁵⁶⁵ Yet, composed almost four decades ago, Spunar's catalog proves to be incomplete and outdated. Although Morée's thorough monograph from 1999 effectively complements it, it still offers a limited codicological overview because Morée examined only nine manuscripts stored in the Czech National Library.⁵⁶⁶ As of today, Ivan Hlaváček provides the most detailed codicological study

⁵⁶⁴ Unfortunately, Schneyer's indispensable inventory of late-medieval sermons proves particularly useless in Milíč's case. Given that the scholar tried to assess the wide range of data and could not access all libraries containing the manuscripts, his overview turned out to be extremely imprecise. For example, it does not even mention the preacher's *Gratiae Dei* collection. For the entry about Milíč, see Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 3, 578–600; Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters 1350–1500* (the CD-version).

⁵⁶⁵ Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum I*, 172–176.

⁵⁶⁶ Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*, 100–1, especially the footnote 45, where he listed all the studied manuscripts.

on Milíč's collections of model sermons: overall, the researcher has located 33 manuscripts of the *Abortivus* and over 50 copies of the *Gratiae Dei*.⁵⁶⁷ This result significantly surpasses Spunar's estimations and validates Milíč's popularity among later users.

Milíč's first Good Friday sermon, *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui*, comes from his earlier collection, the *Abortivus*, that embraces models of thematic sermons on saints' days and main feasts of the liturgical year. Researchers dispute the precise date of its emergence, but it is agreed that the postil must have been composed at the beginning of Milíč's preaching career. While Spunar attributes it to 1365-1366,⁵⁶⁸ Morée decisively refutes this dating and argues that the postil came from 1363-1365.⁵⁶⁹ The question of the postil's secondary audience - who the sermons were intended for if ever preached by Milíč or by other preachers following his models - remains open. However, we know that its primary audience - the model sermons' readers Milíč had in mind - were students of the University of Prague, as the collection's prologue directly indicates.⁵⁷⁰

The known copies demonstrate that *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui* was transmitted solely in manuscripts of either the full collection or its first, winter part, according to the liturgical order. Therefore, the sermon was an integral element of the *de tempore et de sanctis* cycle and, most likely, did not attract copyists as an independent text that would deserve to be copied separately. Although most copies of the *Abortivus* date back to the last third of the fourteenth century, fifteenth-century users also showed interest in reproducing it.⁵⁷¹ Preserved scribal colophons attest that the

⁵⁶⁷ Ivan Hlaváček, "Schüler und Meister und Meister und Schüler in der frühen böhmisch-tschechischen Reformation," in *Schüler und Meister*, eds. Andreas Speer and Thomas Jeschke (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 846-47.

⁵⁶⁸ Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum I*, 171-176.

⁵⁶⁹ Peter C. A. Morée, "The Dating of the Postils of Milicius de Chremsir," *Listy Filologické* 121, no. 1/2 (1998): 66.

⁵⁷⁰ "Tu ergo scito me esse rogatum a studentibus collegii sacre Pragensis publice prope domum ut [...] sermones presentes quos tunc predicavi in scriptis redigerem." See, for example, MSS XXIII.D.201, fol. 3ra; I.D.37, fol. 1va; VIII.B.26, fol. 1vb. All these manuscripts are stored in the Czech National Library in Prague.

⁵⁷¹ Given that the surviving manuscripts of the *Abortivus* are numerous and located in fourteen libraries, as Hlaváček notes, I was unable to access them all. For the purpose of this research, I checked twelve copies of the collection and used three of them for the sermon's semi-critical edition (see Appendix I). Here is the list of the examined copies, containing either the full cycle of the *Abortivus* or its winter part with the Good Friday sermon: 1) MS I.F.489 stored in the University Library in Wrocław. The model sermon collection was copied around 1385. In the fifteenth century, the manuscript belonged to Lord Ulric de Olm, presbyter of the Augustinian monastery of Sagan (Żagań, a town located in Silesia); 2) MS I.F.593 stored in the University Library in Wrocław. Its colophon indicates that the collection was copied in 1391 in Nový Jičín (this town was in the border region between Moravia and Silesia); 3) MS I.F.537 stored in the University Library in Wrocław. The manuscript comes from the first half of the fifteenth century. There is no information about its provenance. The Manuscriptorium database (and Polish

collection began to actively spread in the Bohemian - and probably Silesian - territories as early as 1369-1370 (MSS I.F.488, Wrocław; ÖNB 4452, Vienna), thus hinting at the *Abortivus*' early distribution.⁵⁷² It was copied in the border parts of Moravia already around 1390 (MS I.F.593, Wrocław), and its reproduction advanced further to the Eastern German, Upper Austrian (MS ÖNB 3762, Vienna), and Upper Hungarian (present-day Slovakia)⁵⁷³ lands in the 1400-1450s.

The manuscripts were often copied in readable cursive with coloured rubrics, modestly decorated initials, and occasional abbreviations (for example, MSS XXIII.D.201 and VIII.B.13, Prague). Hence, it is plausible that they were produced by professional scribes. Yet, some copies (for instance, MS I.D.37, Prague) were written in less intelligible cursive with a higher number of abbreviations and less decorative elements. Probably, they might have been copied for personal use. All manuscripts that

researchers, including Anna Zaichowska) list the Dominicans of Wrocław as the manuscript's owners. The full collection is supplemented with two synodal sermons by Milíč; 4) MS I.F.488 stored in the University Library in Wrocław. Its colophon indicates that the copy was produced in 1369. In the fifteenth century, the manuscript was acquired by the Augustinian monastery of Sagan. The collection's copy covers the whole liturgical year, Milíč's two synodal sermons were attached to the binding; 5) MS R.II.63 stored in the National Library of Romania-Batthyaneum in Alba Iulia. The copy was produced in 1433 by a chaplain from Kežmarok in Slovakia. There is no information about the later ownership of the manuscript. The *Abortivus* is bound together with two religious treatises by Matthew of Cracow and *Passio Jesu Christi*; 6) MS VIII.B.26 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. This manuscript (presumably of Czech origin) was copied in 1385 as attested by a colophon. It contains the collection's *pars hiemalis* and is bound together with an unspecified sermon *De Passione Domini* and *Historia passionis*, which lacks an end (*fine carens*); 7) MS XXIII.D.201 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. This copy comes from a certain locality indicated as "Buetitz", it was composed in 1442. It later belonged to the Carthusian monastery in Erfurt. Besides the *Abortivus*, the manuscript embraces Milíč's synodal sermons; 8) MS I.D.37 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. Its precise date or origin is unknown, the Manuscriptorium places it around 1375-1400. Nor do we know about its provenance. The stamps on folia and later archival notes indicate that the manuscript belonged to the Augustinian monastery of Třeboň. It contains the full cycle of the *Abortivus* and excerpts from Church authorities; 9) MS 1684 stored in the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) in Vienna. Its origin is unknown, the library's catalog dates it around 1370. The manuscript contains the *Abortivus*'s winter part; 10) MS 3660 stored in the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) in Vienna. The winter part of the *Abortivus* was copied in 1411, a scribal remark labels it as Milíč's sermons ad clerum; 11) MS 3762 stored in the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) in Vienna. It was copied in 1416 as a collection of *sermones de tempore et sanctis ad clerum* for a certain "Johannem, abbatem in Mannsee (Mondsee)". The manuscript has only the winter part of the collection; 12) MS 4452, the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) in Vienna. It was copied in 1370 in Tachovie (modern-day Tachov in Plzeň).

⁵⁷² Hlaváček dates the earliest manuscript (ÖNB 4452, composed by an anonymous scribe in Western Bohemia) to 1370. I am bringing to scholarly attention the Silesian (? at least, it was stored in Silesia already in the fifteenth century) MS I.F.488 copied in 1369. According to my examination, MS I.F.488 is the earliest known copy of the *Abortivus*. In such a way, I propose to slightly refine Hlaváček's dating of the collection's early dissemination.

⁵⁷³ The Hungarian and German manuscripts are mentioned in Hlaváček, "Schüler und Meister," 846; they also partly appear in Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum I*, 172. The manuscript R.II.63. was copied in present-day Slovakia, according to its colophon on folio 200vb: "Domini M°CCCC°XXXIII° scripte vero sunt per Casparum Lamprecht de Kesmargt capellanum pro tunc ibidem."

I have looked at have a medium size (ca. 30x20 cm), which hardly allowed their portable use by itinerant preachers.

The second Good Friday text by Milíč, *Unus militum lancea latus*, is a part of the *Gratiae Dei* collection, embracing homily-alike models constructed as running biblical commentaries mixed with elements of the scholastic sermon. Like the *Abortivus*, Milíč's second postil is organized according to the liturgical year and saints' feast days. Again, it seems that the Good Friday sermon did not attract copyists as an independent text: it was reproduced only as a part of the whole cycle or its winter part.⁵⁷⁴ Surely, the collection originated after the *Abortivus* because it offers more elaborated and radicalized model sermons, as this chapter will showcase. Spunar suggested that it stemmed from 1368-1372,⁵⁷⁵ and Morée has narrowed the period down to 1371-1372, tentatively connecting the *Gratiae Dei* to the Jerusalem Community of repented prostitutes and lay preachers.⁵⁷⁶

Unfortunately, the surviving copies cannot further clarify the dispute over the collection's dating. Yet, the colophon of its oldest - according to my examination - manuscript (MS XX.A.10, Prague) attests that the reproduction of the *Gratiae Dei* started already in 1372 in Prague: "Anno Domini Millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo secundo in domo Clementis, civis Majoris Civitatis Pragensis."⁵⁷⁷ Hlaváček considers this manuscript to be particularly important: the scholar connects its colophon to the account of one of the preacher's biographies that mentions a copy house, where university students systematically copied Milíč's postils.⁵⁷⁸ Accepting this hypothesis as plausible, I was able to find additional codicological traces that the collection was copied in Bohemia by professional scribes with *pecia* system. However, this evidence dates back to a much later period (as early as 1400, as in MS V.B.13, Prague).⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁴ In fact, two manuscripts even leave out the Good Friday sermon. MS XV.D.7 (stored in the Czech National Library in Prague) contains only Sunday sermons, and MS VI.D.8 (stored in the same library) has solely sermons for saints' days, thus probably functioning as a legendarium.

⁵⁷⁵ Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum I*, 176–177.

⁵⁷⁶ Morée, "The Dating of the Postils," 74. Peter C. A. Morée, "Similiter predicator: The Relation of the Postils of Milíč of Kroměříž to His Work and the Jerusalem Community," *Filosofický Časopis* 57 (2009): 63–6.

⁵⁷⁷ MS XX.A.10, fol. 122r, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁵⁷⁸ Hlaváček, "Schüler und Meister," 847.

⁵⁷⁹ See, for instance, the repetition of the same word at the end of the folio 163v and the beginning of 163r. MS V.B.13, Czech National Library, Prague. The manuscript is dated to 1400, according to a scribal remark on folio 282v: "Explicit prima pars postille comparata per dominum de Nowossedl et finita per Raczkonem de Lutycz sub anno Domini 1400 feria iv in Palmis."

Just as in the *Abortivus*’ case, the distribution of the *Gratiae Dei* began very early in Prague: apart from the mentioned manuscript from 1372, there is another copy composed in the Czech capital in 1375 (“scripte in civitate Pragensi per me Conradum Voszag de Homberg, rectorem parrochialis ecclesie in Woeringhusen,” MS XV.D.7, Prague).⁵⁸⁰ Although the postil was definitely reproduced in the following decade, there

⁵⁸⁰ It should be noted, however, that the number of colophons with places of origin and dating of the *Gratiae Dei*’s copies is less than in the *Abortivus*’ case. Hlaváček lists only seven colophons out of over fifty preserved manuscripts. I collected some information about thirteen copies of the collection or its Lenten part, only three of them have such informative notes. I list here all the manuscripts that I either looked at or found detailed information about in the scholarship: 1) MS I.F.692 stored in the University Library in Wrocław. There is no information about the manuscript’s origin. In this *Thesaurus sermonum*, the Lenten cycle of the *Gratiae Dei* is bound together with Sunday sermons by Albert of Padova and *Expositio epistolarum per quadragesimam* by Nicholas of Gorran. The Manuscriptorium Database dates it around the first half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript was later acquired by the Dominicans in Breslau; 2) MS I.F.490 stored in the University Library in Wrocław. The Manuscriptorium Database indicates that the manuscript is of Bohemian origin and dates it back to the second half of the fourteenth century. There are several ownership notes, indicating that the manuscript once belonged to a member of the Augustinian monastery of Třeboň (folio 270b): “Liber Monasterii domus Sancti Egidii Canonicorum regularium in Witignaw alias in Trzebon. Datus per fratrem Wenczeslaum Ibidem quondam plebanum in Lomnycz. [...] Hic liber dictus est postilla domini Miliczii datus Petro clerico dicto Hainrugk amico domini Wenczeslay quondam plebanum in Lompnicz”. Later, it was acquired by the Augustinian monastery of Sagan; 3) MS I.F.491 stored in the University Library in Wrocław. This manuscript comes from the second half of the fourteenth century, its precise origin is unknown. There is a fifteenth-century ownership note on the binding, indicating that it belonged to the Church of the Virgin in Głogów in Lower Silesia: “Hic liber pertinet et est Capelle sancte Marie virginis in Summo Glog”. The manuscript contains *prothemata* from the whole *Gratiae Dei*, sermons from its Lenten cycle and winter part, and three sermons by other authors, one of them is on Passion Sunday; 4) MS Mn.18 stored in the Moravian State Library in Brno. The manuscript with the Lenten cycle of the *Gratiae Dei* was composed in 1386 in Neukölln, there is no information on its provenance or later ownership; 5) MS X.A.7 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. The copy is of Bohemian origin, it was produced in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Milč’s collection is copied here up to the Rogation Sunday. It is bound together with two other sermons on the clergy’s dignity, allegorical and mystical expositions on the Scripture, excerpts about the resurrection, and prophetic texts (one about Sybill, the other about the Antichrist); 6) MS IX.D.5 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. It was put together in Bohemia around the turn of the fifteenth century. Apart from the *prothemata* for the Lenten cycle of the *Gratiae Dei*, there are also *Sermones dominicales* by Caesarius Heisterbach, Lenten cycle by Heiric of Auxerre, and a full sermon on the Nativity of Mary by Milč; 7) MS V.B.13 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. The colophon on folio 282v indicates that this copy of Bohemian origin was produced in 1400. The winter part of the collection is put together here with various unspecified sermons and a note on three types of sins. 8) MS IX.A.5 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. It was produced in Bohemia around 1390 (fol. 121a). Spunar erroneously indicates that it contains the *Gratiae Dei* sermons from the Resurrection day up to Rogation Sunday. In fact, the copy starts from the sixth feria in Quinquagesima. This part of the *Gratiae Dei* is also bound with two prayers. There is no information about its later owners. 9) MS XV.D.7 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. The copy of the full collection was produced in 1375 in Prague. In the fifteenth century, it was acquired by a Carthusian monastery in Erfurt. 10) MS III.D.20 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. There is no information about its provenance, but the explicit on folio 272vb testifies that it was copied in 1399. The *Gratiae Dei*’s winter part (up to the fifth feria after Easter) is put with *Summa Innocentii de penitentia*; 11) MS XIV.D.5 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. Produced in the fourteenth century, the manuscript later belonged to the Augustinian monastery of Třeboň. It contains the winter part of the collection (from the Advent up to Ascension); 12) MS XX.A.10 stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. It was copied in 1372 in Prague (see fol. 122r). The manuscript contains the winter part of the collection (up to the Easter vigil). There is no information about its owners. 13) MS Clmae.439 stored in the Szecseny Library in Budapest. It was produced in 1431 in Ranshofen. The manuscript includes only

is not much certainty about its geographical distribution during this period due to the lack of scribal remarks. Yet, it is possible that it was already copied in the German lands around that time (e.g., MS Mn. 18, Brno, was copied in 1386 by a plebanus in Neukölln). This fact refines Hlaváček's chronology, which places the reproduction of the collection towards Western parts of Bohemia and Poland around the 1390-1400s.⁵⁸¹ In the first half of the fifteenth century, it also advanced to Upper Austria: for example, I inspected the manuscript Clmae 439, currently stored in the Szecseny Library in Budapest, which was copied in 1431 by a member of the Augustinian monastery in Ranshofen.⁵⁸²

The majority of the surviving manuscripts were written in two columns in legible gothic cursive with red rubrics, indicating the feast day each sermon was intended for, and several scarcely decorated initials (see, for example, MSS XX.A.10 and III.D.20, Prague). There are, however, some copies with much more elaborated layouts and colorful initials (MS XIV.D.5, Prague). As I have already mentioned, there is also a manuscript produced at a *pecia* copy house (MS V.B.13, Prague). Overall, similarly to the case of the *Abortivus*, all examined manuscripts of the *Gratiae Dei* are of medium size (about 30x20 cm). Again, the manuscripts' format, script, and layout led me to an assumption that they were not intended for use 'on the road' but were rather consulted 'at desk' by other preachers, preparing their discourses.

Having provided an overview of Milíč's life and written legacy, I will now examine the preacher's model sermons for Good Friday in the two following subchapters. The chosen methodology adheres much to a seminal monograph on late-medieval Good Friday sermons from the British Isles by Holly Johnson and a collective work on Henry Totting of Oyta by Jan Odstrčilík, Riccardo Burgazzi, and Francesca Battista.⁵⁸³ These monographs are model studies on Good Friday sermons' stylistic and communicative features. Hence, my goal was to dissect each of Milíč's Good Friday sermons on several levels: its formal representation (literary value, structure, symbolic

the Lenten cycle of the collection. Among the manuscript's later owners, colophons list Paulus Melezer de Glatz and Johannes Hungarus.

⁵⁸¹ Hlaváček, "Schüler und Meister," 848.

⁵⁸² MS Clmae.439, fol. 167r: "Liber iste quadragesimalis [...] in monasterio s. Pancratii in Raushofen anno Domini MCCCCXXXI".

⁵⁸³ See Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*; Odstrčilík et al., *Henry Totting of Oyta*.

imagery), communicative functions (the sermon's "fictive orality",⁵⁸⁴ demonstrating how the preacher imagined interaction with his listeners), and its possible relations to the historical context, surrounding Milíč at different stages of his preaching career. Additionally, the analysis illustrates the evolution of his technique of sermon composition: it attempts to trace his sources from theological and affective literature and showcase how Milíč treated them creatively. Two semi-critical editions in Latin that I have prepared and included in the appendix were the textual basis for the scrutiny.⁵⁸⁵ The Latin semi-critical editions were based on the comparison of several manuscripts stored in the Czech National Library in order to detect the differences between copies and produce a representative 'standardized' text.

The sermon *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui* - the preacher as a humble mediator

Thema, prothema, and introductio thematis - 'salvation for dummies' through the Passion, Eucharist, and imitatio Christi

All model sermons from the *Abortivus* follow the thematic sermon structure *thema-prothema-introductio thematis-divisio thematis* that became dominant in the thirteenth century thanks to the mendicant, primarily Dominican, orders. This outline applies also to the sermon for Good Friday.⁵⁸⁶ While Milíč's typical discourse from the collection often opens with a *thema* based on a pericope taken from a liturgical reading for the day,⁵⁸⁷ the verse chosen for Good Friday (Zachariah 9:11: *Tu in sanguine*

⁵⁸⁴ Elena Lemeneva suggested perceiving some model sermons as examples of 'fictive' or 'fictitious orality'. Lemeneva, "From Oral to Written and Back." Karl Reichl, a specialist in medieval oral literature, offers a broader interpretation of 'fictive orality' as a combination of specific signs giving 'a semblance of orality', that would allow medieval authors to adjust their texts for oral performance or to simply imitate it in a written form. To identify these signs in a source, as Reichl explains, one should label particular linguistic, stylistic, or structural traits typical for an oral genre, and search for these features in a given text. Reichl, "Plotting the Map of Medieval Oral Literature," 16–21. Scrutinizing some surviving medieval *reportationes* of Italian sermons that were actually preached, Valentina Berardini has classified these signs. According to her, these 'performative indicators' typically include dialogues, direct speech, addresses to the public, and deictics. Valentina Berardini, "Discovering Performance Indicators in Late Medieval Sermons," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 54, no. 1 (2010): 75–86.

⁵⁸⁵ First advocated for by d'Avray, semi-critical editions of medieval sermons allow to make them more accessible. After all, the lion's share of the materials related to medieval preaching is unpublished and often remains inaccessible for some scholars. More on the practical evaluation of this method in sermon studies, see Monica Hedlund, "The Use of Model Sermons at Vadstena: A Case Study," in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout: BREPOLs, 2008), 117–65.

Therefore, since I do not conduct a linguistic study of the texts, I consider this method as fitting for my research. Moreover, given the high number of the collections' surviving copies, it would prove unfeasible for the scope of this dissertation to critically assess and edit all the existing texts.

⁵⁸⁶ It should be noted that, unlike model sermons on other liturgical occasions from the *Abortivus*, the Good Friday sermon is one of the longest in the manuscripts.

⁵⁸⁷ See, for instance, Milíč's sermon for Passion Sunday analyzed in Olga Kalashnikova, "A Bridge to Christ's Passion. Preaching on Passion Sunday in Fourteenth-Century Prague," *Studia Medievalia Bohemica* (forthcoming).

testamenti tui emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu in quo non est aqua) – “Thou by the blood of thy testament hast sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit, wherein is no water” – decisively stands out from this trend.⁵⁸⁸ It should be noted that, overall, the verses from Zachariah 9:9–12 appear in the sermons related to the Passion story.⁵⁸⁹ Yet, the use of this prophetic chapter is more typical not in the context of Good Friday but of Palm Sunday.⁵⁹⁰ Hence, Milič probably selected the biblical verse strategically based on its thematic appropriateness to focus on salvation with an emphasis on Christ’s costly redemption of humankind by pouring out his blood. After all, preaching on this crucial topic would seem logical, given the theological importance of Christ’s sacrifice and the pastoral centrality of Good Friday in the liturgical calendar.

To set the tone for the upcoming discourse, the preacher then centers the *prothema* on a juxtaposition between the Penitent Thief who had faith in Christ and consequently entered paradise (Luke 23:39–43) and the scoffing high priests and Pharisees from the Jews who amplified Christ’s torments with their skepticism and would end up in hell. This comparison and the preacher’s grammatic separation from his ‘imaginary listeners’ through the use of “you” (*vos*) in a plural form sets a warning tone for the sermon and asks the audience to identify themselves with the Good Thief, follow his example, and carefully listen to the story of Christ’s Passion:

Blessed John proclaimed Christ’s powerful cry, which he uttered on the cross while dying for us, in his Gospel, saying in chapter five: *The hour comes, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live*. It is now the hour when all creatures hear the voice of their creator. For even hell or legions of Tartarus could not withstand the voice he uttered on the cross when they opened the gates of Tartarus to his approach. Likewise, the dead, upon hearing his voice, rose from their tombs after his resurrection. At his voice, *the sun was darkened, tombs were opened, rocks were split, and the temple veil was torn from top to bottom*. Only man remains hardened to his voice and murmurs against it. This is evident in the hardness

⁵⁸⁸ More on the logic behind the choice of a *thema* and the taxonomy of Bohemian *themata* for Good Friday, see Part 2, Chapter 6.

⁵⁸⁹ Apart from Milič’s sermon, Schneyer indicates two anonymous instances when Zachariah 9:11 was used for Good Friday: Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 6, 172; Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 9, 132. Moreover, the *Repertorium* shows that the verse was also chosen for Easter vigil: Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 6, 612.

⁵⁹⁰ Richard Coggins, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 81. Also, see Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, 360; Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 3, 304; Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 7, 407; Schneyer, *Repertorium*, vol. 8, 129.

of the Jews. [...]. Thus, I say to you, if today you do not hear his voice while his Passion is proclaimed in your ears, the heavens and the earth, rocks and tombs, the resurrected dead and the legions of Tartarus will bear witness against you for your condemnation on the day of judgment. But so that this does not happen to you, hear him like the thief did, that at the hour of your death, he may say to each one of you: *Today, you will be with me in paradise.*⁵⁹¹

The strategy Milíč uses here is quite unconventional. Instead of inviting the audience to share Mary's grief and compassion or join Christ's torments on the cross, as is standard at the beginning of Good Friday sermons, he asks them to perceive the Passion from the penitent sinner's point of view, which will be overarching in the sermon.⁵⁹² This juxtaposition makes clear from the very first lines how the preacher positions his audience and what central emotions he aims to evoke in his discourse. Namely, together with the Good Thief, the public is expected to feel compunction for their sins, fear of the imminent Last Judgment, and gratitude for Christ's sacrifice.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹¹ "Beatus Johannes clamorem Christi validum, quem emisit in cruce, dum moreretur pro nobis, in suo evangelio pronuntiabat, dicens capitulo quinto: *Venit hora et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent.* Nunc hora est, qua omnis creatura audit vocem sui creatoris. Nam infernus sive Thartharee legiones ejus vocem, quam emisit in cruce, sustinere non poterant, quando portas Tharthareas ad ejus aditum aperirent. Mortui, similiter audientes vocem ejus, surrexerunt de monumentis post resurrectionem suam. Ad vocem suam sol obscuratus est, monumenta aperta sunt, petre scisse sunt, et velum templi scissum est a summo usque ad deorsum. Solus homo ad ejus vocem obduratur et ejus voci remurmurat. Sicut patet in duritia Judeorum. [...] Ita et vobis dico, si hodie vocem ejus non audieritis, dum ejus passio clamatur in auribus vestris, celum et terra, petre et monumenta, mortui resurgentes et Thartharee legiones testimonium in dampnationem vestram in die judicii dabunt. Sed ne hoc vobis eveniant, audite eum cum latrone [...] ut hora mortis sue dicat unicuique vestrum: *hodie mecum eris in paradiso.*" Appendix I, pages 244–245.

⁵⁹² Kathleen Falvey has shown that the same strategy of linking the audience with the condemned criminals at Golgotha was used in Italian Passion plays to show the people the importance of penance and reconciliation. Kathleen C. Falvey, "Early Italian Dramatic Traditions and Comforting Rituals: Some Initial Considerations," in *Crossing the Boundaries. Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), 33–55. Some crusade preachers followed the same pattern in their crusade appeals. Jessalynn Bird, "Preaching the Crusades and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 30 (2014): 17; Matthew Phillips, "The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's *Sermo de cruce Domini*," *Crusades* 5, no. 1 (2006): 143–56. Yet, as Jussi Hanska has demonstrated, the use of Good Thief as a penitential role model was rare in the context of Eastertide preaching. Jussi Hanska, "The Figure of the Good Thief and Conversion in Extremis in Late Medieval Preaching," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 67, no. 1 (2023): 35–45. For more on the theological meaning and usage of the Good Thief in medieval literature, see: Marcia L. Colish, *Faith, Force and Fiction in Medieval Baptismal Debates* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 11–90.

⁵⁹³ As we will see, this chain of emotions is rhetorically encoded in Milíč's exegetical method and supported by affective texts in the main *divisio thematis*. In Nagy's and Biron-Xavier's terms, the preacher creates an "emotional script" fitting the penitential scope of Good Friday: the script provides a set fitting emotions supplemented with an imitable chain of actions, ultimately leading the faithful to salvation. More on the discussion of this concept and the difference between emotive and emotional scripts, see Chapter 4.

After a standard summons to a communal prayer, Milič opens the introduction to the theme with the first logical division and, in such a way, returns to the primary soteriological discourse that will be dominant in the sermon. The *introductio* explains in a three-fold reasoning why one should venerate Christ's blood, which, as the sermon will reveal, functioned as a powerful - yet, not the only - instrument of mortals' salvation. This division introduces three degrees of liberation arising from the pouring out of the savior's blood: from "eternal serfdom", from "debt of our blasphemy", and from "dangers coming from our enemies".⁵⁹⁴ For each kind of liberation, the preacher leads the audience through an intricate chain of biblical allusions and selected prooftexts, highlighting key theological concepts relating to the Passion. In such a way, by carefully combining various rhetorical fragments, the *introductio thematis* constructs a dense argument in line with Aquinas-alike tripartite soteriological formula - "Christ's Passion-the sacraments-*imitatio Christi*".⁵⁹⁵ Let us now observe its development in detail:

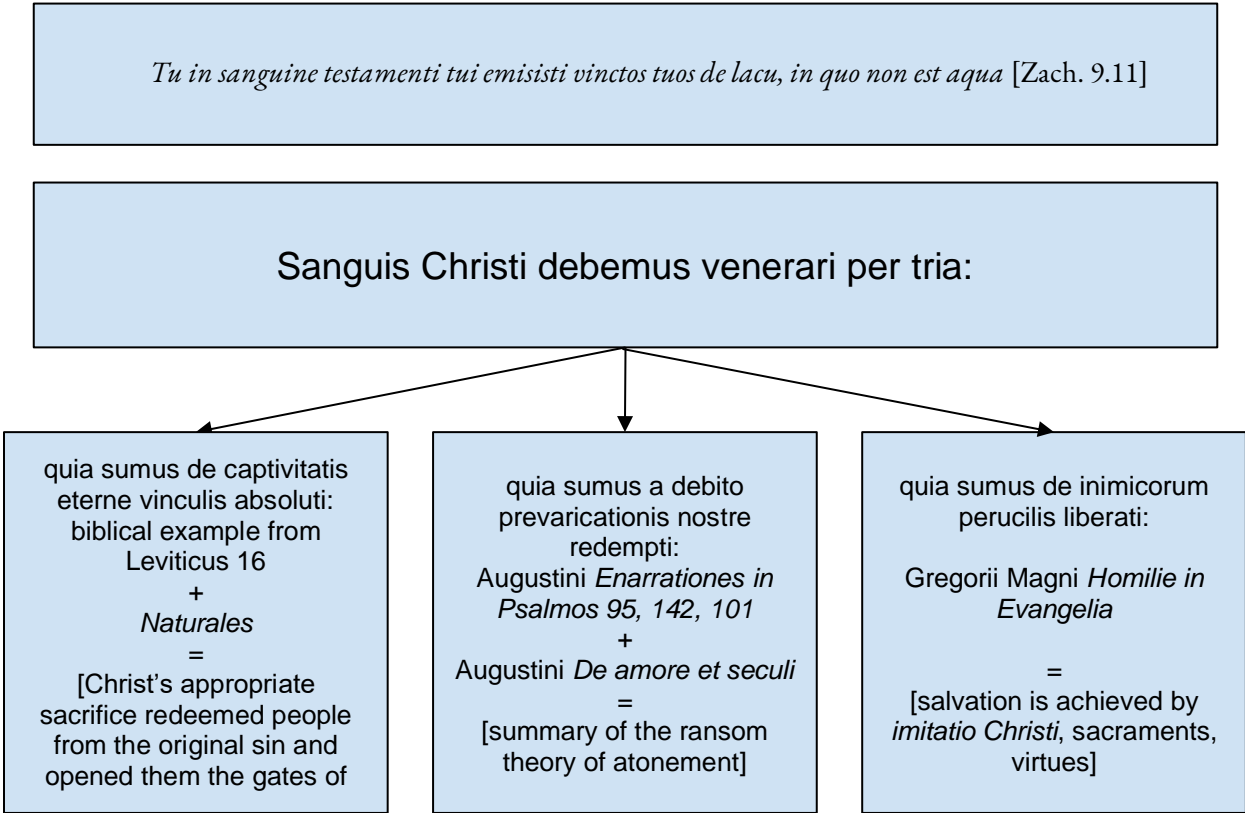


Figure 7. The outline of the *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui* *introductio thematis*.

⁵⁹⁴ Appendix I, page 251.

⁵⁹⁵ I have previously discussed Aquinas' soteriological views in Part 1, Chapter 2.

For the first degree, representing the liberation from eternal serfdom, Milič intertwines the historical reading of the Bible with an encyclopedic source without supporting it with any theological authorities. Straightforwardly at the outset, the preacher uses the Old Testament story about two baby-goats sacrificed on the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16) to explain the fundamental soteriological importance of Christ's dual nature and its sacrifice. Following the *Naturales* (probably by Pliny the Elder), he then compares the destructive effect of a baby-goat's blood over an adamant with the salvific impact of the innocent Christ's death over sin. Consequently, Milič's condensed interpretation of the Old Testament example summarizes dominant theological discussions about the twofold liberation of humanity. Not only does he retrospectively interpret the Passion as a powerful means of freeing those imprisoned by the original sin long before the Lord's nativity, but he also prophetically considers it a key to enter paradise in the light of the imminent Last Judgment:

[...] before the death of Christ, we were enclosed in the adamant house, that is, in limbo, when we sinned in Adam. [...] We were enclosed in such a way that no one could go out. [...] this goat, not from the Old but from the New Testament, was killed and crucified for us. With his warm blood, he has shattered the sin like adamant by the means of love, pushed our sin back [...], and opened the house of hell, so that he would lead us out of it. And so he has opened the house of paradise and heaven, so that we would be worthy to happily enter it.⁵⁹⁶

Remarkably, the development of Milič's model sermon represents a mental exercise necessary to understand the theological meaning of the Passion combined with an emotional one: the preacher unites himself with the fictive audience and appeals to communal guilt and gratitude - emotions, fitting the penitential context of Good Friday.⁵⁹⁷ Milič further strengthens this rational-affective 'alloy' while commenting on the next degree of liberation - that from the "debt or our blasphemy". In doing so, he heavily relies on a set of prooftexts taken from Augustine: the preacher's laconic

⁵⁹⁶ "[...] nos ante mortem Christi inclusi fuimus in domo adamantina, id est in limbo, quando peccavimus in Adam. [...] Ita clausi fuimus, ut nemo possit exire. [...] iste hircus non de veteri, sed de novo testamento occisus et crucifixus pro nobis sanguine suo calido per caritatem peccatum tamquam adamantem scidit, et percussit peccatum nostrum, [...] domum inferni aperuit ut nos educeret. Et sic domum paradisi et celi aperuit ut intrare feliciter valeremus". Appendix I, pages 245–246.

⁵⁹⁷ For a detailed discussion of how this set of emotions is linked with penitential practices, see Nagy and Biron-Ouellet, "A Collective Emotion in Medieval Italy," 135–45. Moreover, to link the mentioned emotions with the theological theories of the time, see the second section of Chapter 2.

commentaries serve solely as conjunctions to mediate the ransom theory of atonement⁵⁹⁸ with a Eucharistic emphasis through chunks from the Father's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (especially Psalms 95, 146, and 101) and *Sermone de amore Dei et seculi*. As a result, by carefully selecting quotes from the patristic author, Milíč evokes two vivid images of Christ: an innocent ransomer who paid the suitable price for prisoners in the devil's possession and a lamenting mother-pelican who killed her chicks for their violent behavior but later resurrected them with her own blood.⁵⁹⁹ Interestingly, while introducing the latter example, the preacher uses Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmum 101*, including its polemic part, which comments on the way the audience should imaginatively hear and perceive the naturalistic allegory:

[Augustine] [...] let us not be silent about what is said or read about this bird; [let us] not randomly confirm something, but, yet, [let us not be] silent. Because those who have written would like to be read and uttered. Hence, you all listen, so that if it is true, it comes [to your minds]; and if it is false, it does not stay [there].⁶⁰⁰

Overall, throughout the *introductio thematis*, Milíč uses patristic prooftexts on purely soteriological or sacramental matters and heavily refers to doctrinal concepts, thus expecting from his primary and secondary audience - preachers who read the model text and members of the clergy it could have been later preached to respectively⁶⁰¹ - at least general theological knowledge. Typically for the *Abortivus*, sometimes such citations may function as the biggest component of a full-fledged part of a scholastic division. For example, the preacher exploits this strategy most vividly to present the third degree of liberation and to offer the audience a sacramental-moralistic treatment of Christ's oblation at the end of the *introductio thematis*. Here, Milíč's input is minimized the most: he only introduces a lengthy exegetical citation from Gregory the Great,⁶⁰² closes it without any pastoral or doctrinal remarks, and then

⁵⁹⁸ Again, for a more detailed discussion of Anselm's theory of atonement, I refer the reader to the corresponding section of Chapter 2.

⁵⁹⁹ The figure of the pelican was typically used in terms of the eucharistic discourse. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 310–11.

⁶⁰⁰ "[Augustinus] ...quod dicitur vel legitur de hac avi, non taceamus, non aliquid confirmantes temere, sed tamen non tacentes. Qui enim scripserunt, et legi et dici voluerunt. Vos sic audite ut si verum est, congruat, si falsum, non teneat." Appendix I, page 247.

⁶⁰¹ To promote the argument about members of the clergy as the fitting secondary audience of the sermon, I bring manuscript evidence later in this section.

⁶⁰² The citation comes from Gregory's *Homilies on Gospels*. Milíč cites the homily on Saturday after Easter. Gregory the Great, "Homiliae in Evangelia," in *PL* 76, col. 1174–1181.

schematically summarizes the three-fold soteriological-Eucharistic argument to end the introduction to the topic.

The textual ratio between Milič and Gregory in this part of the argument clearly signalizes the great importance the preacher assigned to the authority.⁶⁰³ The sermon's longest citation is based on the allegorical treatment of Exodus 12:9-11 (in fact, the second liturgical reading of the day from the Old Testament),⁶⁰⁴ which explains in detail how one should prepare and consume the Passover lamb. Initially, this gastronomic instruction symbolically mirrors the basic requirements expected from an individual to protect themselves from sin and reach salvation. In Gregory's view, receiving the Eucharist - the very sacrament of the Passion - is not sufficient per se and should be complemented with the imitation of Christ by virtuous thoughts and deeds.⁶⁰⁵ Comparing the lamb's edible ingredients to the traits of a worthy believer, the Father subsequently links the stages of the rite with various exercises of *imitatio Christi*. More importantly, he then allegorizes the Old Testament vestments necessary for the rite as intellectual and behavioral elements obligatory for preachers to take up priestly ministry. Thus, apart from the general salvific-sacramental reading, Gregory's proof-text gives Milič's discourse a moralistic-ecclesiastical overtone, suitable for the sermon's primary users - future preachers:

It should be noted that first, we are commanded to *gird our loins*, and afterward, to *hold the staff*. Hence, those who already know how to subdue the flowing indulgence

⁶⁰³ Milič's input constitutes roughly 10% of this part of the argument (127 words out of total 1275), and the proof-text from Gregory takes 90% (1148 words out of 1275). The length of the proof-text suggests that Milič worked with its full text taken from a manuscript of Gregory's homilies or collection of patristic homilies for liturgical year. In the latter case, Milič's potential source might be the mid-fourteenth-century manuscript XVI.A.7 (Czech National Museum Library, Prague), containing Gregory's homily in question. The manuscript belonged to the Augustine monastery in Roudnice nad Labem, a crucial centre of *devotio moderna* in Bohemia Milič could have been connected with. Nemec, "The Czech Reform Movement," 388.

⁶⁰⁴ "You shall not eat thereof any thing raw, nor boiled in water, but only roasted at the fire: you shall eat the head with the feet and entrails thereof. Neither shall there remain any thing of it until morning. If there be anything left, you shall burn it with fire. And thus you shall eat it: you shall gird your reins, and you shall have shoes on your feet, holding staves in your hands, and you shall eat in haste."

⁶⁰⁵ "In utroque etenim poste agni sanguis est positus, quando sacramentum passionis illius cum ore ad redemptionem sumitur, ad imitationem quoque intenta mente cogitatur. [...] sed sola redemptoris nostri percepta sacramenta ad veram solemnitatem mentis non sufficiunt, nisi eis quoque et bona opera iungantur." Appendix I, page 246.

of their own bodies should assume pastoral care, so that when they preach to others with vigor, they themselves do not excessively yield to soft desires.⁶⁰⁶

It should be stressed that the way Milič abridges Gregory before closing the *introductio thematis* with a short summarizing note, also makes explicit what the former regarded as the most effective emotive message of the prooftext. Namely, the last sentence taken from the authority creates a sense of fear and urgency as it warns the audience that the imminent end might be near:

So, it is well added: *And [let them] eat in a hurry*. Note, o brothers, note what is said: *in a hurry*. Learn with haste the commandments of God, the mysteries of the redeemer, the joys of the heavenly fatherland; and tend with haste to fulfill the commands for life. Because we know that today we are still allowed to act well, [but] we do not know whether it will be possible tomorrow.⁶⁰⁷

However, the preacher's editorial selection does not have a solely emotive function. The urge that one should follow Christ to pave their way to heaven before it is too late that concludes the excerpt from Gregory, semantically finalizes Milič's soteriological 'cheat sheet' - "the Passion-the Eucharist-*imitatio Christi*" - constructed through theological authorities. Moreover, it serves as a transition between the contemplative and rather intellectual *introductio thematis* to the next structural part of the discourse that provides a more practical pastoral instruction and demands a more active emotional participation from the audience. Thus, the selective use and order of authorities indicate that the preacher strategically arranged the narrative of his model discourse.

Divisio thematis - a practical guide to visualize and embody the Passion

Once the dominant – yet, typical for the late Middle Ages – emotional and theological triads have been framed,⁶⁰⁸ the preacher shifts to the principal *divisio*

⁶⁰⁶ "Notandum quod prius precipimur renes accingere, postmodum baculos tenere. Unde illi debent curam pastorem suscipere, qui jam suo corpore sciunt fluxa luxurie edomare, ut cum aliis forcia predicant, ipsi desideriiis mollibus enormiter non succumbant." Appendix I, page 251.

⁶⁰⁷ "Bene autem dicitur: *Et comedetis festinanter*. Notate, fratres, notate, quod dicitur: *festinantes*. Mandata Dei, mysteria redemptoris, celestis patrie gaudia cum festinatione cognoscite, et precepta vite cum festinatione implere curate, quia adhuc hodie licet bene agere scimus, utrum cras liceat ignoramus." Appendix I, page 251.

⁶⁰⁸ For instance, Bonaventura rhetorically encoded the same set of guilt-gratitude-fear in his exegetical comments on the didactic meaning of the Passion. Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday*, 21. As to the soteriological triad, I have already mentioned that Aquinas considered the combination of Christ's death, sacraments, and virtuous lifestyle the most effective salvific formula.

thematis. On a broader level of the sermon's metanarrative, in each part of the division Milíč gradually gives the audience a short recapitulation of the most important events of the history of salvation: the terrible death of the savior – the pouring out of the innocent Christ's blood; his imminent resurrection – the liberation from eternal slavery; and the Harrowing of Hell – the destruction of the eternal death which is for the elect:⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁹ “Primo – innocentis Christi sanguinis effusio. Ibi: *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui*. Secundo – nostra de captivitate redemptio. Ibi: *emisisti vinctos tuos*. Tertio – perpetue mortis destructio, quo ad electos. Et hoc ibi: *de lacum in quo non est aqua*.” Appendix I, page 251.

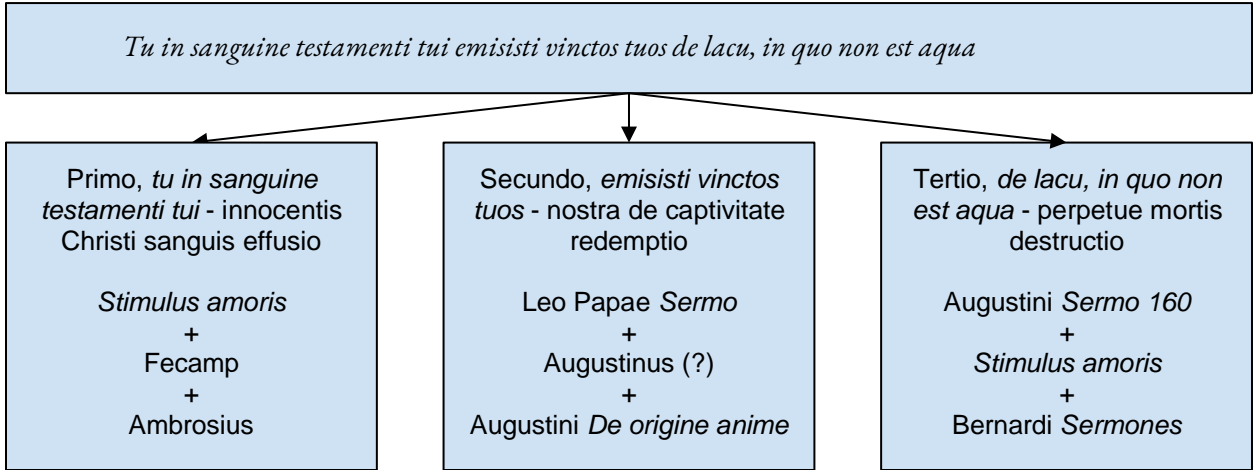


Figure 8. The *divisio thematis* of the *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui* sermon.

Most likely, Milíč based the division of the biblical *thema* on the *Glossa Ordinaria*’s exegetical understanding. However, the preacher introduces an additional interpretational level regarding the set of emotions and salvific components, which fit each part of the *divisio thematis*:

Zach. 9:11	<i>Tu vero</i>	<i>in sanguine testamenti tui</i>	<i>emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu in quo non est aqua.</i>
<i>Glossa</i> ’s meaning ⁶¹⁰	Interl. O Christe fili	Interl. passionis tue eos qui tenebantur vincti in carceribus inferni in quo non est ulla refrigerans misericordia quam dives querebat liberasti tua misericordia	Interl. huius mundi
Milič’s emotive code/sacramental practice leading to salvation	guilt/contrition and recognition of sins	hope/penance and confession	fear/ <i>imitatio Christi</i>

⁶¹⁰ *Glossa Ordinaria*, digital edition, accessed February 27, 2024: https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?id=liber&numLivre=50&chapitre=50_9.

At the first glance, the structure of the main argument repeats the soteriological formula of the *introductio thematis*. Yet, its rhetorical construction demonstrates the sermon's complicated rhetorical logic and noteworthy communicative potential. Contrary to the *introductio thematis*, to support each part of the main division, the preacher usually chooses two massive paragraphs from affective literature (predominantly, treatises or sermons on the Passion) and a number of short sentences from various authoritative theologians. While one affective text conjures up a selected scene from the Passion narrative and frames an emotion that Milíč finds apt for a specific stage of the salvation history, the other serves a more didactic function, inviting the model sermon's audience to reenact a given spiritual practice. Again, based on the textual ratio between Milíč and the *auctoritates*, the preacher presents himself not as a primary narrator of the Passion but as a humble medium between the audience and the Church fathers/affective texts. To avoid the possible monotony of the citations in each part of the argument, Milíč inserts laconic - yet catchy - personal addresses and biblical examples. Their combination aims to amplify the emotions that the affective prooftexts contain and deliver understandable pastoral instructions. Therefore, it is precisely through the use of selected affective texts that Milíč's pastoral remedies reach the readers. I call this innovative communicative-rhetorical strategy 'affective catechesis'. Let us examine it more closely.

Elaborating on the first part of the *divisio thematis*, Milíč starts with the biblical story of guiltless Joseph betrayed by his jealous brothers, who plotted to kill him (Genesis 37).⁶¹¹ This biblical allusion prefigures Jesus and prepares the audience to contemplate Christ's defiled beauty and torments on the cross in a corresponding excerpt from Eckbert of Schönau's *Stimulus amoris*.⁶¹² To stress the doctrinal necessity of the blameless savior's death and signalize the expected emotion, Milíč abruptly interrupts the *Stimulus* with a direct address to the audience: "Therefore there was no

⁶¹¹ "De primo, qualiter Christus effuderit pro nobis sanguinem innocentem, notandum est quod sicut Joseph ex invidia fratrum venditus fuit et occidi debebat a fratribus propter hoc quia bonus fuit et dilectus patri, item incarceratus, quia cum egiptiaca muliere domini sui peccare nolebat, ita Christus, quia dilectus erat patri, cujus semper fecerat voluntatem, ideo Judei, zelo invidie contra ipsum accensi, emptum a discipulo, tradiderunt ad mortem maxime ex eo quia peccatis eorum consentire nolebat, sed corripiebat." Appendix I, page 252.

⁶¹² "Respice, Domine, sancte pater, de sanctuario tuo, intueri hanc sacrosanctam hostiam, quam tibi offert magnus pontifex noster Jesus, pro peccatis fratrum suorum, et esto placabilis super multitudine malicie nostre. Ecce vox sanguinis fratris nostri Christi Jesu clamat ad te de cruce. Cognosce, pater, tunicam filii tui veri Joseph. Hec est fera pessima que devoravit eum, et conculcavit in furore suo vestimentum ejus et omnem decorem ejus cruoris reliquit inquinavit. Et ecce quinque scissuras lamentabiles in ea relinquit." Appendix I, page 252.

guilt in Christ, for which he had to die, but [the guilt was] ours.”⁶¹³ Immediately, the sermon proceeds with the meditative prayer from John of Fécamp’s *Meditationes* on the visual disparity between Christ’s tender body and the injuries inflicted upon it.⁶¹⁴ Furthermore, Fécamp’s prayer grammatically juxtaposes a sinful reader/listener with the virtuous Christ who was deprived of ordinary life and violently tortured.⁶¹⁵ The proof-text is, therefore, meant to provoke the audience to capture powerful mental images from the first-person perspective and transform them into a deep feeling of collective guilt, which Milíč intensifies with the story of Naboth’s vineyard (I Kings 21) at the end of the *divisio*’s first part.

The introduction to the second element of the *divisio thematis* reinstalls the discourse on the intellectual (that is, pertaining to theological discussion) level because it briefly alludes to the next soteriological component - God’s satisfaction through the sacrifice of his Son, which combines divine and human natures. A citation from Pope Leo the Great’s *Sermon 54 on the Passion* maintains the doctrinal focus on the hypostasis - Christ’s dual nature - necessary for humanity’s salvation. Notably, the Bohemian preacher successively incorporates half of the Father’s sermon and stops the authority after the discussion of Judas’ unsurpassed infamy. This editorial selection transitions the discourse tonality to pastoral concerns,⁶¹⁶ summarized by Milíč’s laconic address: “Beware, Christian, that you do not have any sins within you that are like those of Judas, for they may lead you to despair if you are prideful, just as he [was].”⁶¹⁷

The preacher then moves to what he refers to as Augustine’s quotation⁶¹⁸ that invites the audience to compare themselves with the fallen and, eventually, desperate

⁶¹³ “Culpa ergo in Christo non fuit, propter quam mori debebat, nisi nostra.” Appendix I, page 253.

⁶¹⁴ For a more detailed discussion about these texts’ ekphrasis and its affective potential, see Part 1, Chapter 3.

⁶¹⁵ Compare, for instance, “[...] Ego crimen edidi, tu torture subiceris. Ego superbivi, tu humiliaris. Ego tumui, tu attenuaris. Ego inobediens extiti, tu obediens, scelus inobediencie luis. Ego gule parui, tu inedia afficeris. Me ad illicitam rapuit concupiscencia arborem, te perfecta caritas produxit ad crucem. Ego sumpsi vetitum, tu subisti aculeum. Ego delector cibo, tu laboras patibulo.” Appendix I, pages 253–254.

⁶¹⁶ Whether this editorial choice is premeditated, remains an open question and largely depends on the source Milíč had at hand: it could either be a copy of Leo’s full sermon or its abridged version. A suitable ‘candidate’ for the former option might be a text similar to Leo’s full-fledged homilies preserved in a Roudnice compilation of patristic texts organized for the summer part of liturgical year (MS XIII.A.4, National Museum Library, circa the 1360s–70s). Alas, as to my knowledge, there is no preserved manuscript with its winter part. Hence, no concrete argument can be made as to how Milíč obtained Leo’s citation.

⁶¹⁷ “Cave tu tibi, christiane, ne aliqua peccata Jude sint in te, propter que desperare cogaris si superbus es ut ipse.” Appendix I, page 256.

⁶¹⁸ I was not able to find the text Milíč took the citation from in any of the available databases, search engines, other Good Friday sources, or editions of Augustinian texts. For this reason, I cautiously raise the possibility that this quotation might have been either the preacher’s own invention, rhetorically

and lost apostle. Namely, the prooftext is composed of stylistically similar sentences with homogeneous syntactic parts⁶¹⁹ which serve to enumerate the biblical figure's mortal sins. With its repetitive syntactic structure, the citation thus functions as an allusion to a believer listing their transgressions to a priest during confession in hope for subsequent salvation. As the Fourth Lateran Council had declared, the faithful were requested to do so at least once a year, mainly during Eastertide,⁶²⁰ so it was each preacher's duty to urge the congregation to validly celebrate the sacrament of penance. Clearly, the prooftext's intimidating closure serves the same pastoral function in the sermon:

[...] see that the devil does not put a rope around your neck so you neither want nor can confess; see that you do not plot the death of Christ, like Judas, namely, that you do not provide an occasion for any mortal sin [...]. You are more wretched [than Judas] if your heart cannot be softened, as you have tasted [Christ's kiss and vine at the Last Supper] not once but many times. For if all the other benefits that have been conferred upon you cannot soften your heart, at least may the lance and the nails and the cross soften you.⁶²¹

Since this intimidating passage demands a de-escalation, Milič immediately provides a positive role model through the story of a sacrificial father and repentant parricidal son taken from Valerius Maximus to make sure that the faithful will not share the traitor's miserable fate of dying without proper penance and confession.

disguised as a patristic authority, or a pseudo-Augustinian work composed not earlier than the twelfth century. I base this potential dating on the prooftext's reference to an Oedipian story of Judas unknowingly killing his father and marrying his mother. According to Paull Franklin Baum, this extra-biblical example originated from a twelfth-century *Legend of Judas Iskariot*. Its original text reached Bohemia by the end of the thirteenth century and was also popularized through Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. Paull Franklin Baum, "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," *PMLA* 31, no. 3 (1916): 481; Elizabeth Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 108.

⁶¹⁹ See, for instance: "Si luxuriosus, adulter vel sodomita es, sicut ille luxuriosus erat, qui etiam cum muliere in matrimonio dicitur perstitisse, sed penituisse false tamen; Si avarus es, symoniacus, proprietarius, usurarius, mercator dolosus, mechanicus fraudulentus, ut ille qui fur et proprietarius et proditor propter pecuniam fuit factus; Si iracundus est, inimicis injuriam non dimittens et te vindicare volens [...]" Appendix I, page 256.

⁶²⁰ Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law*, 13.

⁶²¹ "[...] vide, ne tibi diabolus funem in collo ponat, ut nolis nec possis confiteri; vide, ne machineris in mortem Christi ut Judas, id est ne des occasionem quocumque mortali peccato [...]. Miser Judas, quem non emollivit precium redemptionis nostre, quod bibit in cena nec osculum dulcissimum Jesu Christi. Miserior tu, si emolliri non potest cor tuum, qui non semel sed multociens hec gustasti. Si enim alia omnia beneficia, que tibi contulit, tuum cor emollire non possunt, saltem lancea et clavi et crux te emoliant." Appendix I, page 257.

Consequently, the combination of the Augustinian threatening discourse on Judas and the classical *exemplum* results in what Carlo Delcorno defines as “a [biblical-classical] network of effective and memorable images”,⁶²² serving to communicate the fitting emotion (hope as an antithesis for despair) as well as pastoral penitential and sacramental concern, which the preacher expresses while closing the second part of the *divisio thematis*:

In this way, if neither the house of paradise where Christ nourished you, nor the blood with which he gave you life, could not soften you thus far, at least may the forest of trees on the cross and [...] the iron of the lance, nails, and hammers, and above all, the fact that he willingly offered himself to death for you, soften you [...]. And do not despair like Judas but do penance like the thief [...].⁶²³

The main division’s last component is the destruction of death for the elect, which Milič introduces through the Old Testament story of Samson and the Gazite Harlot (Judges 16:1-3). Inspired by Augustine’s allegorical reading,⁶²⁴ the preacher interprets the prostitute as a sinful soul and Samson, who carries off the gates of Gaza, as a prefiguration of Christ, destroying the gates of hell. Supplied with a theatricalized citation from Augustine’s sermon,⁶²⁵ Samson’s example opens up the possibility of building the last part of the *divisio* as foreshadowing salvation: once Samson/Christ descends to hell and tears down its gates, resurrection becomes possible not only for Christ but also for the faithful. Therefore, as Milič intervenes, in order to evade eternal death at the Last Judgment, believers must “imitate the signs or footsteps of Christ” and “carry them within”.⁶²⁶ This intimidating laconic remark facilitates transition from the doctrinal theme to affective contemplation and co-participation in the Passion.

⁶²² Carlo Delcorno, “Exempla biblicae, exempla classica,” in *Le tonnerre des exemples: Exempla et méditation culturelle dans l’Occident Médiéval*, ed. Marie-Anne Polo De Beaulieu, Jacques Berlioz, and Pascal Collomb (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 81–98.

⁶²³ “Ita et tu si te domus paradisi in qua te Christus nutrit et sanguis, quo te animavit et vita quam tibi donavit hactenus emollire nullatenus potuerunt, saltem silva lignorum que sunt in cruce [...] et ferrum lancee, clavorum et malleorum ejus et super omnia, quia tibi et propter te voluntarie se obtulit ad mortem, emolliant te [...]. Et noli desperare sicut Judas, sed sicut latro penitentiam agas [...].” Appendix I, page 258.

⁶²⁴ Compare Milič with Augustine, *Sermons (341-400) on Various Subjects*, ed. John E. Rotelle, trans. Edmund Hill (New York: New City Press, 1995), 277–79.

⁶²⁵ “O, princeps noster, hic est ille, de cujus tibi morte plaudebas? In cujus cruce mundum tibi subjugandum esse totum credebas? En in contrarium versa est suavia tua. Ecce hic omnes carceres fregit, captivos ejecit, ligatos solvit, et luctum eorum in gaudium commutavit. Dum tu Christum suspendis in ligno, ignoras quanta dampna sustines in inferno.” Appendix I, pages 258–259.

⁶²⁶ “Si ergo mortem et infernum evadere volumus, insignia sive vestigia Christi nos imitari oportet ut illa in nobis portemus.” Appendix I, page 259.

To further foster the affective co-participation in the Passion, the preacher inserts a lengthy excerpt from the *Stimulus amoris* in order to provide an example of an ideal servant, imitating Christ through a voluntary crucifixion on the cross of cardinal virtues.⁶²⁷ In this way, the quoted authority might have served several functions: a pastoral reminder of virtues necessary for salvation, a detailed example of a cross-form prayer, and an ekphrastic meditation on the tormented Christ. In fact, the consecutive series of three affective prooftexts immediately follows the *Stimulus* and amplifies its ekphrastic focus⁶²⁸ through a detailed antithetic visualization of Christ's body (Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermon for Holy Thursday*) and Jesus' dramatic monologues (from Bernard's and Quodvultdeus' sermons). The combination of these elements intensifies the pathos of Milíč's model sermon and enables it to render the far-off biblical events more vivid, connect the audience with the narrative, and invite them to participate in the Passion:

[Bernard:] You [...] have a bunch of flowers on your head, and I [...] have the crown of thorns. [...] You dance in white clothes, and I [...] was laughed at by Herod in white clothes. [...] In your dances you stretch out your arms in the shape of a cross in joy, and I had them stretched out on the cross in reproach. I mourned on the cross, and you rejoiced [...]

[Quodvultdeus:] For when you were an enemy to my father, I reconciled you through myself. When you were far away, I came to redeem you. [...] I gathered you, I labored, I sweated, I set my head against the thorns, I casted out my hands with the nails, I

⁶²⁷ "Illam, inquam, divinissimam crucem humeris meis impone, cujus latitudo est caritas [...]; cujus longitudo eternitas, cujus sublimitas omnipotencia; cujus profundum inscrutabilis sapiencia est. Confige illi manus meas et pedes meos; et totam passionis formam famulo tuo indue. Da, obsecro, mihi continere ab operibus carnis que odisti, et facere justiciam quam dilexisti, et in utroque tuam querere gloriam. Et sinistram quidem meam clavo temperancie, dexteram vero clavo justicie in illa sublimi cruce fixam arbitrabor. Da menti mee jugiter meditari in lege tua, et omnem cogitationem jactare in te, et dextrum meum pedem eidem ligno vite prudencie clavis affige. Da ut sinistram spiritus mei sensualitatem non enervet labentis vite infelix felicitas [...] et sinister quoque pes meus fortitudinis clavo in cruce tenebitur." Appendix I, page 259. This affective passage and its function are thoroughly discussed in Part I.

⁶²⁸ Although contemporary scholars often define ekphrasis as a rhetorical instrument, describing artworks, ancient and medieval theorists generally used it to speak about people, places, events, seasons, animals etc. Sarah Gador-Whyte suggests accepting this definition and stresses that besides a typical visual language, this rhetorical tool could also employ theatrical monologues and dialogues. Sarah Gador-Whyte, *Theology and Poetry in Early Byzantium: The Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 19–53.

opened my side with the lance, [...] I shed my blood, [...] and you are separated from me?⁶²⁹

Here, Jesus enters the preacher's primary narrative framework as a secondary internal narrator and presents his own anguish to the audience. In Caroline Walker Bynum's terms, this rhetorical move can be seen as the process of humanizing the suffering Christ and shifting the Eucharistic guilt from the biblical Jews to each individualized sinner. The prooftexts' emphasis on the contrast between the suffering sacrificial savior and the carefree man primarily serves Milíč to warn those Christians who hurt Christ with their indifference and rejection.⁶³⁰ Once the fictive congregation's feeling of guilt and fear of God is deepened, the preacher concludes the sermon with an invitation to venerate the cross.

Having observed the development of Milíč's model discourse from the *Abortivus*, it is important to give a preliminary comment on its value and composition. One may state that the Bohemian preacher's early work lacks 'originality' in its modern sense as it was minimized to the mere reception of authorities without using anecdotic *exempla* or making significant textual additions. Such a perspective would correspond with the long-standing historiographical tradition on Milíč.⁶³¹ However, the relevance of the examined Good Friday sermon should not be underestimated for several reasons.

First, as I have demonstrated, the preacher, indeed, does not play the role of a primary narrator or explicator of the Passion in this sermon. He often hides himself by humbly substituting his 'voice' with biblical or classical stories and wordy citations from authorities.⁶³² Yet, Milíč plays a vital role in the discourse: by alternating doctrinal

⁶²⁹ "Tu homo es et habes sertum de floribus in capite, et ego deus et homo habeo coronam spineam. Tu cirotecas habes in manibus et ego clavos affixos. Tu in albis vestibus tripudias, et ego pro te sui ab Herode in veste alba derisus. Tripudias pedibus, et ego ad crucis patibulum pedibus festinavi. Tu in choreis brachia extendis in modum crucis in gaudium, et ego ea in cruce extenta habui in opprobrium. Ego in cruce dolui, et tu in cruce exultas. Tu habes latus apertum et pectus in signum vane glorie, et ego latus effossum habui pro te. Tu revertere ad me et ego suscipiam te." "Cum enim esses inimicus patri meo, reconciliaui te per me. Cum esses longe, ego veni ut redimerem te. Cum inter montes et silvas infidelitatis errares, quesivi te, et inter ligna et lapides inveni te; et ne luporum ferarumque, id est diabolorum, rabido ore laniareris, collegi te, laboravi, sudavi, caput meum spinis opposui, manus meas clavis objeci, latus meum lancea aperui, tot non dicam injuriis, sed asperitatibus laceratus sum, sanguinem meum fudi, animam meam posui ut conjungerem te mihi, et tu separaris a me?" Appendix I, pages 260–261.

⁶³⁰ Notably, this approach resonates with Gerhard of Cologne's concept of bad Christians as "new Jews". Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages," *Church History* 71, no. 4 (2002): 702.

⁶³¹ See Uhlíř's assessment of Milíč's texts for preaching which I referred to in the historiographical section.

⁶³² As Milíč modestly states in the prologue to the postil, that it is not himself, but the cited 'doctors', who can teach the reader how to preach: "Nec mihi ascribe, quam ibi ponuntur verba doctorum, et dum

passages with affective elements in the two logical divisions (especially in the *divisio thematis*), he creates an ‘intellectual-emotional script’ which first provides pre-prepared answers for an easily recognizable soteriological discussion and then activates sequence of suitable emotions and understandable imitative models of religious behavior.⁶³³ Thus, the sermon’s *prothema* introduces an overarching penitential message, inviting the audience to identify with the Good Thief, who showed remorse for his sins, thankfully accepted Christ’s sacrifice, and humbly followed his tormenting Passion on the cross. In turn, the balanced dichotomy of *intellectus* in the introduction to the *thema* and *affectus* in the main division respectively structures the material, controls the perception of dense soteriological arguments, and repeatedly invites the public to experience (either contemplatively or actively) a colorful, yet expected for the penitential devotion, emotional spectrum. The main division of Milič’s model text starts paving the audience’s way to salvation with the recognition of Christ’s death for humanity’s common sins, thus instilling fear and guilt to the reading (other preachers who used the model sermon)/preaching (the sermon’s hypothetical listeners if the discourse was ever preached) community. Next, the cultivated desire to avoid becoming desperate and hopeless sinners, leads them to take action and confess. Finally, all the people fearing the terrible consequences of the Last Judgment, were invited to mentally contemplate Christ’s Passion and imitate it through virtuous deeds and a cross-form prayer. Ultimately, Milič’s ‘intellectual-emotional script’ allows to form a strong emotional connection with the didactic meaning of the Passion and Good Friday in its center. After all, according to medieval preaching manuals, this rhetorical strategy could be regarded as effective. For instance, in his *Ars faciendi sermones*, the Franciscan John of Wales (d. 1285) defines a powerful sermon as “the Catholic instruction of the intellect and the charitable formation of the affect.”⁶³⁴

Consequently, within this rhetorical framework, the analyzed Good Friday sermon represents not a quasi-mendicant popularization of the scholastic way of

in ea respuis illorum, attende, quam per modum poteris alium, si volueris, predicare.” MS I.D.37, fol. 1va, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁶³³ I find this communicative strategy very similar to Nagy’s and Biron-Xavier’s concept of “emotional scripts” as a set of emotions and actions communicated through an exegetical rhetorical code and ultimately triggered when a well-known ‘religious situation’ is recognized. More on this, see, Part Chapter 4.

⁶³⁴ “Preaching or the sermon is [...] the clear and devout exposition of the announced thema by divising, subdividing, and establishing concordances for it, for it is the Catholic instruction of the intellect and the charitable formation of the affect.” Cited from Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval “Artes Praedicandi”: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure*, vol. 114 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 12–13.

thinking (dialectical *lectio* and *disputatio* govern *predicatio* which then distributes the knowledge to common public), but rather provides an example of a more complicated rhetorical logic, where preaching takes as important role as scholastic polemics does. More specifically, in Milič's case, it is the merging of the mentioned scholastic triad *lectio-disputatio-predicatio* with a conceptual dichotomy of *intellectus-affectus*. Kirk Essary defines this approach, which intertwines rhetoric, emotions and theology, as "rhetorical theology". While some occasional examples of this logic can be traced in the Middle Ages, the scholar notes that this advanced heuristic device was rather typical for the Italian Renaissance in the sixteenth century.⁶³⁵ Therefore, looking at the sermon's structure and development offers us insight into hitherto incompletely understood medieval patterns of thought and their combinations.

Secondly, coming from the very beginning of Milič's preaching career (around late 1363–1365), *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui* does not contain any radical expressions of reformist ecclesiastical views typically attributed to this preacher by earlier historians. The salvific meaning of the Passion story is interpreted in the sermon from Aquinas' perspective as the combination of Christ's sacrifice, the sacraments, and *imitatio Christi*. As we have seen, the model discourse demonstrates moralistic-ecclesiastical tonality only once in the *introductio thematis* when Milič uses Gregory the Great to stress that preaching and ministering pastoral care requires a virtuous lifestyle. Here, the sermon's message remains concurrent with the official polemics, including mendicant views.⁶³⁶ Such doctrinal conformity would explain why copies of the *Abortivus*, containing the sermon, were acquired and used by members of the Austin Canons (MSS I.F.489 and I.F.488, Wrocław; MS I.D.37, Prague), Carthusians (MS XXIII.D.201, Prague), and even Dominicans (MS I.F.537, Wrocław)⁶³⁷ even though the Bohemian preacher did not belong to any religious order and had tensions with the mendicants as his biographies attest.

⁶³⁵ Kirk Essary, "Rhetorical Theology and the History of Emotions," in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe (1100-1700)*, edited by Andrew Lynch and Susan Broomhall (London, New York: Routledge, 2020), 86–92.

⁶³⁶ FitzGerald, *Inspiration and Authority in the Middle Ages: Prophets and their Critics from Scholasticism to Humanism*, 101; Krijn Pansters, "Medieval Rules and Customaries Reconsidered," in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, edited by Krijn Pansters (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 27.

⁶³⁷ On the use of Milič's collections to educate the Silesian Dominicans, see Anna Zajchowska-Boltromiuk, "The Dominican Priory of St. Adalbert in Wrocław as a Preaching Centre in the Fifteenth Century," in *Preaching in East-Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Pavel Soukup, Olga Kalashnikova (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

To further assess the model sermon's value, we can ask what kind of primary (readers) and secondary (listeners) audiences its text might have reached. For instance, we can find clear evidence of other preachers' interest in the *Abortivus*: numerous Latin glosses and rubrics suggest so. Moreover, some colophones directly indicate that the collection was copied by members of the clergy (MS R.II.63, Alba Iulia). It is also likely that some of the *Abortivus*' owners had a university degree (as it was in the case of MS XXIII.D.201, Prague). Regarding the secondary audience - listeners of *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui* - as representatives of sermon studies emphasize, it is usually difficult to trace the actual relationship between a written model text and its performance to a given congregation. Still, several colophons directly point out the social status of the secondary audience the collection might be used for ("sermones ad clerum" as in MSS ÖNB 3660 and 3762, Vienna). Hence, I would potentially argue that later generations of preachers might have utilized models from the *Abortivus*, including the examined Good Friday sermon, to prepare instructive discourses for their colleagues. Alternatively, they could have used the sermon for personal instruction during private reading. The binding of the collection with Milíč's synodal sermons (MSS I.F.537 and I.F.488, Wrocław; MS XXIII.D.201, Prague) attests to this premise as well.

The sermon *Unus militum lancea latus* - radicalizing and dramatizing the Passion narrative

Unlike the *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui*, the model sermon for Good Friday from the *Gratiae Dei* collection does not follow the scholastic framework. Instead, its structure follows the *sermo historialis* pattern. For all the sermons in the Holy Week cycle (including that for Good Friday), Milíč chooses a historical-biblical interpretation based on the concordance of all four Gospels. Exegetical notes and moral lessons from authorities and texts for meditation complement the dense biblical narrative and significantly enlarge the model discourse. While Anežka Vidmanová regards this structure popular for Bohemian preaching texts coming from the turn of the fifteenth century,⁶³⁸ Milíč's model discourse may represent one of the earliest surviving examples of Good Friday *sermo historialis* in the region.

Notably, unlike some other historical model sermons for Good Friday described in the scholarship, Milíč's extensive text for preaching does not follow a limited

⁶³⁸ Vidmanová, "K autorství Husovy Passio Domini nostri Iesu Cristi," 116.

selection of biblical scenes. It chronologically retells and comments on almost all the events from the four Gospels. As we can see in the scheme below, the preacher's lengthy narrative carefully guides the public from the moment Christ departed from the Last Supper up to his burial:

1. Departure from the Last Supper, prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane
2. Arrest of Christ
3. Peter's denial
4. Mockery at Caiphas
5. Christ before Pilate
6. Judas' remorse and suicide
7. Christ at Herod's court (the briefest part)
8. Second interrogation by Pilate
9. Second mockery, Crowning with thorns
10. Ecce homo
11. Making and carrying of the cross
12. Christ is fixed on the cross, crucifixion (incl. Soldiers cast lots to divide Christ's garments, Christ's testaments on the cross, Good Thief's conversion and confession)
13. The Virgin stands next to the cross
14. Christ's death
15. The tearing of the veil in the temple after Jesus' death
16. Deposition from the cross
17. Christ's burial

Due to the sermon's remarkable length and heavy dependance on two dominant exegetical sources (the beginning and end of its main part follow Aquinas' *Catena aurea*; yet, its lion's share is based on Gorran's *Expositio*), it is not the current section's scope to analyze this model discourse step by step, as I did with the *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui*. Alternatively, I suggest selectively investigating those instances where Aquinas'-Gorran's coherent exegetical commentary is broken up by Milič's dramatic exhortations often supplemented with affective prooftexts, which provide models of imitative behavior. Therefore, this section will first analyze how the preacher dramatizes the Good Friday sermon with the trope of spiritual battle and then proceed to selected examples that vividly illustrate Milič's 'affective catechesis'. As we will see, the model discourse for Good Friday from the *Gratiae Dei*, which comes from the later years of the preacher's career, utilizes the same *intellectus-affectus* communicative

and heuristic strategy as the sermon from the *Abortivus* collection. However, despite this similarity, the emotional tonality of this model discourse is much more radicalized.

Setting the tone: thema, prothema, and promotion of spiritual battle

František Šmahel has argued in his seminal study that late-medieval Bohemian preachers often intended to turn their discourses into a ‘theatrical production’, perhaps imitating their counterparts from northern Italy.⁶³⁹ Milič’s model text might be looked at through the same lens as it offers a good example of how the preacher rhetorically dramatizes and radicalizes the Good Friday events and turns them into an emotive catechetical tool.⁶⁴⁰

The sermon begins with the *thema* taken from John 19:34: “One of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water” (“Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua”). Unlike in the case of the *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui*, here, Milič’s choice of the biblical verse is concurrent with the liturgical context: acclaimed medieval liturgists recommended to present the Passion story to the congregation according to the Gospel of John because the evangelist was an actual witness to the Good Friday events.⁶⁴¹ More importantly, as Durand and Rupert of Deutz noted in their treatises, John’s account, with its verse *Unus militum lancea latus*, fits well the liturgical occasion because of its focus on the sacraments and abundance of suitable examples on how to partake of them.⁶⁴² However, the choice of this verse from the pericope is not typical for Good Friday preaching: Schneyer’s *Repertorium* mentions only four other instances when the verse *Unus militum lancea latus ejus* was used for this liturgical occasion.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁹ Šmahel, *Husitská Revoluce*, vol. II, 29.

⁶⁴⁰ Again, it is important to stress that we do not have any direct evidence in the sources that Milič ever performed this model sermon. Therefore, we totally lack any indication of his use of gesticulation, mimics, dramatic pauses and voice intonations as well as the use of visuals.

⁶⁴¹ See, for instance, how Guillaume Durand (d. 1296) explains the relevance of the John’s Gospel for the Good Friday liturgy in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*: “Sequitur evangelium sive passio ‘Egressus est’ Johannis 18 capitu quod dicitur hac die, quia ipse interfuit crucifixioni et juxta crucem stetit securus aliis fugientibus quia notus erat pontifici. Quia igitur hac die passio domini oculis nostris presentatur merito ejus verum est. Preterea ipse posterius scripsit evangelium quare merito posterius legitur.” Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, fol. cxxxiii. More on the use of the pericope from John for *themata*, see Part 2, Chapter 6 and Appendix IV.

⁶⁴² Compare Durand: “ibi manifestius sunt sacramenta. Unde ibi dicitur: *Os non communietis ex eo*. Item illud: *Unus militum lancea latus ejus*” and Rupert of Deutz: “non pretereundum tante hujus rei sacramentum cui sanctus evangelista tam diligenter suum interposuit testimonium et congrua de scripturis subjecit exempla.” Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, fol. cxxxiii; *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*, 194.

⁶⁴³ Schneyer, *Repertotium*, vol. 2, 780; Schneyer, *Repertotium*, vol 3, 23, 467; Schneyer, *Repertotium*, vol. 9, 343, and a CD-entry for the later period. See Appendix IV.

Apart from a clear sacramental emphasis that will be more evident in the main part of the sermon, the deliberate choice of this *thema* signifies the author's emphasis on militant motives scattered over the text.⁶⁴⁴ For instance, it is demonstrated in the *prothema*, which Milič introduces before carefully narrating the events of the Passion. From the very first lines, he bases the introductory part of the sermon on two contrasting types of characters: vain and lustful fighters, killing and dying in sin, and the merciful Christ portrayed as a spiritual soldier, who sacrificed himself for humanity's redemption. Between these two types of warriors, Milič urges, the audience should choose the side not of the actual soldiers but of the spiritual one:

There are vain people in the world who, in order to make a name for themselves in secular glory or for the love of women, engage in jousting with sharp spears and kill each other. They are condemned for dying in such sin, where one desires to be the murderer of another. But Jesus Christ, [...] not with arms, but hanging naked on the cross, pierced [repentant souls] with the sharpest spear of his love. Thus, we should not take up weapons to harm others, but rather we should offer our hearts and bodies to suffer for Christ. Yet, we have become insensible to pain.⁶⁴⁵

On the basis of this address, Milič establishes a close connection with the audience and progressively constructs the collective body of sinners in the rest of the *prothema* by using personal pronouns and verbs in the first person plural ("Behold, we are lascivious while our king is injured to death"⁶⁴⁶ or "Yet, we – the wretched for whose sake Christ died – do not lament anything. Nor do we weep for [our] sins"⁶⁴⁷ or "If we die without penance, [...] we will shed bloody tears, [but] we will not be saved"⁶⁴⁸). Taking this stance, the preacher explicitly places himself within the collective body and makes clear which dominant emotions (guilt and fear) each

⁶⁴⁴ It should be noted that the chosen *thema* differs from the initial verse of the liturgical pericope treated in the main homiletic part. The sermon's principal part starts from John 18.1 with the verse *Egressus est cum discipulis suis*.

⁶⁴⁵ "Sunt homines vani in mundo qui ut faciant sibi nomen glorie secularis vel propter amorem mulierum cum acutis hastis invicem hastiludunt et occidunt se mutuo, et dampnantur decedentes in tali peccato, ubi unus alterius homicida desiderat esse. Christus autem Jesus [...] non in armis sed nudus pendens in cruce, hasta acutissima sui amoris hastiluit. Unde et unus militum in latus ipsius lanceam infixit. Ita et nos non ad offendendum alios arma sumamus, sed potius ad patiendum pro Christo cor et corpus nostrum opponamus, sed pro dolor insensibiles facti sumus." Appendix II, page 265.

⁶⁴⁶ "Ecce enim rege nostro vulnerato usque ad mortem lascivimus." Appendix II, page 265.

⁶⁴⁷ "Et nos tamen miseri, pro quibus ipse Christus mortuus est, nichil dolemus, nec ploramus pro peccatis." Appendix II, page 265.

⁶⁴⁸ "Qui si sine penitencia decesserimus et si totum mare haberemus in nobis et sanguineas lacrimas effunderemus, salvari non possumus." Appendix II, page 265.

hypothetical ‘member of the congregation’ should feel throughout this penitential Good Friday sermon.

Remarkably, other allusions to actual warfare in the context of Christ’s feelings or actions will further appear in the sermon. The first military comparison becomes visible when Milíč narrates Christ’s agony in the Garden of Gethsemane and presents him as a pale and trembling soldier, willingly entering the battle despite these obvious signs of fear.⁶⁴⁹ Moreover, further in the text, while describing Jesus’s arrest, the preacher compares him to a wise commander able to preventively attack and overthrow an approaching enemy.⁶⁵⁰

In fact, military imagery is to be found in many *prothemata* of the Passiontide sermons from the *Gratiae Dei*, thus serving as a binding metanarrative for the two last weeks of Lent. A prominent example of this notion is the sermon for the fifth Sunday of Lent (also known as Passion Sunday): opening Passiontide, Milíč depicts Christ as an emperor who leads his troops to the re-enactment of the Passion.⁶⁵¹ Similar cases are identified in the *prothemata* of the sermons for Palm Sunday⁶⁵², the Second,⁶⁵³ and the

⁶⁴⁹ “Sicut enim miles timore sensitivo timet intrare campum certaminis trementibus in membris, voluntate tota intrat, licet palor et tremor sensualitatis aliud demonstrant. Unde secundum Bernardum [Eckbert of Schönau’s *Stimulus amoris*] noluit etiam Christus ostendere passionem et timorem, ne nos desperemus, quando caro nostra horret passionem, ut majores aculeos amoris et stimulos haberemus ad eum, sentientes in corde plagas Christi, pungentes nos et excitantes ad bonum.” Appendix II, page 269.

⁶⁵⁰ “*Ecce appropinquat qui me tradet*. Ecce quasi fervens desiderium Christi quod habuit ad nostram redemptionem, quia turbe et proditori non solum se manifestavit sed etiam occurrit sicut bonus miles vel rex non expectat hostem venturum, ne cum inveniatur desperatum et ex hoc fortificetur, sed occurrit hosti, ut eum prosternat occursum magnifico prosternendo et terrendo.” Appendix II, page 273.

⁶⁵¹ “Quia iusto lex non est posita, ideo ipse quidem alios iudicat et a nemine iudicatur. [...] nunc in ista dominica passionis et sequitur cantaturus: Vexilla regis prodeunt, fulget crucis mysterium. [...] Christus per vexillum crucis omnia vincit: dyabolum, carnem, et mundum, quando peccata nostra cruci sue affixit et ea in patibulo crucis suspendit. Unde et Constantino imperatori crux aurea in celo fuit ostensa, et dictum fuit ei: in hoc signo vinces. [...] Hec vexillum Christus solus portavit ad locum crucifixionis, quando factus est principatus eius super humerum eius. Et in loco passionis id vexillum suo sanguine rubricavit a quo rubore sanguis fugiunt nemici. [...] Si ergo rex noster pro nobis mortuus est non habens peccatum, sed pro sua veritate hoc meruit, dum nos argueret, multo amplius nos, qui correctione digni sumus, quia peccavimus, non solum argui desideremus, sed etiam mortem cum rege nostro tamquam boni milites ad patiendum pati esse debemus.” MS XIV.D.5, fol. 142r, Czech National Library, Prague

⁶⁵² “*Ecce* [...] rex regum, dominus dominancium, qui in celesti civitate sedet super cherubin, in terris pugnaturus sedet super asinam et asellum, non propriis utens armis [...] Tante autem virtutis est suus dextrarius asellus, videlicet in quo se humiliavit, et crux, in qua mortem sustinuit, ut omnis alii ipsius adversarii [...] qui de celo ceciderunt sive terrestres qui cadunt in terra, sive etiam infernales coram sue humilitatis equitatu ad genua cadunt propter honorem [...]” MS XIV.D.5, fol. 154r, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁶⁵³ “Stemus ergo similis predicator et auditor et quis est adversarius meus accedat ad me et fiet de inimico amicus. Et quare? Quia subditur: Ecce dominus deus auxiliator meus. Quis ergo est qui condempnet me? Omnes enim adversarii vere predicationis peribunt in se a solis peccatis suis etiam si a nullo inpugnentur. Sicut vestimentum etiam si non laceratur [...]” MS XIV.D.5, fol. 156v, Czech National Library, Prague.

Fourth ferias of the Holy Week.⁶⁵⁴ I believe that, together with Milíč's self-identification in the prologue as a "fighter for the evangelical truth",⁶⁵⁵ these military metaphors may indicate the radicalization of his views that could have been manifested in the activity of his New Jerusalem Community for former prostitutes and lay preachers. Based on the scholarly discussion that the collection was potentially conceived around 1371-1372, we can assume with certain limitations that the *Gratiae Dei* may reflect the content of the sermons which the preacher might have had in mind for the members of this spiritual community founded in July of 1372. Hence, the "battle" he repeatedly refers to may signify two 'fights' that were important to Milíč at the end of his life: the moral reform of the Church that the preacher had ardently promoted since 1367; and conflicts with the mendicant orders in Prague, who advocated against his New Jerusalem Community. If we hypothesize cautiously that its members could have been the actual listeners of the whole sermon, their description as good fighters in the *prothema* would make sense. Obviously, Milíč's followers from the New Jerusalem had to identify themselves as protagonists in this spiritual battle for the apostolic Church and the very existence of their community. A further, more detailed, study of other sermons from the postil may contribute more to the scholarly discussion about the collection's secondary audience (imagined listeners).

Exegetical sermo historialis: Constructing catechetical messages and emotive appeals

Following the *prothema*'s dramatic closure and a communal prayer,⁶⁵⁶ the repetition of the *thema* announces the main, historical, part of the sermon. As Uhlíř has noted, typically, the main part of Milíč's model discourse from the *Gratiae Dei*'s Lenten cycle consists of a mixture of biblical quotes and selected passages taken from the *Catena aurea*. Short sentences composed by Milíč link these authoritative quotes.⁶⁵⁷ Indeed, other sermons of the Passiontide that I examined predominantly follow this

⁶⁵⁴ "In militia exercitus terrestris signa defecerunt bellorum quidam in vexillis, quidam in tunicis armis super indutis que dicunt in teutonice waffenrok. Sic rex noster Christus trabea carnis purpuratus [est]." MS XIV.D.5, fol. 159v, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁶⁵⁵ "[...] pro iusticia pugnabo [...]" MS XIV.D.5, fol. 1r, Prague, Czech National Library; "[...] hec me doceat sponse tue imitatore existere et sub ejus correctione propugnatorem ewangelice fore veritatis." MS XIV.D.5, fol. 1v, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁶⁵⁶ Just as in the case of the *Tu is sanguine testamenti tui*, Milíč uses the *Pater noster*. This selection applies only to his Good Friday model sermons. In all the other Passiontide discourses, the preacher inserts *Ave Maria*.

⁶⁵⁷ Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Quadragesimale Milíče z Kroměříže [Milíč of Kroměříž's Quadragesimale]," in *Kaznodziejstwo Średniowieczne — Polska na Tle Europy. Teksty, Atrybucje, Audytorium*, eds. Krzysztof Bracha and Andrzej Dąbrowka (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2014), 49–56.

pattern. However, the structure of the Good Friday sermon's main body stands out from this trend and refines our understanding of the work done by the preacher in this postil.

Notably, two limited sets of citations from the *Catena aurea* on Matthew and John appear in the same biblical context only right after the *prothema* (when Christ and the apostles cross the torrent of Cedron) and in the end of the sermon (on Jesus' deposition from the cross and burial).⁶⁵⁸ As to the rest of the text's main part, Milíč exclusively takes the exegetical explanations and patristic prooftexts from the *Enarratio in quattuor Evangelii* by Nicolas of Gorran (d. 1295).⁶⁵⁹ This trend is omnipresent in the *sermo historialis* (and also in the preceding sermon for Maundy Thursday): direct citations and paraphrases of the *Enarratio* constitute the lion's share of the discourse's historical part.⁶⁶⁰ Yet, the preacher's text remains an original work, and the use of Gorran is selective.

Overall, throughout the *sermo historialis*, Milíč utilizes the *Enarratio* as a florilegium of patristic prooftexts and biblical interpretations: he either abridges Gorran's commentaries or complements them with citations from other sources. These are often taken from affective Passion meditations, such as the *Meditationes Passionis Christi per VII horas diei* and - just as in the case of the *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui* - Eckbert of Schönau's *Stimulus amoris*. Moreover, the preacher occasionally exploits Augustine's sermons and Pseudo-Augustine's meditations to expand the exegetical part and focus more on biblical characters, their feelings, and pastoral lessons for the audience. In such a way, the use of affective prooftexts intensifies the emotive appeal of the model sermon. It allows the audience to identify themselves with the anguished Christ, compassionate Mary, desperate Judas, and other biblical figures and connects a certain biblical interpretation to the preacher's laconic exhortations. The meta-combination of these elements, in turn, forms Milíč's overarching pastoral-soteriological formula, including affective prayer, partaking of the sacraments, and

⁶⁵⁸ Compare Appendix II, pages 266–267, 306–311 and Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea in Matthaum*, chapter 26, lecture 9, accessed February 27, 2024: <https://aquinas.cc/la/en/~CaMatt.C26.L9>; Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea in Johannem*, chapter 19, lectures 10–11, accessed February 27, 2024: <https://aquinas.cc/la/en/~CaJohn.C19.L10>.

⁶⁵⁹ Nicolas of Gorran was a prominent Dominican preacher and biblical commentator. His interpretations of the Old and the New Testament enjoyed wide dissemination and were popular among the doctors and students of the University of Paris. For general biographical information on Gorran, see André Duval, "Nicolas de Gorran," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 11 (Paris, 1982), col. 281.

⁶⁶⁰ As Pavel Soukup has demonstrated, a Hussite preacher Jakoubek of Stříbro, used the same tactics of 'silently' adopting Gorran's texts, especially in his *Themata sermonum (Fundamentum aureum)*. Soukup, *Reformní Kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stříbra*, 175–80, 194–99.

imitatio Christi. The following examples will illustrate this ‘affective pedagogy’ in detail.

Christ providing the instructions of private prayer

The first catechetical example presents itself when the *sermo historialis* narrates Christ’s agony in the garden of Gethsemane predominantly based on Matthew’s account (26:36-41).⁶⁶¹ Here, Milič creatively modifies Gorran’s interpretation to showcase what a proper prayer should look like. After the exegete’s threefold typology of kinds of Passion that the faithful, the sinners, and Christ might undergo, the preacher steps out from following the *Enarratio*, inserts a short quote from John Damascene, and attaches to it the mentioned military metaphor of Christ as a trembling soldier before a battle, which serves to stress the reasonable presence of a natural fear in the savior. This combination is immediately followed by a proof-text from the *Stimulus amoris* that invites the audience to share the Lord’s Passion and “feel in heart the wounds of Christ, stirring to do good things.”⁶⁶²

The preacher then provides a new portion of the biblical narrative and stops the Gospel on the scene of Christ saying in prayer “*Father, if you wish, remove this chalice from me*”. Milič supplements this biblical verse with his original didactic exhortation to the public and closes the extra-Gorran lesson with an affective citation from Augustine’s sermon *Ut genua flectantur in oratione*,⁶⁶³ which describes Christ praying in anguish. Eventually, the preacher’s call on the cross-form prayer in a prone position intends to recreate Christ’s humility and helps the public to re-enact the key symbolic movements of the Passion story and Good Friday liturgy.⁶⁶⁴

Look, [here is] a pious prayer that is a prayer against the proud people, who are tied and cannot bend their knees. And if they fall, they cannot rise again. But faithful Christians are taught not only to bend their knees in the churches or in their bedchambers but also to fall with their faces [to the ground], resembling the cross in the prayer. For if Christ did not care either for his clothes or even his face when he fell

⁶⁶¹ Matthew’s Gospel here is supplemented with Mark 14.33 (*He began to be afraid and weary*) and Luke 22.44 (*And his sweat became as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground*).

⁶⁶² Appendix II, page 269.

⁶⁶³ Augustine, “*Sermo CCLXXXVI (Ut genua flectantur in oratione)*,” in *PL* 39, col. 2285–2287.

⁶⁶⁴ See the description of the prostrated three-fold penitential prayer during the adoration of the cross in Chapter 5.

on the ground, how much more we need to lay our faces and clothes on the ground!
[...]⁶⁶⁵

As I have discussed in Part 1, the figure of the prostrated Christ in anguish became an especially popular motif in affective literature and turned into a mimetic example of a bodily experience during a private prayer. In line with this trend, we can assert that the segment's main function was to explain the tenets of the private devotional exercise to other preachers - primary readers of Milič's collection - and urge them to put the acquired instructions into practice. Moreover, the directives offered in the examined fragment can be interpreted as an evocative exhortation addressed to the hypothetical listeners of a sermon that could have been prepared on the basis of Milič's model text. As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, the prostrated penitential prayer was a key element of the Bohemian version of the adoration of the cross. In this light, through the act of contemplating Christ's prayer, which Milič turns into a dramatic and memorable experience,⁶⁶⁶ the congregation could have ultimately acted as a devotional community, which followed Christ's first-hand instructions. More precisely, with the preacher's direct address and Augustine's detailed prooftext, believers were reminded of the proper way of praying. Consequently, some 'listeners' might have immediately imitated the bodily devotional practice showcased by Christ himself.⁶⁶⁷ After all, in Paul W. Robinson's terms, Milič's urge to the congregation to follow Christ's example

⁶⁶⁵ "Ecce pia oratio. Hec est contra superbos, qui ligati ligis flectere genua non possunt et si cadunt, resurgere non possunt. Fideles autem christiani non solum docentur flectere genua in ecclesiis vel in suis cubiculis sed etiam in faciem adinstar crucis cadere in oratione. Si enim Christus non solum vestimenta sed etiam faciem suam divinam in hoc non curabat quin in terram prosterneret, quanto magis nos facies nostras et vestimenta in terram prosternere indigemus!" Appendix II, page 270.

⁶⁶⁶ As Glenn Ehrstine points out, the strategy of creating bodily sensations while narrating the Passion narrative was effectively used in late-medieval German treatises. Eventually, it also found its way to Passion performances. Glenn Ehrstine, "Passion Spectatorship between Private and Public Devotion," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, eds. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), 314–15.

⁶⁶⁷ Notably, Milič uses a Bernardian(?) text, which I was not able to specify, in order to provide the faithful with another quasi-bodily example of how to stand in front of the crucifix and contemplate on it. In doing so, he turns to the figure of the Virgin and presents her narrative from the first-person perspective: "Quid inter hec faceret mater illa nisi quod staret juxta crucem? Si enim domi sedisset, dum hec fiebant, duplicatus fuisset dolor ipsius. Maturo igitur concepto consilio dicebat in corde suo: 'Stabo et expectabo mortis sententiam [...], sequar a tergo egredientem de Jerusalem, aspiciam lacrimosis oculis quomodo ducatur, quomodo spoliatur. Videbo, considerabo quomodo perforentur manus ejus et pedes, quomodo eum affigant in patibulo, quomodo erigant in ligno et cum hiis omnibus per actis se cesserunt et procul steterunt non apropinquantes ei amplius tamquam maledicto in ligno pendenti. Tunc ego accedam proprius et stabo juxta crucem filii mei Jesu'." See Appendix II, page 302.

“in their bedchambers or churches” could function as an ‘act of collective memory’ serving to connect believers with distant biblical events.⁶⁶⁸

Peter, Judas, and the efficacy of proper penance

The second instance of the sermon’s ‘affective catechesis’ offers us multi-leveled pastoral instruction. Namely, to teach the audience the value of proper confession, the preacher constructs a complex metanarrative spanning over several biblical scenes. Each of them is devoted to a given stage of the sacrament.

The main part of Milíč’s sermon opens the penitential discourse with the scene of Peter’s denial in the house of Annas and his subsequent contrition, supported by the paraphrase of Gorran’s exegetical comparison of the biblical rooster’s crow to the effect that a preacher’s voice may have on a lamenting sinner. Provoking the feeling of remorse among the public, the biblical story and the metaphor are followed by an affective Bernardian citation⁶⁶⁹ that further intensifies the penitential emphasis:

The Lord looked at Peter, [...] and [Peter] going out, wept bitterly. For just as the shining sun elicits tears, [with] the grace and truth, so Christ, looking [with] the grace and truth, [elicits] them in Peter’s heart. [...] Therefore, he went out immediately and *wept bitterly*. Not because of the rooster’s crow, but because of Christ’s gaze. Just as someone feels remorse when a preacher speaks. But this [happens] out of consideration of the divine grace not from the preacher’s voice. “O Lord, blessed are those whom your eyes heat! [Your eyes] inflame a cold heart with your love, so that the man may see his error. Oh, how quickly [your eyes] melt a sinner’s ice and turn [it] into the water of devotion and anguish!”⁶⁷⁰

Once the emotional association with the scriptural scene is established, Milíč shifts the focus from the biblical past to the immediate present. With his original

⁶⁶⁸ Paul W. Robinson, “Sermons on the Lord’s Prayer and the Rogation Days in the Later Middle Ages,” in *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 449.

⁶⁶⁹ Noteworthy, the same Pseudo-Bernard’s affective quotation is present in an expanded (differing from Migne’s shorter edition in the *Patrologia Latina*) version of the *De meditatione passionis Christi per VII horas diei*. Remarkably, the expanded redaction of this affective bestseller circulated in Bohemia after the mid-1350s as the manuscript X.G.8 stored in the Czech National Library attests.

⁶⁷⁰ “*respexit Dominus Petrum et egressus foras flevit amare*. Sicut enim sol splendens in oculum excutit lacrimas, sic Christus gracia et veritate rescipiens in cor ejus. [...] *Exivit ergo continuo et flevit amare*, non ex galli cantu sed ex respeccione Christi. Sic canente predicatore compungitur quis sibi, sed hoc ex respeccione divine gratie, non ex voce predicatoris. “O beati quos ita calefaciunt oculi tui, Domine, et accendunt cor frigidum in amorem tuum et illuminant# ut videat homo suum errorem. O quam cito liquefaciunt gelicidium peccatoris et in aquam devocionis et amaritudinis convertunt!” Appendix II, page 280.

passage, he takes the narrative to a deeper level and equates the present-day people at the royal court with confused Peter. A citation from Gregory's *Moralia in Job* makes clear that all who deny Christ and pursue their own interests are surrounded by madness and darkness. In such a manner, the preacher urges people to avoid repeating Peter's mistake, refuse their mundane interests, and admit the already committed sins in order to be closer to Christ:

Therefore, let us not be amazed, o brothers, if court people, who are born and nourished in these evils, repent with difficulty. From this, Peter, coming once to the court, denied Christ. And what [do] those do, who live flattering the princes every day? How many people deny Christ today! Some [people] reject his truth by words, some – by actions, some – out of crass and inexcusable ignorance [...]. Likewise, according to Gregory's *Moralia*, Peter warmed himself at the fire with the servants because he was cold from the lack of the fire of love. [So, he sat] at the fire of tyrannical irascibility and madness. At night, he and the unfaithful did not see the sun of Christ among themselves.⁶⁷¹

It should be noted that the direct connection between Peter's behavior and the institution of the sacrament of penance was drawn already in the late Antiquity in homilies by Leo the Great and other patristic authors.⁶⁷² Subsequently, Peter's denial and remorse were also often referenced in medieval theological and devotional literature on the sacrament. As Anne T. Thayer points out, although by the end of the Middle Ages the necessity of confession was universally pronounced, some late-medieval and early-modern preachers could still find it useful to reiterate arguments in its favor.⁶⁷³ Moreover, they not only stressed the importance of the sacrament but also defined qualities of its key components. A vivid example of this notion is a recurrent association of genuine compunction with tears.⁶⁷⁴ As we can see, Milíč's Good Friday *sermo historialis* is a good example of providing this emotional script, combining

⁶⁷¹ "Non ergo miremur, fratres, si difficulter penitent curienses, qui in hiis malis nascuntur et enutriuntur. Ex quo Petrus semel veniens ad curiam Christum negavit. Quid ergo illi qui versantur cottidie adulantes principibus? Quanti hodie negant Christum! Quidam verbis, quidam factis, quidam ex ignorancia crassa inexcusabili, quidam excusabili ejus denegant veritatem. Petrus eciam, secundum Gregorium in *Moralibus*, ideo calefaciebat se ad ignem cum ministris, quia frigeat ab igne caritatis et ad ignem tyrannice iracundie et insanie se applicavit et in nocte cum infidelibus solem Christum inter se non videbant." Appendix II, page 280.

⁶⁷² A. Edward Siecienski, *The Papacy and the Orthodox: Sources and History of a Debate* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 111.

⁶⁷³ Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation* (London: Routledge, 2017), 57.

⁶⁷⁴ Graham Williams and Charlotte Steenbrugge, eds., *Cultures of Compunction in the Medieval World* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021), 10.

feelings and devotional actions suitable for a given religious occasion. By incorporating the extra-Gorran treatment of the biblical episode in the examined fragments, the preacher creates an impactful and relatable didactic illustration of human weakness, capacity for sin, and, more importantly, the ultimate need for its humble recognition and sincere contrition - the first crucial elements of the sacrament of penance, where individuals humble themselves, acknowledge their transgressions, and seek reconciliation.

Another key component of effective penance is that a confession should be provided to one's own priest and adequately compensated by good deeds. Milič's sermon introduces this pastoral directive with another biblical story - that of desperate Judas' worthless repentance. The verse from Matthew 27:3 opens the story of Judas' remorse, and Gorran's three-fold reasoning explains why his admission of sins was not worthy and was eventually ignored by the Jewish priests and elders. The growing feeling of distress evoked by Gorran's depiction of people looking for wrong confessors, is boosted by a dramatic citation from Augustine. Milič immediately connects this powerful combination with a moral lesson. Remarkably, in this short pastoral note, the preacher addresses literally everyone from the audience (*provide* – the Latin verb is in the second person singular imperative). With this direct appeal, he detaches himself from the collective body and creates a clear hierarchical confrontation with the audience,⁶⁷⁵ thus urging them to confide to worthy pastors and compensate for the committed sins:

[Gorran:] “All [people] searching for either excommunicated or unknown priests [who are] sycophants and not correctors, and [people not coming] to their own [priests], will find nothing else but despair.” According to Augustine: “*What is that to us? We perform no acts of righteousness. If you have sinned, we do not take care for you. Nor do we charitably bear your sins.* If [Judas] had brought himself to the apostles, he would not have led himself into such despair.” Therefore, you must provide yourself with a better confessor than Judas [did...]. See that penance, when done without charity

⁶⁷⁵ Adopting the social psychological approach, some recent studies on the persuasiveness of preaching have demonstrated the efficacy of using direct appeals in sermons. Henk Stoorvogel, “Moving Sermons: Studies into the Persuasive Effects of Preaching” (PhD diss., University of Twente, 2019), 54, 61–62.

and good works, leads like a torturer, and, strangling the neck when it prevents from confessing, really hangs those in despair.⁶⁷⁶

It is not by chance that the story of Judas' remorse and suicide appears in close association with Peter's repentance in Milíč's penitential discourse. Since both apostles betrayed Jesus, the long-standing medieval tradition, indeed, considered their transgressions as comparable to some extent. However, in Milíč's sermon, their catechetical outcome is not the same. While Peter functions as a positive archetype of an exemplary penitent, teaching the congregation the first two stages of the sacrament of penance (tearful recognition of wrongdoings and contrition), Judas embodies the negative model of a desperate and lost sinner. The latter model, in turn, stresses the due importance of the other two stages of the sacrament (confession to one's own priest and performing certain works of satisfaction) as it was stipulated by canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council and reproduced by leading theologians, including Aquinas.⁶⁷⁷

Regarding the last two stages of the sacrament, in Milíč's mindset, it is Good Thief Dismas who functions as Judas' absolute antipode and showcases the faithful that they should not lose hope for salvation, list their sins to a reliable confessor - Christ himself - and perform appropriate acts of satisfaction.

As I have demonstrated, in contrast with the first sermon, the structure of the *sermo historialis* allowed Milíč to create a more intimate and memorable experience of Good Friday. The biblical characters situated in space and time aim at provoking a more compassionate response and closing the distance between the audience and historical agents.⁶⁷⁸ Nonetheless, just as in the *Abortivus*, the same rhetorical formula *biblical verse - patristic prooftext/affective citation - pastoral lesson* provides Milíč with an opportunity to connect an expected emotional response to a pastoral message, predictable and yet not for this reason less essential. Milíč's extensive use of texts that

⁶⁷⁶ "[Gorranus] Non valuit autem Jude ista confessio propter tria. [...] Omnibus, qui querunt sacerdotes aut excommunicatos aut alienes et non proprios, adultores nec correctores; qui nil aliud nisi desperationem inveniunt". Secundum Augustinum: "*Quid nobis es? Nec opera iustitiae facimus. Si tibi peccasti non tibi consulimus. Non peccata tua caritative portamus. Qui si misset ad apostolos non eum ad talem desperationem induisset*". Provide ergo tibi de meliori confessore quam Judas [...]. Vide quia penitencia que fit sine caritate et bonis operibus, tamquam tortor ducit et, strangulans collum dum prohibet confiteri, realiter desperatos suspendit." Appendix II, pages 286–287.

⁶⁷⁷ Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages: The Curse on Self-Murder*, vol. 2 (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 366. For Aquinas' adaptation of the canon, see Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 2589–2592.

⁶⁷⁸ Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 105.

originally pertained to affective literature distinguishes his Good Friday sermons from those of his European counterparts, such as acclaimed stars of the pulpit like Jacobus de Voragine, Bonaventura, or Peregrinus of Opole.

Secondly, as the *prothema*, the military metaphors, and the described elements of the dramatization of the text indicate, the content and rhetorical ‘toolkit’ of Milíč’s sermons radicalized slightly over time. In contrast to the sermon from the *Abortivus*, where Milíč usually modestly hides himself behind wordy citations to provide guidance for the public, direct pastoral imperatives in the second person singular appear in much greater number in the *sermo historialis*, especially in the scenes of Christ’s torments and death. More importantly, these direct appeals are usually not citations but the preacher’s original inputs indicating that he is no longer a meek mediator between the Church fathers and the audience (a primary reader or imaginary listener), but a self-confident pastor who demonstrates his radicalized views. He skillfully abridges Gorran’s exegetical passages according to his needs, supplements them with excerpts from affective literature, which provide relatable and imitable models of affective devotion, and then provocatively summarizes this catechetical ‘alloy’ with direct appeals.

Moreover, the observed segmentation of the narrative allows Milíč to direct the audience’s perception of each biblical scene and link it to a corresponding pastoral exercise. The separate biblical scenes or combinations thereof could subsequently constitute independent preaching narratives. Most likely, the same logic governed Milíč’s division of the Passion story, which, in fact, mirrors the sequence of liturgical canonical hours. Two manuscripts, including the earliest preserved copy of the sermon, attest to this fact. Namely, MS XX.A.10 (copied in Prague already in 1372), contains a rubricated note “Post completorium”,⁶⁷⁹ which is inserted between the scene of Christ’s death and that of the tearing of the temple’s veil. A marginal note from another manuscript, V.B.13 (1400), divides the sermon in the same place and also states that its second part can be preached after lunch or after the compline.⁶⁸⁰ Based on these indications when certain parts of the preaching text could have been preached and the fact that the sermon’s *thema* was taken from the liturgical pericope of the day, I assume that Milíč’s discourse might have been designed in a context associated with the liturgy.

⁶⁷⁹ MS XX.A.10, fol. 262vb, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁶⁸⁰ “Hoc quod sequitur potest predicari post prandium vel hora completorii.” MS V.B.13, fol. 237va, Czech National Library, Prague.

Additionally, although it is hard to establish how popular this text was during the time of Milič, we know the Good Friday sermon enjoyed a remarkable popularity among later users. Predominantly, the surviving copies have marginal notes in Latin, but there are also instances with glosses in Old Czech⁶⁸¹ or mixed notes in Latin, German, and Old Czech (MS Mn.18, Brno), pinpointing that there was a wide range of users interested in the *Gratiae Dei* which contains the examined sermon. More specifically, several manuscripts were put together and used by parish priests (MS XV.D.7, Prague),⁶⁸² vicars (MS IX.A.5, Prague), or members of religious orders (MS Clmae.439, Budapest). Moreover, it seems that the collection was reproduced and utilized in the university milieu too: Spunar lists a manuscript of the *Quadragesimale* copied by a prominent Austrian theologian, Peter of Pulkau (d. 1425), active at the University of Vienna.⁶⁸³ As to the later ownership of the collection at the institutional level, some of its copies ended up in libraries of parish churches,⁶⁸⁴ the Celestines (MS IX.A.5, Prague),⁶⁸⁵ Augustinians (MS I.F.490, Wrocław; MS XIV.D.5, Prague; MS Clmae.439, Budapest), Carthusians (MS XV.D.7, Prague), and Dominicans (MSS I.F.692 and I.F.491, Wrocław).

It is likely that some users considered the *Gratiae Dei* as a high-quality text that could be used either as an educational material for future preachers or backbone for other preachers' sermons to unspecified audiences. I base this supposition on two facts. Firstly, there are examples, where Milič's *Gratiae Dei* (or its Lenten cycle) is bound together with works of other, much more acclaimed preachers, including Nicholas of Gorran's *Expositio epistolarum per quadragesimam* and Albert of Padova's *Sermones dominicales per circulum anni* (Wrocław, I F 692), Conrad Waldhauser's postil to students of Prague University (Wrocław, I F 491), Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Sermones dominicales* and Lenten collection by Heiric of Auxerre (Prague, IX.D.5; IX. A. 5.), or

⁶⁸¹ See an entry about the MS Jag.1460 from Cracow in Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum I*, 174.

⁶⁸² Additionally, Spunar and Hlaváček mention a manuscript from 1428 used by a certain *dominus Urbanus, plebanus in Herzogenburga*. Hlaváček, "Schüler und Meister," 848; Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum I*, 177.

⁶⁸³ Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum I*, 177

⁶⁸⁴ Such is the case of the MS R.II.76 stored in the National Library of Romania-Batthyaneum in Alba Julia. See Paula Cotoi, "Parish Preaching in Late Medieval Transylvania (15th – 16th Centuries)," in *Preaching in East-Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Pavel Soukup, Olga Kalashnikova (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). However, I did not use this manuscript because it contains the summer part of the collection.

⁶⁸⁵ "Hunc librum dedit Cristanus Ronberg de Zittavia fratribus in Oywin ut orent pro eo et pro fr[at]re suo domino Francisco Ronberg, cuius fuit." See the ownership note on the binding of IX.A.5, Czech National Library, Prague.

Peregrinus of Opole's sermons for feast days of saints and Jacobus de Voragine's cycles for Sundays and feast days of saints.⁶⁸⁶ Secondly, a marginal entry written by a fifteenth-century hand in a manuscript owned by a Carthusian monastery in Erfurt calls the collection "a postil [...] extracted from the continuous gloss of St. Thomas [Aquinas]" ("postilla [...] extracta ex glossa continua Sancti Thomae" in Prague, XV.D.7). The text's erroneous attribution to the leading Dominican theologian might have added Milíč's cycle more authority among the later users.

As demonstrated by Johnson, late-medieval preachers knew well about certain connections between Passion meditations, the Good Friday liturgy, and sermons for this day. Therefore, their discourses often directly invited the audience to meditate on Christ's death to co-participate in his torments and ultimately reach salvation. Thus, such sermons contribute to turning previously private and cloistered devotional practices into public and communal activities. This also seems to be the aim of Milíč's Good Friday sermons. However, what differentiates Milíč from his counterparts, is the unprecedented use of affective texts and their incorporation into practical 'intellectual-emotional scripts' with pastoral examples.

⁶⁸⁶ More on Milíč's collections and their use by Transylvanian parish clergy, see Cotoi, "Parish Preaching in Late Medieval Transylvania (15th – 16th Centuries)".

CONCLUSION

What has been done: The main research outcomes

The main objective of this dissertation was to provide a better understanding of how Good Friday sermons were composed in fourteenth-century Bohemia and problematize the place of these preaching texts in the local Passion devotion. Late-medieval preaching texts from Bohemia have received much scholarly consideration during the last decades, but Passion-related ones, with Good Friday sermons in their center, have not become the primary objects of these studies, probably also due to the length and complexity of these texts. Although the Czech scholarly community has expressed some interest in providing the literary analysis and critical editions of several Good Friday sermons produced in the region, the broader phenomenon of preaching for this important occasion has still mainly remained marginal. My study is the first attempt to address this research gap systematically.

The most tangible contribution of this dissertation is the reassessment of Milíč of Kroměříž's rhetorical toolkit and the semi-critical editions of his two Good Friday sermons, which are here published for the first time (Appendices I and II). Moreover, I have identified the main elements of the shared discourse on the Passion in Bohemia at the time. This reconstruction of the Passion-oriented "horizon of expectations" served as a historical and literary contextualization for further analysis of Good Friday sermons. The collected evidence about the transmission of ideas and manuscripts, as well as the local Passion piety, contribute to our better understanding of the intellectual and religious history of the region. Additionally, my investigation brought together Good Friday sermons produced in Bohemia between the 1330s and the 1370s and, with the help of Schneyer's indispensable *Repertorium*, schematically compared their logic of choosing biblical *themata* to that of other European sermons. Taxonomy of this kind has been missing in Czech scholarship for a long time, and the same pericopes-oriented approach can also be applied to sermons on other main liturgical celebrations. All of these steps were taken to refine our knowledge about Milíč's preaching career and the rhetoric of his Good Friday sermons, showing that the preacher utilized a very peculiar heuristic approach. In turn, this finding contributes to the reconsideration of Milíč as well as the literary and pastoral value of his Good Friday texts.

Chapter 1 provided an overview of the most popular medieval hermeneutical preaching aids available to fourteenth-century Bohemian preachers. I grouped the

sources chronologically according to the development of their layouts and methodologies to interpret the Good Friday events: the Bible itself, patristic and scholastic homiletical commentaries, and thematic anthologies. In order to problematize the texts and the Bohemian intellectual background they were circulating in, I also traced their use in the preaching corpus that I constructed. Consequently, the chapter produced two main arguments. Firstly (and typically for late-medieval exegetical tradition), the inspected Bohemian preachers' Good Friday sermons massively used patristic authoritative texts. In compliance with the requirements of the genre and the liturgical occasion, the preachers mostly relied on the works of Augustine and Gregory but also demonstrated knowledge of Greek Church Fathers' tradition, including Origen, John Damascene, and Chrysostom. Secondly, while later textual aids collected and critically assessed these patristic texts, the nature of the works that the preachers might have used to access the Church Fathers appears debatable. Some Bohemian Good Friday sermons, like Milič of Kroměříž's *Tu in sanguine testament tui*, followed the *ad fontes* approach to patristic sources, while others, especially Henry Totting of Oyta's *Erit vita tua pendens*, used florilegia or scholastic masters' thematic anthologies. This observation is crucial to understand some variations of the preachers' utilization of *auctoritates* and the sermons' flow of arguments, as we have seen in Chapters 6 and 8.

Chapter 2 provided a comprehensive analysis of dominant soteriological, sacramental, ecclesiological, and Christological discussions and commonplaces available in acclaimed texts-best sellers and theological works of Bohemian origin. In the first part of the chapter, I examined how selected texts of various genres, including patristic and high-medieval theological works, religious treatises, devotional literature, and commentaries on Lombard's *Sententiae* deal with Passion-related soteriological discussions. I singled out the recognizable motifs, which made these works suitable for the preachers' use. As this subchapter concluded, the soteriological treatments of the Passion in these texts have three common characteristics: an eschatological reading of salvation history, the influence of Anselm's theory of satisfaction, and a strong pastoral emphasis on the sacraments of communion and penance as key soteriological components.

In the second part of the chapter, I focused on a Bohemian fourteenth-century mystical treatise titled *Malogranatum*. To demonstrate the treatise's relevance as a

sacramental handbook and preaching aid, I examined its discourse on the medicinal effects of the Eucharist, the relevance of frequent communion for the faithful, and the necessity of spiritual preparation for partaking in the Eucharist through the sacrament of penance. Consequently, I argued that the *Malogranatum*, dating to the 1330s, attests to a decisive turn in Bohemian Passion-centered piety and pastoral ideas. Moreover, I traced some sacramental similarities between the treatise and Bohemian sermons (mostly non-Good Friday ones, apart from rare exceptions). However, these convergences of ideas did not include the issue of frequent communion by the clergy and laity under both species, which dominated Bohemian doctrinal debates in the last third of the fourteenth century and became the central doctrinal belief of the Utraquists several decades later.

Then I proceeded to a case study, which married reformist ecclesiological ideas related to the “*Ecclesia de latere Christi in cruce formata est*” concept with Milič’s and Conrad Waldhauser’s Passion Sunday sermons. I focused on the analysis of their discussions about the institutional crisis within the Church and the significance of preaching in its moral revival. I argued that the Passion-related ecclesiological discourses of these two preachers correspond to a long-standing medieval tradition and do not offer any innovative ecclesiological views. Instead, we can look at Milič’s and Waldhauser’s critique of the corrupted prelates as a rhetorical tool, which served to establish their moral authority (*ethos*) in the sermons.

The last section of Chapter 2 scrutinized a crucial Christological shift of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Instead of presenting Christ as an omnipotent and impassible figure, Lombard’s *Sententiae* as well as the leading mendicants’ commentaries on it accentuated Jesus’s capacity to suffer physically and emotionally. As the case study about the spread and popularity of the *peplum cruentatum* motif in Bohemia subsequently demonstrated in Chapter 3, these theological debates were a part of a broader preoccupation with Christ’s injured and bleeding body. More importantly, this chapter provides hitherto lacking verification that references to the trope of the Virgin’s blood-stained veil were present in the Bohemian Good Friday materials from the 1330s onwards.

Chapter 4 focused on selected descriptions of the Good Friday events from medieval affective literature and their “emotional scripts” that allowed to bring various kinds of audience to the embodiment of key individual spiritual practices related to

Christ's Passion. As I have demonstrated, Passion-centered texts for meditations contain impressive communicative and evocative potential. The texts' mental images of Christ praying in anguish and the Virgin lamenting her son's death or contemplating his crucified body allowed the faithful to mimic, either bodily and mentally, Jesus's and Mary's instructions of meditative prayer. Given the fact that these textual models were incorporated in the Bohemian Good Friday sermons (occasionally in the 1330s and more often in the 1360s-1370s), I argued that the sermons' adaptation of these forms of devotion simultaneously represented the individualization and internalization of affective Passion piety as well as its institutionalization and popularization by preachers and their audiences, including lay people.

Having provided the overview of the shared discourse on the Passion, I then moved to the examination of the liturgical rites for Good Friday, which were practiced in the dioceses of Prague and Olomouc. Despite some divergences, both liturgical agendas demonstrated a general tendency to follow the Roman Rite. At the same time, I listed some specific elements of the local rites' dramatization of the Passion, including the prostrated penitential prayers during the veneration of the cross as well as the use of statues of the dead Christ or pieces of the sacred host for the *depositio crucis*. To a lesser or greater degree, this liturgical context was essential for sermons that could have been written to be performed within the liturgical reality.

In Chapter 6, I provided the overview of the fifteen Bohemian Good Friday sermons that form my corpus. These sermons' *themata* appear together in the Appendix III for the first time. Given the unfeasibility to provide a close-reading analysis of all the collected sermons within the scope of this study due to time constraints, I focused on the schematic treatment of the sermons' rhetorical logic. Similarly, due to the lack of source materials such as *reportationes*, it was impossible to know how the preachers actually performed their Good Friday discourses and how they were received by their audiences. Therefore, I first analyzed the genres of the Bohemian Good Friday texts for preaching. Then, I examined the logic behind the preachers' choice of biblical *themata*, which ultimately served as a determining element for the thematic and structural development of their discourses. As I have demonstrated, the Bohemian materials rarely follow biblical readings for the day. Instead, the preachers found literal and typological *themata* more effective to build their sermons either around the gruesome visual details of Christ's Passion, theological ideas about its causes and salvific effect, or pastoral

instructions about who, how and why should lament on Good Friday. Notably, Peter of Zittau used three unique *themata*, which do not have any other Good Friday equivalents in Schneyer's *Repertorium*. Otherwise, except for Milíč's particular approach to *auctoritates*, which I thoroughly analyzed in Chapter 8, the Bohemian preachers' choice of *themata*, development of their discourses, and use of authoritative prooftexts did not deviate from common trends typical for medieval preaching.

The next part of the dissertation, which embraced Chapters 7 and 8, focuses on a case study of Milíč of Kroměříž and his two Good Friday sermons, one coming from his early preaching activity and the other from the last years of his life. I primarily conceived Chapter 7 as an introductory part, which summarizes all the extensive research and scholarly reconstructions of Milíč's life that were necessary to understand the context in which his Good Friday sermons appeared. By reassessing the juridical protocols of Prague from the 1370s, I slightly refined our understanding of what happened to this preacher and his followers during the last, and the most challenging, years of his preaching activity.

Chapter 8 begins with a codicological examination of the surviving manuscript tradition of Milíč's *de tempore et de sanctis* model sermon collections, the *Abortivus* and the *Gratiae Dei*. Out of around thirty existing copies of the former and more than fifty of the latter, I inspected twelve and thirteen manuscripts respectively. After providing a close-reading analysis of Milíč's Good Friday sermons, I argued that the same rhetorical formula *biblical verse - patristic theological prooftext/affective meditative citation* – *Milíč's pastoral lesson* was inherent in both of them. In the interpretation that I have proposed, Milíč's applied an unusual rhetorical approach, which I synonymically called "intellectual-emotional script", "affective catechesis" or "pedagogy or emotions". This rhetorical method allowed him to connect the expected emotional response of the audience to pastoral messages for the day, predictable and yet not for this reason less essential. Moreover, the preacher's extensive use of texts that originated from affective literature distinguishes his Good Friday sermons from other Bohemian preachers and many of the most widely spread preaching bestsellers, such as those by Jacobus de Voragine, Bonaventura, or Peregrinus of Opole. Secondly, as the *Unus militum lancea latus ejus* sermon attested, its *prothema*, military metaphors, and grammatical forms of addressing the audience indicated the dramatization of the text. Therefore, I concluded that the content and rhetorical 'toolkit' of Milíč's sermons

radicalized slightly over time. The gathered codicological information about the collections' owners and the manuscript's geographical and institutional distribution allowed me to assert that the heuristic logic and communicative strategies of Milíč's Good Friday sermons were considered practical and doctrinally conforming by later users. Combined, all of these findings contribute to a better understanding of Milíč and his texts for preaching and, to a limited extent, confront the long-standing historiographical tradition of looking at this preacher solely as an actor of the Bohemian Reformation and precursor of the Hussite movement.

What can be done: Further directions of research

As I was repeatedly told by the end of my PhD journey, writing a perfectible dissertation can be an endless process, so it is crucial to stop at the right point and accept the produced research with its strengths and limits. Still, I also want to outline further directions that researchers of Bohemian late-medieval Passion piety and Passion-centered preaching can undertake and that I see as promising.

Throughout this dissertation, I have mentioned several research directions that require further exploration in the future. The first area that needs a more in-depth investigation is the constructed corpus of the Bohemian Good Friday sermons. The examination of the sermons' strategies to present the Passion from the perspectives of the suffering Christ, the grieving Virgin, and other biblical agents would provide more insight into their models of representation. Additionally, analyzing the sermons' portrayal of the Jews could shed more light on the dynamics of Christian-Jewish contacts in Bohemia at that time. Another, more tangible, objective would be to prepare a semi-critical edition of the sermons by Peter of Zittau, which were not included in Anna Pumprová's brilliant edition of his sermon collection. As Milíč was an ideal entry point to understand the Passion piety that prospered in Prague in the 1370s, the sermons for Good Friday by Peter of Zittau can shed light on how the Passion was presented there in the 1330s.

Finally, it is only possible to gain a comprehensive understanding of Bohemian Good Friday preaching by considering this phenomenon from a wider geographical standpoint. Hence, I end this dissertation with the hope that a collaborative research effort can be arranged to compare Bohemian Good Friday sermons (possibly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) with Good Friday preaching texts from other

Central-European polities and the western areas of Europe. Such an endeavor is essential for contextualizing the Bohemian Passion devotion and local Good Friday preaching within the broader religious and intellectual culture.

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APPENDIX I: *TU IN SANGUINE TESTAMENTI TUI*

Milíč's first Good Friday sermon from his earlier collection *Abortivus* (ca. the mid-1360s), was widely copied in various parts of East-Central Europe in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶⁸⁷ Despite the relatively high number and wide geographical distribution of the copies, the scholarship on Milíč has no account of any surviving 'original' attributed to his hand.⁶⁸⁸ Carefully considering these problematic issues as determining principles in the selection of materials for the present semi-critical edition, I have decided to base it on three digitized manuscripts currently stored in the Czech National Library in Prague. Manuscript VIII.B.26 is the closest witness to Milíč's lifetime as it originated in 1385, only eleven years after the preacher's death, somewhere in the Bohemian lands (hence, I will hereafter refer to this manuscript as *B* for "Bohemia"). The second manuscript, I.D.37, has a similar provenance and can be traced back to the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Since Peter Morée has attributed it to the manuscript collection of the Třeboň monastery, I will call it *T*. The last manuscript available in Prague, XXIII.D.201, is the most distant one in chronological and geographical terms because it was composed in 1442 somewhere in Eastern Germany according to the library's catalog (a marginal note indicates "Buetitz" as its place of origin). The manuscript was transported to a monastery in Erfurt later in the same century, so I will hereafter refer to it as *E*.

⁶⁸⁷ Spunar, *Repertorium*, 172-176.

⁶⁸⁸ Morée, *Preaching*, 100-101.

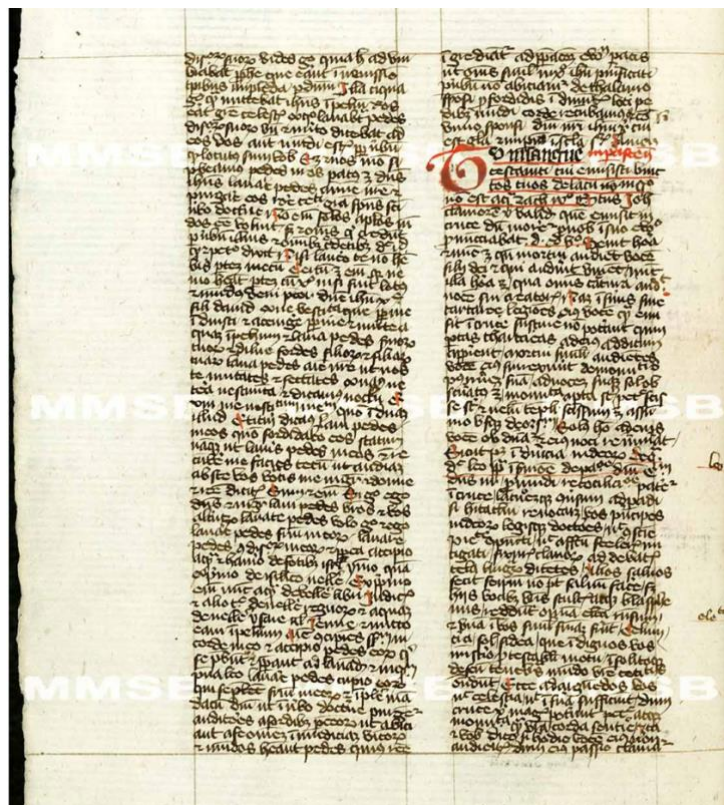


Figure 9. The beginning of Milíč's *Tu in sanguine testamenti*, MS VIII.B.26, fol. 103v, Czech National Library, Prague.

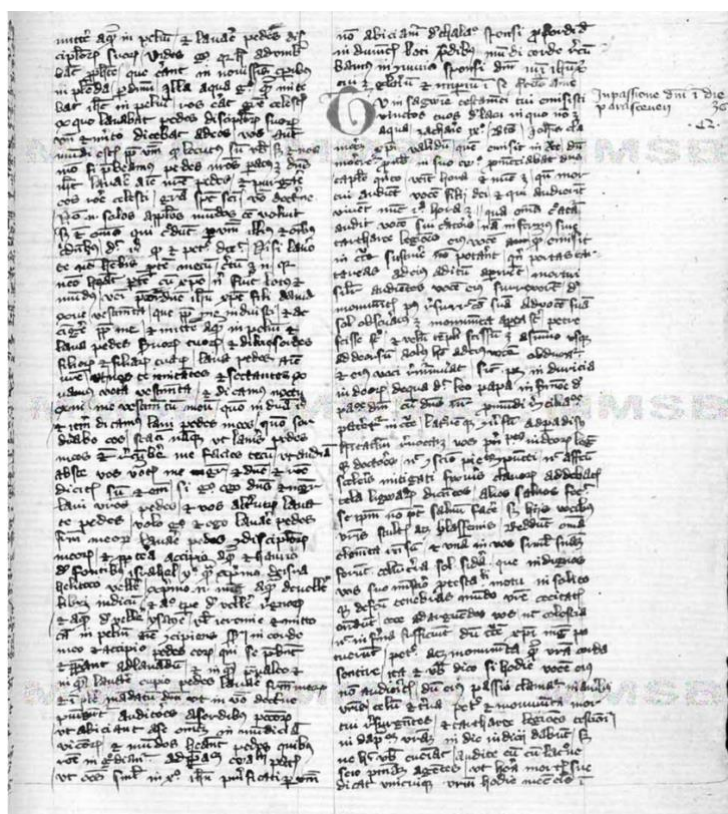


Figure 10. Milíč's sermon in MS I.D.37, fol. 84r, Czech National Library, Prague.

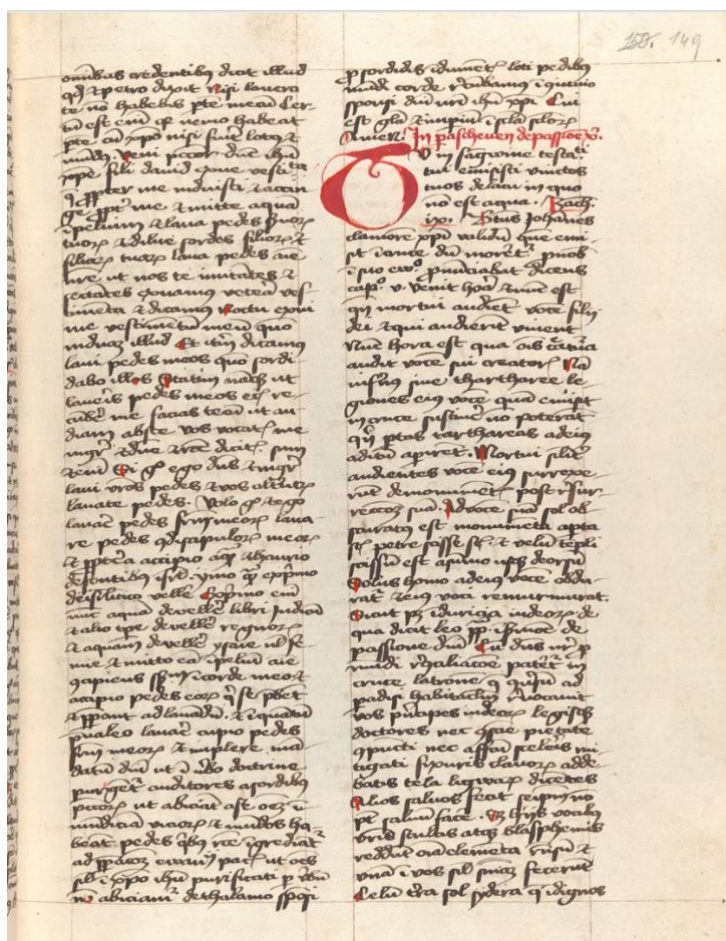


Figure 11. The sermon's first page in the MS XXIII.D.201, fol. 149r, Czech National Library, Prague.

Composed in Latin, all three manuscripts bear notable discrepancies in spelling, word order, and grammatical forms. In my analysis of possible connections between the manuscripts, I disregard various differences in spelling, do not include them in the critical *apparatus*, and edit them according to the norms of medieval Latin. In particular, these minor editorial standardizations are applicable to such instances as the use of silent “h” (“Tartaree” *B*, “Thartharee” *E*, “Tartharee” *T*), inadequate omission or doubling of consonants (“additum” *B* as opposed to “aditum” *E*, *T*), or the interchangeable use of selected consonants (“d” and “t”: “velut” *B* – “velud” *E*, *T* or “caput” *B*, *E* – “capud” *T*); “z” and “s” (“sodomita” *B*, *T* as opposed to “zodomita” *E*) and vowels (“y”, “i”, and “j”: “hircus” *E* – “hyrcus” *B*, *T* or “Yoseph” *B* instead of “Joseph” as attested in *T* and *E*).

In accordance to these similar, yet occasional, differences in spelling, modes of choosing word order (“prevaluit per luxuriam” *B* – “per luxuriam prevaluit” *E*, *T*), grammatical forms (“posset” *B* – “possit” *E*, *T*), erroneous omissions of certain words or identical choice of ones (“Calciamenta pedes” *B* – “Calciamenta autem pedes” *E*, *T*;

“in quo” *B* – “unde” *E*, *T*; “in solitudine” *B* – om. *E*, *T*) often show identical patterns in *T* and *E*. The consistency of these correspondences allowed me to speculate that despite the aforementioned geographical and chronological distance between *E* and *T*, the manuscripts might have shared a certain proximity, hypothetically originating from a common copying tradition. Yet, at this phase of my research, it is impossible to establish their common exemplar and deconstruct the *stemma codicum*: for that, one should consult over thirty survived copies of the sermon.

Despite many similarities between *E* and *T*, it is also important to underline that the two manuscripts’ versions of the sermon are not equal either (“culpa” *E*, *B* – “a culpa” *T*; “reconciliavit” *T*, *B* versus “concordavit sive reconciliavit” *E* etc.). As one may observe in the *apparatus*, the number of errors, omissions, or later additions to the text is higher in *E* than in *B* and *T*. It thus reflects the manuscript’s chronological and geographical distance from its Bohemian counterparts.

In general, *B*, *E*, and *T* contain several particularly troublesome – and sometimes erroneous or different in all the three versions – discrepancies, evidencing that none of the manuscripts can serve as a totally trustworthy transmitter of Milíč’s original text. First of all, although being the oldest copy of the *Abortivus*, which I examined, *B* often neglects important syntactic elements (as in the case of footnote 777) or mistakenly copies words (“parent” *B* instead of “pallent” in footnote 781), thus radically changing the meaning of the Latin text, either lexically or grammatically. In all such cases, I selected the most suitable for the final text editorial solution and put the information about discrepancies or referencing errors in the footnotes. Otherwise, if applicable, I followed the reading based on the manuscripts’ and the original sources’ concordance. For the sake of presenting the sermon in a more comprehensive and reader-friendly way, I also supplied the text with brief indications of the sermon’s integral parts and divided it into paragraphs.

To conclude, given the fact that *B*, *T*, and *E* have different versions of the sermon and all the three manuscripts contain serious errors, I leave the composition of a more substantial critical edition for future research as well as the reconstruction of a comprehensive *stemma codicum*, where intertextual relations among the 33 preserved copies are yet to be identified.

In parascheven.⁶⁸⁹

Tu in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti victos tuos de lacu, in quo non est aqua (Zach.⁶⁹⁰ ix). Beatus Johannes clamorem Christi validum, quem emisit in cruce dum moreretur pro nobis, in suo evangelio pronunciabat, dicens capitulo v:⁶⁹¹ *Venit hora, et nunc est, quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei: et qui audierint, vivent*. Nunc illa hora est⁶⁹² qua omnis creatura audit vocem sui creatoris. Nam infernus sive Tartaree legiones ejus vocem, quam emisit in cruce, sustinere non poterant, cum⁶⁹³ portas Tartareas ad ejus additum aperirent. Mortui, similiter audientes vocem ejus, surrexerunt de monumentis post resurrectionem suam. Ad vocem suam *sol obscuratus est, monumenta aperta sunt, petre scisse sunt, et velum templi scissum est* a summo usque⁶⁹⁴ deorsum. Solus homo ad ejus vocem obduratur et ejus voci remurmurat sicut patet in duricia Judeorum, de qua dicit Leo Papa in sermone de passione Domini: “Cum dominus noster pro mundi reconciliacione pateretur in cruce, latronemque conversum ad paradisi habitaculum revocaret, vos principes Judeorum, legisque doctores, nec conscientie pietate compuncti, nec affectu sceleris mitigati, fixuris clavorum addebatis tela linguarum, dicentes: *Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere*. Sed hiis vocibus vestris stultis atque blasphemis reddunt⁶⁹⁵ omnia elementa responsum, et unam in vos simul sententiam ferunt,⁶⁹⁶ celum, terra, sol, sideraque, indignos vos⁶⁹⁷ ministerio protestabili motu insolitoque defectu, tenebras mundo vestre cecitatis ostendunt. Ecce ad arguendos vos, nec celestia, nec inferna sufficiunt, dum crucem Christi magis potuerunt petre atque monumenta quam vestra corda sentire”.

Ita et vobis dico: si hodie vocem ejus non audieritis, dum ejus passio clamatur in auribus vestris, celum et terra, petre et monumenta, mortui resurgentes et Tartaree legiones testimonium in dampnationem vestram in die judicii dabunt. Sed ne hec vobis eveniat,⁶⁹⁸ audite eum cum latrone, sero penitenciam agentes, ut hora mortis⁶⁹⁹ sue dicat

⁶⁸⁹ In parascheven] In parascheven de passione Christi *E*; In passione Domini in die parascheven *T*

⁶⁹⁰ Zach.] Zacharie *T*

⁶⁹¹ v] quinto *T*

⁶⁹² Nunc illa hora est] Nunc hora est *E*

⁶⁹³ cum] quando *T, E*

⁶⁹⁴ usque] usque ad *T*

⁶⁹⁵ reddunt] et reddunt *T*

⁶⁹⁶ ferunt] fecerunt *E*;

⁶⁹⁷ vos] vos suo *T, E*

⁶⁹⁸ Sed ne hec vobis eveniat] Sed ne vobis hoc eveniat *E*

⁶⁹⁹ mortis] om. *E*

unicuique vestrum:⁷⁰⁰ *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*. Quod ut nobis meritis sue dulcissime matris, cujus animam eo patiente doloris gladius pertransivit, donare dignetur, ipsum⁷⁰¹ sinceris mentibus exoremus, dicentes *Pater noster*.

[Introductio thematis:] *Tu in sanguine testamenti etc.* ubi supra.⁷⁰² Sanguis Christi pro nobis effusus in cruce, nobis venerabilis esse debet propter tria: Primo, quia per eum sumus de captivitatis eterne vinculis absoluti. Secundo, quia per ipsum sumus a debito prevaricationis nostre redempti. Tertio, quia per ipsum sumus de inimicorum periculis liberati.

I. Primo dico quod debemus devote Christi sanguinem venerari, quia per ipsum sumus a captivitatis eterne vinculis absoluti. Quod bene innuitur Leviticus xvi, ubi dicitur de duobus hircis, quod recipiebantur in sacrificium per summum sacerdotem, et unus mittebatur in solitudinem, alter⁷⁰³ imolabatur, cujus sanguine expiabantur peccata. Sic Christus dominus noster duas naturas habens, divinam videlicet et humanam, nec habens fetorem peccatorum ut hircus, sed pro fetore nostrorum peccaminum *veniens in similitudinem carnis peccati*, quantum ad divinitatem nichil passus, sed liber inter mortuos, homo sine peccato evolavit in⁷⁰⁴ celum, velut in solitudinem, unde nunquam recesserat, sed in humanitate occisus seu crucifixus est pro peccato omni salvandorum.

Quare autem sanguis ejus pro nobis effusus sanguini comparatur⁷⁰⁵ hircino, hoc possumus in naturalibus invenire. Dicunt enim Naturales quod adamas est lapis durissimus, qui nullo ferro vel calibe, seu⁷⁰⁶ instrumento frangi potest, nisi sanguine hircino. Si ergo quis esset inclusus in domo lapidea adamantina et non haberet hostium nec⁷⁰⁷ fenestras, numquam posset aliquo ferro excidi vel educi, nisi dum calido sanguine hircino lapis tactus frangeretur. Sic et nos ante mortem Christi inclusi fuimus in domo adamantina, id est in limbo, quando peccavimus in Adam, sicut dicit⁷⁰⁸ Jeremias⁷⁰⁹ xvii:⁷¹⁰ *Peccatum Juda scriptum est stilo ferreo in ungue adamantino*

⁷⁰⁰ vestrum] nostrum *E*

⁷⁰¹ ipsum] ipsam *B*

⁷⁰² *Tu in sanguine testamenti etc.* ubi supra.] Introductio thematis: *Tu in sanguine testamenti etc.* ubi supra *E*; *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo non est aqua T*

⁷⁰³ alter] et alius *E*

⁷⁰⁴ in] ad *E*

⁷⁰⁵ comparatur] comparetur *T*

⁷⁰⁶ seu] vel seu *B*

⁷⁰⁷ nec] neque *E*

⁷⁰⁸ dicit] dicitur *T*

⁷⁰⁹ Jeremias] Jeremie *T*

⁷¹⁰ xvii] capitulo xvii *E*

exaratum super latitudinem cordis eorum. Ita clausi fuimus, ut nemo possit exire. Similiter paradisus et celum ita claudebantur, quod nemo valebat intrare, donec iste hircus, non de veteri sed de novo testamento, occisus et crucifixus pro nobis, sanguine suo calido per caritatem peccatum, tamquam adamantem, scidit et percussit, peccatum nostrum, in duro corde scriptum, delevit, domum inferni aperuit ut nos educeret, et sic domum paradisi et celi aperuit, ut intrare⁷¹¹ feliciter valeremus. Ecce quomodo sumus per Christi sanguinem de captivitatis eterne vinculis absoluti.

II. Secundo, sanguinem Christi venerari debemus, quia per ipsum sumus a prevaricationis debito nostre redempti.⁷¹² Dicit enim Augustinus⁷¹³ super Psalmo lxxxv:⁷¹⁴ “Vendere se homines potuerunt, sed redimere se non potuerunt.⁷¹⁵ Venit redemptor, dedit precium, fudit sanguinem suum et emit orbem terrarum.” Et iterum super Psalmo cxlvi dicit: “Misit Deus ad captivitatem nostram, quia ex⁷¹⁶ prima transgresssione primi hominis universum genus humanum natum sub obligatione peccati victor diabolus possidebat. Misit, inquam, redemptorem filium suum: ‘Porta, inquit, tecum saccum, ferto ibi precium captivorum.’ Induit se ille mortalitatem carnis cum similitudine carnis peccati,” non cum carne peccati. Venit, in quo erat sanguis, quo fuso redimeremur, qui, licet omnibus sufficere posset,⁷¹⁷ tamen credibile est quod non omnibus prodest.⁷¹⁸ Sicut dicit Augustinus in sermone de amore dei et seculi:⁷¹⁹ “Habuit ille sanguinem, in quo⁷²⁰ nos redimeret et ad hoc accepit sanguinem, ut eum pro nobis redimendis effunderet. Si vis, sanguis ejus datus est pro te; si nolueris, pro te datus non erit. Nec dicas, quia jam passus est et totum sanguinem dedit: ‘quid illi remansit, ut nunc pro me dari possit.’ Hoc est magnum, quia jam⁷²¹ semel dedit et pro omnibus dedit, et sanguis ejus volentis est precium, nolentis autem est supplicium.” Hec Augustinus.

Christus autem, sanguinem fundens⁷²² pro nobis, similis est pellicano, de quo dicit Augustinus⁷²³ super Psalmo ci, sermone ii: “*Similis factus sum pellicano*

⁷¹¹ ut intrare] ut nos intrare *E*

⁷¹² a prevaricationis debito nostre redempti] a debito nostre prevaricationis redempti *E*; ad debito prevaricationis nostre redempti *T*

⁷¹³ Augustinus] beatus Augustinus *E*

⁷¹⁴ lxxxv] xcv *T, E*

⁷¹⁵ se non potuerunt] non potuerunt se *E*

⁷¹⁶ ex] om. *T*

⁷¹⁷ posset] possit *E, T*

⁷¹⁸ non omnibus prodest] omnibus non prodest *E*

⁷¹⁹ sermone de amore dei et seculi] sermone dei et seculi *E*

⁷²⁰ in quo] unde *E, T*

⁷²¹ iam] om. *E, T*

⁷²² fundens] suum fundens *E*; effundens *T*

⁷²³ Augustinus] beatus Augustinus *E*

solitudinis. Nascitur hec avis in solitudinibus maxime Nili fluminis in Egypto.⁷²⁴ Quod dicitur vel legitur de hac avi non taceamus, non aliquid confirmantes temere, sed tamen non tacentes. Qui enim scripserunt, et legi et dici voluerunt, vos sic audite ut si verum est, congruat, si falsum, non teneat.⁷²⁵ Dicuntur et⁷²⁶ hee aves, tamquam colaphis rostrorum, occidere parvulos filios suos, eosque in nido occisos a se lugere per triduum. Postremo, dicunt matrem seipsam graviter vulnerare et sanguinem suum super filios fundere, quo illi superfuso, reviviscunt. Fortasse hoc verum, fortasse hoc falsum sit. Tamen si⁷²⁷ verum est, quomodo Christo congruat, qui nos vivificavit sanguine suo videte. Quod matris caro vivificat sanguine suo filios suos, satis illi congruit. Habet ergo hec avis, si veritas est, magnam similitudinem carnis Christi, cujus sanguine vivificati sumus. Sed quomodo congruat Christo, quod ipsa⁷²⁸ occidat filios suos? An et illi congruit: *Ego occidam et vivificabo, ego percuciam et ego sanabo*? An non Saulus persecutor⁷²⁹ moreretur nisi⁷³⁰ de celo percuteretur aut predicator excitaretur, nisi illius sanguine vivificaretur? Sed hoc viderint, qui scripserunt. Non in incerto intellectum nostrum constituere nos debemus, hanc autem potius in solitudine cognoscamus. Hoc enim michi prius voluit ponere pellicanum in solitudine. Puto enim hic intelligi Christum natum de Virgine. Solus enim sic in solitudine natus, quia solus ita de Virgine in solitudine⁷³¹ natus.” Ecce quomodo sumus per sanguinem⁷³² a debito prevaricationis nostre redempti.

III. Tertio dico quod Christi sanguinem venerari debemus, ideo quia per ipsum sumus de inimicorum periculis liberati. Quod signatum est in sanguine agni paschalis, quo liberati fuerunt⁷³³ filii Israel a plaga Egypti, dum angelus exterminaret Egyptum, percutiens primogenita omnia ab homine usque ad pecus.

Sicut beatus Gregorius declarat in omelia, docens nos digne sumere corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi, in manducatione agni, sic inquit: “Moyses ait: *Sument⁷³⁴ de sanguine agni ac ponent super utrumque postem et super liminaribus domorum in*

⁷²⁴ Nascitur hec avis in solitudinibus maxime Nili fluminis in Egypto] Nascitur hec avis in solitudinibus in Egipto *E*

⁷²⁵ non teneat] caveatur *B*

⁷²⁶ et] om. *T*

⁷²⁷ si] om. *E*

⁷²⁸ ipsa] ipse *E*

⁷²⁹ persecutor] om. *E*

⁷³⁰ nisi] si non *E*

⁷³¹ in solitudine] om. *E, T*

⁷³² sanguinem] Christi sanguinem *E, T*

⁷³³ fuerunt] sunt *E, T*

⁷³⁴ Sument] Sumant *E*

quibus commedent illum et edent carnes nocte⁷³⁵ assas igni et azymos panes cum lactucis aggestibus. Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid, nec coctum aqua, sed assum tamen igni: caput cum pedibus ejus et intestinis vorabitis nec remanebit ex eo quicquam⁷³⁶ usque mane; et si quid residuum fuerit, igni (sic) comburetis. Ubi et additur: Sic autem comedetis illud. Renes vestros accingetis, calciamenta habebitis in pedibus vestris, tenentes baculos in manibus, et comedetis festinanter. Cuncta⁷³⁷ magnam nobis edificacionem pariunt, si fuerint mistica interpretacione discussa. Quis namque sit sanguis agni, non jam audiendo, sed bibendo didicistis. Qui sanguis super utrumque postem ponitur, quando non solum ore corporis, sed etiam⁷³⁸ ore cordis hauritur. In utroque etenim poste agni sanguis est positus, quando sacramentum passionis illius cum ore ad redempcionem sumitur, ad imitacionem quoque intenta mente cogitatur. Nam qui sic redemptoris sui sanguinem accipit ut imitari etiam passionem⁷³⁹ illius necdum velit, in uno poste sanguinem posuit, qui etiam in superliminaribus domorum ponendus est.

Quid enim spiritualiter domos nisi mentes nostras accipimus, in quibus per cogitacionem inhabitamus? Cujus domus superliminare est ipsa intencio, que preminet accioni. Qui igitur intencionem cogitacionis⁷⁴⁰ ad⁷⁴¹ imitacionem dominice passionis dirigit, in superliminari⁷⁴² domus agni sanguinem ponit.⁷⁴³ Vel certe liminare domus nostre ipsa sunt⁷⁴⁴ corpora, in quibus, quamdiu vivimus, habitamus. Et in superliminari domus agni sanguinem ponimus, quia crucem passionis ejus in fronte portamus. De quo adhuc agno subditur: *Et edent carnes nocte illa⁷⁴⁵ assas igni.* In nocte quippe agnum comedimus, qui jam in sacramento dominicum corpus accipimus, quando adhuc abinvicem nostras conscientias non videmus. Que tamen carnes agni assande sunt, quia nimirum ignis carnes, quas aqua⁷⁴⁶ coxerit, sine aqua excoquit et roborat. Carnes itaque agni nostri ignis coxit, quia eum ipsa vis passionis illius ad resurreccionem valenciorem reddidit atque ad incorrupcionem roboravit. Qui enim ex morte convaluit quasi carnes

⁷³⁵ nocte] illas nocte *B*

⁷³⁶ quicquam] quidquam *E*

⁷³⁷ Cuncta] Que videlicet hec cuncta *B*

⁷³⁸ etiam] om. *E*

⁷³⁹ passionem] passionis *B*

⁷⁴⁰ cogitacionis] cogitacionis sue *T*

⁷⁴¹ ad] ac *T*

⁷⁴² superliminari] superliminare *E*

⁷⁴³ pomit] om. *T*

⁷⁴⁴ sunt] sunt ipsa *E*

⁷⁴⁵ illa] illas *B*

⁷⁴⁶ aqua] om. *B*

illius ab igne duruerunt. Unde etiam per Psalmistam dicitur: *Exaruit velut testa virtus mea*. Quid namque est testa ante ignem, nisi molle lutum? Sed ei ex igne agitur ut solidetur. Virtus ergo humanitatis ejus velut testa exaruit, quia ab igne passionis ejus ad virtutem incorruptionis crevit, sed sola redemptoris nostri percepta sacramenta ad veram solempnitatem mentis non sufficiunt, nisi eis quoque et bona opera iungantur.

Quid enim prodest corpus ejus et sanguinem ore percipere corde vero, et perversis⁷⁴⁷ moribus contraire? Unde bene adhuc⁷⁴⁸ ad comedendum subditur: *Et azymos panes cum lactucis agrestibus*. Panes quippe sine fermento comedit, qui recta opera sine corruptione vane glorie exercet, qui mandata misericordie sine admixtione peccati exhibet, ne perverse diripiat⁷⁴⁹ quod quasi recte dispensat. Hoc quoque peccati fermentum bone sue accioni miscuerunt, quibus prophete voce per increpacionem Dominus dicebat: *Venite ad Bethel et impie agite*. Atque post pauca: *Et sacrificate de fermento laudem*. Ymolat laudem de fermento, qui⁷⁵⁰ Deo sacrificium de rapina parat. Lactuce vero agrestes valde amare sunt. Carnes ergo agni cum lactucis agrestibus sunt edende, ut cum corpus redemptoris nostri accipimus, nos pro peccatis nostris in fletibus affligamus, quatenus ipsa amaritudo penitencie abstergat a mentis stomacho perverse vite humorem. Ubi et subditur: *Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid, nec coctum aqua*, sed assum tantum igni. Ecce jam nos ipsa verba historie⁷⁵¹ ab intellectu historico repellunt. Numquid, fratres carissimi, Israeliticus ille⁷⁵² populus in Egypto constitutus comedere agnum crudum consueverat, ut eis⁷⁵³ lex dicat: *Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid?* Ubi et additur: *Neque coctum aqua*. Sed quid aqua, nisi humanam sapienciam designat, juxta hoc quod per Salomonem sub hereticorum⁷⁵⁴ voce dicitur: *Aque furtive dulciores sunt*.

Quid crude carnes agni nisi inconsiderata ac sine reverencia cogitacio humanitatis relicta illius divinitate? Omne enim quod subtiliter cogitamus quasi mente loquimur. Sed agni caro nec cruda edenda est, nec aqua cocta, quia redemptor noster neque purus homo estimandus est, neque per humanam sapienciam qualiter incarnari deus potuit cogitandus.⁷⁵⁵ Mens ergo nostra assas igni carnes comedat, ut dispensari

⁷⁴⁷ perversis] ei perversis *E*

⁷⁴⁸ adhuc] achuc *T*

⁷⁴⁹ diripiat] diridiat *T*

⁷⁵⁰ qui] quia *E*

⁷⁵¹ historie] hystoria *T*

⁷⁵² ille] inquam *T*

⁷⁵³ ut eis] de hiis *B*; ut ejus *E*; “de hiis” ante corr. *T*

⁷⁵⁴ hereticorum] heretica *B*

⁷⁵⁵ cogitandus] cogitandas *E*

omnia incarnationis divine misteria per sancti Spiritus potenciam sciat. De quo et⁷⁵⁶ adhuc recte subiungitur: *Caput autem cum pedibus et intestinis vorabitur*. Quia redemptor noster est alpha et omega, Deus videlicet ante secula et homo in fine seculorum, Paulo attestante didicimus quia *caput Christi est Deus*. Caput ergo agni vorare est divinitatem illius fide percipere. Pedes vero agni vorare est vestigia humanitatis ejus amando et imitando perquirere.

Quid vero sunt intestina, nisi verborum illius occulta et mistica mandata? Que tunc voramus, cum verba vite cum aviditate sumimus. In quo vorationis verbo quid aliud quam pigricie nostre torpor reprehenditur? Qui ejus verba atque misteria et per nosmetipsos requirimus, et dicta ab aliis⁷⁵⁷ audimus inviti. *Non remanebit ex eo quidquam usque mane*, quia et ejus dicta magna sunt solitudine discutienda, quatenus priusquam dies resurrectionis appareat, in hac presentis vite nocte omnia mandata illius intelligendo et operando penetrentur. Sed quia valde est difficile ut omne sacrum agni eloquium possit intelligi, et omne ejus misterium penetrari, recte subiungitur: Si quid autem remanserit, igni [sic!] comburetis. Quod ex agno remaret igni comburimus, quando hoc quod de misterio incarnationis ejus intelligere et penetrare non possumus potestati sancti Spiritus humiliter reservamus, ut non superbe quis audeat contempnere vel denunciare quod non intelligit, sed hoc igni tradit cum sancto Spiritui reservat. Quia igitur qualiter edendum sit pascha cognovimus, nunc a qualibus edi debeat agnoscamus. Sequitur: *Sic autem comedetis illud. Renes vestros accingetis*.

Quid enim in renibus nisi delectatio carnis accipitur? Unde et Psalmista dicit: *Ure renes meos*. Si enim voluptatem libidinis in renibus esse nesciret, uri eos minime petisset. Unde quia potestas diaboli in humano genere maxime prevaluit per luxuriam,⁷⁵⁸ recte in Job dominica voce dicitur: *Virtus ejus in lumbis ejus*. Qui ergo pascha comedit, accinctos renes habere debet, ut qui solempnitatem resurrectionis atque incorruptionis agit, corruptioni jam per vicia nulli subiaceat, voluptates edomet⁷⁵⁹, carnem a luxuria restringat. Neque enim cognovit que sit solempnitas incorruptionis, qui adhuc per incontinentiam subiacet corruptioni. Hec quibusdam dura sunt. Unde et bene scriptum est: *Angusta via est, que ducit ad vitam*. Et habemus

⁷⁵⁶ et] om. *E*

⁷⁵⁷ ab aliis] aliis *B*

⁷⁵⁸ prevaluit per luxuriam] per luxuriam prevaluit *E, T*

⁷⁵⁹ edomet] adomet *E*

jam multa exempla continencium. Unde et bene adhuc subditur: *Calciamenta habebitis in pedibus*.⁷⁶⁰

Et quid sunt pedes nostri, nisi opera? Quid calciamenta, nisi animalium pelles⁷⁶¹ mortuorum? Calciamenta pedes⁷⁶² muniunt. Que vero sunt mortua animalia, ex quorum pellibus muniuntur nostri pedes, nisi antiqui patres, qui nos ad eternam patriam precesserunt? Quorum dum exempla conspiciamus, nostri operis pedes munimus. Calciamenta ergo in pedibus habere est mortuorum patrum vitam conspicere, et nostra vestigia a peccati vulnere custodire. *Tenentes baculos in manibus*. Quid enim lex per baculum nisi pastorem custodiam designat? Et notandum quod prius precipimur renes accingere, postmodum baculos tenere. Unde illi debent curam pastorem suscipere, qui jam suo corpore sciunt fluxa luxurie edomare, ut cum aliis forcia predicant, ipsi desideriis mollibus enormiter non succumbant. Bene autem dicitur: *Et comedetis festinanter*. Notate, fratres, notate quod dicitur *festinanter*. Mandata dei et misteria redemptoris, celestis patrie gaudia cum festinatione cognoscite, et precepta vite cum festinatione implere curate. Qui adhuc hodie licet bene agere scimus, utrum cras liceat ignoramus. Hec Gregorius.

Ecce quomodo per Christi sanguinem preciosum sumus⁷⁶³ de captivitatis eterne vinculis absoluti, a⁷⁶⁴ debito nostre prevaricationis⁷⁶⁵ redempti et de inimicorum periculis liberati, ideo ut illum humiliter et amabiliter veneremur. Propheta Zacharias, nobis ad memoriam⁷⁶⁶ precium nostre redemptionis revocans, dicit ad Christum: *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo non est aqua*. Que fuerunt verba vestre proposita caritati.⁷⁶⁷

[Divisio thematis:]⁷⁶⁸ In quibus quidem verbis tanguntur tria. Primo, innocentis Christi sanguinis effusio, ibi: *Tu in sanguine testamenti tui*. Secundo, nostra de captivitate redemptio, ibi: *emisisti vinctos tuos*. Tertio, perpetue mortis destructio quoad electos, et hoc ibi: *de lacu, in quo non est*⁷⁶⁹ *aqua*.

⁷⁶⁰ *Calciamenta habebitis in pedibus*] *Calciamenta habebitis in pedibus vestris E*

⁷⁶¹ animalium pelles] pelles animalium *E, T*

⁷⁶² Calciamenta pedes] Calciamenta autem pedes *E, T*

⁷⁶³ sumus] om. *B*

⁷⁶⁴ a] ad *T*

⁷⁶⁵ prevaricationis] prevaricationis nostre *T, E*

⁷⁶⁶ propheta Zacharias, nobis ad memoriam] om. *B*

⁷⁶⁷ Que fuerunt verba vestre proposita caritati] Que fuerunt verba etc. *B*

⁷⁶⁸ From MS *E*

⁷⁶⁹ est] erat *B*

I. De primo, qualiter Christus effuderit⁷⁷⁰ pro nobis sanguinem innocentem, notandum est quod sicut Joseph ex invidia fratrum venditus fuit et occidi debebat a fratribus propter hoc quia bonus fuit et dilectus patri, item incarceratus, quia cum egiptiaca muliere domini sui peccare nolebat, ita Christus,⁷⁷¹ quia dilectus erat patri, cujus semper fecerat voluntatem, ideo Judei, zelo invidie contra ipsum⁷⁷² accensi, emptum a discipulo, tradiderunt ad⁷⁷³ mortem maxime ex eo quia peccatis eorum consentire nolebat⁷⁷⁴, sed corripiebat. Quod pertractat beatus Bernardus in libro, qui dicitur Stimulus dileccionis, dicens: “Respice, Domine, sancte pater, de sanctuario tuo, intueri hanc sacrosanctam hostiam, quam tibi offert magnus pontifex noster Jesus, pro peccatis fratrum suorum, et esto placabilis super multitudine malicie nostre. Ecce vox sanguinis fratris nostri Christi⁷⁷⁵ Jesu clamat ad te de cruce. Cognosce, pater, tunicam filii tui veri Joseph.⁷⁷⁶ Hec est *fera pessima que devoravit eum*, et conculcavit in furore suo vestimentum ejus et omnem decorem ejus⁷⁷⁷ cruoris relinquis inquinavit. Et ecce quinque scissuras lamentabiles in ea relinquit. Vide, Domine, pallium quod in manu adultere generationis, pudicus ille adolescens dereliquit, meliorem estimans iacturam vestimenti quam pudicie sancte; magisque eligens, spoliatus a carnis pallio in carcerem mortis descendere quam pro mundi gloria adulterine voci acquiescere. Illi, inquam, voci qua dictum est: *Hec omnia tibi dabo si procidens adoraveris me*. Quod utique esset dormire cum adultera.”

Et infra: “*Respice, Domine, in faciem Christi tui*, qui tibi usque ad mortem obediens factus est, nec recedant ab oculis tuis cicatrices ejus, memento quantam pro peccatis nostris satisfaccionem ab eo suscepisti. Utinam, Domine, appendas in statera peccata quibus iram meruimus, et calamitatem, quam pro nobis passus est innocens filius tuus. Certe hec gravior apparebit ac⁷⁷⁸ magis digna, ut propter ipsam effundas misericordiam tuam super nos,⁷⁷⁹ quam fuit illa, ut pro ipsis *contineas in ira misericordias tuas*.”

⁷⁷⁰ Christus effuderit] effuderit Christus T, E

⁷⁷¹ ita Christus] ita et Christus E

⁷⁷² ipsum] eum E

⁷⁷³ ad] in T, E

⁷⁷⁴ nolebat] nolebant E

⁷⁷⁵ Christi] om. T, E

⁷⁷⁶ Ioseph] Yoseph B

⁷⁷⁷ et omnem decorem ejus] om. B

⁷⁷⁸ ac] hac T

⁷⁷⁹ misericordiam tuam super nos] super nos misericordiam tuam E

Culpa ergo in Christo non fuit, propter quam mori debebat, nisi nostra. Sicut dicit Bernardus in contemplacionibus: "Oro te, rex sanctorum. Numquid non attendis, pie Pater, adolescentis filii carissimi caput nivea cervice deflexa preciosissimum⁷⁸⁰ resolutum in morte? Aspice, mitissime conditor, dilecte sobolis humanitatem, et miserere super infirmi plasmatis debilitatem. Candet nudatum pectus, rubet cruentum latus, tensa arent viscera, decora languent lumina, regia pallent⁷⁸¹ ora, procera rigent brachia, crura pendent marmorea, rigat terebratos pedes beati sanguinis unda.⁷⁸² Specta, gloriosissime⁷⁸³ genitor, gratissime prolis lacerata membra; et memorare, benignus (sic!) que mea sit⁷⁸⁴ substantia. Conspicere dei hominis penam, et releva conditi hominis miseriam. Vide redemptoris supplicium, et remitte redempto delictum. Hic est, Domine mi, quem propter peccata populi tui percussisti, licet ipse sit dilectus filius tuus *in quo tibi bene complacuisti*. Hic est ille innocens, in quo *dolus non est inventus*, et tamen cum iniquis deputatus est.⁷⁸⁵

Quid commisisti, dulcissime puer, ut sic judicareris? Quid commisisti, amantissime juvenis, ut adeo tractareris? Quod scelus tuum? Que noxa tua? Que causa tue mortis? Que occasio tue dampnationis? Ego enim sum tui plaga doloris.⁷⁸⁶ Ego tue culpa occisionis.⁷⁸⁷ Ego tue mortis meritum, tue⁷⁸⁸ vindicte flagitium. Ego tue passionis livor et tui cruciatus labor. O mirabilis censure condicio, o⁷⁸⁹ ineffabilis misterii dispositio! Peccat iniquus, et punitur justus. Delinquit reus, et vapulat⁷⁹⁰ innocens. Offendit impius, et dampnatur pius. Quod meretur malus, patitur⁷⁹¹ bonus. Quod perpetrat servus, exsolvit dominus. Quod committit homo, sustinet Deus. Quo, nate dei, quo tua descendit humilitas? Quo tua flagravat caritas? Quo processit pietas? Quo excrevit benignitas? Quo tuus attigit amor? Quo pervenit compassio? Ego enim inique egi, tu pena multaris. Ego facinus admisi, tu ultione plecteris. Ego crimen edidi, tu torture subiceris. Ego superbivi, tu humiliaris. Ego tumui, tu attenuaris. Ego inobediens

⁷⁸⁰ preciosissimum] preciosum *B*

⁷⁸¹ pallent] parent *B*

⁷⁸² There is an exegetical commentary after this sentence in the latest manuscript *E* (XXIII.D.201, Czech National Library): Terebratos, id est admodum cere glaucos. Si diceretur terebratos, putarent aliqui quod terebello fuissent perforati; tamen si terebratos pro perforatos bene potest dici.

⁷⁸³ gloriosissime] speciosissime *E*

⁷⁸⁴ sit] est *E*

⁷⁸⁵ est] om. *E*

⁷⁸⁶ tui plaga doloris] plaga tui doloris *E*

⁷⁸⁷ culpa occisionis] occisionis culpa *E*

⁷⁸⁸ tue] tu *E*

⁷⁸⁹ o] et *T, E*

⁷⁹⁰ vapulat] vapulabit *E*

⁷⁹¹ patitur] patiatur *E*

extiti, tu obediens, scelus inobediencie luis. Ego gule parui, tu inedia afficeris. Me ad illicitam rapuit concupiscencia arborem, te perfecta caritas produxit ad crucem. Ego sumpsi vetitum, tu subisti aculeum. Ego delector cibo, tu laboras patibulo. Ego fruor deliciis, tu laniaris clavis. Ego pomi dulcedinem, tu fellis gustas amaritudinem. Mihi rea ridens applaudit Eva, tibi pia plorans compatitur Virgo Maria. Ecce rex glorie, ecce mea impietas, et tua claret pietas. En mea injusticia, et tua liquet justicia.” Hec Bernardus.

Hic est ille Christus,⁷⁹² quem Naboth Israelites prefigurabat, qui mortuus est, lapidatus⁷⁹³ propter vineam propriam, quia ipsam regi Achab commutare et vendere recusavit. Propter quod dixerat Helias regi Achab: *Occidisti*, supple Naboth per uxorem tuam Jezabel, et *possedisti*, supple vineam ejus. *Hec dicit Dominus*. In loco in quo canes linxerunt sanguinem Naboth,⁷⁹⁴ lambent quoque sanguinem tuum. Ita enim fecerunt⁷⁹⁵ Judei Christo, vero Iesraelite, cujus vineam, id est ecclesiam, avari pharisei, cupientes tollere, dicebant: *Ecce hic est heres huius*⁷⁹⁶ *vinee, venite, occidamus eum!* Ita ergo occiderunt innocentem. Et hoc est testamentum,⁷⁹⁷ quod nobis reliquit Christus in morte.⁷⁹⁸ Quod tamen diversi mode divisit, quia non omnibus equaliter⁷⁹⁹ sumendum dedit. Sicut dicit Ambrosius in sermone: “Auctor pietatis, in cruce pendens, testamentum condidit, singulis distribuens opera pietatis: Apostolis persecucionem, Judeis corpus, Patri spiritum, Virgini paranimphum, latroni paradisum, christianis penitentibus crucem.” Dicamus ergo cum psalmista: *Respice Domine in testamentum tuum*, quod videlicet innocentem effudiens sanguinem condidisti. Et hoc quantum ad primum.

II. Secundo dixi quod in verbis premissis tangitur nostra de captivitate redemptio. Nos enim a⁸⁰⁰ debito primi parentis tenebamur captivi, et captivus captivum solvere⁸⁰¹ non valebat, quia omnes peccavimus. Necesse ergo erat, ut veniret sine peccato qui equalis esset ei, cui satisfaccio fieri deberet; ut esset homo qui deberet, et deus qui posset satisfacere pro peccato. In cujus persona dicit propheta: *Que non rapui,*

⁷⁹² Christus] om. *T, E*

⁷⁹³ lapidatus] lapidatus est *E*; et lapidatus *T*

⁷⁹⁴ XXIII D 201: luxerunt canes sanguinem Naboth

⁷⁹⁵ fecerunt] fecuntur (sic!) *B*

⁷⁹⁶ heres] supple (sic!) *E, T*

⁷⁹⁷ testamentum] testimonium *E*

⁷⁹⁸ reliquit Christus in morte] Christus in morte reliquit *E, T*

⁷⁹⁹ omnibus equaliter] equaliter omnibus *E*

⁸⁰⁰ a] pro *T, E*

⁸⁰¹ solvere] exsolvere *T, E*

tunc exsolvebam. Sed quia dictum est, quod deus et homo satisfecit,⁸⁰² valde cavendum est ne divinitatem passam esse credamus, licet ei contumelia et injuria sit facta. Sicut dicit Leo papa in sermone de passione: “In omnibus, dilectissimi, que ad domini nostri Jesu⁸⁰³ pertinent passionem, hoc⁸⁰⁴ catholica fides tradit, hoc exigit, ut in redemptorem nostrum duas noverimus convenisse naturas, et tantam factam unitatem utriusque substantie, ut ab illo tempore quo sicut humani generis causa poscebat, in beate Virginis utero *verbum caro factum est*, nec deum illum sine hoc quod homo est, nec hominem sine hoc⁸⁰⁵ liceat cogitare quod deus est. Exprimit quidem sub distinctis actionibus veritatem suam utraque natura, sed neutra⁸⁰⁶ ab alterius connexionem disjungit. Nichil ibi adinvicem vacat, tota est in majestate humilitas, tota in humilitate majestas; nec infert unitas confusionem, nec dirimit proprietas unitatem. Aliud est passibile, aliud inviolabile, tamen ejusdem est contumelia, cujus et gloria. Ipse est infirmitate qui et virtute. Idem mortis capax, et idem victor est mortis. Suscepit ergo totum hominem deus, ut utraque alteri natura inesset, et neutra in alteram proprietate[m] (sic!) a sua⁸⁰⁷ transiret.

Sed quia dispensatio sacramenti ad reparationem nostram ante secula eterna dispositi, nec sine divina erat consummanda virtute, agit utraque forma cum alterius commutatione, quod proprium est, Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbum est, et carne exequente quod carnis est. Unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit iniuriis. Aliud ab equalitate paterne glorie non recedit, hoc naturam nostri generis non deserit. Verumtamen ipsa receptio passionum non ita est afflictioni nostre humilitatis exposita, ut a potencia sit divinitatis abiuncta. Quidquid domino illusionis et contumelie, quidquid vexacionis et pene furor intulit impiorum, non necessitate tolleratum, sed de voluntate susceptum est: *Venit enim*⁸⁰⁸ *filius hominis querere et salvare quod perierat*. Et sic ad omnium redemptionem utebatur malicia persecucionum, ut in mortis ejus resurrectionisque sacramento, etiam interfectores ipsius possent salvi esse, si crediderint.

⁸⁰² satisfecit] pro nobis satisfecit *T, E*

⁸⁰³ Jesu] Jesu Christi *E*

⁸⁰⁴ hoc] o *T*

⁸⁰⁵ hoc] hoc quod *B*

⁸⁰⁶ neutra] neutra se *T, E*

⁸⁰⁷ proprietate[m] a sua] a sua proprietate *T, E*

⁸⁰⁸ enim] ergo *B*

Unde scelestior omnibus Juda et infeliciores extitisti, quem non penitentia revocavit ad Dominum, sed desperatio traxit ad laqueum. Expectasses⁸⁰⁹ consummationem creatoris tui, et donec sanguis Christi pro omnibus peccatoribus funderetur, deformis leti⁸¹⁰ suspendium distulisses. Cumque conscientiam tuam tot domini miracula, tot dona torquerent, illa saltem te a precipicio tuo sacramenta revocassent,⁸¹¹ que in paschali cena perfidia tua signo divine sciencie detectus, acceperas. Cur de ejus bonitate diffidis, qui te a corporis et sanguinis sui communione non repulit, qui tibi ad comprehendendum se cum turbis et armatorum cohorte venienti pacis osculum non denegavit? Sed homo inconvertibilis, *spiritus vadens et non revertens*, cordis tui secutus es rabiem, et *stante diabolo a dextris tuis*, iniquitatem, quam in sanctorum omnium armaveras caput, in tuum verticem retorsisti. Ut quia facinus tuum omnem mensuram ultionis excesserat, te haberet impietas tua judicem, te pateretur tua pena carnificem.” Hec ille.

O si ivisset Judas ad apostolos et ad Petrum et latronem, numquid non dixissent ei de misericordia et precio redemptionis, ut salvus fieret? Infelix ergo⁸¹² ivit ad desperatos et desperavit; ivit ad divisos et cum divisis periit. Cave tu tibi, christiane, ne aliqua peccata Jude sint in te, propter que desperare cogaris si superbus es, ut ipse qui se dignum reputans temerarie suscepit⁸¹³ in cena corpus dominicum. Ut dicit Augustinus:⁸¹⁴ “Si luxuriosus, adulter vel sodomita es, sicut ille luxuriosus erat, qui etiam cum muliere in matrimonio⁸¹⁵ dicitur perstitisse, sed penituisse false tamen; Si avarus es, symoniacus, proprietarius, usurarius, mercator dolosus, mechanicus fraudulentus, ut ille qui fur et proprietarius et proditor propter pecuniam fuit factus; Si iracundus est, inimicis injuriam non dimittens et te vindicare volens; Si invidus, ut bonum tollerare et sustinere non posses,⁸¹⁶ ut ille qui fremens et iratus contra Mariam Magdalenam, et invidens bonitate magistri sui cucurrit, ut se vindicaret apud phariseos de ipso et sanguinem ejus vendidit tam stulte, ut preciosissimum precium totius mundi daret pro triginta tantum denariis, quem etiam mille mundi solvere non potuissent; Si gulosus es, ut ille qui propter fructum pomorum insiliens in ortum patrem proprium

⁸⁰⁹expectasses] expectationem E

⁸¹⁰leti] letis E

⁸¹¹ illa saltem te a precipicio tuo sacramenta revocassent] illa saltem a precipicio tuo te sacramenta revocassent E

⁸¹² ergo] om. E, T

⁸¹³ temerarie suscepit] suscepit temerarie E

⁸¹⁴ Augustinus] beatus Augustinus E

⁸¹⁵ matrimonio] matrimonia T

⁸¹⁶ posses] possis E

dicitur occidisse; Si accidiosus es, ut ille qui tedio affectus, noluit transire ad Christum, ut ejus misertus fuisset, ivit potius ad patibulum et se suspendit - vide, ne tibi diabolus⁸¹⁷ funem in collo ponat, ut nolis nec possis confiteri; vide, ne machineris in mortem Christi; ut⁸¹⁸ Judas, id est ne des occasionem quocumque mortali peccato, propter quod necesse sit Christum pati seu passum fuisse. Miser Judas, quem non emollivit⁸¹⁹ precium redemptionis nostre, quod bibit in cena nec osculum dulcissimum Jesu Christi. Miserior tu, si emolliri non potest cor tuum, qui non semel sed multociens hec gustasti. Si enim alia omnia beneficia, que tibi contulit, tuum cor emollire⁸²⁰ non possunt, saltem lancea et clavi et crux te emoliant.”

Sicut persuasionem huius habemus In Valerio Maximo qui dicit de quodam gentili, qui habuit filium. Qui filius semper in domo machinabatur eum occidere. Quo comperto,⁸²¹ pater quesivit a matre, ante ex adulterio ipsum cum alio generasset, quia sic machinaretur in mortem patris. Qua cum juramento respondente quod esset amborum legitimus filius, accepto pater gladio occulte sub veste, duxit filium ad silvam et, evaginans gladium, porrexit filio, dicens:⁸²² ‘Ecce in domo me occidere⁸²³ voluisti, ubi impune nequaquam hoc facere potuisses quin fuisses occisus; hic nemo nos videt, ecce gladius, occide me.’ Hoc autem faciebat pater, volens cor ejus ad pietatis paterne viscera emollire. Filius autem, hec audiens, obstupuit et, accepto gladio, reddidit patri, dicens: ‘Tu quoque, pater, me exupera; tantum queso, ne erga me tuus amor eo sit vilior, quo a penitencia oritur.’ Ac si dicat: ‘Tua pietas exuperat⁸²⁴ meam iniquitatem. Tu enim non meruisti mori sed ego.’ Quod miratur⁸²⁵ Valerius, dicens: ‘Pacatiores penatibus silvas solitudinem sanguine meliorem alimentis blandius ferrum et mortis oblate plusquam date vite melius beneficium.’ Ac si dicat: ‘Ego vidi silvas majorem pacem facientes inter patrem et filium quam penates, id est habitacula domus, in quibus habitabant, quia in silva concordant, qui in domo non poterant concordare. Vidi solitudinem silve sanguine meliorem, quia solitudo sive heremus silve reconciliavit⁸²⁶ eos, quod sanguis mutuus facere non poterat. Vidi alimentis blandius

⁸¹⁷ tibi diabolus] diabolus tibi *E*

⁸¹⁸ ut] om. *E*

⁸¹⁹ emollivit] emollit *E*

⁸²⁰ emollire] emolliri *B*

⁸²¹ comperto] coperto *B*

⁸²² dicens] om. *B*

⁸²³ occidere] occidere me *E, T*

⁸²⁴ exuperat *E*] exsuperet *T*, exuperet *B*

⁸²⁵ miratur] admiratur *E*

⁸²⁶ reconciliavit] concordavit sive reconciliavit *E*

ferrum, quia ferrum, id est gladius, quem offerebat pater filio, plus blandiebatur ei quam omne alimentum, quo eum pater nutriebat in domo. Vidi etiam mortis oblate plusquam date vite melius beneficium, id est quando pater obtulit se in mortem ipsi filio, tunc melius beneficium fecit ei quam tunc, quando generavit eum dans ei vitam carnalem et sic emollivit eum.

Ita et tu si te domus paradisi in qua te Christus nutrit et sanguis, quo te animavit et vita quam tibi donavit hactenus emollire nullatenus potuerunt, saltem silva lignorum que sunt in cruce et solitudo in qua propter te a diabolo est temptatus et ferrum lancee, clavorum et malleorum ejus et super omnia, quia tibi et propter te voluntarie se obtulit ad mortem, emolliant te ut jam dicas: ‘Tu, pater, me exupera, tantum queso ut amor tuus erga me non sit vilior eo,’⁸²⁷ quo non ex meo amore filiali sed a penitencia servili oritur.’ Et noli desperare sicut Judas, sed sicut latro penitenciam agas, qui solus tunc cum Virgine permansit⁸²⁸ in fide et mortuus⁸²⁹ in ipsa fide. Et⁸³⁰ secundum Augustinum in libro primo De origine anime: “Non incredibiliter aqua, que de Christi latere fluxit, dicitur esse⁸³¹ baptizatus et tamquam baptismo perfusus.” Noli ergo et tu diffidere, quando possis salvari si penitenciam egeris per tue redemptionis precium. Et hoc quantum ad secundum.

III. Tertio dixi⁸³² quod in verbis premissis tangitur perpetue mortis destructio quoad electos. Ipse enim Christus, postquam spiritum emisit in cruce, mox ad inferna descendit et portas mortis ereas et vectes ferreos confregit. Sicut Sampson cum ad meretricem intrasset in Gazam, circumclusus ab hostibus, rupit portas et seras civitatis et exiit et ascendit in montem, sic Christus cum ad meretricem, animam videlicet peccatricem, descendisset in mundum et ut electos educeret, qui propter peccatum Ade detinebantur in limbo, non ut fornicaretur sed ut de meretrice castam animam ad thorum immaculatum acciperet, infernum attigisset, rupit et destruxit mortem.

Unde secundum Augustinum Tartaree legiones dicebant: “O, princeps noster, hic est ille, de cuius tibi morte plaudebas? In cuius cruce mundum tibi subjugandum esse totum⁸³³ credebas? En in contrarium versa est suavia tua.”⁸³⁴ Ecce hic omnes

⁸²⁷ vilior eo] eo viliora *E*; eo vilior *T*

⁸²⁸ qui solus tunc cum Virgine permansit] qui solus cum Virgine tunc permansit *E, T*

⁸²⁹ mortuus] mortuus est *E*

⁸³⁰ Et] Hoc *T*

⁸³¹ esse] om. *E, T*

⁸³² dixi] dico *E, T*; “dixi” ante corr. *T*

⁸³³ totum] om. *E*

⁸³⁴ suavia tua] tua suavia *E, T*

carceres fregit,⁸³⁵ captivos ejecit, ligatos solvit,⁸³⁶ et luctum eorum in gaudium commutavit. Dum tu Christum suspendis in ligno, ignoras quanta dampna sustines in inferno.” Si ergo mortem et infernum evadere volumus, insignia sive vestigia Christi nos imitari oportet, ut illa in nobis portemus. Sicut beatus Bernardus nos docet, sic orans in libro qui dicitur Stimulus dilectionis: “Audi, queso, Domine, vocem meam, et inclina super famulum tuum suavem illam crucem, que⁸³⁷ lignum vite est hiis, qui apprehenderunt⁸³⁸ eam. Et ut spiritu curram alacriter, portabo infatigabiliter eam, que ab inimicis est, crucem post te.⁸³⁹ Illam, inquam, divinissimam crucem humeris meis impone, cujus latitudo est caritas, super omnem creaturam se extendens; cujus longitudo eternitas, cujus sublimitas omnipotencia; cujus profundum inscrutabilis sapientia est. Confige illi manus meas et pedes meos; et totam passionis formam famulo tuo indue. Da, obsecro, mihi continere ab operibus carnis que odisti, et facere justiciam quam dilexisti, et in utroque tuam querere gloriam. Et sinistram quidem meam clavo temperancie, dexteram vero clavo justicie in illa sublimi cruce fixam arbitrabor. Da menti mee jugiter meditari in lege tua, et omnem *cogitationem jactare in te*, et dextrum meum pedem eidem ligno vite prudencie clavis affige. Da ut sinistram spiritus mei sensualitatem non enervet labentis vite infelix felicitas, nec conturbat perhennis vite premia felix felicitas, et sinister quoque pes meus fortitudinis clavo in cruce tenebitur.

Ut autem et spinarum capitis aliqua similitudo appareat, detur, obsecro, menti mee et salubris penitencie compunctio, et aliene miserie compassio, et stimulus zeli emulantis quod rectum est coram te, et ad te convertar in erumpna mea, dum triplex michi configitur spina. Libet ut et spongiam per arundinem ori meo porrigas, et aceti amaritudinem gustui meo adhibeas. Libet ut per scripturas tuas rationi mee conferas gustare et videre quoniam florens hic mundus tanquam spongia inanis est, et omnis concupiscentia ejus aceto amarior. Ita, pater, in me fiat, ut calix iste Babilonis aureus inebrians omnem terram, nec inani me splendore seducat, nec falsa dulcedine inebriet, quemadmodum eos qui tenebras lucem et lucem tenebras arbitrantur, qui *amarum dulce et dulce amarum reputant*. *Vinum myrratum cum felle mixtum* suspectum est mihi, pro eo quod tu ex eo bibere noluisti; forte quia nimiam acerbitem invidie et nequicie

⁸³⁵ fregit] confregit *E*

⁸³⁶ solvit] absolvit *E*

⁸³⁷ que] quoniam *E*

⁸³⁸ apprehenderunt] apprehenderint *E*

⁸³⁹ portabo infatigabiliter eam, que ab inimicis est, crucem post te] om. *T*

crucifixorum tuorum⁸⁴⁰ indicabat. Tue quoque vivifice morti famulum tuum,⁸⁴¹ domine, configura,⁸⁴² faciens in me ut moriar quidem peccato secundum carnem, vivam autem justicie secundum spiritum, ut autem integram crucifixi ymaginem portare me glorier. Illud quoque quod post mortem tuam insatiabilis malicia impiorum in te exercuit, hanc in me similitudinem exprime ut vulneret cor meum vivus et *efficax sermo tuus*, *penetrabilior*⁸⁴³ omni lancea acutissima, et pertingens usque ad interiora anime mee. Producat⁸⁴⁴ ex ea tanquam a dextero latere meo, vice sanguinis et aque, amorem tuum, Domine, et fratrum meorum.⁸⁴⁵ Postremo munda sindone prime stole spiritum meum involve, in qua requiescam⁸⁴⁶ ingrediens ad te *in locum tabernaculi admirabilis*, et *abscondas me*, *donec pertranseat furor tuus*. Die autem⁸⁴⁷ tercio⁸⁴⁸ post diem laboris, post diem simplicis glorie, mane prima sabbati perpetui inter filios tuos me indignum resuscita, ut in carne mea videam claritatem tuam, et adimplear leticia vultus tui.” Hec Bernardus.

Nunc audisti et iterum sermonem Bernardi:⁸⁴⁹ “Quomodo⁸⁵⁰ caput angelicis spiritibus tremebundum densitate spinarum pungitur, *facies pulchra pre filiis hominum* sputis Judeorum deturpatur, oculi lucidiores sole caligant in morte, aures que audiunt angelicos cantus, audiunt peccatorum insultos, os quod docet angelos, felle et aceto potatur, pedes quorum scabellum adoratur, cruci clavo affiguntur, manus que formaverunt celos, sunt in cruce extense et clavis affixe,⁸⁵¹ corpus verberatur, latus lancea perforatur. Et quid plura? Non remansit in eo nisi lingua ut pro peccatoribus exoraret et matrem discipulo commendaret.” Hec Bernardus.

Ecce pro peccatoribus penitentibus orat, dicens: *pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. Obstinatis autem et ingratis impropere, ut dicit Bernardus: “Tu homo es et habes sertum de floribus in capite, et ego deus et homo habeo coronam spineam. Tu cirotecas habes in manibus et ego clavos affixos. Tu in albis vestibus tripudias, et ego pro te sui ab Herode in veste alba derisus. Tripudias pedibus, et ego ad

⁸⁴⁰ tuorum] om. *T*

⁸⁴¹ famulum tuum] famulus tuus *B*

⁸⁴² configura] configuratur *B*

⁸⁴³ penetrabilior] et penetrabilior *B*

⁸⁴⁴ Producat] Perducat *B*

⁸⁴⁵ meorum] tuorum *T*

⁸⁴⁶ requiescam] requiescant *T*

⁸⁴⁷ autem] vero *E*

⁸⁴⁸ tecio] tercia *E*

⁸⁴⁹ sermonem Bernardi] secundum Bernardum *T*

⁸⁵⁰ Quomodo] Audi quomodo *E*

⁸⁵¹ affixe] affixi *E, T*

crucis patibulum pedibus festinavi.⁸⁵² Tu in choreis brachia extendis in modum crucis in gaudium, et ego ea in cruce extenta habui in opprobrium. Ego in cruce dolui, et tu in cruce⁸⁵³ exultas. Tu habes latus apertum et pectus in signum vane glorie, et ego latus effossum habui pro te. Tu revertere ad me et ego suscipiam te. Cum enim⁸⁵⁴ esses inimicus⁸⁵⁵ patri meo, reconciliaui te per me. Cum esses longe, ego veni ut redimerem te. Cum inter montes et silvas infidelitatis errares, quesivi te, et inter ligna et lapides inveni te; et ne luporum ferarumque, id est diabolorum, rabido⁸⁵⁶ ore laniareris, collegi te, laboravi, sudavi, caput meum spinis opposui, manus meas clavis objeci, latus meum lancea aperui, tot non dicam iniuriis, sed asperitatibus laceratus sum, sanguinem meum fudi, animam meam posui ut conjungerem te mihi, et tu separaris a me?” Hec Bernardus.

Ecce caput habet inclinatum ad osculandum, ut dicit Bernardus: “Cor apertum ad diligendum, brachia extenta ad amplexandum, totum corpus expositum ad redimendum.” Totus nobis sit in corde, qui pro nobis totus fixus⁸⁵⁷ in cruce. Ascendit in altum crucis ut longius audiretur, fortiter exclamavit ut nullus excusaretur, clamori lacrimas addidit ut homo compateretur. *Accedamus ergo ad thronum gratie ejus* ut in tribunali crucis non judicet nos ad dampnationem sed absolvat et liberet a pena et culpa,⁸⁵⁸ et donet nobis vitam eternam. Ad quam nos perducatur qui vivit et regnat Deus in secula seculorum. Amen.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵² ad crucis patibulum pedibus festinavi] pedibus ad crucis patibulum festinavi *E, T*

⁸⁵³ cruce] ea *B*

⁸⁵⁴ enim] om. *T*

⁸⁵⁵ esses inimicus] inimicus esses *E*

⁸⁵⁶ rabido] rapido *B*

⁸⁵⁷ fixus] fixus totus fuit *E*

⁸⁵⁸ culpa] a culpa *T*

⁸⁵⁹ nos perducatur qui vivit et regnat deus in secula seculorum. Amen.] om. *B*

APPENDIX II: *UNUS MILITUM LANCEA LATUS*

Milíč's second model discourse for Good Friday comes from his later postil entitled *Gratiae Dei* (1371-1372). As I discussed in Part 3, this collection enjoyed wider distribution than the earlier *Abortivus* (more than 50 known copies as opposed to 33). Similarly to the case of the *Abortivus*, there is no trace of any preserved α -manuscript written by Milíč's hand. I base the following semi-critical edition on three digitized manuscripts from the Czech National Library in Prague.

The manuscript XX.A.10 was composed in 1372 when Milíč was most active in Prague. This copy originated in the Czech capital. Therefore, I will refer to XX.A.10 as *P* for "Prague". The provenance of the second manuscript, XIV.D.5, is not specified. This copy can be dated to the end of the fourteenth century.⁸⁶⁰ This manuscript was later acquired by the Třeboň monastery, so I will call it *T*. The last manuscript, V.B.13, was composed around 1400. According to the catalogs, it is also of Bohemian origin, so I will assign the letter *B* to it.

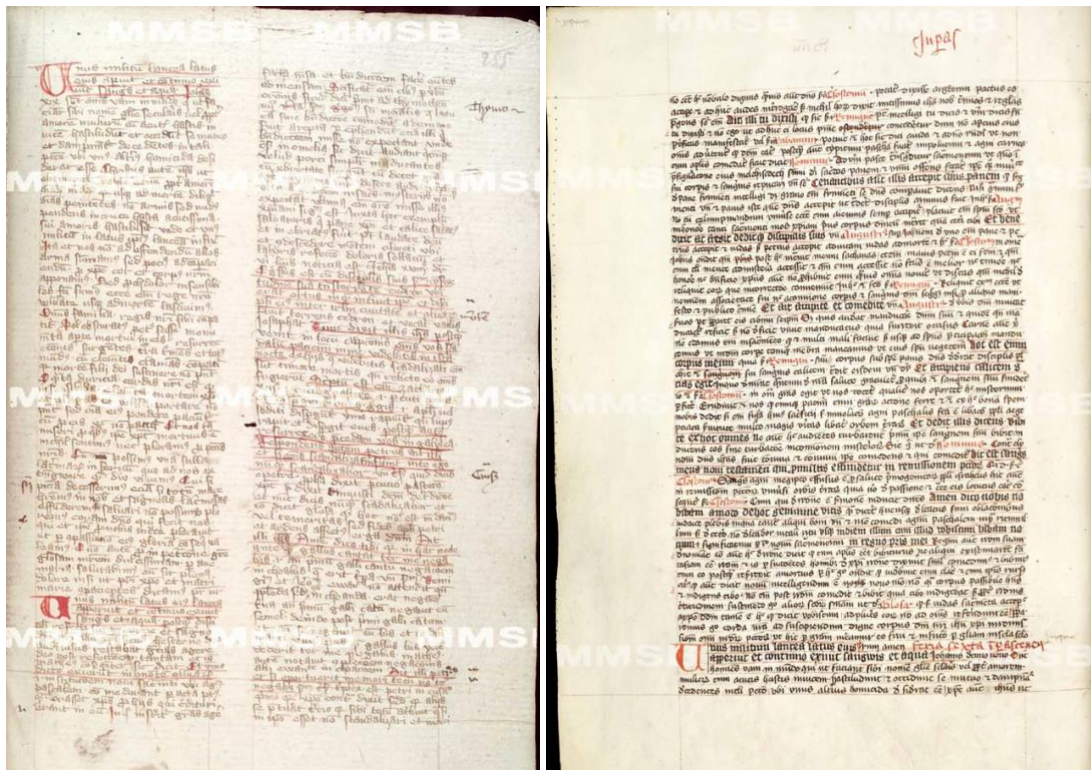


Figure 12. The beginning of the sermon *Unus militum lancea latus ejus*. Left: MS XX.A.10, fol. 255r. Right: MS XIV.D.5, fol. 163v, Czech National Library, Prague.

⁸⁶⁰ The dating of XIV.D.5 is not specified, neither do we have a colophon. Yet, one can make some estimations regarding the date of its origin. XIV.D.5 contains the first half of the sermon cycle. The postil's second part is preserved in the MS XII.D.1. Manuscriptorium's codicological note places the latter manuscript to the end of the century. If we assume that the two copies were produced consecutively, we can date XIV.D.5 around the same time.

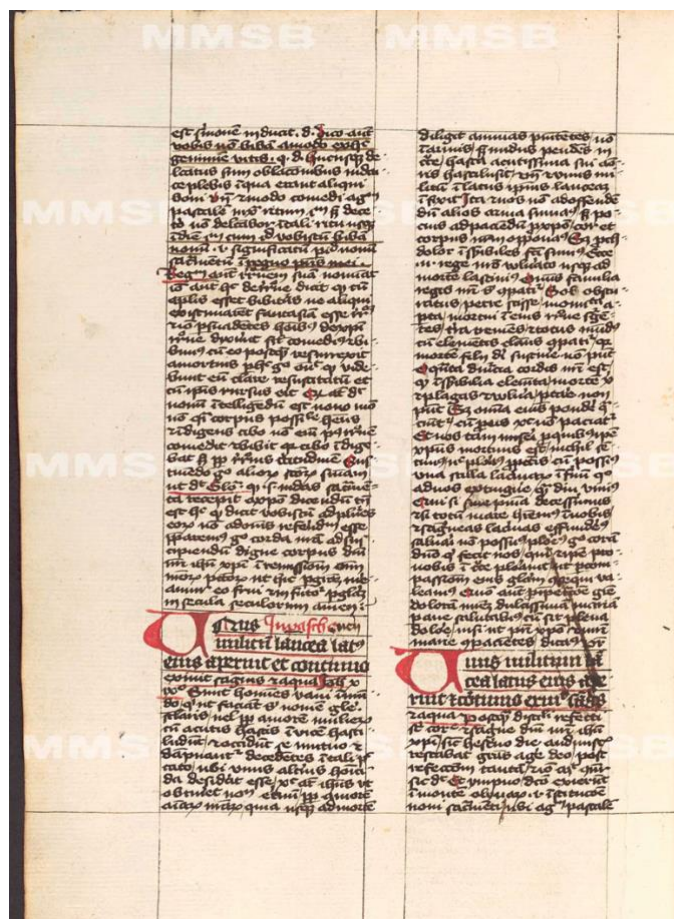


Figure 13. Milíč's *sermo historialis* in MS V.B.13, fol. 227v, Czech National Library, Prague.

Similarly to other preserved copies of the collection, all three manuscripts are in Latin. The manuscripts demonstrate some variations in spelling comparable to those I have listed in the case of the *Abortivus*. These discrepancies include the interchangeable use of vowels (“Josaphat” *P* as opposed to “Yosaphat” in *T* and *B*; “opponamus” *T*, *B* and “apponamus” *P*) and some consonants (for instance, “parascheven” *B*, *T* and “paraschephem” *P*; use of silent “h” (“homines” *B*, *T* and “omines” *P*) or more common binaries as “quod” *P*, *B* – “quot” *T*; “cherubim” *B* – “cherubin” *T*), and doubling of consonants (“apperuit” *P* and “aperuit” *B*, *T*). The following *apparatus* does not include differences in spelling or specifics of Czech Latin (for instance, as in a typical instance of “karissimi” instead of “carissimi”), which I standardized following norms of medieval Latin.

Moreover, the manuscripts contain numerous, yet minor, instances of different word order (e.g., “Montem Olivarum” *T* and *B* as opposed to “Olivarum montem” in *P*). There are also many inconsistencies as to grammatical forms (like “appellatur” *P*, *T* – “appellabatur” *B*; “desperemus” *P*, *B* – “desperaremus” *T*) as well as synonymic use of some words (“recognicione” *B* – “cognicione” *T* – “recogitacione” *P*; “ergo” *T*

– “vero” *B* – “autem” *P*) or erroneous use and omissions of syntactic elements (“vigilandum et paciendum pro me sicut promisistis” *T*, *P* – “vigilandum et paciendum pro me” *B*; “Mariam per Ave” *B*, *T* and “per Ave Maria” in *P*). Sometimes, the manuscripts use words with different meanings that probably originated because of scribal mistakes (“gracie gloriosam” *P* – “glorie dolorosam” *T*, *B*). If parts of the sermon containing these cases were taken from authoritative prooftexts, I used the latter for the edition. Otherwise, I followed the rule of the concordance of two manuscripts if they provided a grammatically fitting solution. If it was not possible, I intervened myself and chose an option that would fit the context best.

Generally, *P*, *B*, and *T* have a number of troublesome misreadings. This means that neither of the copies can be considered as a grammatically/lexically/syntactically ‘clean’ version of Milič’s Good Friday *sermo historialis*. These instances include traces of scribal confusions, which can radically distort the meaning of the text (as in the case of *T*, see footnote 933), or erroneous omissions of certain words, which would leave a sentence’s meaning unclear (as in footnote 949).

Finally, it should be mentioned that I intentionally avoided any discussion about the intertextual connections among the manuscripts because it seems impossible to place the examined copies within a hypothetical *stemma*, which would include 55 copies. Hence, the following semi-critical edition primarily aims to provide a standardized text of a previously unpublished Good Friday sermon by Milič, which the scholarship currently lacks.

Feria sexta in parascheven⁸⁶¹

Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua (Johannis decimo nono⁸⁶²). Sunt homines vani in mundo qui ut faciant sibi nomen glorie secularis vel propter amorem mulierum cum acutis hastis invicem hastiludunt et occidunt se mutuo, et dampnantur decedentes in tali peccato, ubi unus alterius homicida desiderat esse. Christus autem Jesus ut obtineret nomen eternum propter amorem animarum nostrarum, quia usque ad mortem diligit animas penitentes non in⁸⁶³ armis sed nudus pendens in cruce, hasta acutissima sui amoris hastiludit. Unde et unus militum in latus ipsius lanceam infixit. Ita et nos non ad offendendum alios arma sumamus, sed potius ad patiendum⁸⁶⁴ pro Christo cor et corpus nostrum opponamus, sed pro dolor insensibiles facti sumus.

Ecce enim rege nostro vulnerato usque ad mortem lascivimus. Omnis familia regis nostri sibi compatitur: *sol obscuratus, petre scisse, monumenta aperta, mortui in ejus resurrectione*⁸⁶⁵ *surgentes, terra tremens*,⁸⁶⁶ et totus mundus cum elementis clamans compatitur, quia mortem Filii Dei sustinere non possunt. O quanta duricia cordis nostri est quod insensibilia elementa mortem Christi et plagas et vulnera portare non possunt, sed omnia ejus pondere quatiuntur,⁸⁶⁷ cum pro eis Christus non patiat. Et nos tamen miseri, pro quibus ipse Christus mortuus est, nichil sentimus,⁸⁶⁸ nec ploramus pro peccatis⁸⁶⁹, cum possimus una stilla lacrimarum infernum quo ad nos extinguere, quamdiu vivimus. Qui si sine penitencia decesserimus et⁸⁷⁰ si totum mare haberemus in nobis et sanguineas lacrimas⁸⁷¹ effunderemus, salvari non possumus. Ploremus ergo⁸⁷² coram Domino, qui fecit nos, qui et ipse pro nobis in cruce ploravit, ut per compassionem ejus gloriam consequi valeamus. Quomodo autem pro impetracione glorie dolorosam⁸⁷³ matrem dulcissimam Mariam per Ave⁸⁷⁴ salutabimus

⁸⁶¹ In parascheven B] In die paraschephem (sic!) P

⁸⁶² nono] xix P

⁸⁶³ in] om. P

⁸⁶⁴ patiendum] compatiendum P

⁸⁶⁵ resurrectione] resurrectiones P

⁸⁶⁶ tremens] om. T

⁸⁶⁷ quatiuntur] patiuntur P

⁸⁶⁸ sentimus B, P] dolemus T

⁸⁶⁹ peccatis] peccatis nostris P

⁸⁷⁰ et] etiam P

⁸⁷¹ lacrimas] lacrimosas P

⁸⁷² ergo] om. P

⁸⁷³ glorie dolorosam] glorie gloriosam P

⁸⁷⁴ Mariam per Ave] per Ave Maria P

cum sit plena dolore? Nisi ut patri Christo et matri Marie compatientes, dicamus *Pater noster*.

Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua. Postquam discipuli refecti sunt corpore et sanguine domini nostri Jesu Christi, sicut hesterno die audistis,⁸⁷⁵ restabat gratias agere Deo post refeccionem tantam. Et ideo Mattheus⁸⁷⁶ consequenter sic dicit: *Et ymno dicto exierunt in montem Olivarum*, id est institucione⁸⁷⁷ novi sacramenti ubi agnum paschalem comederant peracta. Postquam orasset Christus pro hiis qui credituri erant in eum, in quo instruimur gratias agere facta mensa et benedictionem facere euntes ad mensam. Sanctificare⁸⁷⁸ enim cibus *per verbum et oracionem*⁸⁷⁹ sicut dicitur primo ad⁸⁸⁰ Thimotheum⁸⁸¹ IIII. Nam secundum Gregorium, sanctimonialis que lactucam sine benedictione comedit, a demonio⁸⁸² fuit arrepta. Reprehenduntur eciam illi qui benedictionem misse non expectant.

Unde Chrysostomus in omelia sic dicit: “Audiant quicumque velud porci simpliciter manducantes, cum ebrietate surgunt, cum deceret⁸⁸³ gratias agere et in ymno mensam desinere.⁸⁸⁴ Audiant quicumque ultimam oracionem in sacris misteriis non expectant. Ultima enim oracio misse illius ymni signum est.”⁸⁸⁵ “Juxta hoc exemplum salvatoris, qui pane Christi et calice⁸⁸⁶ saturatus et inebriatus fuerit, post laudare Deum et conscendere⁸⁸⁷ montem Oliveti, ubi laborum⁸⁸⁸ refeccio dolorisque⁸⁸⁹ solacium et veri luminis noticia est.”

Johannis⁸⁹⁰ xviii dicitur: *Egressus est cum discipulis suis secundum consuetudinem suam trans torrentem Cedron, ubi erat ortus, in quem introivit ipse et discipuli ejus.* Inter Jerusolimam civitatem⁸⁹¹ et montem Olivarum⁸⁹² fuit torrens

⁸⁷⁵ audistis] audivistis *P*

⁸⁷⁶ Et ideo Mattheus] Mattheus *T*

⁸⁷⁷ institucione] institucionem *P*

⁸⁷⁸ sanctificare] sanctificatur *P*

⁸⁷⁹ et oracionem] oracionis *P*

⁸⁸⁰ primo ad] primo *T*

⁸⁸¹ Thimotheum] Thimotheo *T*

⁸⁸² demonio] demone *P*

⁸⁸³ deceret] deberet *T*, decet *P*

⁸⁸⁴ desinere] desere *P*

⁸⁸⁵ ymni signum est] christiani signum est *P*

⁸⁸⁶ calice] sanguine *B*

⁸⁸⁷ conscendere] condescendere *P*

⁸⁸⁸ laborum] laboris *P*

⁸⁸⁹ dolorisque] doloris *P*

⁸⁹⁰ Johannis *P*] Et Johannis *T*, om. *B*

⁸⁹¹ Jerusolimam civitatem] civitatem Jerusalimam *B*

⁸⁹² Montem Olivarum] Olivarum montem *P*

Cedron et vocatur vallis Josaphat. *Tunc dicit*⁸⁹³ *illis Jesus*, id est⁸⁹⁴ postquam venit in locum capcionis:⁸⁹⁵ *Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me*⁸⁹⁶ *in ista nocte* ex hiis que videbitis. Scandalizati enim sunt timore mortis, quando relicto eo omnes fugierunt. Scriptum est enim Zacharie xiii, *percuciam pastorem*, id est percuti permittam, *et dispergentur oves gregis*, id est apostoli vel subditi dispergentur,⁸⁹⁷ ymo rapiuntur, quando *lupus rapit et dispergit oves*. *Postquam autem resurrexero, precedam vos in Galileam*. Respondens autem Petrus, ait illi: *et si omnes scandalizati fuerint in te, ego nunquam scandalizabor*. Unde⁸⁹⁸ Chrysostomus: “Quid dicis, o Petre? Propheta dixit: *percuciam*⁸⁹⁹ *pastorem*. Christus predixit: *timuisti* dictum de tradicionem.⁹⁰⁰ Et nunc dicis: *ego*⁹⁰¹ *nunquam scandalizabor*,” et ideo dicit Glossa quod hoc non est mendacium vel⁹⁰² temeritas sed fides apostoli Petri et ardens affectus erga Dominum.

Ait illi Jesus: Amen dico tibi, quia in hac nocte antequam gallus cantet, ter me negabis, id est ante primum galli cantum negacionem inchoabis que erit trina. Unde secundum Remigium et Jeronimum,⁹⁰³ “evangelista non attendit, quando complenda sed quando inchoanda⁹⁰⁴ erat negacio trina. Ante primum cantum galli⁹⁰⁵ negavit eum semel, deinde post primum galli cantum et ante secundum negavit eum bis.⁹⁰⁶ Ideo⁹⁰⁷ dicitur Marci xiiii: *Priusquam gallus bis vocem dederit*,⁹⁰⁸ *ter me negabis*. Mattheus ergo⁹⁰⁹ notavit compleccionem trine⁹¹⁰ negacionis, alii evangeliste inchoacionem.”

Ait illi Petrus: Et si oportuerit me mori tecum, non te negabo. Secundum Chrysostomum, “triplex est Petri incusatio. Primo, quia Christo contradixit. Secundo, quia aliis se pretulit. Tercio, quia sibi totum⁹¹¹ attribuit, quasi in ipso esset⁹¹² non

⁸⁹³ dicit] dixit *P*

⁸⁹⁴ id est] om. *P*

⁸⁹⁵ capcionis] passionis *corr.* capcionis *B*

⁸⁹⁶ in me] in me videbitis *P*

⁸⁹⁷ subditi dispergentur] subditi *T*

⁸⁹⁸ Unde] Et unde *B*

⁸⁹⁹ percuciam] percucio *P*

⁹⁰⁰ dictum de tradicionem] de tradicionem dictum *T*

⁹⁰¹ ego] om. *P*

⁹⁰² vel] et *T*

⁹⁰³ Jeronimum] Augustinum *Gorranus*

⁹⁰⁴ quando complenda sed quando inchoanda] quando complenda *T*

⁹⁰⁵ cantum galli] galli cantum *P*

⁹⁰⁶ Ante primum cantum galli negavit eum semel, deinde post primum galli cantum et ante secundum negavit eum bis *T, P*] Ante primum galli cantum et ante secundum negavit eum bis *B*

⁹⁰⁷ Ideo] Et ideo *P*

⁹⁰⁸ Dederit *B, P, T*] cantet *Mark 14*

⁹⁰⁹ ergo *T*] vero *B*; autem *P*

⁹¹⁰ trine] om. *P*

⁹¹¹ sibi totum] totum sibi *B*

⁹¹² ipso esset] ipso *T*

scandalizari et mori pro Christo et non potuit⁹¹³ ex Dei gracia.” Unde gerit typum quorundam, qui multa promittunt sed⁹¹⁴ solvendo deficiunt. *Similiter*⁹¹⁵ id est eodem amore et⁹¹⁶ fervore. *Et omnes discipuli dixerunt*, sed non perseveraverunt. Sed quare Deus permisit Petrum cadere? Primo, ut nullus de se presumat. Secundo, ut plus Christo quam sibi quisque credat. Tercio, ut comprimetur ejus audacia.⁹¹⁷ Quarto, ut alii exemplo nutrentur. Quinto, ut Petrus aliique prelati discerent qualiter subditis compati deberent. Sexto, ut error hereticorum confunderetur dicentium quod caritas semel habita non amittatur⁹¹⁸ nec amissa possit⁹¹⁹ iterum haberi, cujus contrarium omnino patuit in Petro. *Tunc venit Jesus cum illis*⁹²⁰ in villam, que dicitur Gethsemani. Hec villa est in radice montis Oliveti, juxta campum qui sic dicebatur et ideo sic vocata est, et est trans torrentem Cedron. Dicitur ergo venisse in villam, quia venit prope. Unde Marci xiiii dicitur: *venit in predium cui nomen*⁹²¹ *Getsemani*. Interpretatur autem Gestemani vallis pinguium in quo est⁹²² locus congruus oracioni, quia⁹²³ per vallem humilitas, per pinguedinem devocio designatur.

*Et dixit discipulis suis:*⁹²⁴ *Sedete hic donec vadam illuc et orem. Tunc assumpsit secum Petrum, Jacobum*⁹²⁵ *et cepit contristari*. Bene dicitur *cepit*,⁹²⁶ quia tristitia non est dominata ejus animo. *Et mestus esse*. Et Marci xiiii dicitur: *cepit pavere et tedere*. Et Luce xxii: *Factus est sudor ejus quasi gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram*.⁹²⁷ *Tunc ait illi: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*, id est⁹²⁸ tristitia que est in me pro perdicione impiorum durabit in me donec mortuus fuero. *Sustinere hic*, scilicet pondus tribulationis, *et vigilate mecum*, non cum diabolo, non cum mundo.

⁹¹³ potuit B, T, P] potius Gorranus

⁹¹⁴ sed] sed in P

⁹¹⁵ deficiunt. Similiter B, P, Gorranus] deficient T

⁹¹⁶ et] in P

⁹¹⁷ audacia] audaciam T

⁹¹⁸ amittatur] amittitur P, B

⁹¹⁹ possit] potest P

⁹²⁰ cum illis] venit Jesus T; cum eis B

⁹²¹ cui nomen] om. T

⁹²² in quo est] in quo T

⁹²³ quia] om. P

⁹²⁴ suis] om. T

⁹²⁵ Jacobum et Johannem] et Jacobum T

⁹²⁶ cepit] cepit contristari T

⁹²⁷ Factus est sudor ejus quasi gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram] Factus est sudor ejus quasi sanguis B

⁹²⁸ id est] om. P

Unde Jeronimus:⁹²⁹ “parem⁹³⁰ secum vigilanciam imperat quibus eadem passio imminebat”. Notandum quod passio turbans potest in anima tripliciter accidere. Aut⁹³¹ preter imperium et iudicium rationis, ut motus subditus qui appellatur⁹³² propassio. Aut contra imperium et iudicium rationis, ut motus progressivus usque ad perturbacionem rationis. Vel, a sua rectitudine, ut in malis, vel, a sua tranquillitate, ut in bonis et imperfectis qui dicitur passio.⁹³³ Aut secundum imperium et iudicium rationis, ut motus a ratione imperatus et ordinatus, ut turbacio penitentis vel compacientis. Primo modo passiones sunt in omnibus puris hominibus et perfectis. Secundo modo in imperfectis solum.⁹³⁴ Tercio modo in Christo, quia in eo⁹³⁵ totaliter subdita sensualitas erat rationi, et ratio inferior superiori, et superior Deo. Nec tamen una potencia impendebat aliam in opere suo naturali.

Unde Damascenus: “Est timor naturalis nolente anima dividi a corpore propter eam que ex principio a conditore impleta est naturalem familiaritatem”. Sicut enim miles timore sensitivo timet intrare campum certaminis trementibus membris,⁹³⁶ voluntate tota intrat, licet palor et tremor sensualitatis aliud demonstrent.⁹³⁷ Unde secundum Bernardum, noluit eciam Christus ostendere passionem et timorem, ne nos desperemus,⁹³⁸ quando caro nostra horret passionem, ut majores aculeos amoris et stimulos ad eum haberemus,⁹³⁹ sentientes in corde Christi plagas,⁹⁴⁰ pungentes nos et excitantes ad bonum. Tristabatur eciam pro scandalo discipulorum et pro ingratitude peccatorum. Quanto autem vivacior fuit sensualitas in Christo, tanto maiorem sensit dolorem. Unde Jeronimus: “Contristatur autem non timore paciendi qui ad hoc venerat, sed propter infelicem Judam et scandalum apostolorum et ejectionem populi et crucifixionem misere Jerusalem”.

⁹²⁹ Jeronimus] Rabanus *Gorranus*

⁹³⁰ parem] parens *P*

⁹³¹ aut] ut *T*

⁹³² appellatur] appellabatur *B*

⁹³³ Aut contra imperium et iudicium rationis, ut motus progressivus usque ad perturbacionem rationis. Vel, a sua rectitudine, ut in malis, vel, a sua tranquillitate, ut in bonis et imperfectis qui dicitur passio] Aut contra imperium et iudicium rationis. Vel, a sua rectitudine, ut in malis, vel, a sua tranquillitate, ut in bonis et imperfectis qui dicitur passio. Aut contra iudicium et imperium rationis, ut motus progressivus usque ad perturbacionem rationis. Vel, a sua rectitudine, ut in malis, vel, a sua tranquillitate, ut in bonis et imperfectis qui dicitur passio. *T*

⁹³⁴ solum] om. *T*

⁹³⁵ eo] ea *T*

⁹³⁶ trementibus membris *P*] trementibus in membris *T*; membris trementibus *B*

⁹³⁷ demonstrent *P*] demonstrarent *B*; demonstrant *T*

⁹³⁸ desperemus] desperaremus *T*

⁹³⁹ ad eum haberemus] haberemus ad eum *T*

⁹⁴⁰ Christi plagas] plagas Christi *T*

*Et progressus*⁹⁴¹ *pusillum*, id est aliquantulum⁹⁴² separatus ab eis. Unde Luce xxii dicitur: *ipse avulsus est*⁹⁴³ *ab eis quantum jactus lapidis est*⁹⁴⁴ *procidit in*⁹⁴⁵ *faciem suam*. Ut secundum Jeronimum, “humilitatem mentis, habitu corporis ostendat”, *orans et dicens: Pater mi, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste*. Ecce pia oratio. Hec est contra superbos, qui ligati ligis flectere genua non possunt et si cadunt, resurgere non possunt. Fideles autem christiani non solum docentur flectere genua⁹⁴⁶ in ecclesiis vel in suis cubiculis sed etiam in faciem adinstar crucis cadere in oratione. Si enim Christus non solum vestimenta sed etiam faciem suam divinam in hoc non curabat quin in terram prosterneret, quanto magis nos facies nostras et vestimenta in terram prosternere indigemus, sicut dicit Augustinus in sermone de Domino nostro: “scriptum est quod procidens in terram ita oraverit, ut ab eo gutte sanguinis stillarent. Quid enim⁹⁴⁷ indigebat Christus, ut taliter supplicaret? Non ille quidquam indigebat, sed nobis exemplo suo⁹⁴⁸ oracionis remedia preparabat. Orat misericordia, et non orat miseria. Orat caritas, et non humiliatur iniquitas. Prostratus in terra orat medicus, et non humiliatur egrotus. Orat innocencia, et non orat nequicia. Orat qui peccatum non fecit, *nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus*. Et non se prosternit multis peccatis⁹⁴⁹ obnoxius. Orat iudex et desiderat parcere, et non orat reus, ut indulgenciam mereatur accipere. Orat iudicaturus, et orare dissimulat⁹⁵⁰ iudicandus. Non ergo pigeat nostram infirmitatem quod⁹⁵¹ unusquisque prostratus in terra seipse humiliet.” Fuit etiam hec oratio fiducialis cum dixit Christus: *Pater mi, omnia tibi possibilia sunt*. Unde Bernardus “oratio que nomine paterno dulcescit, mihi prestat fiduciam impetrandi⁹⁵²”.

Si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste, verumtamen non mea voluntas sed tua fiat. *Transeat*, id est subito pretereat, ut transferatur in resurrectionem, vel *transeat a me*⁹⁵³, id est a membris meis, id est a discipulis et eorum sequacibus, ut non timeant sed audacter sustineant passionem ne timore mortis cadant in infidelitatem. Dicit autem:

⁹⁴¹ progressus] egressus *T*

⁹⁴² aliquantulum] aliquantum *T*

⁹⁴³ est] om. *T*

⁹⁴⁴ jactus lapidis est] jactus est lapidis *T*

⁹⁴⁵ in] om. *T*

⁹⁴⁶ flectere genua] flectere ienua *T*; genua flectere *P*

⁹⁴⁷ Quid enim] Quid *T*

⁹⁴⁸ suo] sue *B*

⁹⁴⁹ multis peccatis] multis *B, T, P*

⁹⁵⁰ orare dissimulat] dissimulat orare *T*

⁹⁵¹ nostram infirmitatem quod] infirmitatem nostram quod *T*

⁹⁵² prestat fiduciam impetrandi *B*] fiduciam prestat impetrandi *P*, prestat fiduciam petendi *T*

⁹⁵³ a me] om. *T*

Non sicut ego volo sed sicut tu. In quo notatur quod “voluntas humana⁹⁵⁴ duplex distinguuitur. Quedam deliberativa, et hec in Christo semper fuit conformis voluntati divine. Alia naturalis que semper tendit ad unum, et hec non semper fuit conformis voluntati divine in volito,⁹⁵⁵ sed fuit in modo volendi, scilicet, ut vellet quod Deus volebat eam velle, et sic non est⁹⁵⁶ proprie contrarietas voluntatum. Nam homo naturaliter bona voluntate vult virum sanctum non mori.” *Et venit ad discipulos suos,* scilicet de loco in quo oraverat⁹⁵⁷ solus, *et invenit eos dormientes,* videlicet pre tristitia.

Unde Beda:⁹⁵⁸ “sompnus corporis prefiguratio erat quod in proximo gravandi erant sompno infidelitatis.” Ideo dixit Chrysostomus: “qui cum Christo mori elegerant, nec vigilare poterant, nec contristari.” “Nos dormicamus, Domine, te pro nobis orante. Excita nos ut vigilemus,⁹⁵⁹ ne in⁹⁶⁰ temptationes intremus sompniorum.” *Et ait Petro: Sic non potuisti⁹⁶¹ una hora vigilare mecum?* Tu, futurus pastor,⁹⁶² plus vigilare debes quam alii. Nunc autem ostendis virtutem quam promittebas. “*Vigilate, et orate ut non intretis in temptationem.* Non enim est in temptationibus dormiendum sed vigilandum. *Spiritus quidem⁹⁶³ promptus est⁹⁶⁴ caro autem infirma* semper ad vigilandum et paciendum pro me sicut promisistis.⁹⁶⁵ *Iterum autem abiit secundo et oravit eundem sermonem, dicens: Pater mi, si non potest transire hic calix nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua.* Est iteratio in oracione propter devocionem augendam⁹⁶⁶ sicut hic. Est etiam iteratio viciosa propter negligenciam non attendentis et hoc est viciosum. Sicut dicitur Ecclesiastici vii: *Ne iteres verbum in oracione.*

Et venit iterum et invenit eos dormientes. Erant enim oculi eorum gravati. Et relictis illis, iterum abiit et oravit tercio eundem sermonem, dicens. Oculi enim eorum erant gravati, scilicet⁹⁶⁷ oculi interiores languore corporis et tristicie, exteriores vigiliarum longitudine. Ter ergo oravit, ut, secundo Rabanum, nos orare doceret,

⁹⁵⁴ humana] om. *B*

⁹⁵⁵ volito] velle *T*

⁹⁵⁶ est] om. *P*

⁹⁵⁷ oraverat] oravit *B*

⁹⁵⁸ Unde Beda] Dicit enim Beda *P*

⁹⁵⁹ vigilemus] vigileamus *P*

⁹⁶⁰ ne in] om. *T*

⁹⁶¹ potuisti] potuistis *Bible*

⁹⁶² Futurus pastor] futurum pastor et *T*

⁹⁶³ quidem] enim *P*

⁹⁶⁴ est] est, sed *P*

⁹⁶⁵ vigilandum et paciendum pro me sicut promisistis.] vigilandum et paciendum pro me. *B*

⁹⁶⁶ augendam] agendam *T*

⁹⁶⁷ scilicet] id est *T*

scilicet⁹⁶⁸ propter preteritorum peccatorum veniam et propter presencium tutelam et contra futurorum caucelam. Vel secundum quod, tres vires anime exerceamus nos in oracione quod rationalis potencia sit sollicita in meditando, concupiscibilis sit fervens in desiderando et irascibilis sit fortis mala detestando.

*Apparuit autem*⁹⁶⁹ *angelus de celo, confortans eum*. Nota quod angelus apparuit Christo. Non tamen oculo mentis sic enim semper videbat angelos, cum esset non tantum viator sed eciam comprehensor, et ejus anima erat⁹⁷⁰ divinitati personaliter et visione facili unita⁹⁷¹ et ejus intellectus non per fantasmata, sed intuitive cognosceret spiritualia. Sed apparuit ei corporaliter in assumpto corpore. *Confortans eum*, id est ad modum confortantis se habens vel forte aliqua verba consolatoria⁹⁷² dixit, non propter Christi indigenciam, quia fuit ab instanti conceptionis sue perfecte beatus.⁹⁷³ Ideo non indigebat angelo custode nec confortacione, quia adversarius ejus non potuit corpus unitum deitati opprimere per violenciam nec animam ejus seducere per astuciam. Sed propter exemplum nostrum apparuit illi⁹⁷⁴ angelus. Luce:⁹⁷⁵ *Et factus*⁹⁷⁶ *in agonia, prolixius orabat et factus est sudor ejus sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram*. Hec est prewise mortis angustia. Ista⁹⁷⁷ agonia potest dici mortis instantis anxietas, quam presentem providebat et dicitur tunc⁹⁷⁸ fuisse in agonia, sicut infirmi in extremis laborantes. Sed quare⁹⁷⁹ cum secundo venit ad eos. Non redarguit eos, quia, secundum Chrysostomum: “Ita subversi erant pre tristicia, ut neque presenciam ejus sentirent, sed non excitat, neque rursus increpat, ut non stupefaciat stupefactos.” Et nota quod sudor ille significat vehemenciam anxietatis, sicut in multis potest laborantibus in extremis, sed gutte sanguinis forte fluxerunt⁹⁸⁰ miraculose. Et hec fuit privilegium in Christo. Vel si fuit naturaliter tunc fuit signum maxime interioris commocionis. Vel vehemencia anxietatis omnia sustinenda in passione et in morte preidentis.

⁹⁶⁸ scilicet] id est *T*

⁹⁶⁹ autem] autem de *T*; autem illi *Luke*

⁹⁷⁰ et ejus anima erat] et ejus anima ejus *T*

⁹⁷¹ visione facili unita] visione unita sociali *T*

⁹⁷² consolatoria] consolatoria ei *T*

⁹⁷³ perfecte beatus] beatus perfecte *T*

⁹⁷⁴ illi] ille *B*

⁹⁷⁵ Luce] om. *B*

⁹⁷⁶ factus] profectus *T*

⁹⁷⁷ Ista] om. *T*

⁹⁷⁸ dicitur tunc] tunc dicitur *T*

⁹⁷⁹ Sed quare] quare *B*

⁹⁸⁰ fluxerunt *Gorranus*] fluxuerunt *B, T*; fluerunt *P*

*Tunc venit ad discipulos suos post trinam oracionem et dicit illis: Dormite jam et requiescite. Ecce appropinquavit hora et filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum. Surgite, eamus, scilicet, obviam proditori et prosecutoribus, ut non timentes vel latentes nos inveniant et videant, ut passionem omnino voluntariam sciant. Ecce appropinquat qui me tradet. Ecce quasi fervens desiderium Christi quod habuit ad nostram redemptionem, quia turbe et proditori non solum se manifestavit⁹⁸¹ sed etiam occurrit sicut bonus miles vel rex non expectat hostem venturum, ne cum inveniatur desperatum et ex hoc fortificetur, sed occurrit hosti, ut eum prosternat occursum magnifico prosternendo et terrendo. Nota quod dicit *qui me tradet* prope est non amicitia sed avaricia ymo prope loco, cognicione et familiaritate. Isto modo mystice sunt prope Christum clerici corpus Christi indignis dantes vel in peccato mortali celebrantes. Unde *qui intingit in animam mecum manum*⁹⁸² *in parapside hic me tradet. Adhuc eo loquente ecce Judas unus ex xii. Ecce familiaris qui corpus Christi post cenam sumpsit, magnificavit contra Christum supplantacionem. Quanti sunt qui Christo communiant et eum supplantant dum ejus corpus sumunt et sic veritatem tradunt!**

*Et cum eo turba multa, videlicet tribunus,*⁹⁸³ *ministri pontificum et phariseorum, scilicet Anne et Cayphe. Ecce dignitas officii et sciencia legis debebat eos abstrahere a nepharia hac operatione. Acceperunt autem ministros utriusque potestatis et secularis et spiritualis, ut nemo resistere auderet videns utramque potestatem. Cum laternis, quia in abscondito latebat eorum ypocrisis. Facibus*⁹⁸⁴ *fumum magnum et lumen parvum faciunt. Et armis, scilicet cum gladiis et fustibus*⁹⁸⁵ *ne quis resistere audeat. Johannis:*⁹⁸⁶ *Sciens autem Jesus omnia que ventura erant super eum, processit et dicit eis:*⁹⁸⁷ *Quem queritis?* Ecce voluntarius et sciens ivit ad passionem. Querit etiam non ignorans, sed ut ostenderet eis quod si nollet non cognoscentur⁹⁸⁸ eum etiam presentem. Nec enim visu, nec auditu eum cognoverunt,⁹⁸⁹ donec se manifestavit etiam a familiari Juda non cognoscebatur.⁹⁹⁰ Sciebat autem et Judas⁹⁹¹ eum locum, quia frequenter Jesus

⁹⁸¹ manifestavit] manifestavit *T*

⁹⁸² manum] om. *T*

⁹⁸³ tribunus] tribunus et *T*

⁹⁸⁴ facibus] facibusque *T*

⁹⁸⁵ et] om. *T*

⁹⁸⁶ Johannis] om. *B*

⁹⁸⁷ eis] ad eos *T*

⁹⁸⁸ cognoscentur] agnoscentur *T*

⁹⁸⁹ cognoverunt] agnoverunt *T*

⁹⁹⁰ cognoscebatur] agnoscebatur *T*

⁹⁹¹ Judas] Judas qui tradebat *T*

convenerat illuc cum discipulis suis. *Responderunt ei: Jesum Nazarenum. Dicit eis Jesus: Ego sum. Stabat autem et Judas qui tradebat eum cum ipsis. Ut ergo dixit eis:*⁹⁹² *Ego sum. Abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram. Quodam enim igneum vel fulmineum apparens in ejus oculis ipsos prostravit tamquam tonitruo. Unde Augustinus:* “Quid faciet judicaturus, si hec fecit judicandus?”

*Iterum interrogavit eos: Quem queritis? Illi autem dixerunt: Jesum Nazarenum. Respondit eis ille: Dixi vobis, quia ego sum. Si ergo me*⁹⁹³ *queritis, sinite hos abire. Quos nollent abire, dicebant*⁹⁹⁴ *enim pro convertendis gentibus manere in mundo. Ut impleretur sermo, quem dixit. Quia quos dedisti mihi, non perdam ex eis quemquam. Dederat autem eis traditor signum dicens: Quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum. Et additur Marcus xiiii: Et ducite caute. Unde secundum Origenem,* “dignum est querere, cum secundum faciem notus esset omnibus habitantibus in Judea. Quare, quasi⁹⁹⁵ non cognoscentibus effigiem ejus, dedit eis signum. Venit autem talis tradicio de eo ad nos:⁹⁹⁶ quoniam non solum due forme in eo fuerunt. Una secundum quam eum omnes⁹⁹⁷ videbant, altera secundum quam⁹⁹⁸ transfiguratus est coram discipulis in monte. Sed etiam unicuique apparebat secundum quod⁹⁹⁹ fuerat dignus. Sicut et de manna scriptum est quod habebat saporem¹⁰⁰⁰ ad omnem usum convenientem et verbum Dei non similiter cunctis apparet. Propter huiusmodi ergo transfigurationes ejus signo indigebant.” Etiam secundum Chrysostomum, propter hec dedit eis signum, quia sepius detentus ab eis elapsus fuit de manibus eorum. Et hic arguitur eorum fatuitas, quia et tunc credere debebant hec eum posse facturum.¹⁰⁰¹ Item ne Jacobum loco Christi caperent qui erat ei similis. Putabant etiam, quia mayca arte vel diabolica signa fecisset, et ideo non semper posset evadere.

Quare osculo tradit Christum? Nisi ne deprehenderetur¹⁰⁰² fore traditor, quia Christus consueverat discipulos redeuntes capere¹⁰⁰³ ad osculum cum a predicatione

⁹⁹² dixit eis] eis dixit *T*

⁹⁹³ me] mei *B*

⁹⁹⁴ Quos nollent abire, dicebant] Secundum Augustinum, “faciunt, quod jubet, sinunt abire. Debebant *T*

⁹⁹⁵ quasi] quia se *T*

⁹⁹⁶ ad nos] ad duo *B*

⁹⁹⁷ eum omnes] omnes eum *T*

⁹⁹⁸ quam] quam est *T*

⁹⁹⁹ quod] om. *T*

¹⁰⁰⁰ saporem] om. *T*

¹⁰⁰¹ hec cum posse facturum] hec est factum *T*

¹⁰⁰² deprehendentur] reprehenderetur *T*

¹⁰⁰³ capere] accipere *T*

redierent.¹⁰⁰⁴ Judas vero¹⁰⁰⁵ quia exiverat post buccellam acceptam, venit cum osculo ad tradendum tamquam salutans. *Et confestim accedens ad Jesum dixit: Ave rabi. Et osculatus est eum* tamquam domesticus, sed fur erat. Salutavit tamquam discipulus, sed insidiator erat. Osculatus est tamquam amicus, sed inimicus erat. Infelix signum ubi per pacem bellum, per osculum homicidium, per salutacionem condemnacio procuratur. Hujus¹⁰⁰⁶ figura precessit II Reg. xx, ubi dicitur quod Joab osculatus est Amazam, dicens: “Salve, mi frater.” *Et tenens manu dextra*¹⁰⁰⁷ *mentum ejus, quasi osculans*, percussit eum gladio in inguine et effudit intestina ejus. Christus non simulans dedit osculum, sed ne fugeret prodicionem, Judas autem proditorie et dolose. Ideo in vituperium *dixit ei Jesus: Amice, ad quid venisti?* Unde Origenes: “Dicit *amice* impropere simulacionem. Hoc enim nomine neminem bonorum in scripturis cognoscimus appellatum. Ad malum enim dicitur: *amice, quomodo huc intrasti?* Et iterum: *amice, non facio tibi injuriam.*” Beatus autem Bernardus dicit quod Christus voluit per hoc eum¹⁰⁰⁸ retrahere a malo proposito¹⁰⁰⁹ per hec quod rememoraretur¹⁰¹⁰ veteris amicitie quanta fuit sibi a Christo exhibita.¹⁰¹¹ Unde dicit¹⁰¹² Jeronimus: Judas nec communio sacramenti, nec locione¹⁰¹³ pedum, nec osculo amicabile frangitur, quin tradat Christum. Sic indigne committantibus sicut Jude dici potest: *osculo filium hominis tradis?*

*Tunc accesserunt, et manus injecerunt in Jesum*¹⁰¹⁴ irreverenter et indebite. *Et tenuerunt eum* fortiter et impie sicut lupi oves divellentes, trahentes et dilacerantes.¹⁰¹⁵ *Et ecce unus ex his qui erant cum Jesu*, Petrus videlicet, *extendens manum, exemit gladium suum, et percutiens servum principis sacerdotum amputavit auriculam ejus dextram. Erat eutem nomen servo Malchus*. Caput ejus se amputare putavit, zelans pro Domino sicut Phinees pro lege Domini. Unde Ambrosius: Auriculam ejus amputavit, quia non obaudientem signavit, quasi diceret: ut quid tibi aures, ex quo non audis Dominum salvatorem? *Tunc ait illi Jesus: converte gladium tuum in locum suum*, id est

¹⁰⁰⁴ redierent] om. *T*

¹⁰⁰⁵ vero] ergo *T*

¹⁰⁰⁶ Hujus] Cujus *T*

¹⁰⁰⁷ dextra] om. *T*

¹⁰⁰⁸ per hoc eum] eum per hoc *T*

¹⁰⁰⁹ a malo proposito] proposito a malo *T*

¹⁰¹⁰ rememoraretur] rememoratur *T*

¹⁰¹¹ sibi a Christo exhibita] a Christo sibi exhibita *T*

¹⁰¹² dicit] om. *T*

¹⁰¹³ nec locione] nec locione, nec locione *T*

¹⁰¹⁴ Jesum] eum *T*

¹⁰¹⁵ dilacerantes] lacerantes *T*

in vaginam. Omnis enim qui accepit gladium,¹⁰¹⁶ gladio peribit, quasi diceret: cesset vindicta ut exhibeatur paciencia. Unde Augustinus contra Faustum: “Omnis qui adversus fuerit gladio ille abutitur gladio qui nulla superiore ac¹⁰¹⁷ legitima potestate vel iubente, vel concedente in sanguinem alicujus armatur. Nam utique Dominus jusserat ut ferum discipuli ejus¹⁰¹⁸ ferrent, sed non jusserat ut ferirent. Quod ergo indignum si Petrus post hoc peccatum factus est pastor ecclesie sicut Moyses post percussum Egiptium factus est princeps synagoge? Uterque enim rector non detestabili inmanitate sed emendabili animositate regulam excessit, uterque odio improbitatis aliene, sed ille fraterno, iste dominico, licet adhuc carnali tamen amore peccavit.”

*An putas, quia non possum rogare patrem meum et exhibebit mihi modo plusquam xii legiones angelorum, quasi diceret secundum Jeronimum: “Non indigeo auxilio xii apostolorum qui possum habere xii legiones angelorum.” Unus angelus in castris Sennacherib occidit centum lxxxv millia armatorum, duodecies sex sunt lxxii quod sunt lingue gentium. Si ergo omnes nationes consurgant contra me, non est eque¹⁰¹⁹ ferendum, quia plus possunt legiones angelorum. Omnes autem nationes et lingue consurgent contra Judeos cum romanis principibus Tito et Vespasiano. Dicit ergo adhuc Petro: *Calicem quem dedit mihi pater non vis ut bibam illum. Quomodo ergo implebuntur scripture, scilicet si non sic fiat, quasi diceret si aliter fieret quam sic, non implerentur prophecie in quibus scriptum est: Quia sic oportet fieri, scilicet Christum pati ad nostram redempcionem. Christus autem et habens auctoritatem puniendi, et non habens rancorem. Tamen pocius aurem inimici sanavit. Et ideo dicitur Luce xxii: Et cum tetigisset auriculam ejus, sanavit eam. Non percussit eum ad incitandum hostes ad pietatem. Secundum autem Chrysostomum, sanavit eum qui Paulo post Christo alapam¹⁰²⁰ daturus erat in exemplum nobis secundum illud benefacite hiis qui vos oderunt.**

In illa hora, scilicet qua comprehenderant¹⁰²¹ eum,¹⁰²² dixit Jesus turbis tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me. Ecce “mansuetudo Domini que tam dulciter persecutores suos allocuta est, tam dulci interrogacione redarguit ut ipsorum nequiciam compesceret et nos ad imitationem sue

¹⁰¹⁶ accepit gladium] gladio pugnat *T*

¹⁰¹⁷ ac] aut *T*

¹⁰¹⁸ ejus] om. *T*

¹⁰¹⁹ est eque] egio *T*

¹⁰²⁰ Christo alapam] alapam Christo *T*

¹⁰²¹ comprehenderant] apprehendarent *T*

¹⁰²² eum] Jesum *T*

benignitatis¹⁰²³ utiliter invitaret.” *Cottidie aput vos sedebam*,¹⁰²⁴ sicut de vobis securus, *docens in templo et non me tenuistis*. Ecce compassionis miseracio tamquam latro captus, tamquam latro suspensus et plusquam latro morti addictus,¹⁰²⁵ quia Barrabas pro ipso electus, quasi diceret ex quo sine armis potuistis causam meam scire an sit latronis vel justi causa. Ut quid opus est tenebris cum in luce docuerim, ut quid opus armis qui dixi: *Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato*. Scribitur:¹⁰²⁶ *Sed hec hora vestra et potestas tenebrarum*, hora in quam eorum qui in tenebris agunt et in ypocrisi facta sua.

*Tunc discipuli*¹⁰²⁷ *omnes, relicto eo, fugerunt*.¹⁰²⁸ Predixerat¹⁰²⁹ eis Jesus: *omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me in ista nocte*. Tollerabilius fuit ut fugerent quam sic non fugientes negarent¹⁰³⁰ Christum. Unde et Petrus de fuga non tamen arguitur sicut de negatione, quia qui firmi non sunt, tollerabilius est ut non incipiant bonum quam incipiendo non possunt¹⁰³¹ ad effectum deducere pre timore. Eciam ex hoc passio Christi eo victoriosior et fortior est, ex quo omnibus fugientibus et nemine assistente solus vicit. Secundum illud Psalmista: *Elongasti a me amicum et proximum et notos meos a miseria*. Et iterum: *amici mei et proximi mei adversum me appropinquaverunt*. Omnes erant in mensa amici mense, sed in temptatione omnes fugerunt.¹⁰³² Sic omnes accedunt ad altare, sed pauci in temptatione manent, tamen diversimodo,¹⁰³³ quia quidam ex fragilitate, quidam ex malicia exemplum de apostolis qui postea reversi¹⁰³⁴ sunt et de Juda qui nunquam est reversus. Sic nunc omnes quidem querunt¹⁰³⁵ questum, sed non exponunt corpus, tamquam Christus pro humana salute qui neque per angelum, neque per vicarium, sed per se ipsum nos redemit.

Considera, secundum Bernardum, “quis fuit dolor ille quando discipuli sui devotissimi et amantissimi abierunt quando oportuit quod a magistro suo dilectissimo

¹⁰²³ benignitatis] bonitatis *B*

¹⁰²⁴ sedebam] eram *T*

¹⁰²⁵ addictus] addicus *T*

¹⁰²⁶ Scribitur] om. *T*

¹⁰²⁷ discipuli] discipuli ejus *T*

¹⁰²⁸ fugerunt] fugierunt *B*

¹⁰²⁹ predixerat] predixerat enim *T*

¹⁰³⁰ negarent] negare *T*

¹⁰³¹ possunt] possent *T*

¹⁰³² fugerunt *T, Bible*] fugierunt *B*

¹⁰³³ diversimodo] diversimode *B*

¹⁰³⁴ reversi] diversi *T*

¹⁰³⁵ querunt] om. *T*

separarentur. O quam inviti, o quam desolati,¹⁰³⁶ o qualiter plorantes,¹⁰³⁷ o quales voces et clamores et suspiria dantes, sicut orphani recedebant. Perpende quod recedentes dicebant: O magister bone, o¹⁰³⁸ dulcis pater, o benigne Domine, quomodo ita separamur a te, quomodo, pater sancte, filii tui fugiunt a te? Quo ibimus, Domine? Hec et multa similia dicere poterant. O quotiens retro respiciebant videntes qualiter Dominus suus ligatus et sine honore trahebatur! O quotiens in terram se projeciebant et ad celum clamabant!”

Adolescens autem quidam sequebatur eum amictus sindone super nudo. Qui relicto sindone nudus evasit. Quidam dicunt Jacobum fuisse, quidam juvenem de domo¹⁰³⁹ in quam agnum manducabant, sed Beda dicit “credibile fore Johannem qui etsi caritate non fuit repletus ut usque ad mortem tunc Christum sequeretur, tamen usque ad detencionem paratus fuit Christo assistere.” Postea tamen sequebatur eos in atrium principis sacerdotum non tamquam unus ex eis sed potius tamquam testis fidelis qui debuit omnia conscribere et que vidit et que audivit. *Cohors*¹⁰⁴⁰ ergo et *tribunus comprehenderunt Jesum*¹⁰⁴¹ et adduxerunt eum ad Annam primum, quia erat socer *Caiphe pontificis anni illius*. Quia ergo senior fuit, honoravit eum Caiphas¹⁰⁴² ut primo ab eo judicaretur. Item ne tamquam junior solus judicaretur reus in sanguine Christi.¹⁰⁴³ Ideo voluit habere compeccantem¹⁰⁴⁴ ut qui in simonia juncti erant et sacerdocium vicissim emebant, eciam in crimine simul jungerentur,¹⁰⁴⁵ vel, quia ejus domus vicinior erat, ne preterirent eum¹⁰⁴⁶ qui in futuro anno debebat sacerdocium iterum regere. Ex hiis causis duxerunt eum ad Annam primum. Ad denotandum ergo¹⁰⁴⁷ quomodo iniqui essent pontifices judicantes nominatim adducitur Caiphas et Annas.

Sequebatur autem Jesum Simon, Petrus a longe ut videret finem et alius discipulus, scilicet Johannes, qui erat notus pontifici et introduxit Petrum. Unde secundum Chrysostomum, hoc Johannes non dicit causa jactancie quasi magnum esset

¹⁰³⁶ desolati] devoti *Ps-Bernardus*

¹⁰³⁷ plorantes] plorant *T*

¹⁰³⁸ o] et *T*

¹⁰³⁹ de domo] om. *T*

¹⁰⁴⁰ Cohors] Choors *T*

¹⁰⁴¹ Jesum] Jesum et ligaverunt eum *T*

¹⁰⁴² honoravit eum Caiphas] honoraverunt eum *T*

¹⁰⁴³ Christi] om. *T*

¹⁰⁴⁴ ompeccantem] consocietacem *T*

¹⁰⁴⁵ ut qui in simonia juncti erant et sacerdocium vicissim emebant. Eciam in crimine simul jungerentur] ideo et qui simul jungerentur *T*

¹⁰⁴⁶ eum] om. *T*

¹⁰⁴⁷ ergo] om. *T*

notum esse pontifici, ymo esset periculosum¹⁰⁴⁸ esse notum malo pontifici in malo, sed solum hoc posuit ne quis credat eum ex magnitudine cordis intrasse sed solum propter noticiam. *Petrus autem stabat ad ostium foris* introeunte Johanne. Johannes autem dixit ostiarie et ostiaria introduxit Petrum. Et¹⁰⁴⁹ quare¹⁰⁵⁰ Johannes non introduxit Petrum sed ancille persuasit ut faceret? Nisi quia, secundum Chrysostomum, Johannes adherebat Christo et considerababat ille occupatus erat et per mulierem hoc fecit.

Dixit autem Petro ancilla ostiaria: Numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius? Dixit ille: Non sum. Hec est prima negacio, quia discipulatum negat. Augustinus dicit hoc factum fuisse, videlicet triplicem negacionem Petri in domo Anne, quod autem dicitur factum fuisse in domo¹⁰⁵¹ Caiphe hec per recapitulacionem dicitur. Quod ergo evangeliste ponunt nunc in domo Anne,¹⁰⁵² nunc in domo Caiphe¹⁰⁵³ Petrum negasse, sic intelligendum est quod trina negacio Petri¹⁰⁵⁴ facta est in domo Anne quoad inchoacionem sed in domo Caiphe quoad consumacionem. Hic nota quare per mulierem diabolus primo egreditur¹⁰⁵⁵ et eum ad peccandum inducit. Dicitur quod hec fuit primo in¹⁰⁵⁶ prime prevaricacionis Ade memoriam. Secundum illud Ecclesiastici xxv: *A muliere initium omnis peccati*. Secundo in communis decepcionis sequelam, quia¹⁰⁵⁷ secundum Augustinum, usitatus sexus est ad decipiendum. Nam per mulierem dejecit Adam maximum, Sampsonem fortissimum, David sanctissimum, Absolonem pulcherrimum, Salomonem sapientissimum. Secundum illud Proverbia vii: *Multos enim vulneratos dejecit, et fortissimi quique interfecti sunt ab ea*. Tercio, secundum Glossam, ancilla primo prodit cum viri magis eum possent¹⁰⁵⁸ agnoscere ut et iste sexus in morte Domini redimeretur. Et ideo mulier prima resurrectionis accepit misterium et mandata custodivit¹⁰⁵⁹ ut veterem prevaricacionis aboleret errorem. In hoc Petrus multum peccavit, quia veritatem tacuit.¹⁰⁶⁰ Secundum enim Chrysostomum, non solum qui falsum loquitur, sed etiam qui verum tacet dum opus est potest dici proditor est.¹⁰⁶¹

¹⁰⁴⁸ periculosum] vituperosum *T*

¹⁰⁴⁹ et] sed *T*

¹⁰⁵⁰ quare] quare ideo *T*

¹⁰⁵¹ domo] domum *T*

¹⁰⁵² Anne] Caiphe *T*

¹⁰⁵³ Caiphe] Anne *T*

¹⁰⁵⁴ Petri] om. *T*

¹⁰⁵⁵ egreditur] aggreditur *T*

¹⁰⁵⁶ in] et *T*

¹⁰⁵⁷ quia] om. *T*

¹⁰⁵⁸ eum possent] possent eum *T*

¹⁰⁵⁹ custodivit] custodit *T*

¹⁰⁶⁰ peccavit, quia veritatem tacuit] peccavit, tacuit *T*

¹⁰⁶¹ proditor est] proditor *T*

Negans se Christi discipulum, negavit se esse christianum. Qui ergo negat se esse¹⁰⁶² discipulum veritatis, negat se christianum. Sed nota quod ancilla ostiaria Petrum bene consideravit,¹⁰⁶³ quasi diceret “tu es homo abstractus a seculo alterius status et libenter contra seculares cum tuo magistro predicas.” Sicut nunc ancille dominarum irascuntur cum quis contra superbiam dominarum suarum predicat.

Post trinam autem¹⁰⁶⁴ negacionem, *respexit Dominus Petrum et egressus foras flevit amare*. Sicut enim sol splendens in oculum excutit lacrimas, sic Christus gracia et veritate rescipiens in cor ejus. *Recordatus autem Petrus verbi Jesu quod dixit: priusquam gallus cantet, ter me negabis*. Forte oblitus fuit verbi illius quod dixit Christus *ter me negabis* ex angustia imminente. *Exivit ergo continuo et flevit amare*, non ex galli cantu sed ex respeccione Christi. Sic canente predatore compungitur quis,¹⁰⁶⁵ sed hoc ex respeccione divine gratie, non ex voce predicatoris. “O beati quos ita calefaciunt oculi tui, Domine, et accendunt cor frigidum in amorem tuum et illuminant¹⁰⁶⁶ ut videat homo suum errorem.¹⁰⁶⁷ O quam cito liquefaciunt gelicidium peccatoris et in aquam devocionis et amaritudinis convertunt!”

Cur autem non in domo flevit? Nisi quia, secundum Glossam, “non in templo, non in domo sua, non in monte negavit Petrus Christum, sed in domo principis et in iudicio ubi veritas non est, ubi Jesus capitur aut ligatur.” Non ergo miremur, fratres, si difficulter penitent curienses, qui in hiis malis nascuntur et enutriuntur. Ex quo Petrus semel veniens ad curiam Christum negavit. Quid ergo illi qui versantur cottidie adulantes principibus? Quanti¹⁰⁶⁸ hodie negant Christum! Quidam verbis, quidam factis, quidam ex ignorancia crassa¹⁰⁶⁹ inexcusabili, quidam excusabili¹⁰⁷⁰ ejus denegant veritatem. Petrus eciam, secundum Gregorium in *Moralibus*, ideo calefaciebat se ad ignem cum ministris, quia frigeat¹⁰⁷¹ ab igne caritatis et ad ignem tyrannice iracundie et insanie se applicavit et in nocte cum infidelibus solem Christum inter se non videbant.

¹⁰⁶² esse] om. *T*

¹⁰⁶³ consideravit] notavit *T*

¹⁰⁶⁴ autem] om. *T*

¹⁰⁶⁵ quis] quis sibi *B*

¹⁰⁶⁶ tuum et illuminant] tuum *T*

¹⁰⁶⁷ suum errorem] errorem suum *T*

¹⁰⁶⁸ Quanti] Quanti enim *P*

¹⁰⁶⁹ crassa] grossa vel crassa *P*

¹⁰⁷⁰ excusabili] crossed out *T*

¹⁰⁷¹ frigeat] refrigeat *T*

Peccatum autem Petri eo majus fuit, quo etiam cum detestatione juravit sine exactione et perjurium non compulsus fecit. In galli cantu facte sunt omnes tres negaciones. Augetur¹⁰⁷² etiam peccatum Petri, quia ex deliberacione negavit, quia a prima negacione usque ad terciam intervallum factum fuit¹⁰⁷³ unius hore, in qua potuit¹⁰⁷⁴ bene deliberare. Exivit autem Petrus plorans, ut dicit Chrysostomus, ne a lacrimis deprehenderetur. Sic multi non audent palam bonum facere ne a malis derideantur, sed occultant se in bono. Malum autem, quia nullus impedit, palam faciunt et arroganter.

*Pontifex autem interrogavit Jesum de discipulis suis et doctrina ejus. Secundum Chrysostomum, de discipulis interrogat ut accusatum inveniat tamquam colligentem sedicionem ex discipulis et utrum doctrina ejus sit adversa Moysi. Respondit ei Jesus:*¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ego palam locutus sum mundo. Ego semper docui in synagoga et in templo, quo omnes Judei conveniunt*¹⁰⁷⁶ *et in occulto locutus sum nichil. Quid me interrogas? Interroga eos,*¹⁰⁷⁷ *qui audierunt quid*¹⁰⁷⁸ *locutus sum ipsis. Ecce hii sciunt quid dixerim ego. Christus enim in publico sicut lucerna omnia faciebatur,*¹⁰⁷⁹ *heretici autem in occulto*¹⁰⁸⁰ *et in angulis.*

*Hec cum dixisset, unus assistens ministrorum dedit alapam Jesu, dicens: Sic respondes pontifici? Respondit ei Jesus: Si male locutus sum, testimonium perhibe de malo. Si autem bene, quid me cedis? Cur Christus non obtulit alteram maxillam? Ad hoc dictum,*¹⁰⁸¹ *quia non ostentacione corporis sed preparacione animi, non solum maxillam ymmo totum corpus exhibuit. Arguit autem peccantem, ut faciat penitentem. Et misit eum Annas ligatum ad Caipham pontificem, quia solutus fuerat coram eo ut Domini daretur. Ibi summi*¹⁰⁸² *sacerdotes et*¹⁰⁸³ *omne consilium querebant contra Jesum falsum testimonium, ut eum morti traderent et non invenerunt eum. Multi falsi testes accessissent.*¹⁰⁸⁴ *Novissime venerunt duo falsi testes et dixerunt. "Hic dixit: Possum*

¹⁰⁷² Augetur] Augere B

¹⁰⁷³ factum fuit] fuit factum T

¹⁰⁷⁴ potuit] poterat T

¹⁰⁷⁵ ei Jesus] Jesus ei T

¹⁰⁷⁶ convenient] convenerant T

¹⁰⁷⁷ eos] illos B

¹⁰⁷⁸ quid] que T

¹⁰⁷⁹ faciebatur] faciebat T

¹⁰⁸⁰ occulto] occultis T

¹⁰⁸¹ Ad hoc dictum] om. T

¹⁰⁸² summi] om. T

¹⁰⁸³ et] om. T

¹⁰⁸⁴ accessissent] accussassent B

*destruere templum Dei et post triduum reedificare*¹⁰⁸⁵ *illud.*” Christus de corpore suo suscitando dixit. Ipsi¹⁰⁸⁶ autem in hoc falsi fuerunt, quia verba mutaverunt et sensum, nam alio sensu et modo et ad¹⁰⁸⁷ aliud applicaverunt quam ipse intendebat.

*Et exsurgens*¹⁰⁸⁸ *princeps sacerdotum. Ait illi: Nichil respondes ad ea que isti*¹⁰⁸⁹ *adversum*¹⁰⁹⁰ *te testificantur.* Et¹⁰⁹¹ unde Rabanus: “Ira preceps et insaniens, non inveniens locum calumpnie, excutit principem de solio, ut insaniam mentis motu¹⁰⁹² corporis demonstret.” *Jesus autem tacebat.* Primo, quia iudex iniquus querebat ejus accusationem. Secundo, quia injusta contra ipsum¹⁰⁹³ proposita fuerunt. Tercio, ut *sicut agnus tacens pacienciam ostenderet.* *Et princeps sacerdotum ait illi: Adjuro te per Deum vivum, ut dicas nobis si tu es Christus filius Dei benedicti. Respondit Jesus: Ego sum.* Propter reverenciam tanti nominis dixit *Ego sum* ut inexcusabiles essent¹⁰⁹⁴ et alibi¹⁰⁹⁵ *Tu dixisti* semper veritatem.

*Verumtamen videbitis filium hominis sedentem*¹⁰⁹⁶ *ad dextris virtutis Dei et venientem in nubibus celi.* Ac si diceret: Nunc judicandus est filius Dei ab hominibus. Tunc autem judicaturus veniet, qui nunc judicatur a vobis. *Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua dicens: Blasphemavit. Quid adhuc egemus testibus? Ecce nunc blasphemiam audistis.*¹⁰⁹⁷ *Quid vobis videtur? Qui omnes condempnaverunt eum reum esse mortis.* Ira que excussit a solio pontificem eciam vestimentum scidit.¹⁰⁹⁸ Blasphemie signum est scissio vestis, quia¹⁰⁹⁹ audiebant Christum hoc sue humanitati attribuere quod est proprium Dei. Cogit autem pontifex idem facere quod ipse facit prevenit summam eorum ut condempnent sicut ipse condempnavit.

*Tunc conspuerunt*¹¹⁰⁰ *in faciem eius, sicut predixit Isaias: Faciem meam non averti ab increpantibus et conspuentibus in me.* Tales sunt qui increpant et maledicunt

¹⁰⁸⁵ reedificare] reedificabo *T*

¹⁰⁸⁶ ipsi] ipsa *T*

¹⁰⁸⁷ ad] om. *T*

¹⁰⁸⁸ exsurgens] surgens *B*

¹⁰⁸⁹ isti] ista *B*

¹⁰⁹⁰ adversum] adversus *T*

¹⁰⁹¹ Et] om. *T*

¹⁰⁹² motu] moto *T*

¹⁰⁹³ ipsum] eum *T*

¹⁰⁹⁴ essent] om. *T*

¹⁰⁹⁵ alibi] alibi dixit *T*

¹⁰⁹⁶ sedentem] sedente *B*

¹⁰⁹⁷ blasphemam audistis] audistis blasphemam *T*

¹⁰⁹⁸ mortis. Ira que excussit a solio pontificem est vestimentum scidit] mortis. A solio autem pontifex surgit est vestimentum scidit *T*

¹⁰⁹⁹ quia] om. *T*

¹¹⁰⁰ conspuerunt] expuerunt *B*

et spuunt in facies hominum. Tales sunt eciam¹¹⁰¹ qui ex hominibus fatuos faciunt et colaphizant imaginem Dei.¹¹⁰² Unde subditur: *Et colaphis eum cedebant. Alii autem palmas in faciem ejus dederunt dicentes: Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit? Et illudebant ei.* Illusus fuit Christus in domo pontificis tamquam divinitatis usurpator, in pretorio Pilati tamquam regie majestatis vendicator, in domo Herodis tamquam falsorum miraculorum operator, in cruce tamquam omnium seductor.

Unde Bernardus: “Alii dabant palmas in serenissimam faciem ejus, alii manu reversa percutiebant dulcissimum et in mellifluum os ipsius, alii in corpus¹¹⁰³ ejus sanctissimum, alii spuebant in vultum ejus benignissimum, alii evellebant sanctissimam barbam ejus, alii per suos venerabiles capillos ipsum trahebant et dominum angelorum male tractabant sine reverencia et sine aliqua pietate. Cum enim essent crudelissimi et sine misericordia, omnia mala et vituperia que poterant, faciebant ei. Alii ex sua mala voluntate, alii ut placerent majoribus qui erant immanissimi.” Velabant eciam faciem ejus ut¹¹⁰⁴ *a se gratiam sue¹¹⁰⁵ cognitionis abscondant.*¹¹⁰⁶ Fuit ergo velata ejus facies¹¹⁰⁷ pulchra ut dicitur Canticorum ii: *Vox tua dulcis¹¹⁰⁸ et facies tua decora.* Fuit eciam velata ejus facies¹¹⁰⁹ speciosa. Secundum igitur¹¹¹⁰ Psalmistam, erat *speciosus forma pre filiis hominum.*

Fuit eciam velata ejus facies graciosa. Secundum illud Hester xv:¹¹¹¹ *Valde mirabilis es, Domine, et facies tua¹¹¹² plena est graciaram.* Ab illa¹¹¹³ enim distillant gracie necessaria. Velatur facies desiderabilis¹¹¹⁴ quam omnis terra desiderat videre sicut faciem Salomonis. Et *ecce plusquam Salomon hic in quam eciam desiderant angeli prospicere* pro quam Moyses suspirans dicebat:¹¹¹⁵ *Si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, ostende mihi¹¹¹⁶ faciem tuam.* Velatur¹¹¹⁷ eciam facies salutifera. Unde Psalmista:

¹¹⁰¹ sunt eciam] eciam sunt *T*

¹¹⁰² imaginem Dei] Dei imaginem *T*

¹¹⁰³ corpus] collum *T*

¹¹⁰⁴ ut] et *T*

¹¹⁰⁵ sue] ejus *T*

¹¹⁰⁶ abscondant] abscondunt *T*

¹¹⁰⁷ ejus facies] facies ejus *T*

¹¹⁰⁸ dulcis] pulchra *T*

¹¹⁰⁹ eius facies] facies ejus *T*

¹¹¹⁰ Secundum igitur] Quia secundum *T*

¹¹¹¹ xv *Bible*] xii B, T

¹¹¹² tua] om. *T*

¹¹¹³ illa] ea *T*

¹¹¹⁴ desiderabilis] om. *T*

¹¹¹⁵ dicebat] dicebant *T*

¹¹¹⁶ mihi] om. *T*

¹¹¹⁷ velatur] velabatur *T*

*Ostende nobis faciem tuam*¹¹¹⁸ *et salvi erimus*. Velaverunt eciam faciem ejus ut eo licentius percuterent. Unde Michee v dicitur: *In virga percutient maxillam judicis Israel*. Item barbam evulserunt, secundum illud Isaiah: *Corpus meum dedi percutientibus et genas meas velantibus*.¹¹¹⁹

Item dicunt: *prophetiza*¹¹²⁰, *quis est qui te percussit?* Ac si dicerent: Si prophetam esse¹¹²¹ crederis de futuro, multo magis de preterito.¹¹²² Unde¹¹²³ Bernardus: O vere *opprobrium hominum et abjeccio plebis*, qui est gloria angelorum. “Heu, carissimi, libertas captivorum traditur captivanda.¹¹²⁴ Gloria angelorum illuditur, speculum sine macula et¹¹²⁵ candor lucis eterne conspuitur, Deus omnium flagellatur, vita vivencium in cruce moritur? Quid restat nisi ut omnes eamus et moriamur cum eo?¹¹²⁶ Ligatur tamquam latro ut nos omnes¹¹²⁷ a vinculis solveret¹¹²⁸ peccatorum, judicatur tamquam reus ut nos reatus solveret a dampnacione, velatur tamquam improvidus ut cordium nostrorum¹¹²⁹ velamen auferret,¹¹³⁰ illuditur tamquam fatuus ut nos divinam et veram sapienciam edoceret, flagellatur tamquam maleficus ut nos expulsos a paradiso reduceret, conspuitur tamquam vilis ut a spurcitiis¹¹³¹ faciem consciam¹¹³² nostram¹¹³³ lavaret, occiditur tamquam prevaricator legis ut nostram mortem sua morte vetaret.”

Mane autem facto, consilium inierunt omnes principes sacerdotum et seniores populi adversus Jesum et eum morti traderent. Et vinctum duxerunt eum ad Pilatum in pretorium. Ecce, secundum Jeronimum, “quando solliciti fuerunt sacerdotes in malo quod tota nocte vigilaverunt.” *Et tradiderunt eum Pontio Pilato presidi*. Pilatus Lugdinensis fuit, ut dicit magister in Historia, a Romanis in insulam Pontianam missus et inde Pontius appellatus. Ideo autem, secundum Chrysostomum, eum occulte non¹¹³⁴

¹¹¹⁸ Ostende nobis faciem tuam] Ostende faciem tuam nobis *T*

¹¹¹⁹ velantibus] vellentibus *T*

¹¹²⁰ prophetiza] prophetiza nobis *T*

¹¹²¹ prophetam esse] propheta *T*

¹¹²² preterito.] preterito. O vere *opprobrium hominum*. *T*

¹¹²³ Unde] Et unde *T*

¹¹²⁴ captivanda] caprivando *T*

¹¹²⁵ et] om. *T*

¹¹²⁶ eo] illo *T*

¹¹²⁷ omnes] om. *T*

¹¹²⁸ solveret] om. *B*

¹¹²⁹ cordium nostrorum] nostrorum cordium *T*

¹¹³⁰ velamen auferret] auferret duriciam *T*

¹¹³¹ spuritiis] spuritii *T*

¹¹³² consciam] consciem *T*

¹¹³³ nostram] nostre *T*

¹¹³⁴ occulte non] non occulte *T*

interfecerunt, quia volebant ejus glorie detrahere. Multi enim eum admirabantur et propter hec studuerunt publice et coram hominibus eum occidere. Et ideo ad presidem eum duxerunt. Adduxerunt eciam Christum ad Pilatum. Primo ut ignominosior esset mors ejus, secundo ne viderentur sibi usurpare¹¹³⁵ iudicium Romanorum, tercio¹¹³⁶ timebant ne plebs erriperet eum¹¹³⁷ ubi non esset auctoritas Romanorum, quarto, quia suam voluerunt per hec¹¹³⁸ maliciam occultare et culpam Pilato¹¹³⁹ imponere.

Introeunte autem Pilato in pretorium, ipsi non introierunt ut non contaminarentur, sed ut manducarent pascha, id est panes azymos non paschalem agnum qui precedenti vespere fuerat¹¹⁴⁰ manducatus. Timebant pollui intrantes domum alienigene,¹¹⁴¹ id est¹¹⁴² Pilati, et non timuerunt innocentem¹¹⁴³ sanguinem Christi in domo aliena effundi,¹¹⁴⁴ sicut hii qui sexta feria jejunant et peccant vel silencium timent frangere et detractones et odia pertractant in corde.¹¹⁴⁵ Unde Augustinus:¹¹⁴⁶ “O impia cecitas! Habitaculo timent contaminari alieno et non timent contaminari scelere¹¹⁴⁷ proprio et innocentis homicidio.” Quod autem dicit, quia duxerunt eum ad Caipham¹¹⁴⁸ in pretorium, secundum Augustinum ad Caipham quidem ab Anna collega et socero¹¹⁴⁹ ejus dixerat missum. Sed si ad Caipham cur¹¹⁵⁰ in pretorium? Quia nil aliud¹¹⁵¹ vult intelligi, quam ubi preses Pilatus habebat. Aut igitur urgente aliqua¹¹⁵² causa de domo Anne, quoad audiendum ambo convenerant.¹¹⁵³ Caiphas perrexerat¹¹⁵⁴ ad pretorium presidis et socero suo Jesum relinquerat ad audiendum. Aut in domo Caiphe Pilatus

¹¹³⁵ sibi usurpare] usurpare sibi *T*

¹¹³⁶ tercio] tercio, quia *T*

¹¹³⁷ erriperet eum] eum erriperet *T*

¹¹³⁸ voluerunt per hec] per hec voluerunt *T*

¹¹³⁹ culpam Pilato] Pilato culpam *T*

¹¹⁴⁰ fuerat] erat *T*

¹¹⁴¹ alienigene] alienam pagam *T*

¹¹⁴² id est] scilicet *T*

¹¹⁴³ innocentem] om. *T*

¹¹⁴⁴ effundi] effundere *T*

¹¹⁴⁵ pertractant in corde] pertractant *T*

¹¹⁴⁶ Augustinus] beatus Augustinus *T*

¹¹⁴⁷ contaminari alieno et non timent contaminari scelere] contaminari scelere *T*

¹¹⁴⁸ ad caipham] a Caipha *T*

¹¹⁴⁹ socero] socro *B*

¹¹⁵⁰ cur] cum *T*

¹¹⁵¹ aliud] om. *T*

¹¹⁵² urgente aliqua] aliqua urgentem *T*

¹¹⁵³ convenerant] venerant *T*

¹¹⁵⁴ perrexerat] perrexit *T*

pretorium¹¹⁵⁵ acceperat, et tanta domus erat ut seorsum habitantem¹¹⁵⁶ dominum suum et seorsum iudicem faceret.

*Exivit ergo ad eos Pilatus foras et dixit: Quam accusationem affertis*¹¹⁵⁷ *adversus hominem hunc?* Tamen enim volebat diligenter investigare. *Responderunt et dixerunt ei: Si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum.* Ecce qualis consecuencia. Dicunt enim *si non esset hic malefactor, non tibi tradidissemus eum*, ac si dicerent: Sed quia eum tibi¹¹⁵⁸ tradidimus, ergo¹¹⁵⁹ est malefactor, putantes quidquid dicerent, pro veritate iudicari deberet. Sicut modus est potentibus quod verbis eorum credatur¹¹⁶⁰ contra pauperes eciam¹¹⁶¹ justos, quia dici solent¹¹⁶² tales reverendi viri non hec assererent nisi verum esset. Respondent, ergo¹¹⁶³ dicit Augustinus, “Ab inmundis spiritibus liberati, an sit malefactor languidi sanati, leprosi mundati, surdi audientes, muti loquentes, ceci videntes, mortui resurgentes, et quod omnia superant stulti sapientes, utrum Jesus sit malefactor.”

*Dixit ergo eis Pilatus: Accipite eum vos et secundum legem vestram iudicate eum. Dixerunt ergo Judei: Nobis non licet occidere*¹¹⁶⁴ *quemquam. Tunc videns Jesum Judas*¹¹⁶⁵ *quod dampnatus esset, prima ductus retulit xxx argenteos principibus sacerdotum et senioribus, dicens: Peccavi tradens sanguinem justum. At illi dixerunt: Quid ad nos? Tu videris.* Non valuit autem Jude ista confessio propter tria. Primo, ex parte illius cui fiebat, quia proprio sacerdoti et fideli. Jam enim Judei amiserant officium sacerdotii. Nec erant de ecclesia, nec merito, nec numero. Secundo, ex parte illius a quo fiebat, quia desperatus erat. Unde etsi dolor aderat cordis, confessio oris et¹¹⁶⁶ refectio operis tamen dei erat¹¹⁶⁷ spes salutis. Tercio, ex parte confessionis, quia diminuta et insufficiens erat.¹¹⁶⁸ Sic contingit omnibus qui querunt sacerdotes aut excommunicatos aut alienos et non proprios adultores et non¹¹⁶⁹ correctores, qui non¹¹⁷⁰

¹¹⁵⁵ Pilatus pretorium] pretorium Pilatus *T*

¹¹⁵⁶ habitantem] om. *T*

¹¹⁵⁷ affertis] fueris *B*

¹¹⁵⁸ eum tibi] tibi eum *T*

¹¹⁵⁹ ergo] ideo *T*

¹¹⁶⁰ credatur] credat *T*

¹¹⁶¹ eciam] et *T*

¹¹⁶² solent] solet *T*

¹¹⁶³ ergo] ut *T*

¹¹⁶⁴ occidere] interficere *T*

¹¹⁶⁵ Jesum Judas] Judas Jesum *T*

¹¹⁶⁶ et] om. *T*

¹¹⁶⁷ tamen dei erat] dei erat tamen *T*

¹¹⁶⁸ erat] om. *T*

¹¹⁶⁹ et non] nec *T*

¹¹⁷⁰ non] nil *T*

aliud nisi desperationem invenient.¹¹⁷¹ Judas quid invenit apud tales nisi hec *quid ad nos? tu videris*. Ac si dicerent, secundum Augustinum: “Quid nobis? Et nunc qui nec opera facimus justitie.¹¹⁷² Si tibi peccasti, non tibi consulimus, non peccata tua caritative portamus. Qui si ivisset ad apostolos, non eum ad talem desperationem induxissent.”

Provide ergo tibi de meliori confessore quam *Judas qui proiectis argenteis in templo recessit et abiens laqueo se suspendit*. Vide quia penitencia que fit¹¹⁷³ sine caritate et bonis operibus, tamquam tortor ducit et strangulans collum, dum prohibet¹¹⁷⁴ confiteri realiter desperatos suspendit, quia dicitur: *Prima ductus abiit et laqueo se suspendit*.¹¹⁷⁵ Unde Jeronimus: “Judas magis Deum offendit se¹¹⁷⁶ suspendendo et desperando quam filium Dei tradendo,” quia Christus libenter mori voluit, sed desperando peccavit contra misericordiam et bonitatem Spiritus sancti. O quanta duricia sacerdotum fuit ut testimonio venditoris non compunguntur. Omnem culpam in venditore constituunt. *Judas autem suspensus torpuit medius*, quia delatum est¹¹⁷⁷ ori ejus quo osculatus est Christum. In visceribus prodicionem concepit,¹¹⁷⁸ ergo rumpuntur in gutture. Vox prodicionis fuit, ergo fune strangulatur. Angelos et homines offenderat, ergo in aere suspenditur.

Sequitur:¹¹⁷⁹ *Principes autem sacerdotum acceptis argenteis dixerunt: Non licet eos mittere in corbanam, quia precium sanguinis est*. Ecce unde receperant illic reponere noluerunt pecuniam, quia mortem Christi licitam putabant dando exinde pecuniam. Illicitam vero et nephariam quando scelus¹¹⁸⁰ negare non potuerunt. *Consilio autem inito, emerunt pro illis agrum figuli, in sepulchram peregrinorum*. Figulus significat Deum qui ex eodem luto fecit¹¹⁸¹ unum¹¹⁸² vas in honorem et aliud in contumeliam, peregrini sunt non amantes mundum qui Christi sanguine consepeliuntur morti ejus. *Et tunc impletum est quod dictum est per prophetam Jeremiam*.¹¹⁸³ Dicitur

¹¹⁷¹ invenient] inveniunt *T*

¹¹⁷² facimus justitie] justitiae facimus *T*

¹¹⁷³ fit] sit *T*

¹¹⁷⁴ prohibet] prohibent *B*

¹¹⁷⁵ Quia dicitur: Prima ductus abiit et laqueo se suspendit] added by another hand *B*

¹¹⁷⁶ se] added by another hand *B*

¹¹⁷⁷ est] om. *T*

¹¹⁷⁸ concepit] recepit *T*

¹¹⁷⁹ Sequitur] om. *T*

¹¹⁸⁰ scelus] scelus cognoscentes *T*

¹¹⁸¹ fecit] facit *T*

¹¹⁸² unum] added by another hand *B*; om. *T*

¹¹⁸³ quod dictum est per prophetam Jeremiam] per prophetam Jeremiam dicentem *T*

quod Jeronimus viderit parvum librum Jeremie ubi hec auctoritas de verbo ad verbum continetur, videlicet: *Et accepuerunt xxx argenteos precium apreciati quem apreciaverunt a filiis Israel et dederunt eos in agrum figuli*. Sed in Zacharia per alia verba plenius quam in Jeremia scriptum invenitur. Unde aliqui textus habent per prophetam et non Jeremiam. Tamen ex utroque propheta sensus evangelicus iste colligitur.

Iterum ergo introivit Pilatus in pretorium et vocavit Jesum et dixit ei: Tu es rex Judeorum? O quanta humilitas cum Jesus stetit ante faciem Pilati! Ante tortorem et furem stat iudex vivorum et mortuorum qui sedet super cherubim.¹¹⁸⁴ Stat ante faciem Pilati, ante cujus faciem stant omnes spiritus angelici, stat ante faciem hominis iniqui. Videte ne dum pauper stat coram vobis in pretorio vel in iudicio ne¹¹⁸⁵ Christus stet ante faciem Pilati. *Et respondit ei Jesus: Tu dixisti. Et ceperunt eum accusare dicentes: Hunc invenimus subvertentem gentem nostram et comovit universam gentem incipiens a Galilea usque huc*. Mendacium erat, quia populus una voce testabatur dicens: Propheta magnus surrexit in nobis. Et quia Deus visitavit plebem suam. Ecce prima accusatio. Secundo, dicunt: *Hunc invenimus prohibentem tributa dari Cesari*. Mendacium fuit, quia dixit: *Reddite que sunt Cesaris Cesari et que sunt Dei Deo*.¹¹⁸⁶ Immo tributum dedit et describi voluit cum matre(?) sub Cesaris Augusti edicto et tributo. Tercio, dicunt: *Et dicentem se Christum regem*.¹¹⁸⁷ Hec iterum falsum, quia fugit regnum quando volebant eum facere regem. Ac si dicerent: Omnis qui se regem facit contradicit Cesari. Ergo tu Pilate qui honorem impii procuras, cave ne hic rex fiat. O miseri gaudere debebant de liberatione qua rex messias eos liberaret quam quod tamquam¹¹⁸⁸ indignum sic accusabant.

Sequitur:¹¹⁸⁹ *Dixit ergo eis Pilatus: Accipite eum vos et secundum legem vestram iudicate eum. Responderunt et dixerunt ei:*¹¹⁹⁰ *Nobis non licet interficere quemquam*. Hec dixerunt, secundum Augustinum, ut totam culpam in iudicem intorquerent et impune ipsi pertransirent. Non licebat autem eis Christum interficere. Primo, propter solempnitatem. Secundo, quia Romani per Pilatum habebant iudicium

¹¹⁸⁴ cherubim] cherubin

¹¹⁸⁵ ne] om. *T*

¹¹⁸⁶ Reddite que sunt Cesaris Cesari et que sunt Dei Deo] Reddite que Dei sunt Dei et que Cesaris Cesari et que sunt Dei Deo *T*

¹¹⁸⁷ regem] rege esse *B*

¹¹⁸⁸ tamquam] om. *T*

¹¹⁸⁹ Sequitur] om. *T*

¹¹⁹⁰ ei] om. *T*

sanguinis. Tercio, quia crimen ei publicum imponebant quod contra Romanum imperium arriperet potestatem. Rei autem fuerunt, quia eum ad occidendum tradiderunt acsi soli occidissent. *Et hoc dixerunt ut sermo impleretur, quem dixit, significans qua morte esset moriturus*, quia videlicet tradere eum gentibus proponebant. *Intravit autem Pilatus iterum*¹¹⁹¹ *in pretorium et dixit ad Jesum: Tu es rex Judeorum?* Non interrogavit eum de lege, quia non curabat quis quid crederet. Quales sunt omnes principes et domini qui permittunt homines vivere in qualicumque perfidia vel malis operibus dum modo ipsi possiderant temporalia nec interrogavit eum de censu, quia audierat forte Christum dixisse: *Reddite que sunt Cesaris Cesari*. Sed interrogavit an de jure ipse esset rex Judeorum, quia de facto tenebant¹¹⁹² regem Romani, licet Christus de jure¹¹⁹³ esset rex non solum Judeorum sed et omnium gentium. Christus ergo respondit: *A temetipso dicis hoc, an alii tibi dixerunt de me?* Quasi diceret: Scio, quia a te ipso hec non dicis sed malos homines, hostes meos, audisti tamquam malus iudex qui antequam me audiat sentit malum de me.

Respondit Pilatus: Numquid ego Judeus sum? Gens tua et pontifices tui tradiderunt te michi: quid fecisti? Magna excecacio! Noluit plus credere¹¹⁹⁴ Christo accusanti se quam Judeis et noluit Christo credere¹¹⁹⁵ veritatem dicenti. *Respondit Jesus: Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo. Si regnum meum esset de*¹¹⁹⁶ *hoc mundo, ministri mei utique decertarent me ut non traderer Judeis*. Quasi diceret: Regnum meum est in hominibus fidelibus qui obediunt imperio meo, cum illis ego non usurpo michi potestatem, nec ipsi me defendunt. Ideo non credas¹¹⁹⁷ quod velim per tyrannidem¹¹⁹⁸ esse rex. Cum ergo Christus dixisset “Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo”, *dixit ei Pilatus: Ergo rex es tu*. Et ubi est regnum tuum. *Respondit Jesus: Tu dicis, quia rex sum. Ego enim in hoc natus*¹¹⁹⁹ *et ad hoc veni in mundum ut testimonium perhibeam veritati, omnis qui est ex veritate audit vocem meam*. Quasi diceret: Per veritatem ego regno. Secundum illud Jeremie primo: *Ecce ego constitui te super gentes et regna*.

¹¹⁹¹ iterum] om. *T*

¹¹⁹² tenebant] om. *T*

¹¹⁹³ Christus de jure] de jure Christus *T*

¹¹⁹⁴ plus credere] credere plus *T*

¹¹⁹⁵ Christo accusanti se quam Judeis et noluit Christo credere] added by a later hand in *B*

¹¹⁹⁶ de] ex *T*

¹¹⁹⁷ credas] credunt *T*

¹¹⁹⁸ per tyrannidem] om. *T*

¹¹⁹⁹ natus *B*] natus sum *T*

Secundo ergo Augustinum, secundum condicionem sumus ex veritate, imitacione autem diaboli facti sumus ex falsitate. Obedientes ergo veritati audiunt vocem Christi. *Dicit ei Pilatus: Quid est veritas?* Ad hec Christus nichil respondit. Primo, propter hoc, quia ipse¹²⁰⁰ fuit veritas quam Pilatus, cognoscere nolens, dampnavit, ideo indignus erat audire. Secundo, quia longa solucione indiguit qualiter videlicet sit triplex veritas creata. Primo, veritas doctrine in mundo obscurata. Secundo, veritas justicie obliquata. Tercio, veritas vite¹²⁰¹ penitus annullata. Quam triplicem veritatem ipse¹²⁰² Christus voluit¹²⁰³ instaurare. Ipse enim est veritas increata. Tercio, Christus non respondit Pilato, quia ipse mox ut dixit “quid est veritas?”, exivit de pretorio, quia venit sibi in mentem an ipsi eum ex consuetudine rogarent dimitti. Unde et dixit eis:¹²⁰⁴ *Ego nullam causam invenio in eo.* Ecce gentilis nichil peccati in eo invenit, nec Judei quibus dixit “*Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato?*”, nec diabolus “*venit enim princeps mundi huius et in me non habet quidquam*”, sed hec quid erat virtutis accusant dicentes: *Comovit universam terram incipiens a Galilea usque huc.* Per hoc enim poterant agnoscere virtutes¹²⁰⁵ eius. Quanti enim¹²⁰⁶ reges gentium voluerunt aliquando¹²⁰⁷ comovere Judeos ab¹²⁰⁸ observantiis eorum et non potuerunt! Christus autem solis signis et veritate sermonis comovit universam terram.

*Audiens autem Pilatus Galileam, interrogavit si homo Galileus esset. Et ut*¹²⁰⁹ *cognovit, quia*¹²¹⁰ *de Herodis potestate esset, remisit*¹²¹¹ *eum ad Herodem qui et ipse Jerosolimis erat hiis diebus.* Ecce quomodo volebat quod potius superior potestas dampnaret eum ut ipse innocentem non interficeret. Et hec est contra eos qui aliquando nesciunt certitudinem peccati eius qui dampnatur¹²¹² et cautius esset ut superiori remitterent causam, licet falsa testimonia instarent. Eciam Pilatus Christum Galileum ad Herodem misit, quia voluit saltem mittere in eius jurisdictionem. Item Pilatus forte voluit inimicum suum Herodem per hoc iudicium involvere.

¹²⁰⁰ ipse] om. *T*

¹²⁰¹ vite] justicie *T*

¹²⁰² ipse] om. *T*

¹²⁰³ Christus voluit] voluit Christus *T*

¹²⁰⁴ dixit eis] om. *T*

¹²⁰⁵ virtutes] virtutem *T*

¹²⁰⁶ enim] ergo *T*

¹²⁰⁷ aliquando] om. *T*

¹²⁰⁸ ab] om. *T*

¹²⁰⁹ ut] om. *T*

¹²¹⁰ quia] quod *Bible*

¹²¹¹ remisit] misit *T*

¹²¹² dampnatur] condemnatur *T*

Herodes autem viso Jesu, gavisus est valde. Erat enim ex multo tempore cupiens videre eum, eo quod audiret¹²¹³ multa de eo et sperabat aliquod signum fieri¹²¹⁴ ab eo. Sicut faciunt curiosi, sed gavisus est sicut vulpis quando apprehendit gallinam, quia Christus de ipso¹²¹⁵ dicebat: Dicite vulpe illi. Interrogavit autem eum multis sermonibus et ipse nichil respondebat ei. Stabant autem eciam principes sacerdotum¹²¹⁶ et scribe constanter accusantes eum. Sprevit autem illum¹²¹⁷ Herodes cum exercitu suo et illisit eum tamquam fatuum indutum veste alba. Ecce dilectus sponsus¹²¹⁸ candidus in veste et rubicundus in sanguine! Cum autem essent inimici Herodes et Pilatus ex eo, quia Pilatus occiderat Theodam et Judam Galileum miscens sanguinem eorum sacrificiis, quia erant de potestate Herodis, sed jura Cesaris anichilabant. Volebat ergo forte Herodes per hec confederare¹²¹⁹ Pilato. Unde dicitur: Facti ergo sunt¹²²⁰ amici Herodes et Pilatus. Hec vulpis remisit Christum ad lupum Pilatum.

Pilatus ergo convocatis principibus¹²²¹ sacerdotum et magistratibus et plebe, dixit ad illos: Obtulistis michi hominem hunc¹²²² quasi avertentem populum, et ecce ergo coram vobis interrogans, nullam causam invenio in eo ex hiis in quibus eum accusastis. Sed neque Herodes, supple invenit. Nam remisi vos ad illum, et ecce nichil dignum morte actum est ei. Emendatum ergo illum dimittam. Multis modis volebat liberare Jesum, quia sciebat quod¹²²³ per invidiam tradidissent eum. Unde subdit: Est autem consuetudo vobis ut unum dimittam vobis¹²²⁴ in Pascha, supple¹²²⁵ in memoriam vestre liberacionis, quando paschalem agnum comedentes exivistis de Egypto. Vultis ergo dimittam vobis regem Judeorum? Clamaverunt omnes rursum¹²²⁶ dicentes: Non hunc, sed Barrabam. Erat autem Barrabas latro, qui propter seducionem fuit missus in carcerem. Quasi dicerent Judei, secundum Augustinum: “Occidatur Christus, qui mortuos suscitatur,¹²²⁷ vivat Barrabas vivos mortificans. Da nobis pro Jesu latronem, pro

¹²¹³ audiret] audierat *Bible*

¹²¹⁴ fieri] videre *Bible*

¹²¹⁵ ipso] illo *T*

¹²¹⁶ sacerdotum] om. *T*

¹²¹⁷ illum] eum *T*

¹²¹⁸ sponsus] sponse *T*

¹²¹⁹ confederare] confederari *T*

¹²²⁰ ergo sunt] sunt ergo *T*

¹²²¹ convocatis principibus] convocatis a principibus *T*

¹²²² hunc] om. *T*

¹²²³ quod] quia *T*

¹²²⁴ vobis] om. *T*

¹²²⁵ supple] id est *T*

¹²²⁶ omnes rursum] rursum omnes *T*

¹²²⁷ suscitatur] resuscitat *T*

salvatore interfectorem, pro auctore vite mortis auctorem. Merito ergo Judei patiuntur, quia mortem elegerunt et vitam occiderunt.” Unde quidam ad¹²²⁸ Israellem sic dicit: Agnosce tibi hodie Barrabam vivere, Jesum vero crucifixum esse. In te enim regnat sedicio, pace sepulta. Pilatus ergo, secundum Chrysostomum, “quamvis sciret Christum innocentem, tamen non dimisit eum propter tria. Primo, propter timorem Caesaris. Secundo, propter complacenciam Judeorum. Tercio, propter spem remuneracionis.”

Cum ergo dixisset eis: Quid ergo faciam de Jesu, rege Judeorum,¹²²⁹ qui dicitur Christus? Dicunt omnes: Crucifigatur ut scilicet longo cruciatu puniretur et ut¹²³⁰ turpissima morte patibuli vexaretur. Divinitus autem hoc ordinatum est ut ostenderetur quod Christus esset figuratus¹²³¹ per serpentem, per Moysen in deserto exaltatum cujus intuitu sanabantur infirmi. Tunc apprehendit eum Pilatus et flagellavit. Congregaverunt ergo ad eum universam cohortem, videlicet quingentos milites, et exuentes eum vestimentis suis, induunt eum tunicam purpuream et clamidem coccineam, circumdederunt ei et¹²³² plectentes coronam de spinis, videlicet de juncis marinis ad modum spinarum accutis. Imposuerunt capiti ejus¹²³³ et arundinem dederunt in dexteram ejus loco sceptri. Et genuflexio¹²³⁴ illudebant ei dicentes: Ave, rex Judeorum. Et dabant ei alapas, et expuentes in eum, acceperunt arundinem, percuciebant caput ejus.

Super quo dicit Bernardus:¹²³⁵ “Attende, anima mea, quis est iste qui ingreditur habens imaginem quasi regis et nichilominus servi despectissimi confusione repletus coronatus incedit. Sed ipsa ejus corona cruciatus est illi, et mille puncturis speciosum verticem ejus¹²³⁶ divulgat.¹²³⁷ Regali purpura induitur, sed potius in ea despicitur quam honoretur.¹²³⁸ Sceptrum in manu¹²³⁹ gestat,¹²⁴⁰ sed eo ipso reverendum caput ejus¹²⁴¹ feritur. Adorant coram ipso positus in terram genibus et regem clamant.¹²⁴² Et

¹²²⁸ ad] ab *T*

¹²²⁹ de Jesu, rege Judeorum] de rege Judeorum ve de Jesu *T*

¹²³⁰ ut] om. *T*

¹²³¹ esset figuratus] figuratus esset *T*

¹²³² circumdederunt ei et] circumdede et *T*

¹²³³ ejus] om. *T*

¹²³⁴ loco sceptri. Et genuflexio] loco sceptri et loco genuflexione *T*

¹²³⁵ Bernardus] beatus Bernardus *T*

¹²³⁶ verticem ejus] ejus verticem *T*

¹²³⁷ divulgat] divulgaverunt *T*

¹²³⁸ quam honoretur] om. *T*

¹²³⁹ manu] manu ejus *T*

¹²⁴⁰ gestat] portat *T*

¹²⁴¹ reverendum caput ejus] caput ejus reverendum *T*

¹²⁴² regem clamabant] regem eum clamabant *T*

continuo ad conspuendum amabiles genas ejus subsiliunt, maxillas palmis concutunt, et honorabile collum exhonerant”. *Adduxit ergo Pilatus Jesum foras* ubi multitudo erat jam debilitatus sanguinans, totus¹²⁴³ aculeis perfossus, stare et ambulare vix¹²⁴⁴ potens ut misererentur ejus. Quasi diceret: O Judei, lapidibus duriores videntes sic vulneratum. *Ecce homo*, quem regem dicitis,¹²⁴⁵ Judeus, frater, vir, rex. Vir, secundum Augustinum, “non clarens imperio, sed repletus obprobrio,¹²⁴⁶ quem regem dicitis, qui etiam hominibus¹²⁴⁷ similis est.” *Exivit ergo Jesus de pretorio portans spineam coronam et purpureum vestimentum. O filie Syon, egredimini!* Ecce Christus in theatro illuditur! *Videte*¹²⁴⁸ regem Salomonem in diademate quo coronavit eum mater sua synagoga.

Cum ergo vidissent pontifices, clamabant dicentes: Crucifige, crucifige eum! *Dicit eis Pilatus: Accipite eum vos et crucifigite. Ego enim in eo non invenio causam.*¹²⁴⁹ *Responderunt ei: Nos legem*¹²⁵⁰ *habemus, et secundum legem debet mori, quia filius Dei se fecit.* Falsum dixerunt, quia non facit/fecit se filium Dei, sed erat verus filius Dei. *Pilatus autem*¹²⁵¹ *cum audisset hos sermones, magis timuit, supple filium Dei occidere.* *Et ingressus est in pretorium iterum et dixit ad Jesum: Unde es tu?* Quasi diceret: Dic mihi¹²⁵² an origine divina aut humana? *Jesus autem responsum non dedit ei, ita ut miraretur preses vehementer.* Ideo autem tacuit, quia difficilis quomodo fuit et non intelligibilis et non solum Pilato sed etiam suis discipulis. *Generacionem enim*¹²⁵³ *ejus quis enarrabit?* Ter ergo tacuit Christus. Primo, coram pontifice. Et hec¹²⁵⁴ contra contumelias ut nos pacienciam doceret. Secundo, coram Herode contra questionem curiosas ut nos non vana, sed vera doceret. Tercio, coram preside Pilato contra laudes, quia noluit gloriari de divinitate ut nos veram laudem sequi doceret. Voluit etiam Christus tacere, ne mortem suam impediret. Jam enim nimis passus fuerat, quia totam noctem in passione expenderat et partem diei. Et jam non restabat nisi crux. Ideo tacens ad mortem anhelabat etiam, secundum Chrysostomum, “*Unde*

¹²⁴³ totus] per totum *T*

¹²⁴⁴ stare et ambulare vix] stare vix et ambulare *T*

¹²⁴⁵ dicitis] dici *T*

¹²⁴⁶ obprobrio] oprobrio *T*

¹²⁴⁷ hominibus] homini *T*

¹²⁴⁸ videte] vide *T*

¹²⁴⁹ causam] om. *T*

¹²⁵⁰ legem] legem Hebraica *T*

¹²⁵¹ autem] ergo *T*

¹²⁵² dic mihi] om. *T*

¹²⁵³ enim] om. *T*

¹²⁵⁴ hec] om. *B*

es tu?” Quia signis et veritate poterat prius audire unde esset, unde motus¹²⁵⁵ Pilatus dixit: *Michi non loqueris? Nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te et potestatem habeo dimittere te.* Malus iudex, quia si Christus reus fuit, non habuit potestatem. Si autem innocens, non habuit potestatem crucifigendi secundum iusticiam. Ipse ergo se condemnavit. Unde Christus ei dicere poterit: *Ex ore tuo te judico serve nequam, quia ego dixi*¹²⁵⁶ *descendi de celo non ut faciam voluntatem meam, sed*¹²⁵⁷ *tu dicis “potestatem habeo crucifigendi et dimittendi te.”*

*Respondit Jesus: Non haberes potestatem adversum me ullam nisi tibi datum esset*¹²⁵⁸ *desuper.* Quasi diceret: Ego sum deus nisi¹²⁵⁹ permisisses tibi,¹²⁶⁰ non haberes eam, quia ego *potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et iterum sumendi*¹²⁶¹ *eam.* Abuteris ergo potestate tua. *Omnis enim potestas a domino Deo est,* et qui superiori *potestati resistit, Dei ordinationem resistit.* Omnis enim potestas aut permissive, aut ordinative fit a Deo. Unde Augustinus: “Nichil in hoc mundo agitur nisi quod ab arce summe trinitatis aut jubeatur, aut permittatur.” Si fuisset Christus secundum gloriam et potenciam mundi coram Pilato et Judeis dispositus, non sic judicassent eum. Nunc autem ille dicit: *Unde es tu?* Et illi dicunt: Hunc nescimus unde sit. Ideo sicut pauperem et peregrinum condempnabant. *Tu ergo similiter si*¹²⁶² *tibi contingat fac.*

Sicut dicit Augustinus super¹²⁶³ verbo Psalmi: “*Quapropter te sustinui opprobrium, operuit irreverencia faciem meam.* Porro si Christus qui omnino nichil rapuerat qui verissime dixerat “*ecce venit princeps mundi et in me nichil inveniet,*” dictus est peccator, dictus est iniquus, dictus est Belzebub, dictus est insanus, tu dedignaris, serve, audire pro meritis tuis quod dominus audit pro nullis meritis suis? Ille venit ut tibi preberet exemplum. Quasi gratis hoc¹²⁶⁴ tibi¹²⁶⁵ fecerit, sed tu non proficis. Quare enim illi¹²⁶⁶ audiunt nisi ut cum audieris tu non deficeres? Ecce tu audis et deficis. Frustra ergo illi audiunt. Non enim propter se, sed propter te audiunt. *Irreverencia, inquit, operuit faciem meam.* Irreverencia quid est? Non confundi.

¹²⁵⁵ motus] motus ira *T*

¹²⁵⁶ dixi] om. *T*

¹²⁵⁷ sed] et *T*

¹²⁵⁸ esset] fuisset *T*

¹²⁵⁹ nisi] in *T*

¹²⁶⁰ tibi] om. *T*

¹²⁶¹ sumendi] assumendi *T*

¹²⁶² similiter si] si similiter *T*

¹²⁶³ super] super illo *T*

¹²⁶⁴ gratis hoc] hoc gratis *T*

¹²⁶⁵ tibi] om. *T*

¹²⁶⁶ illi] om. *T*

Denique quasi vitium videtur cum dicitur:¹²⁶⁷ Irrevens homo est.¹²⁶⁸ Magna irreverencia est¹²⁶⁹ hominis non illum erubescere. Ergo irreverencia quasi impudencia est. Oportet ut habeat christianus irreverenciam istam,¹²⁷⁰ quando veniret inter homines quibus displicet Christus. Si erubuerit de Christo, delebitur de libro vivencium. Opus est ergo ut habeas irreverenciam, quando tibi de Christo insultatur, quando dicitur: Cultor crucifixi, adorator male mortui, venerator occisi. Hic si erubueris, mortuus es. Sententiam quippe ipsius¹²⁷¹ vide, qui neminem fallit. *Qui dominum erubuerit coram hominibus, et ego erubescam eum coram angelis Dei.* Observa ergo¹²⁷² tu, sit in te irreverencia,¹²⁷³ frontosus esto, quando¹²⁷⁴ audis obprobrium de Christo, prorsus esto frontosus. Quid times fronti tue, quam signo crucis armasti?” Hec Augustinus.¹²⁷⁵

Et quia Pilatus timens imperium et Judeos, hec fecit. Unde Chrisostomus: “Facile deviat a justitia qui in causis non Deum sed hominem timet.” Solius enim timor Dei a peccato preservat. Ideo Christus subdit: *Propterea qui me tradidit, tibi majus peccatum habet*, id est omnis populus illi invidendo, tu metuendo. *Et exinde Pilatus querebat: Dimitte eum. Judei clamabant dicentes: Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Cesaris*, id est Tiberii. *Omnis enim qui se regem facit, contradicit Cesari. Pilatus autem cum audisset hos sermones, adduxit Jesus¹²⁷⁶ foras extra pretorium et sedit pro tribunali in loco qui dicitur Litostratos,¹²⁷⁷ Hebraice autem Gabatha.¹²⁷⁸* Locus pavimentatus de lapidibus coloratis pro tribunali sede judicis edificatus. *Erat autem parasceve hora quasi sexta.¹²⁷⁹* Parasceve, id est preparacio sabbati, quia Judei sabbato¹²⁸⁰ non preparabant cibos, nec colligebant dei sabbati manna, sed pro duobus diebus colligebant in¹²⁸¹ parasceve, id est sexta feria.¹²⁸² In hec melius observabant Judei festa quam nos, quia eciam necessaria¹²⁸³ non preparabant, sed nos eciam

¹²⁶⁷ dicitur] dicit *T*

¹²⁶⁸ est] om. *T*

¹²⁶⁹ est] om. *T*

¹²⁷⁰ irreverenciam istam] Christi(?) irreverenciam istam *T*

¹²⁷¹ ipsius] om. *T*

¹²⁷² ergo] om. *T*

¹²⁷³ irrevenrencia] irreverenciam *T*; reverencia *P*

¹²⁷⁴ quando] quod *T*

¹²⁷⁵ Augustinus] beatus Augustinus *P*

¹²⁷⁶ Jesus] eum *T*

¹²⁷⁷ Litostratos] Liquostratos *B*

¹²⁷⁸ Gabatha] Golgatha *T*

¹²⁷⁹ sexta] vi *T*

¹²⁸⁰ sabbato] om. *T*

¹²⁸¹ in] om. *T*

¹²⁸² sexta feria] feria sexta *B*

¹²⁸³ eciam necessita] necessita eciam *T*

superflua preparamus. Immo nunc plus laboramus quomodo placentas bonas¹²⁸⁴ faciamus et ornamus plus mensas nostras¹²⁸⁵ quam animas nostras. Et avidius replemus ventrem carnibus et potibus quam corpore et sanguine Jesu Christi. Quod autem dicitur, secundum Johannem, *hora sexta* crucifixionis et Marcem xiiii dicitur *hora tertia*, non est diversitas, quia, secundum Augustinum, “Judei labiis et corde *hora tertia* crucifixerunt eum.” Secundum illud Psalmi: *Filii hominum, dentes eorum arma et sagitte et lingua eorum gladius accutus*. Gentiles autem manibus *hora sexta* crucifixerunt eum.

Et dixit eis Pilatus: Ecce rex vester. Illi autem clamabant: Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum. Dicit eis Pilatus: Regem vestrem crucifigam. Responderunt pontifices: Non habemus regem nisi Cesarem. Ecce quomodo mutati sunt qui clamabant in die palmarum: “*Rex Israel! Osanna in excelsis!*”. Super quo dicit Bernardus: “Ab eodem populo, in eodem loco, in eodem tempore paucis diebus interpositis. Primo, cum tanto triumpho est susceptus et postea crucifixus. O quam dissimile est “*tolle, tolle crucifige eum*” et “*benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*”! O quam dissimile est dicere: “*Rex Israel*” et “*non habemus regem nisi Cesarem*”! O quam dissimile rami florentes in palmis et crux et spine in parasceve!”

*Sedente autem Pilato pro tribunali misit ad illum*¹²⁸⁶ *uxor ejus dicens: Nichil tibi et justo illi. Multa enim passa sum per visum propter eum.* Secundum Glossam, “uxor viri gentilis intellexit in sompnis innocentiam Christi quam Judei in vigilia non intellexerunt.” Forte ergo¹²⁸⁷ diabolus videns tantam pacienciam Christi et scripturam de ipso impleri et forte per signa exultacionis patrum sanctorum in limbo, estimabat regnum suum per Christum destrui, voluit per mulierem impedire mortem Christi. *Pilatus ergo videns que nichil proficeret accepta aqua lavit manus coram populo*¹²⁸⁸ *dicens: Innocens ego sum a sanguine justi hujus, vos videritis. Et respondit universus populus dicens ex impietate: Sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros.* Hec est sententia qua se condempnaverunt. *Susceperunt ergo milites Jesum et exuerunt eum vestimentis, et induerunt*¹²⁸⁹ *eum propriis*¹²⁹⁰ *vestimentis ut cognosceretur in obprobrio. Et eduxerunt eum extra Jerusalem ut crucifigeretur.* In quo verificatum est, quia *ecce*

¹²⁸⁴ placentas bonas] bonas placentas T

¹²⁸⁵ plus mensas nostras] mensas nostras plus T

¹²⁸⁶ illum] eum B

¹²⁸⁷ ergo] enim T

¹²⁸⁸ manus coram populo] coram populo manus B

¹²⁸⁹ et induerunt] induerunt B

¹²⁹⁰ propriis] om. T

heres quem ejecerunt extra vineam. Tamquam enim inmundum sanguinem extra portam Jerusalem effuderunt, ne Jerusalem pollueretur. Nobis autem peccatoribus per totum mundum ad purgacionem peccatorum est effusus.

Susceperunt autem milites Jesum et eduxerunt eum. Et bajulans sibi crucem exivit in eum locum qui dicitur Calvarie locus. Exeamus ergo et nos post eum portantes in proprium ejus non signa superbie nostre, sed signa regis nostri, quia factus est principatus ejus super humerum ejus. Exeuntes autem invenerunt quemdam hominem¹²⁹¹ Simonem Cyreneum patrem Alexandri et Ruffi. Hunc angariaverunt ut tolleretur crucem Jesu. Non ut parcerent Christo, sed ut forcior esset ad paciendum mortem.

Sequebatur autem cum turba multa populi et mulieres que plangebant et lamentabantur eum. Conversus autem Jesus ad illas dixit: Filie Jerusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros!¹²⁹² Quoniam ecce dies venient in quibus dicent: Beate steriles et veteres¹²⁹³ que non genuerunt et ubera que non lactaverunt. Tunc incipient dicere montibus: Cadite super nos! Et collibus: Operite nos! Et si in viridi ligno hec faciunt, in arido quid fiet? Quasi diceret: Tales vos filios¹²⁹⁴ educastis qui me crucifigunt. Si ergo in viridi ligno, id¹²⁹⁵ est in me qui totus sum floridus sine peccato, tanta mala faciunt, quanta mala faciet¹²⁹⁶ Titus et Vespasianus de ipsis qui sunt arida ligna sine fructu apta ad conbuscionem. Querunt¹²⁹⁷ enim mortem et fugiet ab eis. Tunc enim crucifigebantur Judei in obsidione Jerusalem omni die quingenti donec spacia crucibus deessent et corporibus cruces. Matres eciam pueros¹²⁹⁸ manducabant et beate erant que pueros non habebant. Quanta ergo erit angustia in die judicii, quando non patebit nisi infernus et ignis in anima aridorum! Beate matres que tales dampnatos¹²⁹⁹ nunquam genuerunt.

Ducebantur autem et alii duo nequam cum eo ut crucifigerentur. Acsi ipse unus ex hiis esset et erat secundum estimacionem Judeorum et secundum passionem, quia secundum Isaiam: Cum iniquis deputatus est. Postquam autem¹³⁰⁰ ad locum Calvarie

¹²⁹¹ quemdam hominem] hominem quemdam nomine *P*; om. *T*

¹²⁹² ipsas flete et super filios vestros] ipsas et super filios vestros flete *B*

¹²⁹³ et veteres] om. *T*

¹²⁹⁴ vos filios] filios vos *T*

¹²⁹⁵ id] hec *T*

¹²⁹⁶ faciet] facient *T*

¹²⁹⁷ Querunt] Querent *P*

¹²⁹⁸ pueros] pueros proprios *P*

¹²⁹⁹ dampnatos] dampnatos filios *T*

¹³⁰⁰ autem] ergo *T*

ductus esset,¹³⁰¹ *dederunt ei vinum mirratum bibere cum felle mixtum* ut citius moreretur et ipsi evaderent laborem.¹³⁰² Si ergo ut dicitur matrone aromaticum vinum offerebant, hec latronibus forte dabant, secundum illud, date merentibus siceram¹³⁰³ et vinum hiis qui amaro sunt animo ut bibant et doloris sui non recordentur. Christo autem tale non fuit datum sed cum felle. Unde dicitur: *Et cum gustasset, noluit bibere*. Illi ergo crucifixerunt eum extendendo funibus membra ejus ut denumerare possent¹³⁰⁴ omnia ossa ejus et clavos grossissimos immiserunt affigentes cruci manus et pedes ejus. Ecce rex Salomon coronatus et purperatus ascendit ad thronum glorie sue. Et unde Bernardus:¹³⁰⁵ “O¹³⁰⁶ quam libenter ascendit, o quanto amore ista omnia¹³⁰⁷ pro nobis sustinuit, o quanta paciencia, o quanta mansuetudine obedivit. O Domine sancte pater, quantum in ipsius obediencia delectaberis!¹³⁰⁸ Et sic totus mundus in cruce levatur et extenditur. O quante voces et tristes ululatus audiuntur ibi ab amicis¹³⁰⁹ suis, quando sit crudeliter elevatur, extenditur et foditur et toto sacro corpore descenditur et dissipatur!”

Fuit autem¹³¹⁰ crux trium brachiorum. Unum brachium in quo corpus pependit, duo brachia in quibus manus extente erant. Super caput autem nichil erat. *Scriptum autem titulum Pilatus in tabula et posuit super crucem* pro quatro brachio crucis. *Erat autem scriptum “Jesus Nazaretus rex Judeorum” hebraice, grece et latine* propter tria idiomata que ibi vigeant. *Hunc ergo titulum multi legerunt Judei, quia prope civitatem erat locus ubi crucifixus est Jesus. Dicebant ergo pontifices Pilato: Noli scribere “rex Judeorum” Sed quia ipse dixit “rex sum Judeorum”, respondit Pilatus: Quid scripsi? Scripsi titulum.* Enim Psalmi lviii dicit *ne corrumpas tituli inscriptionem*. Quasi dicetur: Tu, Pilate, non corrumpas titulum, quia ipse est¹³¹¹ rex Judeorum sicut scripsisti. Et¹³¹² non sicut Judei dicunt cum usurpasse¹³¹³ illum titulum.

Milites ergo cum crucificissent eum, acceperunt vestimenta ejus¹³¹⁴ et fecerunt quatuor partes unicuique militi partem et tunicam, ex quo apparet, secundum

¹³⁰¹ esset] est *T*

¹³⁰² evaderent laborem] laborem evaderent *T*

¹³⁰³ merentibus siceram] siceram merentibus *T*

¹³⁰⁴ denumerare possent] denumerari possint *T*

¹³⁰⁵ Et unde Bernardus] Unde Bernardus *P*; Unde *T*

¹³⁰⁶ O] om. *T*

¹³⁰⁷ ista omnia] omnia ista *T*

¹³⁰⁸ delectaveris] delectaberis *T*; delectaberis *P*

¹³⁰⁹ amicis] inimicis *B*

¹³¹⁰ autem] om. *T*

¹³¹¹ est] om. *T*

¹³¹² Et] om. *T*

¹³¹³ cum usurpasse] usurpasse cum *T*

¹³¹⁴ acceperunt vestimenta ejus] vestimenta ejus acceperunt *B*

Augustinum, quod “quatuor milites fuerunt¹³¹⁵ qui crucifixerunt eum mittentes sortem super tunicam inconsutibilem quam dicitur ei fecisse mater sua, et verisimile est sicut quidam dicunt quod cum Christo illa tunica crescebat a juventute.” Et confirmatur per scripturam quod sicut Judei xl annis in deserto¹³¹⁶ in eisdem vestimentis vivebant in quibus exierant de Egipto et non sunt attrita vestimenta eorum, sed crescebant cum eis, sic et Christi tunica inconsutibilis de qua dixerunt: *Non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de illa cujus sit*. Ecce Christus deposuit pro te vestimenta sua et nudus pendet in cruce. Et quando tu propter eum tua superba vestimenta¹³¹⁷ deponis?¹³¹⁸

*Pretereuntes autem blasphemabant moventes capita sua et dicentes: Vah! Qui destruis templum Dei et in triduo illud reedificas. Et alii dicebant: Alios salvos fecit, seipsum non potest salvum facere.*¹³¹⁹ Ideo false alios salvos fecit. *Si rex Israel est, descendat nunc de cruce et credimus ei*. Immo, secundo Chrysostomum, “ideo de cruce non descendit, quia filius¹³²⁰ Dei et rex Israel est.” Nam ideo venit ut pro nobis crucifigeretur. “Descende de cruce et credimus,” inquit. Verba¹³²¹ sunt ista composita excusacionis diffedencie. Nam majora eis¹³²² mirabilia demonstravit,¹³²³ quando mortuos suscitavit, nec tunc crediderunt ei. Ideo etiam non descendit ut perficeret salutem nostram et quia justius erit¹³²⁴ resurgere de sepulchro mortuum¹³²⁵ quam vivum descendere de cruce. *Confidit in Deo, liberet eum nunc si vult*. Hec evangelium dicit David in Psalmo: *Speravit in domino, eripiat eum*. Unde secundum Cassiodorum, “David non tam prophetiam quam evangelium in hoc dixit. Irritabat enim diabolus Christum per Judeos ut descenderet et non perficeret salutem nostram.” Sic tu noli descendere de cruce penitencie usque ad finem.¹³²⁶

Nunc incipiunt testamenta que Christus fecit in cruce. Et primo, pro inimicis orans ad Patrem, dixit: *Pater, dimitte illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. Et hec¹³²⁷ dixit cum lacrimis ut et nos pro inimicis oraremus. *Id ipsum et latrones qui crucifixi sunt cum*

¹³¹⁵ milites fuerunt] fuerunt milites *B*

¹³¹⁶ xl annis in deserto] in deserto xl annis *T*

¹³¹⁷ superba vestimenta] vestimenta superba *T*

¹³¹⁸ deponis] depones *T*

¹³¹⁹ facere] facere. Acsi dixerunt: Quia se non potest salvum facere. *T*

¹³²⁰ filius] om. *T*

¹³²¹ verba] ei verba *T*

¹³²² eis] ei *B*

¹³²³ demonstravit] demonstrabat *T*

¹³²⁴ erit] est *T*

¹³²⁵ de sepulchro mortuum] mortuum de sepulchro *T*

¹³²⁶ nostram.” Sic tu noli descendere de cruce penitencie usque ad finem.] nostram. *B*

¹³²⁷ hec] hoc *P*

eo improperebant ei dicentes: Si tu es Christus, salvum te fac et nos. Unde secundum Ambrosium¹³²⁸ et Beda, “in principio ambo conviciabantur ei.” Unus autem visus signis credidit et alterum increpabat dicens: *Neque tu times Deum, quod¹³²⁹ in eadem damnatione es.*¹³³⁰ *Et nos quidem juste digna factis recipimus. Hic vero nihil mali gessit.* Quasi diceret: Iste mortuos suscitavit, nos autem¹³³¹ vivos occidimus. *Et dicebat ad Jesum: Memento mei, Domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum.* Magna virtus latronis! Nichil habuit liberum nisi cor ad credendum et linguam ad confitendum. Credidit moriens quem apostoli viventes non crediderunt, magna virtus ejus, quia morientem videns non desperat et regnum petivit. Caritatem etiam habuit, quia suum compectorem etiam corripuit.¹³³²

Hujus latronis fidem Chrysostomus commendans sic dicit: “Latro iste vidit salvatorem non super¹³³³ throno regali, non adorari in templo, non loquentem de celis, non per angelos disponentem, sed in pena sociatum latroni vidit in tormentis et tamquam in gloria adorat, videt in cruce et rogat quasi in celis sedentem, videt condemnatum et regem invocatur dicens: “*Domine, memento mei dum veneris in regnum tuum*”. Crucifixum vides et regem predicas. In ligno pendentem¹³³⁴ cernis et celorum regna meditaris.¹³³⁵ Dic mi regnum commemoras.¹³³⁶ Quid enim regni vides? Clavi et crux est quod inspicis, sed ipsa crux, inquit,¹³³⁷ regnum est. Et ideo eum regem nomino, quia crucifixum inspicio. O admiranda latronis conversio! Numquid nam scripturas legisti ab iniquitate non cessans? Numquid nam prophetas audisti homicidia exercens? Numquid nam divinum audisti sermonem,¹³³⁸ quando ad cedem gladium acuebas? Unde eruditus es talia philozophari de Christo? Judei crucifixerunt cum ejus legem et prophetas legerunt et tu harum ignarus Deum vocas, condemnatum et adoras crucifixum: Non me, inquit, lex docuit, sed sol occultans lumen suum. Quis te ergo erudit, o latro, talia de Christi dicere: Vidi, inquit, crucifixum et terremotum sensi et propter paricidas Judeos elementa indignancia intellexi et petre quidem scindebantur et

¹³²⁸ Ambrosium] Augustinum *T*

¹³²⁹ quod] quam *T*

¹³³⁰ es] om. *T*

¹³³¹ autem] om. *T*

¹³³² etiam corripuit] om. *T*

¹³³³ super] in *T*

¹³³⁴ pendentem] pendere *B*

¹³³⁵ meditaris] commemoraris *T*

¹³³⁶ Dic mi regem commemoras] om. *T*

¹³³⁷ crux inquit] inquit crux *T*

¹³³⁸ Numquid nam prophetas audisti homicidia exercens? Numquid nam divinum audisti sermonem *T*, Augustinus] Numquid nam prophetas audisti sermonem *B*

corda hominum non metuebant. Vide autem quanta cura sit Christo pro peccatoribus, quia statim dicit latroni: *Amen, dico tibi hodie mecum eris in paradiso.*”

“Hodie Adam ejectus est de paradiso,¹³³⁹ et hodie latro paradisum ingreditur. Exiit fur et introivit fur, exiit prevaricator et ingressus est latro, exiit contemptor verbi et introivit confitens verbum, exiit contempnens salutem et introivit de cruce meritans salutem”. “Hodie ergo, sicut dicit Bernardus, et cottidie ita accidit, quia qui devote confitetur peccata sua et bene statim cum Domino est in paradiso¹³⁴⁰ per gratiam et postea erit per gloriam, vel est in paradiso, id est in quadam requie et securitate consciencie sue.” Postquam ergo pro inimicis¹³⁴¹ oravit et latroni paradisum dedit, tunc benedictam matrem discipulo commendavit.

Unde scribitur:¹³⁴² *Stabant autem juxta crucem¹³⁴³ mater ejus et soror matris ejus,¹³⁴⁴ Maria Cleophe, et Maria Magdalene.* Stabat mater nunc tamquam advocata impetrans misericordiam nobis, reos absolvens coram iudice sedente et iudicante¹³⁴⁵ in cruce impenitentem latronem ad iudicium, penitentem vero ad salutem. Stabat autem juxta crucem ad quam beatus Bernardus sic dicit. “O mundi domina, quid hic stas? Quid hic agis? Quis te huc adduxit? Quam ob causam huc venire voluisti? Quid tibi et cruci? Quis umquam cognovisset reginam angelorum et hominum? Quis¹³⁴⁶ auderet presumere quod staret juxta patibulum?” Sic ergo apostoli fugierunt, curati infirmi non comparaverunt, Judei blasphemaverunt. Ipsa autem stabat juxta crucem Jesu. Ante Christum crux fuit maledicta, ante Mariam virginitas sterilis maledicta que utraque fuerunt sanctificata. Ergo juxta crucem virgo stetit. Tunc ejus *animam doloris gladius pertransivit*, quia anima ipsius virginis plus erat in Christo quam in ea. Ibi enim anima plus est ubi amat quam ubi animat.

Secundum enim¹³⁴⁷ Bernardum, “virgo benedicta viderat corpus benedictum crudeliter perfossum. Et perforatum¹³⁴⁸ viderat manus illas semper autem benedicentes aut infirmos tangentes aut aliquid pietatis exercentes, et ecce confixe sunt. Audire

¹³³⁹ paradiso] paradiso, sicut dicit Chrysostomus *B*

¹³⁴⁰ est in paradiso] ingressus est paradisum *T*

¹³⁴¹ inimicis] inimicis suis *T*

¹³⁴² unde scribitur] om. *T*

¹³⁴³ crucem] crucem Jesu *T*

¹³⁴⁴ mater ejus] om. *T*

¹³⁴⁵ sedente et iudicante] sedentem et iudicantem *T*

¹³⁴⁶ quis] qui *T*

¹³⁴⁷ enim] vero *B*

¹³⁴⁸ perforatum] perforatas *T*

consueverat de illo ore aureo semper celestia, semper consolatoria verba, et ecce¹³⁴⁹ pro angustia¹³⁵⁰ clamat valide: *Deus meus, deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?*” Avidè inspexerat vultum Jesu¹³⁵¹ divinis radiis fulgidum qui sibi valde amabilis ad inspiciendum fuerat, et ecce inclinatus pallet et exaruit hunc lividus,¹³⁵² hunc sputis illitus, hunc cruentatus. Quid inter hec faceret mater illa nisi quod staret juxta crucem? Si enim domi sedisset, dum hec fiebant, duplicatus fuisset dolor ipsius. Maturo igitur concepto consilio dicebat in corde suo: Stabo et expectabo mortis sententiam quam Pilatus faceret in dulcem filium unigenitum meum,¹³⁵³ sequar a tergo egredientem de Jerusalem, aspiciam lacrimosis oculis quomodo ducatur, quomodo spoliatur. Videbo, considerabo quomodo perforentur¹³⁵⁴ manus ejus et pedes,¹³⁵⁵ quomodo eum affigant in patibulo, quomodo¹³⁵⁶ erigant in ligno et cum hiis omnibus per actis se cesserunt et procul steterunt non appropinquantes ei amplius tamquam maledicto in ligno pendenti. Tunc ego accedam proprius et stabo juxta crucem filii mei Jesu,¹³⁵⁷ amplectar illum¹³⁵⁸ in eis¹³⁵⁹ brachiis, deosculabor illum labiis, rigabo illum lacrimis et quia mori non licet cum eo, infigam tamen oculos meos in suspensio filio,¹³⁶⁰ aspiciam quomodo de hoc mundo exeat quem sola utique novi quomodo in hunc mundum venit.

Cum vidisset ergo Jesus matrem¹³⁶¹ et discipulum stantem quem diligebat, dicit¹³⁶² matri sue: Mulier, ecce filius tuus. Solam linguam et oculos liberos habuit quibus matrem benedictam consolari volebat.¹³⁶³ O stupendum spectaculum! Illi benedicti oculi festinabant¹³⁶⁴ ad mortem et sese retorquebant ad matrem: *Ecce filius tuus.* Ad discipulum autem:¹³⁶⁵ *Ecce mater tua.*¹³⁶⁶ Quasi diceret: Dixisti aliquando

¹³⁴⁹ ecce] om. *T*

¹³⁵⁰ angustia] angustiis *P*

¹³⁵¹ Jesu] Christi illum *T*

¹³⁵² hunc lividus] lividus hunc *T*

¹³⁵³ unigenitum meum] meum unigenitum *T*

¹³⁵⁴ perforentur] perforent *T*

¹³⁵⁵ et pedes] om. *T*

¹³⁵⁶ quomodo] om. *T*

¹³⁵⁷ Jesu] om. *T*

¹³⁵⁸ illum] eum *T*

¹³⁵⁹ in eis] om. *T*

¹³⁶⁰ filio] filio meo *T*

¹³⁶¹ matrem] matrem ejus *P*

¹³⁶² dicit *B*] Jesus dicit *T*; dixit *P*

¹³⁶³ quibus matrem benedictam consolari volebat *B*] quibus matrem suam benedictam consolari volebat *P*; consolari volebat *T*

¹³⁶⁴ benedicti oculi festinabant] festinabant benedicti oculi *T*

¹³⁶⁵ Ad discipulum autem] om. *T*

¹³⁶⁶ tua] om. *T*

vinum non habent et respondit.¹³⁶⁷ *Quid michi et tibi est, mulier?* Mulier inquam sexu sed virgo, *nondum venit hora mea. Ecce nunc venit hora mea.*¹³⁶⁸ Ecce hec habeo a te in quo patior. *Ecce filius tuus. O commutacio! Servus pro domino, Johannes pro Jesu, creatura pro creatore, filius piscatoris pro filio conditoris, filius Zebedei pro filio Dei.*

Mulier ergo dixit, non *mater* ne materno nomine ejus dolorem auget. Unde secundum Bernardum,¹³⁶⁹ “moriens salvator sic testamentum suum disposuit quod sibi de omnibus que habuit nichil retinuit. Ita tamen quod unicuique secundum propriam dedit virtutem¹³⁷⁰ et profectus est statim. Temporalia enim¹³⁷¹ que mittebantur tamquam viliora jam dudum comiserat Jude traditori, corpus suum in sacramento discipulis tradidit. Ipsos discipulos Patri representavit, vestes suas divisit militibus, corpus suum mortale crucifixoribus. Adhuc ergo non habuit nisi matrem et spiritum et idcirco ut de omnibus se rite¹³⁷² expediat et a suis nichil absconderet, matrem et virginem virgini amico reliquit et sic spiritum post omnia Deo Patri recommendavit.”

*Et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua*¹³⁷³ non predia sed officia servicia beneficia vel in suam custodiam. *A sexta autem hora tenebre facte sunt in universam terram*¹³⁷⁴ *usque ad horam nonam.* Per tres enim¹³⁷⁵ horas sol obscuratus est,¹³⁷⁶ secundum Jeronimum per retractionem radiorum, secundum Origenem per condensacionem nubium, secundum Dionysium¹³⁷⁷ per interposicionem lune. Sic impletum est illud¹³⁷⁸ Amos viii: *occidet sol in meridie.* Unde et¹³⁷⁹ Athenis philosophi dicebant: “Aut Deus vere compatitur, aut elementa sibi¹³⁸⁰ compatiuntur, aut tota machina mundi dissolvitur.” Unde aram ignoto deo fabricaverunt quod Paulus veniens postea ipse predicavit, scilicet Christum qui eis tunc erat ignotus.

Et circa horam nonam exclamavit Jesus voce magna, dicens: Heli, heli, lama zabachthani? Hoc est: *Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?* Ex hoc clamore cognovit eum centurio, dicens: *Vere Filius Dei erat iste,* quia ita cruciatus nullo modo

¹³⁶⁷ respondit] respondi *P*

¹³⁶⁸ mea] om. *T*

¹³⁶⁹ Bernardum] beatum Bernardum *T*

¹³⁷⁰ secundum propriam dedit virtutem] dedit secundum virtutem propriam *T*

¹³⁷¹ enim] om. *T*

¹³⁷² se rite] rite se *T*

¹³⁷³ sua] suam *T*

¹³⁷⁴ sunt in universam terram *B*] sunt super iniversam terram *P*; sunt *T*

¹³⁷⁵ enim] autem *B*

¹³⁷⁶ sol obscuratus est] obscuratus est sol *T*

¹³⁷⁷ Dionysium] Dionysius *T*

¹³⁷⁸ illud] om. *T*

¹³⁷⁹ unde et] et unde *B*

¹³⁸⁰ sibi] om. *T*

potuisset sic¹³⁸¹ clamare¹³⁸² nisi ex virtute divinitatis. Derelicta autem fuit humanitas Christi, id est temptacioni et dolori exposita ut maiorem dolorem sustinens nobis amplius moreretur. Habuit ergo Christus summum dolorem ex passione secundum illud Trenorum: *Attendite universi populi et videte dolorem meum. Si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus*. Habuit eciam summum gaudium, quia comprehensor fuit secundum animam et vidit faciem divinam ab instanti conceptionis sue. Unde Paulus ad Hebreos xii dicit: *proposito sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem*.

Cum ergo¹³⁸³ Christus clamasset “heli”, *quidam autem illic*¹³⁸⁴ *stantes et audientes dicebant: Sine, videamus an veniat Helias liberans eum*. Aut isti fuerunt gentiles et ideo non intelligentes quid sit *heli*, putabant eum Heliam vocare, aut Judei dicerunt hec¹³⁸⁵ in infamiam Christi tamquam indigeret auxilio Helie. *Postea sciens Jesus, quia jam*¹³⁸⁶ *omnia consummata essent ut consummaretur scriptura*¹³⁸⁷ *dixit: Sitio*. Secundum Augustinum, “omnem fidem sitiebat qui pro omnibus sanguinem suum fudit.” Unde Bernardus: “Domine, non te plus cruciat sitis quam crux? De cruce siles, de siti clamas, qui omnium salutem affectas, omnium gaudium procuras. Judei et gentiles sitiunt sanguinem tuum occidendo. Tu sitis eorum salutem moriendo pro eis qui post¹³⁸⁸ sunt conversi,” dicente Psalmo:¹³⁸⁹ *In persona tua cucurri in siti*,¹³⁹⁰ *ore suo benedicebant et corde suo maledicebant*.

*Et continuo currens unus ex eis, acceptam spongiam implevit aceto et imposuit arundini et dabat ei bibere. Cum*¹³⁹¹ *accepisset Jesus acetum, dixit: Consumatum est*.¹³⁹² Consumatum, inquit, per passionem meam in generis humani restauratione consumandum in glorificatione quod periit in non servata condicione. *Et clamans iterum voce magna dixit: Pater, in manus tuas comendo spiritum meum*. Tenent doctores quod psalterium ad litteram¹³⁹³ non de David sed de Christo sit scriptum. Unde tot Psalmi sunt quot versus ab illo loco: *Deus, Deus meus, respice in me usque in manus*

¹³⁸¹ sic] ita *T*

¹³⁸² clamare] exclamare *B*

¹³⁸³ ergo] om. *T*

¹³⁸⁴ illic] hic *T*

¹³⁸⁵ dicerunt hec] hec dicerunt *T*

¹³⁸⁶ jam] om. *B*

¹³⁸⁷ scriptura] scriptura que *B*

¹³⁸⁸ post] postea *T*

¹³⁸⁹ Psalmo] Psalmista *T*

¹³⁹⁰ siti] situ *T*

¹³⁹¹ cum] et cum *T*

¹³⁹² acetum, dixit: Consumatum est.] acetum, noluit bibere *T*

¹³⁹³ ad litteram] om. *T*

tuas, Domine, comendo spiritum meum, videlicet centum quadraginta versus tantum oravit Christus in cruce. In exemplum ergo nobis spiritum in manus Patris comendavit ut nos in mortis articulo et semper hec faciamus ut reddamus Deo animam a quo ipsam habemus et ut inimicus vincatur et non rapiat animas nostras.

Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum. Omnes affectantes ut talem finem obtineatis, genu flectite mecum dicentes “Pater noster”. Ergo potestatis fuit tradere et dare animam et iterum sumere eam. Si autem tanta est potestas morientis, quanta erit resurgentis et mortuos ad iudicium suscitantis et peccatores iudicantis. “Tu ergo homo, secundum Augustinum, inspice¹³⁹⁴ vulnera pendentis, sanguinem morientis, precium redimentis, cicatrices resurgentis. Caput habet inclinatum ad osculandum, cor¹³⁹⁵ apertum ad diligendum, brachia extensa ad amplectendum, totum corpus expositum ad redimendum. Hec quanta fuit cogitate, hec in statura cordis vestri appendite ut totus nobis figatur in corde qui totus pro nobis fuit fixus in cruce.”

Hoc quod sequitur potest predicari post prandium vel hora completorii. Sequitur:¹³⁹⁶ *Et ecce velum templi*,¹³⁹⁷ ad litteram quod appensum erat inter sancta et sancta sanctorum et eciam illud quod erat ante faciem templi, *scissum est in duas partes a summo usque deorsum* in signum revelacionis et intelligencie sacramentorum legis que prius velata erant quod velamen adhuc remanet in Judeis. Narrat eciam Iosephus virtutes angelicas tunc presides templi in aere clamasse: *Transeamus ab hiis sedibus*. De hoc velo dicit Chrysostomus in homelia secunda de cruce et latrone sic inquires: “Diruptum est velum templi et Judeorum secreta¹³⁹⁸ patuerunt. Et hic velum quidem erat sed preciosissimum quod in diebus celeberrimis suspendebatur. Preciosissimum valde de purpura et bisso et cocco et auro et serico et jacincto contextum. In illo enim tempore crucis *terra mota est, sol fugit, petre scisse sunt, velum disruptum est, et monumenta*¹³⁹⁹ patuerunt. Et sicut gloria domus est ubi velum pendet habitante intrinsecus Domino domus, sic ignominia templi est unde recessit Spiritus sanctus. Postquam enim impias manus in Filium Dei intulerunt, injuria Deo facta est qui habitat in templo. Et ideo recedente Domino deserta remansit domus sicut ipse dixit: *Ecce relinquetur vobis domus vestra deserta*. Egresso rege glorie dirrupta sunt symbola

¹³⁹⁴ inspice] respice *B*

¹³⁹⁵ cor] latus *corr.* cor *B*

¹³⁹⁶ Hoc quod sequitur potest predicari post prandium vel hora completorii Sequitur: *B*] Post completorium *P*; om. *T*

¹³⁹⁷ templi] templi scissum est *B*

¹³⁹⁸ Judeorum secreta] secreta Judeorum *T*

¹³⁹⁹ et monumenta] monumenta *B*

regni, aperta sunt monumenta et surrexerunt mortui et intraverunt in sanctam civitatem ut inexcusabilem relinquerent causam ut¹⁴⁰⁰ Domini resurrectio firmaretur.” Hec Chrysostomus.

Et terra mota est in signum destructionis Judeorum. Et petre scisse sunt in signum conversionis gentilium. Secundum illud Zacharie xiiii: Scindetur mons Olivarum ex media parte sui ad orientem et occidentem. Et monumenta aperta sunt in signum resurrectionis mortuorum. Secundum illud Ezechiel¹⁴⁰¹ xxxviii:¹⁴⁰² Ecce ego aperiam timulos vestros. Sed quare ante mortem Domini signa fuerunt de celo ut¹⁴⁰³ obscuratio¹⁴⁰⁴ solis post mortem signa de terra nisi quia ante mortem precipue cognoscebatur in celo, post mortem autem noticia ejus cepit¹⁴⁰⁵ dilatari in terra. Et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant¹⁴⁰⁶ sompno mortis surrexerunt. Hec dictum per anticipationem, quia non antequam Dominus resurgeret, sed tunc quando surrexit Dominus surrexerunt ut dicit Jeronimus “ut esset¹⁴⁰⁷ primogenitus ex multis fratribus. Et¹⁴⁰⁸ exeuntes de monumentis post resurrectionem ejus, venerunt in sanctam civitatem, scilicet Jerusalem que antiquitus dicebatur sancta propter templum et sancta sanctorum. Et apparuerunt multis testificantes de dominica resurrectione.¹⁴⁰⁹ Moraliter terra movetur in peccati recognicione,¹⁴¹⁰ petra scinditur in contricione, monumenta aperiuntur in confessione, corpora resurgunt in corporum mortificatorum unificatione, apparent in sancta civitate in anime illuminatione.”

Centurio autem et qui¹⁴¹¹ cum eo erant, hic gentilis erat eo quod centum milites sub se habebat. Et custodientes Jesum, viso terremotu et hiis qui fiebant, quia scilicet¹⁴¹² sic clamans emisisset spiritum,¹⁴¹³ timuerunt valde, dicentes: Vere Filius Dei erat iste. Et Marcus dicit: Vere homo hic Filius Dei erat. Lucas: Vero hic homo justus erat. Ibi resultat veritas deitatis, quia vere Filius Dei erat, ibi veritas innocencie sue et sanctitatis, quia vere justus erat. Et hec tria necessaria erant ad redempcionem: homo qui deberet,

¹⁴⁰⁰ ut] et *T*

¹⁴⁰¹ Ezechiel] Ecclesiastici *T*

¹⁴⁰² xxxviii *B, T, P*] xxxvii *Bible*

¹⁴⁰³ ut] et *T*

¹⁴⁰⁴ obscuratio] obscuracionis *P*

¹⁴⁰⁵ noticia ejus cepit] ejus cepit noticia *T*

¹⁴⁰⁶ dormierant] dormierunt *T, P*

¹⁴⁰⁷ esset] om. *T*

¹⁴⁰⁸ Et] om. *T*

¹⁴⁰⁹ de dominica resurreccione] dominicam resurreccionem *T*

¹⁴¹⁰ recognicione *B*] cognicione *T*, recogitacione *P*

¹⁴¹¹ qui] hii qui *P*

¹⁴¹² scilicet] om. *P*

¹⁴¹³ emisisset epiritum] spiritum emisisse *P*

Deus qui valeret, justus qui congrueret. Et ex istis agravatur¹⁴¹⁴ scelus Judeorum, et hec¹⁴¹⁵ quia occiditur Deus a servis suis,¹⁴¹⁶ homo a bestiis caninis,¹⁴¹⁷ justus ab injustis. Et sic Dei Filius hostiliter, homo inhumaniter, justus nequiter perit.¹⁴¹⁸ Item Deus pro servis, homo pro inimicis, justus pro injustis moritur.

Et secundum Lucam: *Omnis turba eorum qui simul aderant ad spectaculum istud et videbant que fiebant, percutientes pectora sua revertebantur. Stabant autem noti ejus a longe.* Unde subditur: *Erat autem ibi mulieres multe, a longe videntes que fiebant.* Erant autem ibi ad associandum, ad considerandum, ad compaciendum. Unde Chrysostomus: “Discipuli fugierunt, mulieres astiterunt et omnia considerant *que secute erant Jesum a Galilea.*” Unde Jeronimus: “Consuetudinis Hebraice erat¹⁴¹⁹ ut mulieres de sua substantia ministrarent predicatoribus quod et Dominus accepit ut exemplum daret apostolis, nec erat scandalum *inter quas erat Maria Magdalena.* Sic enim dicebatur a Magdalo opido in quo morabatur. *Et Maria Jacobi*, scilicet minoris, *et Joseph mater*, hic Jacobus minor erat Alphei filius et dictus est frater Domini et fuit episcopus Jerusalemorum et eciam genuit de Alpheo Symonem et Judam. Hec est Maria Cleophe sic dicta a patre suo Cleopha de quo Johannes xix: *Stabat juxta crucem Jesu mater ejus et soror matris ejus Maria Cleophe et Maria Magdalene et mater filiorum Zebedei.* Et hec vocata est Maria Salomee a patre suo cui nupsit Anna defuncto Cleopha.” Iste autem tres nominantur, quia in istis exprimitur triplex status anime procedentis de virtute in virtutem. In Maria Magdalena est exemplum anime penitentis, quia peccatrix fuit sicut dicitur Lucam vii. In Maria matrem Jacobi et Joseph exemplum anime proficientis. Nam Jacobus interpretatur lucrator et Joseph augmentum. In matre filiorum Zebedei exemplum anime perfecte que regnum filiis postulavit.

Judei ergo, quoniam parasceve erat, ut non remanerent corpora in cruce sabbato parasceve, secundum Bedam, “est preparacio et dicta est feria sexta, quia eo die duplices sunt¹⁴²⁰ cibos filii Israel preparabant,” *erat enim magnus ille dies*¹⁴²¹ *sabbati.* *Rogaverunt Pilatum ut frangerentur*¹⁴²² *crura eorum et tollerentur.* “Sed hii quibus ideo frangebantur ut morirentur, auferrentur ex ligno ne pendent in crucibus

¹⁴¹⁴ agravatur] agravatus P

¹⁴¹⁵ hec] hoc P

¹⁴¹⁶ hec] om. P

¹⁴¹⁷ caninis] canis P

¹⁴¹⁸ hostiliter, homo inhumaniter, justus nequiter perit] hostiliter perit P

¹⁴¹⁹ erat] erant P

¹⁴²⁰ Sunt] om. P

¹⁴²¹ ille dies] dies ille P

¹⁴²² frangerentur] frangerent B

magnum diem fedarent.” Sic enim secundum Theophilum, “videbantur in lege veteri occidere solem in hominis supplicio vel quia non volebant in die sexto tortores aut homicide censi.” “Vide autem, secundum Chrysostomum, qualiter valida est veritas. Per eorum enim studia propheta completur. Unde subditur: *Venerunt ergo milites et primi quidem fregerunt crura et alterius qui crucifixus est cum eo. Ad Jesum autem cum venissent ut viderent eum jam mortuum, non fregerunt ejus crura. Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit.*

“Ut, secundum Theophilum, Judeis complacent, lanceant Christum, circa corpus exanime contumelias inferentes, sed contumelia in signum prodiit. Sanguinem enim¹⁴²³ de corpore extincto manare miraculosum est.” Unde Augustinus: “Vigilanti verbo evangelista usus est ut non diceret latus eius percussit aut vulneravit, sed aperuit ut illic quodammodo vite ostium panderetur. Unde sacramenta ecclesie manaverunt sine quibus ad vitam que vere vita est non intratur. Unde sequitur: *Et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua.* Ille sanguis in remissionem fusus est peccatorum, aqua illa salutare temperat poculum, hec et lavacrum prestat et potum. Hoc prenunciabat quod Noe in latere arce ostium facere jussus est quo intrarent animalia que non erant diluvio peritura¹⁴²⁴ quibus prefigurabatur ecclesia. Propter hoc prima mulier facta est de viri latere dormientis, et hic secundus Adam inclinato capite in cruce dormivit ut inde¹⁴²⁵ formaretur ei conjux per illud quod de latere dormientis effluxit. O mors, unde mortui reviviscunt, quid isto sanguine mundus, quid isto vulnere salubrius?”

“Et quia, secundum Chrysostomum, hinc suscipiunt principium sacramenta et misteria cum accesseris ad tremendum calicem ut ab ipsa bibiturus Christi costa, sic¹⁴²⁶ accedas.” “Erubescant ergo, ut dicit Theophilus, qui vinum in sacris non limphant¹⁴²⁷ misteriis. Videntur enim non credere quod aqua de latere fluxerit. Potest tamen quis calumpniose dicere quod aliqua virtus vitalis erat in corpore, et ideo sanguis effluxit. Aqua vero manans inexpugnabile signum fuit, et ideo evangelista subiungit: *Et qui vidit, testimonium perhibuit.*” “Quasi dicat, secundum Chrysostomum, non ab aliis audivi,¹⁴²⁸ sed ipse presens vidi.¹⁴²⁹ *Et verum est testimonium ejus* quod convenienter subiungit convicium Christi enarrans non magnum aliquod et admirabile signum ut sic

¹⁴²³ enim] om. *P*

¹⁴²⁴ peritura] pericula *P*

¹⁴²⁵ inde] in ei *P*

¹⁴²⁶ sic] ita *P*

¹⁴²⁷ limphant *P*] limphat *B*; limphant Theophilus *T*

¹⁴²⁸ audivi *B, P, T*] audivit *Chrysostomus*

¹⁴²⁹ vidi *B, P, T*] vidit *Chrysostomus*

suspectus sermo redderetur. Sed ipse hoc dixit hereticorum ora precludens et futura personans misteria et eum qui latebat in eis inspiciens thesaurum. Sequitur: *et ille scit, quia vera dicit ut et vos credatis.*”

Unde Augustinus:¹⁴³⁰ “Scit enim qui vidit, cuius credat testimonio qui non vidit. Duo autem testimonia de scripturis reddidit singulis rebus quas factas fuisse narravit. Nam quia dixerat: *non fregerunt crura Jesu*, subdidit:¹⁴³¹ *facta autem sunt hec ut scriptura impleretur*, scilicet Exodus xii: *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, quod preceptum est eis qui celebrare pascha iussi sunt ovis immolatione in veteri lege que dominice passionis umbra precesserat. Item quia subjunxerat: *Unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit*, ad hoc pertinet aliud testimonium quod subdit, dicens: *Et iterum alia scriptura dicit: Videbunt in quem transfixerunt*. Ubi promissus est Christus in ea qua crucifixus est carne venturus.” “Hoc autem testimonium, sicut dicit Jeronimus, sumptum est de Zacharia.”

*Cum autem sero factum fuisset ut recordetur anima et excitetur in qualibus*¹⁴³² hora diei contumeliarum et passionum salvatoris et in qualibus¹⁴³³ hora aliquam habeat compunctionem secundum illud Psalmi: *Vespere et mane et meridie narrabo etc. Venit quidam homo dives nomine Joseph*, “estimans eum extinctum esse Judeorum furorem Christo crucifixo” *qui erat decurio vir bonus et justus qui non consenserat consilio et actibus eorum, ab Arimathea civitate Judaeae qui exspectabat et ipse regnum Dei. Dives erat non tamen pecunie amator sed pius dispensator. Arimathea autem, secundum Bedam, “ipsa est ramata*¹⁴³⁴ *civitas Elcane, patris Samuelis.*” Qui et discipulus erat Jesu ut dicit Chrysostomus “non unus de duodecim sed de septuaginta.” *Occultus tamen propter metum Judeorum, hic accessit audaciter ad Pilatum et petiit corpus Jesu. “Celitus autem provisum est ut esset dives ut ad presidem posset accedere et ut esset justus et ut corpus Domini mereretur accipere.” Sed dicit hic Chrysostomus: “quomodo nullus ex duodecim accessit etsi timorem Judeorum quis pro causa assumpserit, hic eodem detinebatur timore.”*

Pilatus autem mirabatur si jam obiisset et accersito centurione interrogavit eum si Jesus mortuus esset. Joseph enim valde insignis erat et Pilato notus. Unde et gratiam accepit sicut subditur: Et cum cognovisset a centurione, donavit corpus Joseph vel jussit

¹⁴³⁰ Augustinus] beatus Augustinus P

¹⁴³¹ subdidit] unde subdidit P

¹⁴³² qualibus] qualibet P

¹⁴³³ qualibus] qualibet P

¹⁴³⁴ ramata] aramatha P

reddi corpus ut sepeliret. Non ut condempnatum sepelit, sed ut magnum quendam et mirabilem. *Joseph autem mercatus est sindonem et deponens eum* ex licencia Pilati. Non enim licebat suspensos deponere sine licencia sicut nec modo et involuit¹⁴³⁵ in sindone munda *et tulit corpus Jesu*. Secundum Bedam, “sedata utcumque eorum sevicia, eo quod se adversum Christum prevaluisse gaudebant, corpus Christi petiit, quoniam non videbatur causa discipulatus sed pietatis venisse ut funeri officium impenderet quod homines non solum bonis sed etiam malis solent impendere.” Adjungitur autem ei et Nicodemus: *qui venerat ad Jesum nocte primum ferens mixturam myrrae et aloes quasi libras centum*. Secundum Chrysostomum, “ferunt pigmenta que maxime corpus apta sunt quamplurimum conservare¹⁴³⁶ et non permittere cito subjici corrupcioni. Adhuc enim ut de nudo homine disponebant, sed tamen multam dilectionem demonstrabant.”

Acceperunt ergo corpus Jesu et ligaverunt eum linteis cum aromatibus sicut mos est Judeis sepelire. In quo, secundum Augustinum, “evangelista admonuit in huiusmodi officiis que mortuis exhibentur morem uniuscuiusque gentis esse servandum. Erat autem illius gentis consuetudo ut mortuorum corpora variis aromatibus condirentur ut diutius servarentur illesa.” Hinc etiam, secundum Bedam, “ecclesie consuetudo descendit ut corpus Domini non in setes aut auro textis consecratur, sed in sindone munda, id est in corporali.” Et quia, secundum Chrysostomum, “brevitate temporis urgebantur, nona enim hora mortuo Christo, deinde accedentibus ad Pilatum et deponentibus Christi corpus vespera imminabat. Ideo ponunt eum in proximum monumentum.”

Unde subditur: *Erat autem in loco, ubi crucifixus est, ortus. Et in orto monumentum* quod erat excisum de petra *in quo nondum quisquam positus fuerat* quod dispensacione¹⁴³⁷ factum est ne alterius alicujus qui cum eo jaceret estimaretur resurreccio facta esse. Unde, secundum Augustinum,¹⁴³⁸ “sicut in Marie virginis utero nemo ante illum, nemo post illum conceptus est, ita in hoc monumento nemo ante illum, nemo post illum sepultus.” Per hoc etiam, secundum Theophylum, “qui novum fuit sepulchrum mystice datur intelligi qui per Christi sepulchram omnes innovantur morte et corrupcione destructa. Attende etiam habundaciam pro nobis susceptae paupertatis.

¹⁴³⁵ voluit] involuit *P*

¹⁴³⁶ conservare] conservabile *P*

¹⁴³⁷ dispensacione] disposicione *P*

¹⁴³⁸ Augustinum] beatum Augustinum *P*

Nam qui domum in vita non habuit, post mortem quoque in alieno sepulchro reconditur et nudus existens a Joseph operitur.”

Illi ergo propter parasceven Judeorum que juxta erat monumentum posuerunt Jesum. Secundum Augustinum, “acceleratam vult intelligi sepulturam, ne advesperasceret.” “Propinquum autem fuit sepulchrum, sicut dicit Crysostomus, ut discipuli possent cum facilitate accedere et consideratores fieri eorum que eveniebant prope existente loco ut sepulture testes essent et inimici¹⁴³⁹ custodientes sepulchrum et ut falsus ostenderetur is qui de furto esset sermo. *Et advoluit Joseph saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti et abiit*, ne posset dici per Judeos quod multi erant discipuli, ideo possent saxum per violenciam ammonere, ostendit quod discipuli fugerant et sole mulieres aderant.”

Unde subditur: *Erat autem ibi Maria Magdalena et altera Maria sedentes contra sepulchrum* ut, secundum Ambrosium, “postea congruo tempore possent inungere corpus ejus.” “Mistice autem, secundum Bedam, Joseph interpretatur aptus pro acceptione boni operis, ad quod monemur ut corpus Domini digne percipere mereamur.” “Nunc eciam, ut dicit Theophylus, quodammodo Christus aput avaros mortificatur in paupere¹⁴⁴⁰ famem patiente. Esto ergo Joseph et tege Christi nuditatem non semel, sed in tuo tumulto spirituali considerando, reconde et cooperi et misce myrram et aloem amaritanciam considerando vocem, videlicet illam: ite maledicti in ignem eternum, qua nichil amarius estimo” ut in corrupcionem non sentiens ad immortalitatem resurgere valeas ad gloriam sempiternam. Ad quam nos perducatur etc.¹⁴⁴¹

¹⁴³⁹ inimici] inimicis *P*

¹⁴⁴⁰ paupere] paupertate *P*

¹⁴⁴¹ sempiternam. Ad quam nos perducatur etc.] sempiternam etc. *B*

APPENDIX III. BOHEMIAN GOOD FRIDAY SERMONS FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR *THEMATA*

The fifteen collected sermons from fourteenth-century Bohemia are grouped according to their authors. I organized the list in chronological order and provided some Basic information about each preacher's date of death and affiliation (if any) to religious orders. Each preacher's sermon is identified by its *thema*.

Peter of Zittau (d. 1339), Cistercian, abbot of the Zbraslav (Aula Regia) monastery.

Nolite me considerare, quod fusca sum (Song of Songs 1:5)

Vulnerasti cor meum soror mea (Song of Songs 4:9)

Vulnerasti cor meum (Song of Songs 4:9)

Percussit me et vulneravit me (Song of Songs 5:7)

Incliti Israel, flete (2 Samuel 1:24)

Doleo super te, frater meo Jonatha (2 Samuel 1:26)

Filius regis mōrutus est (2 Samuel 18:20)

Stetis Esdras super gradum ligneum (Nehemiah 8:4)

O vos omnes, qui transitis (Lamentations 1:12)

En ego morior (Genesis 48:21)

Jesus dixit: Sitio... (John 19:28)

Milič of Kroměříž (d. 1374), secular preacher, preached in Prague and beyond in the 1360s-1370s

Tu in sanguine testamenti tui (Zachariah 9:11)

Unus militum lancea latus ejus (John 19:34)

Henry Toting of Oyta (d. 1397), university master, graduated from the University of Prague, was active there in the 1360s-1370s

Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te (Deuteronomy 28:66)

Henry of Wildenstein (d. 1409), Franciscan, archbishop of Magdeburg, bishop of Litomyšl

Hodie est rex et cras morietur (Sirach 10:12)

APPENDIX IV. SCHNEYER'S INDEX OF LITURGICAL *THEMATA* FOR GOOD FRIDAY SERMONS

The following list enumerates medieval Good Friday (T26) sermons with liturgical *themata*. I organized the register according to the selected pericopes and listed the preachers who used them (or anonymous manuscripts) based on Schneyer's *Repertorium*. In some rare cases, I corrected Schneyer's typos.

Hosea 6:1-4 - 13 *themata*, 3 different quotations:

In tribulatione sua mane consurgens - Albertus de Padua, Bertrandus de Turre x2, Johannes a S. Gerniniano, Anonymous (Oxford, Bodl. Hatton 10), Anonymous Dominican (CIm 28210), Antonius de Bitono, Guillelmus Parisiensis, Johannes de Minda;

Vivificabit nos post duos dies - Bertrandus de Turre, Jacobus de Bovenato, Anonymous (Toledo, Cabildo de la Catedral, fol. 10-13);

Quid faciam tibi, Ephraim? - Bertrandus de Turre

Exodus 12:1-11 - 13 *themata*, 10 different quotations:

Dixit Dominus ad Moysen - Bertrandus de Turre;

Mensis iste principium vobis mensium primus - Albertus de Padua, Radulfus Ardens, Jacobus de Vitriaco;

Decima die mensis hujus tollat unusquisque agnum - Nicolaus de Asculo;

Tollit unusquemque agnum - Bonaventura;

Erit autem agnus absque macula - Albertus de Padua, Johannes Rigaldi;

Immolabitque eum universa multitudo - Albertus de Padua;

Immolabit agnum - Bertrandus de Turre;

Sumetur de sanguine ejus - Jacobus de Bovenato;

Est enim phase idest transitus Dominus - Albertus Magnus;

Est enim phase - Petrus de Remis;

John 18 – 41 *themata*, 2 verses

John 18:1 - 37 *themata*, 1 main verse, but 6 different versions of the verse

Egressus Jesus - Jacobus de Bovenato, Anonymous (Stuttgart, Landesbibl. theol. fol. 166), "Septenarius", Petrus Aldeberti, "Viridarius";

Egressus est Jesus trans torrentem Cedron - Bertholdus de Ratisbona, Jacobus de Bovenato, Petrus de Limoges, Aegidius d'Orleans, Jacobus de Vitriaco, Anonymous (Stuttgart, LB HB I. 220), Anonymous (Prague, Metrop. Kap. F. 60a), Ambrosius Spiera von Trevisa, Albertus Engelschalk de Straubing, Johannes Nigri, Michael de Ungaria, Petrus Christiani, Udalrici de Windberg;

Egressus Jesus in torrentem Cedron - Antonius Azaro de Parma;

Egressus est Jesus cum discipulis suis trans torrentem Cedron - Albertus de Padova x2; Godefridus de Admont, Nicolaus de Lyra, Robertus Holcot, Guilelmus de Werd, Anonymous Dominican (Basel, Univ. B. VIII. 20), Bartholomaeus de Pisa, Guillelmus Parisiensis, Hieronimus de Praga, Jacobus de Marchia, Johannes de Ratenhaslich, Nicolaus de Lack x2, Thomas Ebendorfer de Haselbach x2;

Regressus est Dominus Jesus trans torrentem Cedron - Guilelmus de Merula;

Egressus Jesus de synagoga Judaeorum cum discipulis trans torrentem - Anonymous (Oxford, Bodl. atton 101);

John 18:14 - 4 *themata*, 2 versions

Expedit unum hominem pro populo mori - Sermones OCist. (Vatican, Burghes. 166), Gregorius de Cremona;

Expedit vobis, ut unus moriatur homo - Sermones OCist. (Berlin, SB lat. fol. 767), Anonymous (Vienna, Nat. lat. 1701);

John 19 - 121 *themata*, 22 different verses:

John 19:2 - 1 *thema*

Coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti ejus - Jacobus de Losanna;

John 19:5 - 6 *themata*, 2 different verses

Exiit Jesus portans spinarum/spineam coronam - Anonymous Franciscan (Clm 7779), Nicolaus de Mediolano; Sermones Universitatis Parisiensis (Worcester, Cath. F. 5), Johannes Bromyard;

Ecce homo - Guilelmus de Populeto, Petrus de Terachio;

John 19:6 – 3 *themata*, 1 verse

Clamaverunt: Crucifige, crucifige eum – Hugo de S. Caro, Magister Ambrosius, Udalricus Kaegerl de Landau;

John 19:7 - 5 *themata*, 1 main verse with 2 versions thereof

Nos legem habemus et secundum legi debet mori – Bernhardinus Aquiloni de Fossa, Michael Carcano de Mediolano, Nicolaus Denise, Vincentius Ferrer

Secundum legem debet mori - "Thesaurus novus";

John 19:14 - 2 *themata*, 1 verse

Ecce rex vester - Johannes de Aragon, Bertrandus de Turre;

John 19:16 - 1 *thema*, 1 verse

Susceperunt Jesum et eduxerunt - Anonymous (Vatican, Burghes. 177);

John 19:17 - 18 *themata*, 2 verses

Et bajulans sibi crucem - Albertus Magnus, Bertrandus de Turre, Jacobus de Bovenato, Johannes de Bellobeco, Johannes de Castello, Petrus de Remis, Anonymous (Clm 22306), Anonymous x2 (Clm 5528), Anonymous (Clm 2702), Anonymous (Clm 9599), Anonymous Franciscan (Toledo, Cathedral oct. 5-22), Anonymous (Prague, Univ. 1. G. 10), Anonymous (Prague, Metrop. Kap. F. 60a), Anonymous (Schiag 127), Anonymous (Wien, Nat. lat. 1693), Nicolaus de Kmunden, Thomas Ebendorfer de Haselbach;

Exivit Jesus bajulans - Guilelmus de Alvernia;

John 19:19 - 5 *themata*, 1 verse

Jesus Nazareus rex Judaeorum - Guilelmus de Populeto, Leo OCist, Anonymous Cistercian (Charleville 31), Anonymous (Marselle 397); Anonymous (Troyes, Bibl. municip. 862);

John 19:20 - 4 *themata*, 2 verses

Prope civitatem erat locus - Johannes de Opreno, Johannes Arnaldi de Spiva;

Crucifixus est Jesus – Anonymous (Vienna, Nat. 4503), Jacobus de Marchia;

John 19:25 - 27 *themata*, 1 verse

Stabant/Stabat autem juxta crucem Jesu - Albertus de Padua, Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus, Guilelmus Peraldus x2, Jacobus de Voragine, Thomas de Aquino x2, Anonymous Paris university sermon (Erlangen, Univ. 320), Anonymous Prague university sermon (Prague, Univ. VIII. F. 25), Anonymous Franciscan (Bamberg, SB theol. 173), Anonymous Franciscan (Graz, Univ. 176), Anonymous Franciscan (Padua, Anton. 470), Anonymous (London, Brit. Mus. Addit. 16590), Anonymous (CIm 9599), Anonymous (Prague, Metrop. Kap. F. 37), Anonymous (Tortosa, Bibl. de la Catedral, 109), Anonymous (Vienna, Nat. lat. 1693), Anonymous (Stuttgart, Landesbibl. theol. fol. 332), Anonymous (CIm 28142), Anonymous (Oxford, Bodl. Laud. mise. 200), Eberhardus Prunner de Indersdorff, Johannes Silvanus de Prag x2, Anonymous (CIm 2719), Johannes de Minda, Anonymous (CIm 8441), Stephanus Wirtenberger;

John 19:26 - 3 *themata*, 2 verses

Cum vidisset Jesus matrem – Eberhardus Prunner de Indersdorff;

Mulier, ecce filius tuus - Anonymous (Paris, Nat. lat. 3269), Johannes Silvanus de Prag;

John 19:28 - 12 *themata*, 2 verses

Sciens Jesus, quia omnia consummata sunt - Jacobus de Voragine, Lucas de Bitonto, “Thesaurus novus”, Anonymous (CIm 6040), Johannes de Verdena;

Jesus dixit: Sitio/Sitio - Leo OCist, Odo de Chateauroux, Petrus de Zittau, Anonymous (CIm 2631), Anonymous (CIm 2674), Anonymous (CIm 28374), Anonymous (Prague, Univ. VIII. F. 25), Johannes de Verdena;

John 19:30 - 47 *themata*, 3 clusters of verses

Inclinato capite - Simon de Burneston, Anonymous (Prague, Metrop. Kap. F. 46), Sermones OCist (Prag, Kap. F. LX/2), Anonymous (CIm 2719), Petrus Plank, Robertus Caracciolo;

Inclinato capite tradidit spiritum - Bertrandus de Turre x2, Johannes Guallensis, Nicolaus de Gorran, Johannes Guallensis, Sermones OCist (Prag, Kap. F. LX/2), Antonius de Vercellis, Leonardus Statii de Florentia, Udalricus Kaegerl de Landau;

Inclinato capite emisit spiritum - Johannes episcopus, Leo OCist, Johannes de Erfordia, Anonymous (Prague, Metrop. Kap. A. 103), Anonymous (Vorau, Statsbibliothek 122; 161), Augustinus de Roma, Johannes Herolt x2;

Inclinavit Jesus caput in cruce - Anonymous (Innsbruck, VB 374)

Cum accepisset Jesus acetum - Hugo de Prato Florido, Raimundus LuIlus, Anonymous (Florence, Naz. n. XI. 17)

Consummatum est - Arnoldus de Bonavalle, Johannes Guallensis, Johannes de Opreno, Odo de Chateauroux, Odo Rigaldi, Jacobus de Losanna, Johannes Guallensis, Johannes de Opreno, Sermones OCist (Prag, Kap. F. LX/2), Anonymous Fransican (Oxford, Bodl. Laud. mise. 262), Anonymous Fransican (Vatican, lat. 1266), Anonymous Fransican (Uppsala, UB C 376), Anonymous Fransican (Toulouse 323), Anonymous (CIm 5528), Anonymous (Avignon 295), Anonymous (Prague, Metrop. Kap. A. 103), Anonymous (Windsheim, Ratsbibl. 69), Johannes de Minda, Nicolaus de Kues, Paulus Attavanti de Florentia;

John 19:31 – 1 *thema*, 1 verse

Judaei ergo quoniam parasceve erat – Johannes de Ratenhaslich;

John 19:34 - 3 *themata*, 2 verses

Et unus ex militibus lancea - Hugo de S. Caro'

Unus militum lancea - Jacobus de Bovenato, Johannes episcopus, Milíč;

Exivit sanguis – Thomas Brinton;