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NOURISHMENT AND CORRECTION: PREACHING AND REFORM IN CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

If research on the homiletic activities of the medieval Church is a relatively new field, it enjoys growing interest, and can already boast a considerable number of important studies. Lately, this area of inquiry has been entered by scholars from Central Europe.¹ This development is of no small significance. The connection between Church reform and preaching during the later Middle Ages,

¹ L. HÖDL, R. HEZLER, *Zum Stand der Erforschung der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters (für die Zeit von 1350–1500)*, „Scriptorium”, Vol. 46, No. 1, 1992, p. 121–135; PH.B. ROBERTS, *Sermon Studies Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years*, „Medieval Sermon Studies”, Vol. 43, 1999, p. 9–18; B.M. KIENZLE, *Introduction*, in: *The Sermon*, ed. eadem, Turnhout 2000 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, ed. L. GENICOT, R. NOËL, Fasc. 81–83), p. 143–174 and supplement: A.T. THAYER, *Medieval Sermon Studies since The Sermon: A Deepening and Broadening Field*, „Medieval Sermon Studies”, Vol. 58, 2014, p. 10–27; Z. UHLÍŘ, *Středověké kazatelství v českých zemích: nástin problematiky*, „Almanach Historyczny”, Vol. 7, 2005, p. 57–93; D. WÓJCIK, *O badaniach nad kaznodziejstwem słów kilka. (Głos w dyskusji nad stanem i perspektywami badań nad historią dominikanów w Polsce)*, in: *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII–XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*, ed. H. GAPSKI, J. KŁOCZOWSKI, J.A. SPIEŻ, Lublin 2006, p. 123–137; K. BRACHA, *Średniowieczne kaznodziejstwo w Europie Środkowej. Stan i perspektywy badawcze*, in: *Przestrzeń religijna Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w średniowieczu. Materiały Konferencji Międzynarodowej Komisji Historii Porównawczej Chrześcijaństwa (CIHEC), Lublin – Lwów, 6–10 września 2007. Religious Space of East-Central Europe in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Conference of the Commission Internationale d’Histoire et d’Etude du Christianisme (CIHEC), Lublin – Lviv, 6–10 September 2007*, ed. K. BRACHA, P. KRAS, Warszawa 2010, p. 201–210; idem, *Kolekcje kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, in: *Średniowiecze w rozjaśnieniu*, ed. K. SKUPIEŃSKI, Warszawa 2010 (II Kongres Mediewistów Polskich), p. 27–50; idem, *Średniowieczne rękopisy homiletyczne w zbiorach polskich: źródła i badania*, in: *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Libri Manuscripti, czyli co nowego mówią rękopisy. Zbiór Studiów*, ed. P. PLUDRA-ŻUK, A. LEW, Warszawa 2016, p. 33–47.

discussed in this article, attained particular features in Central Europe. These features dominated the changes within the Church and the transformation of piety. Moreover, especially with respect to Hussite thought and its concept of the free expression of ideas, they transgressed by far geographical boundaries. Naturally, this resulted predominantly from the rising role of preaching within the pastoral activity of the Church in general, as well as from the considerable development of homiletics by mendicant orders and by the newly established academic milieus of Central Europe. The Church reform movement in Central Europe in the the later Middle Ages has been thoroughly researched. Nevertheless, as yet, the role of the *instrumentum praedicationis* within it has not received sufficient attention. The limitations imposed by the form of an article hardly allow one to cover all the minute details of such a wide and diverse ground. Hence, we will restrain ourselves to a comprehensive characterization, accompanied by elements of a detailed analysis of the chief motifs and ideas and the most representative authors, protagonists, and propagators of the alliance of the pulpit with the idea of Church and piety reform. This will be done mainly on the basis of statements by Czech pre-Hussite and Hussite authors, including John Hus himself, as well as by Polish, Silesian, and German preachers. The wide range of primary sources, which comprise not only homiletic materials, demonstrates a certain Central-European phenomenon: the post-Lateran elevation of preaching as an instrument of reform, based on the Biblical concept of the idea understood as the triad word-seed-nourishment (Lc 8:11), and its material consequence: the process of erecting permanent preaching posts.

The development of preaching, for the most part during the later Middle Ages, was the result of various changes within the Church, and in particular of the dynamics of the improvement of pastoral instruments.² It was a long process.

One of the interpretations of this process breaks evangelization and the development of pastoral literature into two chronological phases: from the late-twelfth to mid-fourteenth century, and from the mid-fourteenth century until the end of the Middle Ages.³ According to this theory, the first phase was

² S. WENZEL, *Latin Sermon Collection from Later Medieval England. Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif*, Cambridge 2005, p. 222, points to the year 1350 as the watershed in the history of preaching and starting point of the explosion of sermonistic literature; cf. also: idem, *Medieval Artes Praedicationi. A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure*, Toronto 2015 (Medieval Academy Books, No. 114), p. XV, on the parallel development since the 13th c. and the *ars praedicationi* textbooks.

³ P. MICHAUD-QUANTIN, *Les méthodes de la pastorale du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, in: *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters*, ed. A. ZIMMERMANN, Berlin 1970 (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, Vol. 7), p. 87; F. RAPP, *L'Eglise et la vie religieuse en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1971, p. 122–142.

initiated by the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). These introduced a deepened approach to evangelisation, geared towards individual conversion and persuasion rather than the formal-legal attitude of previous times, which has been an effect of the Carolingian ‘principle of correct acting’ (*norma rectitudinis*), a model that tended to treat faith as a set of legal norms.⁴ The rich secondary literature dealing with the rules of religious instruction before the Fourth Lateran Council emphasises the modesty of the teaching program, based on a simple introduction to elementary truths of faith. Some scholars even use the expression ‘silent centuries’ or characterize the pastoral efforts of those times as passive or static.⁵

But there is another interpretation. This interpretation concentrates its attention on the *officium praedicationis* proper and divides the history of European homiletics into three stages, with emphasis on the year 1215 as the turning point.⁶ The first stage encompasses the Carolingian and post-Carolingian era; the second one starts with the immediate aftermath of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and lasts through the thirteenth century; stage three covers the last two centuries of the Middle Ages. Michael Menzel lists three characteristic features of the first section: the sermon is a delegated task; it is authorised and controlled by the bishop; there are two types of sermons: regular homilies, delivered by the bishop, which included exhortations addressed to the clergy, and sermons given to the ordinary faithful by ministers in parishes, which are simple and understandable.⁷ The second stage encompassed the time of the reception of the ideas of the Fourth Lateran Council, and in particular of its Canon 10: “*De praedicatoribus instituendis. Inter caetera...*,” a turning point in the history of preaching.⁸ Anne J. Duggan characterizes it with the following words:

⁴J. FLECKENSTEIN, *Die Bildungsreform Karls des Grossen. Als Verwirklichung der norma rectitudinis*, Bigge-Ruhr 1953, p. 86–90; P.E. SCHRAMM, *Karl der Grosse. Denkart und Grundauffassungen — Die von ihm bewirkte Correctio (“Renaissance”)*, „Historische Zeitschrift”, Vol. 198, 1964, p. 339; A. GARCIA Y GARCIA, *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Canonists*, in: *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: from Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. W. HARTMANN, K. PENNINGTON, New York 2008, p. 367–378.

⁵P. MICHAUD-QUANTIN, *Les méthodes de la pastorale*, p. 76; J. GOERING, *Pastoralia: The popular literature of the care of souls*, in: *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. MANTELLO, A.G. RIGG, Washington 1999, p. 670–676.

⁶M. MENZEL, *Predigt und Predigtorganisation im Mittelalter*, „Historisches Jahrbuch”, Vol. 111, 1991, p. 350; R. ZERFASS, *Der Streit um die Laienpredigt. Eine pastoralgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen zum Verständnis des Predigtamtes und zur seine Entwicklung im 12. u. 13. Jh.*, Freiburg im Breisgau – Bâle – Vienne 1974 (Untersuchung zur praktischen Theologie, 2), p. 343–355; J. GAUDEMET, *Droits et obligations des laïcs d’après le IV^e concile de Latran (1215)*, in: *Christianitas et cultura Europea. Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiiego*, pt. 1, ed. H. GAPSKI, Lublin 1998, p. 80–88.

⁷M. MENZEL, *Predigt und Predigtorganisation*, p. 347–349.

⁸*Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum, Const. 10*, in:

“A principal aim of the council was the regeneration of the spiritual vigor of the Church, which could not be brought about without investment in education and preaching.”⁹ From then onwards, the two chief instruments of evangelization — sermon and confession — were invested with a special role.¹⁰ Furthermore, the development of the post-Lateran homiletic system was assisted by the legislation of diocesan synods, which required parishes to possess collections of model sermons among their books.¹¹

The third and last stage, which is of greatest interest to us, witnessed a steady development of preaching posts, mainly at secular churches, founded by bishops, cathedral chapters, provosts, or lay people (usually, municipal elders). During this period, secular clergy gained importance in relation to the mendicant preachers, claiming superiority based on the argument that a settled local priest is more effective than a constantly-traveling friar.¹² The incumbent of a preaching post was obliged to deliver about 100 sermons during a liturgical year. It was argued that secular preachers were better prepared for the task, since they were usually the graduates of a local university. Indeed, M. Menzel underscores that, in the face of proliferating heresies and rising expectations on the part of an increasingly critical, contentious, and demanding public, as well as the growing ambitions and needs of the burghers, erudite and well-educated graduates were preferred.¹³ The negative side of this new preaching system was the

Monumenta Iuris Canonici. Ser. A. Corpus Glossatorum, Vol. 2, ed. A. GARCIA Y GARCIA, Città del Vaticano 1981, p. 58–59.

⁹A.J. DUGGAN, *Conciliar Law 1123–1215. The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils*, in: *The History of Medieval Canon Law*, p. 346.

¹⁰R. RUSCONI, *De la prédication à la confession: transmission et contrôle de modèles de comportement au XIII^e siècle*, in: *Faire Croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, Rome 1981 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 51), p. 67–85; A.T. THAYER, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation*, Aldershot 2002; N. BÉRIOU, *Autour de Latran IV: la naissance de la confession moderne et sa diffusion*, in: *Pratiques de la confession*, Paris 1983, p. 73–93. Cf. below fn. 32–33.

¹¹This legislation is listed by: J. WOLNY, *Kaznodziejstwo*, in: *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce. Vol. 1. Średniowiecze*, ed. M.H. RECHOWICZ, Lublin 1974, p. 294–296; Z.A. KLISZKO, *Przepisy synodalne w Polsce średniowiecznej o kaznodziejstwie*, „Studia Theologica Varsaviensia”, Vol. 13, 1975, No. 1, p. 111–145; K. BRACHA, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza. Sermones dominicales et festiuales z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Mitosławia*, Kielce 2007, p. 74; J. LONGÈRE, *La prédication et l'instruction des fidèles selon les Conciles et les statuts synodaux depuis l'antiquité*, in: *Actes du 109^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Dijon 1984 I. 1–2. L'encadrement religieux du fidèle au Moyen Âge et jusqu'au concile de Trente*, Paris 1984, p. 391–418; Z. LUKŠOVÁ, *Synodální statuta a kázání jako obraz problémů pražské arcidiecéze na počátku 15. století*, in: *Česko-polské kazatelské vztahy ve středověku*, ed. K. BRACHA, M. NODL, Praha 2016 (Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia, 16), p. 31–42.

¹²B. NEIDIGER, *Wortgottesdienst vor der Reformation. Die Stiftung eigener Predigtpründen für Weltkleriker*, „Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter”, Vol. 66, 2002, p. 142–189.

¹³M. MENZEL, *Predigt und Predigtorganisation*, p. 370–383; M. STAUB, *Die süddeutschen*

disparity between town and village: in towns, preaching available in overabundance, whereas in villages it was scarce or even non-existent.¹⁴

The process of founding preaching posts reached Poland through Bohemia and Germany. A key event was the establishment of the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague on April 10, 1391, which soon made itself felt in other countries in the region.¹⁵ Yet the Bethlehem Chapel was not the first preaching post to be installed in the Kingdom of Bohemia. In Prague, one might also point to the earlier foundation at the cathedral (1349). The city of Wrocław had a similar foundation in 1352. Martial Staub explains this late response to the legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council in Bohemia, Silesia, and southern Germany with the idea of *conversio* brought by the Bohemian wave of *devotio moderna*.¹⁶

As for the Polish territories, one must pay special attention to the activities of Bishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec of Poznań, an influential figure and a supporter of preaching. In a document of 1421 transferring the parish of Beszowa to the Pauline Fathers, he stressed the obligation of delivering sermons there in the Polish language.¹⁷ It was in 1420, during his pontificate, that King Władysław II Jagiełło applied to Pope Martin V to establish a permanent preaching post in the Cracow cathedral with the resources furnished by the Szafraniec family (the foundation was finally carried through only in 1454).¹⁸ Wojciech Jastrzębiec,

Prädikaturen und die Ethik der mitteleuropäischen «Devotio moderna» in Europa im Spätmittelalter, ed. M. DERWICH, M. STAUB, Göttingen 2004 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 205), p. 285–299 (p. 286–287, fn. 3: Bibliography).

¹⁴ ST. BYLINA, *Chryścianizacja wsi polskiej u schyłku średniowiecza*, Warszawa 2002, p. 69; J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Problem mendikantów i kaznodziejstwa w Polsce średniowiecznej*, in: *Ludzie, Kościół, wierzenia. Studia z dziejów Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej (średniowiecze-wczesna epoka nowożytna)*, ed. J. BANASZKIEWICZ, K. BRACHA, W. IWAŃCZAK, S.K. KUCZYŃSKI, B. WOJCIECHOWSKA, Warszawa 2001, p. 148; idem, *Dominikanie prowincji polskiej w wiekach średnich i ich okręgi klasztorne*, in: *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, ed. ST. BYLINA, Warszawa 2000, p. 55–62.

¹⁵ FR. ŠMAHEL, *Husitská revoluce. Kořeny české reformace*, Vol. 2, Praha 1993, p. 210–214.

¹⁶ M. STAUB, *Die süddeutschen Prädikaturen*, p. 295, 298.

¹⁷ "(...) et lingwam Polonicam predicareque et in ea scientem", *Zbiór dokumentów zakonu paulinów, z. 1: 1328–1464*, ed. J. FIJAŁEK, Kraków 1938, No. 81, p. 147. Bishop Wojciech acted on similar grounds when transferring the benefice in the parish of Luborzycza to the University of Cracow, into the hands of a doctor of law who had perfect (*perfecte et sine impedimento*) preaching training. *Codex diplomaticus universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis*, pars 1, Cracoviae 1870, No. 71, p. 140. Cf.: J. WOLNY, *Łaciński zbiór kazań Peregryna z Opola i ich związek z tzw. „Kazaniami Gnieźnieńskimi”*, in: *Średniowiecze. Studia o kulturze*, Vol. 1, ed. J. LEWAŃSKI, Warszawa 1961, p. 216, 233.

¹⁸ G. LICHONCZAK-NUREK, *Wojciech b. Jastrzębiec arcybiskup i mąż stanu (ok. 1362–1436)*, Kraków 1996, p. 128; JOANNIS DLUGOSZ *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, Vol. 1, Cracovia 1864, p. 261–262; J. WOLNY, *Krakowskie środowisko katedralne w czasach Jana Długosza (1431–1480)*, in: *Długossiana. Studia historyczne na pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, Warszawa 1980 (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne, z. 65), p. 99–105.

with his statutes of 1420, was also the first bishop to introduce preaching issues to Polish church legislation. In these statutes, one finds a characteristic and noteworthy remark aimed at preachers who abstain from delivering sermons: “Curatus non predicans per se vel per alium, est in statu damnacionis,” which is followed by an outright warning “non dubium, quin sit dignus morte.”¹⁹ The words relate to Exodus 28:33–35, and the description of the priestly dress lined with pomegranates of purple and bells of gold, in order that when the priest goes before the Lord (*superni inspectoris iudicium*) he be heard, lest he die. On top of this, Jastrzębiec alluded to the command to preach from the *Regulae pastoralis liber* by Gregory the Great, later introduced into the *Decretum* by Gratian. “For the priest, when he goes in or comes out, dies if a sound is not heard from him, because he provokes the wrath of the hidden judge, if he goes without the sound of preaching.”²⁰ Gregory spoke there of priests acting as heralds: “If the priest knows not how to preach, what voice of a loud cry shall the mute herald utter?”²¹ To promote preaching, Bishop Jastrzębiec drew upon the authority of Gregory the Great and his fundamental pastoral textbook, which was primarily addressed to preachers. It is very possible that he viewed preaching as a response to Hussite activities and an answer to the idea of the free word, since in 1430 he has already issued a special ‘Mandate’ exhorting preachers not to be influenced by that doctrine.²²

With respect to Central Europe, the process of the promotion of preaching must be considered in close relation to intellectual trends and Church reform, as well as the developments in individual spirituality remaining in line with *devotio moderna*, and in particular the religious and intellectual atmosphere in Prague

¹⁹ *Statuta Alberti Jastrzębiec episcopi Cracoviensis, Cracoviae anno 1423 edita*, pars tertia, § XII–XVI, ed. U. HEYZMANN, *Statuta synodalia episcoporum Cracoviensium XIV et XV saeculi*, Kraków 1875 (Staropolskie Prawa Polskiego Pomniki, Vol. 4), p. 77–79 (p. 77). Cf.: J. WOLNY, *Łaciński zbiór kazań Peregryna z Opola*, p. 215; K. OŻÓG, *Duszpasterskie zabiegi biskupów krakowskich w późnym średniowieczu*, „Rocznik Krakowski”, Vol. 71, 2005, p. 51.

²⁰ GREGORIUS I MAGNUS, *Regulae pastoralis liber*, Lib. II, c. IV, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* (=PL), Vol. 77, Paris 1849, col. 31; *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, pars I, Dist. XLIII, c. I, in: *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 1, ed. E. FRIEDBERG, Lipsiae 1879, col. 154. Cf.: P. SZCZANIECKI, *Stużba boża w dawnej Polsce. Studia o mszy św.*, Poznań – Lublin 1962, p. 141–144; K. BRACHA, *Słowa i gesty. Ryt akcji kaznodziejskiej w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, in: *Rituály, ceremonie a festivity ve střední Evropě 14. a 15. století*, ed. M. NODL, F. ŠMAHEL (Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia, 12), Praha 2009, p. 304.

²¹ “Sacerdos ergo, si praedicationis est nescius, quam clamoris vocem daturus est praeco mutus? Hinc est enim, quod super pastores primos in linguarum specie Spiritus sanctus insedit; quia nimirum quos repleverit, de se protinus loquentes facit”, GREGORIUS I MAGNUS, *Regulae pastoralis liber*, Lib. II, c. IV, col. 31.

²² *Mandat abpa Jastrzębca z Łęczycy 1430 r.*, ed. J. SAWICKI, *Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia krytyczne. Synody diecezji wrocławskiej i ich statuty*, Vol. 10, Wrocław – Kraków 1963, p. 126–127. Cf.: P. KRAS, *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce*, Lublin 1998, p. 219.

and the neighbouring university communities that drew upon its achievements and intellectual climate. Some of these universities — the ones that remained in closest contact with Prague, namely Cracow, Heidelberg, and Padua — constituted the ‘reform rectangle’ in the phrase of Hermann Heimpel.²³ Vienna, Leipzig, Cologne, and Erfurt were in second pace. Due to the crisis within the University of Paris and the subsequent transfer of people and ideas — especially the new intellectual trends of nominalism and Occamism — these schools represented the leading reform movement within Western Christianity. These trends were accompanied by a return to the Bible — the source of the faith — and a retreat from the logical speculations. There was a renewed search for practical applications of the so-called ‘new theology’ (*theologia practica*), and priority was given to remaining close to faith, to everyday religious practices, and to the correction of sin and error.²⁴ Such impulses were sometimes expressed in criticism of the clergy, of the institutional Church, and of certain devotional forms common both among the priests and the laypeople. These critiques were already voiced by precursors of the Prague reform such as Conrad of Waldhausen, John Milíč of Kroměříž, Matthew of Janow and others, who continued an even earlier line of criticism brought forth against the mendicants by William of Saint-Amour, Richard FitzRalph, and John Wycliffe.²⁵

In this intellectual and religious atmosphere, there appeared, as a result of the discussions held in Prague, another element: a strong conviction that preaching is a fundamental instrument of reform, capable of improving believers, the

²³ H. HEIMPEL, *Studien zur Kirchen — und Reichsreform des 15. Jahrhunderts. II. Zu zwei Kirchenreform — Traktaten des beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Jh. 1974, 1, Heidelberg 1974, p. 40–48.

²⁴ Z. KAEUZA, “*Translatio studii*”. *Kryzys uniwersytetu Paryskiego w latach 1380–1400 i jego skutki*, „*Studia Mediewistyczne*”, Vol. 15, 1974, p. 94 ff.; V. HEROLD, M. MRÁZ, *Zur Geschichte des tschechischen philosophischen Denkens der vorhussitischen Zeit. (Stand, Probleme und Perspektiven der Forschung)*, „*Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum*”, Vol. 24, 1979, p. 24; F. SEIBT, *Die Zeit der Luxemburger und der hussitischen Revolution*, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, ed. K. BOSL, Vol. 1, Stuttgart 1966, p. 434 ff.; K. BRACHA, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug. Nikolaus Magni von Jauer: Ein Reformtheologe des Spätmittelalters gegen Aberglaube und Götzendienst*, Dettelbach 2013 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, hrsg. von D. HARMENING, Bd. XXV), p. 48–49; M. OLSZEWSKI, *Początki sporu o praktyczność czy teoretyczność teologii*, „*Przegląd Tomistyczny*”, Vol. 8, 2000, p. 208–244.

²⁵ ST. BYLIŃA, *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausena na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Wrocław 1966, p. 50; J. KADLEC, *Leben und Schriften des Prager Magisters Adalbert Rankonis de Ericinio*, Münster 1971 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und der Theologie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen, Vol. 4), p. 12 ff., p. 337; V. HEROLD, M. MRÁZ, *Zur Geschichte des tschechischen philosophischen Denkens*, p. 38; J.D. DAWSON, *Richard FitzRalph and the Fourteenth-Century Poverty Controversies*, „*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*”, Vol. 34, No. 3, 1983, p. 315–344; K. BRACHA, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug*, p. 54.

Church and indeed the world. Preaching was seen as an effective weapon against the intensifying crisis within Christianity. Such accents are found in the foundational act of the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. The sermon is depicted there as nourishment — as grain (*semen*) — and this notion became the leading motif of the whole document. The idea behind the creation of the chapel was to provide ‘spiritual bread,’ hence the name Bethlehem (Hebrew: ‘bet lechem’ — *domus panis* — the house of bread). The foundational act also reminds the reader that preaching was commanded by Christ, and refers to the grain without which the people would have been wiped out like those of Sodom (see Is 1:9).²⁶ According to František M. Bartoš, the introductory part of this act could have been penned by John Štěkna (d. 1407), who was active in the establishment of the Bethlehem Chapel and who later preached in Cracow. A similar motif was present in one of his sermons.²⁷

Yet all this was only a projection of earlier ideas. The grain-seed metaphor — a very common motif in this context, alluding to Is 2:9, Dt 8:3, Mt 4:4, 13:1–23, and Lk 8:11 — had biblical resonances and was a continuation of an ancient tradition that preceded the foundation of Christianity.²⁸ It is also found in the

²⁶ “Betlehem, quod interpretatur domus panis” (...) “nisi enim ipse verbi dei et sancte predicationis nobis semen reliquisset, quasi Sodoma et Gomorra fuisset”, *Základy starého místopisu Pražského (1437–1620)*, Číslo pop. 255, Oddíl I. Stare město Pražské, Dil. II, ed. J. TEIGE, Praha 1915, p. 796. Cf.: FR. ŠMAHEL, *Antytezy czeskiej kultury późnego średniowiecza*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, Vol. 90, 1983, No. 4, p. 719–727; idem, *Psané a mluvené slovo ve službách rané české reformace*, in: idem, *Mezi středověkem a renesancí*, Praha 2002, p. 215–230 (Polish edition: *Słowo pisane i mówione w służbie reformy husyckiej*, in: *Kultura pisma w średniowieczu. Znane problemy, nowe metody*, ed. A. ADAMSKA, P. KRAS, Lublin 2013, p. 175–194); A. MOLNÁR, *Aktývnosť ľudu w ruchu reformatorskim. Świadectwo kazań husyckich*, in: *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. B. GEREMEK, Wrocław 1978, p. 77–119; P. SOUKUP, *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Strážnice*, Praha 2011, p. 68–92, 245–252; idem, *Die Predigt als Mittel religiöser Erneuerung: Böhmen um 1400*, in: *Böhmen und das Deutsche Reich. Ideen- und Kulturtransfer im Vergleich (13.–16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. E. SCHLOTHEUBER, H. SEIBERT, München 2009, p. 235–264; J. MAREK, *Jakoubek ze Strážnice a počátky utrakvistického kazatelství v českých zemích*, Praha 2011, p. 198–199; *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. L. TAYLOR, Leiden 2003 (A New History of the Sermon, 2); P. HOWARD, *The Impact of Preaching in Renaissance Florence: Fra Niccolò da Pisa at San Lorenzo*, „Medieval Sermon Studies”, Vol. 48, 2004, p. 29–44.

²⁷ “Verbum Dei est semen, de quo Is. 1, 9: nisi Dominus exercituum reliquisset nobis semen, quasi Sodoma fuisset etc.”, JOHANNES ŠTĚKNA, *Postilla*, Cod. Mělník Okresní Muzeum Q XI, f. 42r, quoted after: FR. BARTOŠ, *Husův učitel Dr. Jan Štěkna a kaple Betlemská*, „Věstník České Akademie Věd a umění”, Vol. 58, 1949, p. 12 (Polish edition: *Postylla dra Jana Štěkny*, „Sobótka”, Vol. 6, 1951, p. 22–23).

²⁸ K. BRACHA, “*Semen est verbum Dei*”. *Postylla Carcer animae prypisywana Janowi Szczeknie*, in: *Amoenitates vel lepores philologiae*, ed. R. LASKOWSKI, R. MAZURKIEWICZ, Kraków 2007, p. 61–71; D. FORSTNER, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej*, Warszawa 1990, p. 199–206; 455–459; E.R. CURTIUS, *Literatura europejska i łacińskie średniowiecze*, Kraków 1997, p. 143–145.

writings of Church Fathers such as Origen, Augustine and Gregory the Great. Just as food nourishes the flesh, so the word of God sustains the spirit, because — as Origen taught in one of his homilies²⁹ — reading, persistent prayer, and words of instruction are all forms of nourishment for the spirit. Some of these motifs were included by Thomas of Ireland in his *Manipulus florum*, an influential textbook for preachers.³⁰ The nourishment metaphor reflected the idea of the sermon as an instrument of instruction for the faithful and a vehicle for evangelical messages that changed human attitudes. Like a seed or grain, a sermon was supposed to contain nourishment in the form of new values. This line of thinking can be put alongside the idea of *conversio* present in *devotio moderna*, a trend that was absent in the reform movement of Bohemia.³¹ It became the dominant message in the process of ennobling the sermon even while the Fourth Lateran Council was still in progress. Constitution 10,1 begins with: “Inter cetera que ad salutem spectant populi christiani, pabulum uerbi Dei permaxime sibi noscitur esse necessarium, quia sicut corpus materiali, sic anima spirituali cibo nutritur, eo quod non in solo pane uiuit homo, sed in omni uerbo quod procedit de ore Dei.”³² The two pastoral instruments of sermon and confession, elevated then to the status of chief tools of religious instruction, were closely bound together, because, as Humbert of Romans put it: “whatever seed is sown during the sermon, such is the harvest in the confessional.”³³ From the mouth of the preacher, one must not forget, came the “nourishment of God’s words”

²⁹ ORIGENES, *In Leviticum homiliae*, 9, 7, ed. M. BORRET, *Sources chrétiennes*, Vol. 287, Paris 1981, p. 104, 106; CH.L. NIGHMAN, *Commonplaces on Preaching among Commonplaces for Preaching: The Topic Predicatio in Thomas of Ireland’s Manipulus Florum*, „Medieval Sermon Studies”, Vol. 49, 2005, p. 55.

³⁰ CH.L. NIGHMAN, *Commonplaces on Preaching*, p. 47, 53, 55. Cf.: M. KOWALCZYK, *Grunwald w tradycji kaznodziejsko-kronikarskiej z końca XV wieku*, „Analecta Cracoviensia”, Vol. 19, 1987, p. 266–267 (*Sermo: De divisione apostolorum*).

³¹ M. STAUB, *Die süddeutschen Prädikaturen*, p. 298.

³² *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum*, Const. 10, p. 58. A similar metaphor is to be found in the „Postilla of Guillelmus”: A.T. THAYER, *The Postilla of Guillelmus and Late Medieval Popular Preaching*, „Medieval Sermon Studies”, Vol. 48, 2004, p. 60–61 and with PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS, *Sermo 67*, in: idem, *Sermones*, ed. PL, Paris 1846, Vol. 52, col. 392.

³³ “Per praedicationem enim seminatur, per confessionem vero colligitur fructus”, HUMBERTUS DE ROMANIS, *Liber de eruditione praedicatorum*, c. 44, in: *Beati Humberti de Romanis quinti praedicatorum magistri generalis Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J.J. BERTHIER, Vol. 2, Romae 1889, p. 479; “Predicare enim seminare est, sed confessiones audire fructum metere est”, quoted after D.L. D’AVRAY, *The Preaching of the Friars. Sermons diffused from Paris berfore 1300*, Oxford 1983, p. 50–51. Cf.: L.K. LITTLE, *Les techniques de la confession et la confession comme technique*, in: *Faire croire, Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 51), Rome 1981, p. 88; P. MICHAUD-QUANTIN, *Les Méthodes de la pastorale*, p. 78; J.B. SCHNEYER, *Die Unterweisung der Gemeinde über die Predigt bei scholastischen Predigern*, München – Wien 1968, p. 28–34; E.J. DEMPSEY DOUGLASS, *Justification*

(*pabulum uerbi Dei*), because the Lord is “living bread” (Io 6:51).³⁴ The sustaining power of nourishment, which by its nature supports and nurtures, was the ability to edify morally and remedy the attitudes of men. It was frequently compared to the cathartic and therapeutic functions of the sermon. Comparisons of this “healing language” (*lingua medicinalis*) to the sword, to fire that melts the hardened heart like wax, to a hammer that crushes rock conveyed the impression that the words of God have power over visible and invisible realities — over beings and their deeds.³⁵ Such convictions led to a particular rhetoric. Preachers would frequently materialize the words of God and compare them to sowing or to the seed, to catching fish in a net, to the heavenly manna that gives taste to the food in the mouths of the people, or to the lantern that lights the way.³⁶ The nourishing power meant that the sermon was an effective instrument of moral rectification.³⁷ Johlín of Vodňany, a pre-Hussite Bohemian preacher, was firmly convinced that nothing helped one to get to know God better than listening to divine words, and that nothing could better help sinner make friends (*sprzeznniti*) with God than the actual words of God.³⁸ The Church

in Late medieval Preaching. A Study of John Geiler of Keisersberg, Leiden 1966 (Studies in medieval and reformation thought, ed. H.A. OBERMAN, Vol. 1), p. 153–156; J.R. BLAETTLER, *Preaching the Power of Penitence in the Silos Beatus*, in: *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University. Proceedings of International Symposia at Kalamazoo and New York* (Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales. Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 9), Louvain-la-Neuve 1998, p. 35–62. Cf. above fn. 10.

³⁴ *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum*, *Const.* 10, p. 58. Cf. above fn. 32.

³⁵ Cf. e.g.: *Sermo: Feria secunda Pasche*, in: [PETRUS DE MIŁOŚLAW], *Sermones dominicales et festiuales*, Cod. Warszawa Biblioteka Narodowa (=BN) III 3021, f. 153vb; “dileccio habet flammam predicacionis laudis diuine”, *Sermo: De sancto Johanne Evangelista*, in: *ibidem*, f. 37vb; HUBERTUS DE ROMANIS, *Liber de eruditione*, c. 6, p. 392.

³⁶ Cf. *Sermo: Dominica in Sexagesima*, in: [PETRUS DE MIŁOŚLAW], *Sermones dominicales et festiuales*, Cod. BN III 3021, f. 83vb; *Sermo: Dominica quinta post Trinitatis*, in: *ibidem*, f. 252vb: “per retia predicacionis homines capiens, quos de profundo pelagi huius mundi ad lucem celestem extrahes”; *Sermo: Dominica in Rogacionibus*, in: *ibidem*, f. 190rb: “Verbum Dei celeste manna est faciens saporem cuiuscumque cibi in ore hominis”. Cf. P. HENRIET, *Verbum Dei disseminando. La parole des ermites prédicateurs d'après les sources hagiographiques (XI^e–XII^e siècles)*, in: *La parole du prédicateur (V^e–XV^e siècles)*. Études réunies par R. M. Dessi et M. Lauwers (Collection du Centre d'Études Médiévales du Nice, vol. 1), Turnhout 1997, p. 153–185; L.J. BATAILLON, *La prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie. Études et documents*, Aldershot 1993, p. 559, fn. 2; HUBERTUS DE ROMANIS, *Liber de eruditione*, c. 3, p. 378.

³⁷ P.C.A. MORÉE, *The Role of the Preacher According to Milicius de Chremsir*, in: *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, Vol. 3, ed. Z.V. DAVID, D.R. HOLETON, Prague 2000, p. 41, fn. 23.

³⁸ JOHLÍN OF VODŇANY, *Sermo XXXIII*, in: *Quadragesimale Admontense. Quadragesimale Admontské*, ed. H. FLORIANOVÁ, D. MARTÍNKOVÁ, Z. SILAGIOVÁ, H. ŠEDINOVÁ, Praha 2006 (Fontes Latini Bohemorum, VI), p. 235.

therefore — as was explained in one of the Polish sermons of the second half of the fifteenth century — removed the burden of sins from the shoulders of the sinners in the sacrament of confession and, in a mystical sense, nourished those who came to it at the manger of the word of God as well as of the Eucharistic bread and wine.³⁹

The frequent use of the concept of sermon as nourishment by Czech preachers of this period was not accidental. Such allegories should be seen in the aforementioned ideological context. John Milíč of Kroměříž has previously emphasized the role of the sermon as an instrument of reform capable of changing the Church, the faithful and the world — as a weapon against the power of the devil, the signs of which he read in the weaknesses of the Church and in the lack of order in society.⁴⁰ In his *Libellus de Antichristo*, he argued that the Church, aging and weighed down by sins, could be invigorated and cleansed; that it was the task of the clergy to bring in the wheat of the faithful to the barns of the Church, through which wheat the peoples would be delivered.⁴¹ He came up with a similar motif in his *Sermo de die novissimo*, predicting the leading role of preachers during the End Times. Namely, he depicts the prophets Elijah and Enoch, who would be sent down from heaven to confront the Antichrist “ad confortandum electos et ad predicandum sanctis, ut sint fortes in fide et ut non timeant penam modico duraturam.”⁴² The metaphoric symbolism of these two prophets was also explained by the Czech reformer Matthew of Janow. The lone person of Elijah, according to him, was the allegory of the community of the preachers who were imbued with the prophesying spirit and capable of renewing the world. The preachers imbued with the spirit of Elijah and Enoch, that

³⁹“Sic mystice in ecclesia sancta pondera gravium peccatorum de iumentis, id est de peccatoribus deponunt per confessionis sacramentum et reficiuntur iuxta presepe domini verbi Dei sicut pane et sicut cibo salutifero sacramento corporis Ihesu Christi et gracia Dei, que ibi omnibus venientibus per stabularium propinatur et preparatur”, *Sermo: Dominica tredecima post Trinitatis*, in: [PETRUS DE MIŁOŚLAW], *Sermones dominicales et festivales*, Cod. BN III 3021, f. 316va.

⁴⁰P.C.A. MORÉE, *The Role of the Preacher*, p. 57–63. Cf. recently: Z. UHLÍŘ, *Počátky reformního kazatelství v českých zemích ve třetí čtvrtině 14. století*, in: *Česko-polské kazatelské vztahy ve středověku*, p.11–18.

⁴¹“Ut mittat angelos sive predicatores cum tuba predicacionis et voce magna, ut tollant predicta scandala de regno Dei sive de ecclesia (...) et sic eos predicatores manifestent, eradicantes velud zizania, et triticum fidelium congregent in horreum ecclesie sancte”, *Milicii Libellus de Antichristo*, c. IV, ed. *Matěje z Janova mistra Pařížského Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, ed. V. KYBAL, svazek 3, Inšpruk 1911, p. 379.

⁴²JOHN MILÍČ OF KROMĚŘÍŽ (JOHANNES MILICIUS DE CHREMSIR), *Sermo de die novissimo*, ed. F.M. BARTOŠ, *Milíčův sermo de die novissimo*, „Reformační sborník”, Vol. 8, 1946, p. 52–53 and the same sermon by Milíč: *Sermo de die Iudicii*, Cod. Warszawa BN III 3021, f. 12vb. Cf.: P. KOLÁŘ, *Milíč's Sermo de die novissimo*, p. 59–60 on the literary sources of this vision; K. BRACHA, *Sermo de die iudicii Jana Milicza z Kromierzyża w polskich rękopisach z XV w. i jego adaptacja*, in: *Česko-polské kazatelské vztahy ve středověku*, p. 19–29.

is, with purity and innocence, were the power capable of paralyzing Antichrist, removing sins from the world and reforming piety.⁴³ The sermon has the power to destroy the house of Antichrist, as preaches from a much later era, during the Hussite wars, would put it.⁴⁴ Likewise, one of the Polish preachers of the second half of the fifteenth century envisaged the *praedicatores* among the saints and the priests who would hear confessions during the Last Judgement, when they would stand in the presence of the Creator himself. He also called them the flowers of the vineyard of God.⁴⁵

The metaphors cited above contain a significant message: the sermon ranks among the most important instruments of pastoral care. This stance was upheld by the chief representatives of the Czech reform movement. They thought that the sermon was like daily bread that nourished, strengthened and changed those that consumed it. It was indispensable for salvation. The sermon was ordained by Christ, because “Cum omnis Christi accio est nostra instructio.”⁴⁶ As preaching became more important, some of authors went even further. In a discussion that became quite heated, the issue of the relationship between preaching and the Mass was taken up. Some of the arguments favored preaching; they put an equal sign between the Mass and the sermon, spiritualizing the latter. A key debate centered on a passage in canon law concerning equal treatment of both parts of the Mass, the sermon and the Eucharist. In this debate, negligence during one half of the Mass was presented as equally sinful as negligence during the other, so that inattentive listening to the sermon was just as bad as careless reception of the Host or even dropping the Host on the ground.⁴⁷ In this context, one should not be surprised by the striking conclusion

⁴³ *Matěje z Janova mistra pařížského Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 1, III, tř. 5, dist. 11, cap. 6, ed. V. KYBAL, svazek 3, Inšpruk 1911, p. 355–356. Cf.: P. CERMANOVÁ, *Čechy na konci věků. Apokalyptické myšlení a víze husitské doby*, Praha 2013, p. 120, 308.

⁴⁴ “Ewangeliium Domini est tante virtutis, quod regnum Antichristi oportet, ut ruat coram verbo Domini Iesu”, quoted after A. MOLNÁR, *Aktývnosť ludu*, p. 99, fn. 118.

⁴⁵ “Et postremo omnes sancti, predicatores, confessores, qui peccatoribus viam salutis ostendebant, ibi coram Deo astabunt”, *Sermo: Dominica secunda Adventus Domini*, in: [PETRUS DE MIŁOŚLAW], *Sermones dominicales et festiuales*, Cod. Warszawa BN III 3021, f. 10vb; “flores sunt predicatores sancti, confessores devoti et omnes iusti viri”, *Sermo: Dominica in Septuagesima*, in: *ibidem*, Cod. Warszawa BN III 3022, f. 37ra–rb.

⁴⁶ JOHN ŠTĚKNA, *Postilla*, Cod. Mělník Okresní Muzeum QXI, f. 55r, quoted after: FR. BARTOŠ, *Husův učitel Dr. Jan Štěkna*, p. 12 (Polish edition: *Postylla dra Jana Štěkny*, p. 22–23); *Základy starého místopisu Pražského (1437–1620)*, Číslo pop. 255, Oddíl I. Stare město Pražské, Dil. II, p. 796.

⁴⁷ This discussion is summarised by E.J. DEMPSEY DOUGLASS, *Justification in the Late Medieval Preaching*, p. 86–91; U. HERZOG, *Predigt als «ministerium Verbi»*, „Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie”, Vol. 42, 1995, p. 118–133; A.T. THAYER, *The Postilla of Guillelmus*, p. 60.

in one of the collections of sermons authored by John Štěkna and other preachers of the Bethlehem Chapel circle (*Sermones diversi super dominicas per circulum anni*): the sermon is more important than the Mass. Štěkna says that a wise person who desires salvation will more eagerly find an hour to listen to a sermon than to attend Mass, because the sermon will help him to save his soul more easily. Hence it is “better to miss thirty Masses than one sermon.”⁴⁸ The preacher Johlín of Vodňany makes reference to Štěkna when he teaches that the sermon is more beneficial than the Mass. He adds that the apostles converted more people by preaching than by celebrating Masses.⁴⁹ These views were echoed in a statement of one of the Polish preachers of the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰ He advised the faithful to listen to the sermon even more attentively and more piously than to the Mass. Although the sermon itself is less dignified than the Eucharist, he taught, the effects of listening to it lead to remorse for all sins. Receiving the Host only causes the absolution of minor sins. He added that the sermon was not only required by Christ; it was also an example of *imitatio Christi*. This writer, too, pointed out that we do not read in Scripture that Christ celebrated many Masses, but we do learn from it that he preached every day.⁵¹

⁴⁸“Omnis ergo sapiens salutem anime sue desiderans carius consummit horam in sermone, quam in missam (...) vade libencius ad sermonem, ubi salutem anime sue posses lucrari”, *Sermo: Dominica quinta post Trinitatem*, Cod. Włocławek Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego 68, f. 240–241v and “melius est laico negligere XXX^a missas, quam unum sermonem”, Cod. Sandomierz Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego C 425, f. 116, quoted after: J. WOLNY, *Kaznodziejstwo*, p. 278–279, fn. 16. Both codices comprise unresearched copies of the *Postilla: Sermones de tempore (Sermones diversi super dominicas per circulum anni et sunt collecta Magistri Szczekne et domini Proczywe, magistri Kakabi et Magistri Iacobi de Colonia etc., Bohemorum nacione... and Reportata evangeliorum et etiam epistolarum)*, ascribed to several Czech authors from the Bethlehem Chapel milieu: Johannes Štěkna, Johannes Protiva de Nova Villa (Johannes Protiva z Nové Vsi, z Jemnic), Benessius de Ostromierz (Benasius, Beneš z Ostroměře), Johannes Silvanus (vel Publicanus vel Hieronymus de Praga) and Nicolaus Kakabus (Mikulaš Kakabus, Nicolaus Cacabus, Nicolaus de Bohemia) and sometimes IACOBUS DE COLONIA. Cf.: P. SPUNAR, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum protractum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, Vol. 1, Wrocław – Łódź 1985 (Studia Copernicana, Vol. 25), p. 305–306, No. 844, 846; J. TRÍŠKA, *Příspěvky k středověké literární universitě*. Teil II. *De auctoribus et operibus universitatis Pragensis medii aevi capitula*, Prag 1968 („Acta Universitatis Carolinae — Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis”, Vol. 9, Fasc. 2), p. 13; idem, *Životopisný slovník předhusitské pražské univerzity 1348–1409*, Praha 1981, p. 293.

⁴⁹“Et ergo laudat Cristus verbum suum, ut audiremus, quia est utile cuilibet simplici plus missa. Apostoli plus predicacione converterunt quam missis”, JOHLÍN OF VODŇANY, *Sermo XXXIII*, p. 236.

⁵⁰“Sed diceret ex quo melius est sermonem audire quam missas”, *Sermo: Dominica in Sexagesima*, in: [PETRUS DE MIŁOŚLAW], *Sermones dominicales et festivales*, Cod. Warszawa BN III 3021, f. 83va–vb.

⁵¹“Consulitur ergo eorum devocioni, ut sermonem audiant attentius et devocius, quam mul-

The sermon, originally an instrument of Church reform, became in time a vehicle of criticism of abuses and excesses in the piety of both lay persons and clergy. Preachers railed against avarice, simony, the accumulation of benefices, debauchery, the keeping of concubines, ignorance, laziness and carelessness. Sermons also became the forum for religious polemics (be they anti-heresy, anti-Hussite, or anti-hierarchy).⁵² Conrad of Waldhausen reproached the Prague clergy for ignorance and fear of controversy, two factors that led to the same result: poor preaching. Some preachers, he said, did not speak the truth because they were ignorant; others knew the truth, but, fearful of losing their income (*stiuras*[!]), remained silent.⁵³ Matthew of Cracow followed in Conrad's footsteps and formulated similar accusations, but in far sharper language, calling errant clergymen devils, thieves and robbers. They sinned from ignorance, he wrote, and even if they were aware of the commandments, they abstained from adhering to them, so that what they received from the altar of God they squandered.⁵⁴ In another sermon, Matthew identified a double cause of laziness among the clergy: avarice with respect to material goods and indifference to the sins of others.⁵⁵ Similar opinions could be heard during the whole of the following century. In 1421, in a sermon addressed to the clergy, Francis

tas missas (...). Et licet sacramentum corporis Christi est nobilissimum sacramentorum, tamen in quadam proprietate verbi Dei beatus Augustinus prefert predicacionem illi. Nam contritus et confessus videns corpus Christi peccatis venialibus privatur. Sed sermonem audiens nonnunquam a peccatis gravissimis emendatur. (...) Quamobrem non legimus Christum plures missas legisse nisi unam, predicasse autem legimus eum cottidie", *Sermo: Dominica in Sexagesima*, ibidem, f. 83va.

⁵² Cf. e.g. K. BRACHA, *Nauczanie religijne*, p. 139 ff. and recently: P. KRAS, *Pastor bonus et lupi rapaces. The Polemic against Hussite Doctrine in the Writings of Stanislaw of Skarbimierz*, in: *Cesko-polske kazatelske vzťahy*, p. 63–79.

⁵³ CONRADUS WALDHAUSER, *Apologia Konradi in Waldhausen*, ed. J. HÖFLER, *Geschichtsschreiber der hussitischen Bewegung*, 2 (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Abt. 1, Vol. 6, 2, 1865), p. 26 (*stiuras* — Germ.: *stiure*, Lat.: *steura* — 'tax,' 'income.' Cf.: *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*, ed. by M. Rzepiela, Vol. 8/71, Kraków 2011, p. 1399.) and idem, *Sermo: De corea*, ed. V. FLAJŠHANS, *K literární činnosti M. Jana Husi*, „Věstník České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění", Vol. 11, 1902, p. 751–756; idem, *Sermo: In die Pasche*, ed. F. ŠIMEK, *Staročeske zpracovani postily studentů svatě university pražské Konrada Waldhausera*, Prag 1947 (Sbírka pramenů českého hnutí náboženského ve XIV a XV století, číslo XX), p. 1–10.

⁵⁴ MATTHAEUS DE CRACOVIA, *Sermo ad clerum Pragae factus: Digne ambuletis*, ed. W. SEŃKO, *Mateusz z Krakowa "De praxi Romanae Curiae"*, Wrocław – Kraków 1969, p. 146–147. Cf.: Z. KAŁUŻA, *Eklezjologia Mateusza z Krakowa (Uwagi o De praxi Romanae Curiae)*, „Studia Mediewistyczne", Vol. 18,1, 1977, p. 78–79; K. BRACHA, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug*, p. 54–55.

⁵⁵ "Ex amore temporalium, et quia dissimulamus peccata aliorum", MATTHAEUS DE CRACOVIA, *Sermo: Quid est quod dilectus meus in domo mea facit scelera multa*, ed. W. SEŃKO, *Mateusz z Krakowa "De praxi Romanae Curiae"*, p. 131.

of Brzeg decried their lack of knowledge of the Bible itself.⁵⁶ Another Silesian preacher, the Dominican Friar John of Ząbkowice (d. 1446), in a homily based on a characteristic *verbum thematis*, ‘*Reformamini*,’ listed the causes of the crisis within the Church: laziness and debauchery of the clergy, inclining towards heresies that were the effect of notorious faults: ignorance, inferior conscience, arrogance or excessive pride, avarice, and lecherousness — in other words, faults that bound them with the world and distanced them from God.⁵⁷ The new ecclesiology of the later Middle Ages, especially the post-Lateran concept of priesthood oriented at *cura animarum* and the understanding of the pastoral mission of the Church as a healing house, as well as the idea of theology as medicine, all placed emphasis on the social dimensions of priesthood. Many of those who observed religious life, in addition to writers connected to the Church, remembered the Biblical maxim ‘like people, like priest’ quoted often by Matthew of Janow. Such people would underscore the close relationship between the behaviour of the flock and the comportment of the pastors.⁵⁸ Nicholas Magni of Jawor (d. 1435), a theologian of Silesian origin who was active as preacher in Heidelberg, in a sermon delivered to the Council of Worms, warned in a similar manner of the dreadful consequences of the bad example set by the clergy, because “*Si sacerdos peccavit, totus populus convertitur ad peccandum.*”⁵⁹ In a sermon from the second half of the fifteenth century, a Polish preacher observed that the task of correcting the lives of the faithful should be delegated primarily to specialised groups of “*prelati et doctores*,” who themselves ought to live decently and be good examples for others. If you do not practice what you preach — he cautioned — it would be better to keep silent.⁶⁰ Criticism and questioning applied also to the religious life of the laity, in which dubious practices and abuses relating to superstitions and religious folklore were often unlawfully tolerated by the clergy. The reformers fervently opposed these practices, and this was reflected in their sermons. The aforementioned John Milíč of Kroměříž reproached priests for using the sacraments to forward their own goals, for producing written amulets for use by women or even by witches and fortunetellers,

⁵⁶J. TŘÍŠKA, *Literární činnost předhusitské University*, Praha 1967 (Sbírka pramenů a příruček k dějinám University Karlovy, Vol. 5), p. 67.

⁵⁷A. ZAJCHOWSKA, *Między uniwersytetem a zakonem. Biografia i spuścizna pisarska dominikana Jana z Ząbkowic (+ 1446)*, Warszawa 2013, p. 272.

⁵⁸Quoted after: A. MOLNÁR, *Aktywność ludu*, p. 116; K. BRACHA, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug*, p. 57.

⁵⁹NICOLAUS MAGNI DE JAWOR, *Sermo ad clerum factus per ... in synodo wormaciensi*, ed. A. FRANZ, *Der Magister Nikolaus Magni de Jawor. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Gelehrtengeschichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1898, p. 244.

⁶⁰*Sermo: Dominica in Passione Domini*, in: [PETRUS DE MIŁOŚLAW], *Sermones dominicales et festivales*, Cod. Warszawa BN III 3021, f. 113va.

and for trying to foretell the future with the help of chrism and holy oils. By inscribing Biblical verses on various items for worldly, apotropaic or therapeutic reasons they “non sunt sacerdotes Domini, sed Baal, non Christi sed Belial. (...) Joviani sunt, non christiani, harioli, non presbyteri.”⁶¹ Among such voices we encounter, first of all, the Prague-educated Cracovian preacher Stanislas of Skarbimierz, author of several sermons devoted solely to criticism of superstitions and folk magic.⁶² Condemnation of superstitious practices could be widened into disapproval of all kinds of external manifestations of religion. Matthew of Cracow called his public to true humility of the heart, which was better than the mindless repetition of a thousand Psalms.⁶³ Stanislas of Skarbimierz sneered at

⁶¹ JOHANNES MILICIUS DE CREMSIR, *Sermo: „Sacerdotes contempserunt”*, ed. V. HEROLD, M. MRÁZ, *Johannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres sermones synodales*, Praha 1974, p. 68 ff. and idem, *Sermo de ss. Simone et Iuda*, in: idem, *Postilla „Abortivus”*, Cod. Kraków Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1175, f. 327va–vb. Cf.: K. BRACHA, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug*, p. 60.

⁶² STANISLAUS DE SCARBIMIRIA, *Sermo 47*, ed. B. CHMIEŁOWSKA, *Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, Sermones sapientiales*, pt. 1–2 (Textus et studia, Vol. 4, Fasc. 1–2), Warszawa 1979, p. 82–94; idem, *Sermo 12*, ed. R.M. ZAWADZKI, *Sermones super „Gloria in excelsis”* (Textus et studia, Vol. 7), Warszawa 1978, p. 100–108. Cf.: K. BRACHA, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug*, p. 73; idem, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie*, p. 295 ff.; idem, *Spór o błędy przesądów w świetle kazania De incarnatione Christi Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, in: *Cesta k rozmanitosti aneb Kavvárenský povaleč digitálním historikem středověku. Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu PhDr. Zdeňka Uhlíře*, ed. R. MODRÁKOVÁ, T. KLIMEK, Praha 2016, p. 87–99; idem, *Magie und Aberglaubenskritik in den Predigten des Spätmittelalters in Polen*, in: *Religion und Magie in Ostmitteleuropa. Spielräume theologischer Normierungsprozesse in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. T. WÜNSCH (Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, hrsg. von J. BAHLCKE, R. BENDEL, J. KÖHLER, T. WÜNSCH, vol. 8), Berlin 2006, p. 197–215; M. OLSZEWSKI, *Świat zabobonów w średniowieczu. Studium kazania o zabobonach Stanisława ze Skarbimierza*, Warszawa 2002, p. 180–191; Edition and recently: W. BROJER, *Między pastwiskiem i akademią. Stanisława ze Skarbimierza kazanie „o zabobonach”?*, in: *Ambona, Teksty o kulturze średniowiecza ofiarowane Stanisławowi Bylinie*, ed. K. BRACHA, W. BROJER, Warszawa 2016, p. 145–191. Cf. generally: G.B. BRONZINI, *Le prediche di Bernardino e le tradizioni popolari del suo tempo*, in: *Bernardino predicatore nella società del suo tempo* (Todi: 1976) (Convegna del Centro di Studi Sulla Spiritualità Medievale 16) 111–152; F. ALLEVI, *Costume folklore magia dell'appennino umbro-marchigiano nella predicazione di s. Giacomo della Marca*, „Picenum Seraphicum”, Vol. 13, 1976, p. 233–307; P.G. PESCE, *La religiosità popolare nella predicazione bernardiniana*, „Antoniano”, Vol. 55, 1980, p. 612–633; M. MONTESANO, *L'Osservanza francescana e la lotta contro le credenze «magico-superstiziose». Vecchie e nuove prospettive di ricerca*, „Quaderni Medievali”, Vol. 41, 1996, p. 138–151; eadem, „*Supra aqua et supra ad vento*”. „Superstizioni”, maleficia e incantamenta nei predicatori francescani osservanti (Italia, saec. XV), Roma 1999 (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi studi storici, 46); ST. BYLINA, *La Prédication, les croyances et les pratiques traditionnelles en Pologne au bas Moyen Âge*, in: *L'Église et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)*, Rome 1990 (École Française de Rome: 1990), p. 301–313; F. CONTI, *Preachers and Confessors against 'Superstitions'. Bernardino Busti and Sermon 16 of His Rosarium Sermonum*, „Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft”, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2011, p. 62–91; M. MEJOR, *Fastnachtspredigten (De carnisprívio)*, in: *Česko-polské kazatelské vzťahy*, p. 125–130.

⁶³ „Horum autem contemptus, detestatio et mortificatio plus valeret eis et eos magis disponeret

those who considered themselves very pious and shed tears easily. He was convinced that, in their contact with the sacred, they remained chiefly concerned with the external senses. Calling them weaklings, he questioned their piety and concluded that there was more benefit in cultivating virtues than in encouraging emotions.⁶⁴

The concept of the sermon — a healthy nourishment and instrument of reform, criticism, and improvement of the Church — was continued in the Hussite intellectual tradition, where its development received new stimulus. In the 1970s, František Šmahel wrote: “In accord with the needs of folk movements, Hussitism utilised all oral and artistic measures capable of transmitting the message of the reform and revolutionary ideology,” while Amadeo Molnár spoke of the “immense institution that preaching became in the Czech society.”⁶⁵ One of the researchers of the younger generation refers to preaching as the fundamental medium (*stěžejní medium*) of the reform movement.⁶⁶

In this context, John Hus — whose words we will scrutinise in more detail — must be viewed as continuing and promoting of these ideas. Hus started to preach in 1401 in Saint Michael’s Church in Prague; he did not begin to deliver sermons in the Bethlehem Chapel until 1402, after the resignation of Štěpán of Kolín on 8 March. On 14 March, he was nominated rector of the Chapel of the Holy Innocents, commonly known as the Bethlehem Chapel, by Vicar General Ojř of Domanice upon the request of John of Mühlheim.⁶⁷ The complete corpus of his sermons numbers circa 3000 items, organized into nine collections.⁶⁸

quam istis recentis [recte: retentis] decantatio mille psalmodum”, MATTHAEUS DE CRACOVIA, *Dialogus rationis et conscientiae de crebra communione*, ed. W. SEŃKO, A.L. SZAFRAŃSKI, *Mateusza z Krakowa Opuscula theologica dotyczące spowiedzi i komunii*, in: *Materiały do historii teologii średniowiecznej w Polsce*, z. 1, Warszawa 1974 (Textus et studia, Vol. 2, Fasc 1), p. 408.

⁶⁴ STANISLAUS DE SCARBIMIRIA, *Sermo XXXV: De esurie panis...*, ed. B. CHMIELOWSKA, Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones sapientiales*, Vol. 1, p. 381–382.

⁶⁵ FR. ŠMAHEL, *Antytezy czeskiej kultury*, p. 725; idem, *Słowo pisane i mówione*, p. 181–183; A. MOLNÁR, *Aktywność ludu w ruchu reformatorskim. Świadectwo kazań husyckich*, in: *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. B. GEREMEK, Wrocław – Gdańsk 1978, p. 79.

⁶⁶ P. SOUKUP, *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stržbra*, p. 68; idem, *Die Predigt als Mittel religiöser Erneuerung*, p. 235 ff.

⁶⁷ FR. ŠMAHEL, *Jan Hus. Život a dílo*, Praha 2013, p. 48–50; idem, *Husitská revoluce*, p. 210–214; ST. BYLINA, *Revoluce husycka. Předsvit i pierwsze lata*, Warszawa 2011, p. 32–39.

⁶⁸ For sermons and their editions cf.: FR.M. BARTOŠ, *Dvě studie o husitských postilách*, “Rozpravy Československé Akademie Věd. Řada Společenských Věd”, Seš. 4, Vol. 65, Praha 1955, p. 11–12; FR.M. BARTOŠ, P. SPUNAR, *Soupis pramenů k literární činnosti M. Jana Husa a M. Jeronýma Pražského*, Praha 1965; TH.A. FUDGE, “Feel this!” *Jan Hus and the Preaching of Reformation*, in: *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, Vol. 4, ed. Z.V. DAVID, D.R. HOLETON, Prague 2002, p. 107–126; idem, *Il predicatore di Jan Hus*, in: *Dizionario de Omiletica*, ed. M. SODI, A.M. TRIACCA, Turin 1998, p. 684–688; idem, *Jan Hus. Religious Reform and Social Revolution*

Taking a closer look at selected collections of his sermons, and in particular at *De tempore* (*Česká nedělní postilla*) and *De sanctis* (*Česká sváteční kázání*), as well as at the so-called *Bethlehem Sermons* (*Sermones in capella Bethlehem*), it is not difficult to find the aforementioned ideas.⁶⁹ In the cases of the *De tempore* and *De sanctis* collections, we are dealing with sermons in the Czech language. The editor of both these volumes, Jiří Daňhelka, emphasized their relevance and popular character (*aktuálnost a lidovost*) and commented that they belong to the most impressive works of the great reformer (*nejvýznamnější a nejosobitější dílo Jana Husa*).⁷⁰

Seed (*semen, semeno, sieme*) and nourishment are frequent leading metaphors in Hus's sermons. In his commentary on the Parable of the Sower, according to Mt 13:20–30, he explains the words “The kingdom of heaven is likened onto a man which sowed good seed in his field” (Mt 13:24) likewise: Christ sowed good people within the Church, just like the peasant (*sedlak*) who sowed wheat in his field. The word of God was the seed, and good seed was the faith and good deeds of the sons of God. God sowed the seeds in all of the Church on good ground, and only afterwards was this ground soiled by sin.⁷¹ Naturally, this was a transposition of the *logos* or word as the matter and instrument of all creation. At another time, Hus listed the virtues of the word of God. The seed, he argued, gives birth many times from a single grain; likewise, the word of God begets many sons of God. It is indispensable for life, otherwise we would

in Bohemia, London – New York 2010, p. 57–73; A. VIDMANOVÁ, *Hus als Prediger*, „Communio Viatorum”, Vol. 19, 1976, p. 65–66; eadem, *Husova tzv. Postilla De tempore (1408/9)*, „Listy filologické”, R. 94, číslo 1, 1971, p. 7–22; P. HILSCH, *Johannes Hus (um 1370–1415). Prediger Gottes und Ketzer*, Regensburg 1999; P. SOUKUP, *Jan Hus as a Preacher*, in: *A Companion to Jan Hus*, ed. by FR. ŠMAHEL, O. PAVLIČEK, Leiden – Boston 2015, p. 96–129.

⁶⁹ [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, ed. V. FLAJŠHANS, “Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften”, Vol. 3, 1938, p. 1–114; Vol. 1, 1939, p. 1–266; Vol. 1, 1940, p. 1–260; Vol. 1, 1941, p. 1–352; Vol. 1, 1943, p. 1–158; Vol. 3, 1945, p. 1–212; Indices, Prag 1947. Cf.: FR.M. BARTOŠ, *Problem Husových tzv. Betlémských kázání*, in: *Husův sborník. Soubor prací k 550. výročí M. Jana Husa*, ed. R. ŘÍČAN, Praha 1966, p. 42–47; idem, *O Husovu kazatelskou metodu*, „Jihočeský sborník historický”, Vol. 11, 1938, p. 107–108; E. KAMÍNKOVÁ, *Husova Betlémská kázání a jejich dvě recenze*, Praha 1963 (Acta Universitatis Carolinae, philosophica et historica, 1963/Monographia, 2). For polemics concerning the chronology of the sermons see: V. NOVOTNÝ, *Betlémská (t.ř.) kázání a jejich české glosy*, „Sborník filologický ČA”, Vol. 7, 1922, p. 128–166.

⁷⁰ MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla. Vyloženie svatých čtení nedělních*, ed. J. DAÑHELKA, Praha 1992 (MAGISTRI IOHANNIS HUS *Opera omnia*. Vol. II. *Postilla de tempore Bohemica*), p. 7; MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká sváteční kázání*, ed. J. DAÑHELKA, Praha 1995 (MAGISTRI IOHANNIS HUS *Opera omnia*. Vol. III. *Sermones de sanctis Bohemici*); J. DAÑHELKA, *Dobová aktuálnost a lidovost Husovy české Postilly*, in: *Studia z dawnej literatury czeskiej, slowackiej i polskiej*, Warszawa – Praha 1963, p. 41–49.

⁷¹ JOHN HUS, *Neděle sedmá po Kristovu Narození*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 113.

all die of spiritual hunger in sin and suffering.⁷² The fact that Christ himself had recommended preaching, and was the first who had sown the word, was proof enough to establish the efficacy of the word of God. Those who came after Christ were only mouthpieces (*rosievky*). This was an allusion to the preachers (*rosievky*; instrumenta *rosyewky*), because ‘is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you’ (Mt 10:20).⁷³

Hus resorted here to an ideological theme or topos, claiming that the sermon was no ordinary kind of communication. It was a message containing holy words. The preacher was a kind of medium between God and the faithful, his words coming from God himself. Hence, the preacher’s mouth became an instrument of transmission. In the metaphorical description of the sermon, the preacher’s mouth was depicted with many different comparisons and allegories. In one instance, it was a river channel through which words flow “de fonte divine gracie,” in another, in a sermon of John Geiler of Keisersberg, the preacher’s mouth was the channel through which blew the wind of Grace.⁷⁴ Hus likened it to a less elevated instrument: the peasant’s basket that carried seeds for sowing.⁷⁵ In one of his sermons on the saints, Hus stated that preachers are like a bag, or like a musical instrument such as a trumpet through which Christ teaches the faithful.⁷⁶ Moreover, preaching, he explained, could be treated as *imitatio Christi* of sorts. “Velmě užitečné jest slova božieho kázanie a slyšenie dôstojné,” because the Son of God himself sowed or preached, and even in between his actions, he “najviece pilen kázanie byl; malo krstil, msi jedinu sluzil, (...) Ale kázati počal ve dvanácti letech, když jest v chrámě místryučil, Lu 2. k. Potom od třidcieti let

⁷² JOHN HUS, *Neděle po Narození Božiem devátá*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 129.

⁷³ “Protož on jest sám pravy a prvý rosievač, ale jiní sú rosievky, z nichž on rosievá”, *ibidem*, p. 129–130; “Ipse enim est solus, qui seminat semen suum et nullus alius preter ipsum. Sed alii seminatores sunt tamquam eius instrumenta *rosyewky*”, *idem*, *Sermo LXV: Dominica Sexagesimae*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 243.

⁷⁴ “Sic eciam verus sermo predicatoris principaliter procedit a Deo, Mt 10 [20] (...) michi constat quoniam de canalibus rivi aquarum manere non possunt, sed de fonte per canale consimili, de labiis et de ore cuiuslibet non procedunt verba prudencie et veritatis, sed de fonte divine gracie”, *Sermo: In die Pentecostes*, in: [PETRUS DE MIŁOŚLAW], *Sermones dominicales et festivales*, Cod. BN III 3021, f. 209ra. Cf.: E.J. DEMPSEY DOUGLASS, *Justification in Late Medieval Preaching*, p. 82, p. 2: “ventus gratiam per os predicatoris spirans”; K. BRACHA, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie*, p. 105–109.

⁷⁵ “Protož, milý brachu, hrzieš-li mnú, rosievkú nečistú a košíkem smrdutým, ale nezamietaj semene slova božieho; nebť böh skrzeten košík tobě rosievá”, JOHN HUS, *Neděle po Narození Božiem devátá*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 130.

⁷⁶ “Fideles predicatoris, qui sunt tamquam saccus et instrumentum, per quod Christus tamquam per tubam docet fideles suos”, JOHN HUS, *Sermo CLXII: Dominica 2^a post Pascha Misericordie*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 80.

počav, tři léta a několik měsícův až do smrti kázal a pro kázanie ukřižován.⁷⁷ Until his death, he preached to the simple people, staying away from the arrogant, rich and worldly, and in particular from bishops, masters, priests, and monks.⁷⁸ Hus refers to Lk 19:10 and Mt 9:3–37 to explain that preaching is a consequence of the Incarnation, because the Saviour in his earthly life, “seeing crowds of people, took pity on them, because they were troubled and forsaken, like sheep without a shepherd.”⁷⁹ The Lord multiplied the faithful who listened eagerly to the word of God and gathered it like wheat in the barn, but he did not multiply good ‘workers.’ Naturally, the *workers* in Hus’s sermons are the preachers, whom he assessed critically. Preachers who were faithful and who worked out of love for the salvation of their people were few.⁸⁰ Although this world was full of priests, only a few of them engaged in harvesting. They had received the priestly status but did not fulfil its obligations. Hus disapproved of those who neglected to deliver sermons, warning that this would be punished with condemnation at the Last Judgement.⁸¹

In his written defense of preaching, Hus went even further. Like his Czech predecessors, he elevated the benefits of listening to sermons above those of the Mass. The Mass, he argued, converts bread into Holy Bread, but this does not last forever.⁸² Unlike the Mass, Hus concluded, a dignified sermon causes the souls of some people to unite with Christ in love and “may it be so for ever” (na věky tak můž ostati).⁸³

Furthermore, sermons were delivered in the vernacular. By doing away with the barrier of Latin, their message reached the wider public. Hus emphasized this in the prologue to the vernacular postilla *De tempore*: since there were no such texts available in Czech, he translated the postilla (a commentary) so that the people could read it in their own language — “aby našeho spasitele slovo

⁷⁷ JOHN HUS, *Neděle po Narození Božiem devátá*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 130.

⁷⁸ JOHN HUS, [*Prologus*], in: *ibidem*, p. 59.

⁷⁹ JOHN HUS, *Na posvěcenie kostela toto čtenie čtú*, in: *ibidem*, p. 59.

⁸⁰ “To věz, že málo jest věrných kazatelův, kteří z lásky pro chválu boží, pro lidské a pro své spasenie pracují s lidem božím”, *ibidem*, p. 59.

⁸¹ “To slovo s. Řehoř váží, ”žen mnohá, a pracovníci nemnozí,” říká: ”Toho bez těžké truchlosti mluvíti nemůžeme. Neb ač sú ti, kteříž by rádi dobré věci slyšeli, ale nejsou ti, kteřížby pravili. Aj, svět kněžimi jest naplněn, a však ve žni boží velmě říedký pracovník bývá nalezen. *Neb úřad kněžský přijímáme, ale skutku úřada neplníme. Ale važte, bratříe moji, važte, co die pán: *Proste pána žni, ať pošle dělníky na žen svú! Vy za nás proste, abychom užitečnevěci vám připraviti mohli, aby jazyk od napomínanie neustal; a poňavadž místo kázanie sme přijeli, aby před spravedlivým súdci nás naše mlčenie neodsúdilo”, *ibidem*, p. 59.

⁸² “Mše slúženie, jenž jest chleba *posvěcenie, aby byl božím tělem” (...) “a to nebude na věky”, JOHN HUS, *Neděle po Narození Božiem devátá*, p. 130.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 130.

vždy najviace vznělo a tak věrným bylo k spasení oznámeno.”⁸⁴ Hus also recognized the differences resulting from dialectical variations of the Czech language. In the same prologue, he stressed that the choice of the language was intentional. The text was supposed to be comprehensible to the reader: “I wrote just like I speak every day.”⁸⁵ Nevertheless, he cautioned the scribes to copy it faithfully and introduce no corrections resulting from their own dialects, lest they make it more difficult to understand.⁸⁶ It must be underscored here that the *Česká nedělní postilla* is not a vernacular collection prepared in accord with the *reportatio* technique, but a literary work, which presumably differed from the spoken form, and which remained in close relationship with Hus’s Latin teaching. So Hus himself suggested.⁸⁷ In the light of the classification proposed by Michel Zink, *česká nedělní postilla* can be classed as “preaching in an armchair” (*prédication dans un fauteuil*). In other words, such collections were carefully edited, frequently translated from the Latin, and intended rather for meditative reading in private than vocal transmission to the public.⁸⁸ Hus allowed himself freer

⁸⁴ JOHN HUS, [Prologus], in: *ibidem*, p. 60.

⁸⁵ “Aby, ktož budeš čísti, rozuměl mé české řeči, věz, žet sem psal tak, jakož obyčejně mluvím”, JOHN HUS, [Prologus], in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ Cf.: “jinak mluvie a v jiném jinak. U příkladě: já píší nižádný nevie, a jiní říekají žádný nevie”, *ibidem*, p. 57–58.

⁸⁷ “mámt’ úmysl, abych, což mohu, najlehčejie vyložil čtenie, ač ne ovšem týmž obyčejem, jako káží”, *ibidem*, p. 60 and p. 8. The origins of the three sermon collections mentioned above is still discussed. Cf.: A. VIDMANOVÁ, *Hus als Prediger*, p. 78; eadem, *Kdy, kde a jak psal Hus českou Postillu*, „Listy filologické”, Vol. 112, 1989, p. 144–158; P. SOUKUP, *Jan Hus as a Preacher*, p. 114, 118. For the language of the sermons: L. LAZERRINI, *Da quell’arzilla puplito. «Sermo humilis» e sermoni macaronici nel quaresimale autografo di Valeriano da Soncino O.P.*, „Medioevo e Rinascimento”, z. 3, 1989, p. 171–240; N. 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 am Fachbereich Germanistik der Freien Universität Berlin vom 3.–6. Oktober 1989*, ed. V. MERTENS, H.-J. SCHIEWER, Tübingen 1992, p. 278–279; H. MARTIN, *A propos du bilinguisme des prédicateurs du bas Moyen Age: latin et français dans les sermons d’un orateur parisien du XV^e siècle*, in: *Christianitas et cultura Europae. Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*, pt. 1, ed. H. GAPSKI, Lublin 1998, p. 103–111; C. DELCORNO, *La lingua dei predicatori. Tra latino e volgare*, in: *La predicazione dei fratri dalla metà del ’200 alla fine del ’300. Atti del XXII Convegno internazionale Assisi, 13–15 ottobre 1994*, Spoleto 1995, p. 19–46; S. WENZEL, *Macaronic Sermons. Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England*, Michigan 1994; M. ZINK, *La predication en langue romane avant 1300*, Paris 1976, *passim* and recently: E. CORBARI, *Vernacular Theology. Dominican Sermons and Audience in Late Medieval Italy*, Berlin 2013 (*Trends in Medieval Philology*, Vol. 22), p. 5–10, 62–65.

⁸⁸ M. ZINK, *La predication en langue romane avant 1300*, p. 478; *idem*, *La predication en langues vernaculaires*, in: *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. P. RICHE, G. LOBRICHON, Paris 1984 (*Bible de tous les temps*, 4), p. 489–516; N. BÉRIOU, *Latin and the vernacular*, p. 269; B. SPIERSKA, *Les sermons ad populum de Maurice de Sully et leur adaptation française*, „Przegląd Tomistyczny”, Vol. 13/1, p. 9–112; K. BRACHA, *Noty łacińskie w Kazaniach świętokrzyskich*, in: „Kazania świętokrzyskie”. *Geneza, przekaz, tekst, kontekst. Po lekturze nowej edycji (2009)*, IBL PAN Warszawa 3.03.2010 r.,

expression in the vernacular, but his sermons in this form are meant to be read. It seems that Hus's remark on his choice of language encompassed not only the conviction that the people needed instruction, as well as his desire to reach out to the wider public with the ideas of the reform, and his effort to help simple folk memorize the messages of his teaching, but also the necessity to find and retain a sympathetic audience among the laity — the people who were most inclined to favour the reformist content of his sermons. In addressing the laity first, Hus saw himself as following the example of Christ, who taught ordinary people before he turned to prelates.⁸⁹ Using the vernacular also helped to ease concerns about the writer's meaning or intention being distorted by another tongue. Hus's works may be viewed in the context of what is now dubbed 'vernacular theology.'⁹⁰ Hus prepared his collection of sermons in Czech in order to reach the public directly, to address the lay public in an unrestrained manner. He wanted to break the monopoly of the clergy and circumvent the control that the use of Latin enforced. In other words, he wanted to come out with teaching in the vernacular so that it would not have to be authorised by Church officials and could spread freely (or be in "open access") within proper parameters.⁹¹ Writing in the national language provided the author greater freedom of expression and gave people easier access to the text. Hus preferred the wider public. Preaching to the many also fulfilled the ideal of unrestrained dissemination of the word of God, a principle that later became one of the Four Articles of Prague.⁹²

Another warning about the preachers ensued from discussions among the reformers concerning the exercise of church offices by unworthy, perfidious and sinful churchmen (Henry of Oyta, Conrad of Soltau) and the concept of double perfection (*duplex perfectio*) brought forward by Giles of Rome. Like anyone else, Hus asserted, a preacher who was in the state of mortal sin and delivered

ed. K. BRACHA, A. DĄBRÓWKA, "Z badań nad książką i księgozbiorami historycznymi", Vol. 4, Warszawa 2010, p. 97; P. SOUKUP, *Jan Hus as a Preacher*, p. 114.

⁸⁹ A. MOLNÁR, *Aktywność ludu*, p. 83.

⁹⁰ E. CORBARI, *Vernacular Theology. Dominican Sermons*, p. 6–10 (chiefly p. 7–8).

⁹¹ E. CORBARI, *Vernacular Theology. Dominican Sermons*, p. 10; N. WATSON, *Censorship and Cultural Change in Late Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409*, „Speculum”, Vol. 70, 1995, p. 822–864. For the "Latin" monopoly of the clergy, cf. i.a.: N. BÉRIOU, *Latin and the vernacular*, p. 273; K. BRACHA, *Noty łacińskie*, p. 105. On the Czech language in antihussite polemics of Jan Přebíram as a "valid medium for combatting heretical beliefs" recently wrote M.K. PERETT, *John Přebíram and His Vernacular Treatises. Equipping the Laity in Battle against Hussite Radicals*, in: *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages. Essays to Honor John van Engen*, ed. D.C. MENGEL and L. WOLVERTON, New York 2015, p. 419–435 (chiefly p. 430).

⁹² FR. ŠMAHEL, *Husité artikuly a jihlavská kompaktáta*, in: *Jihlava a basilejská kompaktáta*, Jihlava 1992, p. 11–28.

a sermon or prayed, “však mluví křivě.”⁹³ Similarly, Hus condemned instances of preachers’ self-censorship, that is, those times when priests addressed lay people too cautiously, so as not to fall into disfavor with them and risk imprisonment, censure or other troubles.⁹⁴ Remarks of this kind were common all around Europe. They were an element of the larger body of criticism of excessive correctness and even prevarication on the part of the preachers.⁹⁵

In his commentary on the miracle of the healing of a deaf man on the shores of the Sea of Galilee according to Mk 7:31–37, Hus proposed an ontogeny (a biological account of the miracle) based on anatomical premises and his conviction of the importance of hearing as a prerequisite of faith. Christ put his fingers into the disabled man’s ears and returned his hearing; he then applied his saliva to the man’s tongue and made him speak. As a result, the man recovered not only his hearing and speech, but also the virtue of wisdom. Following Gregory the Great, Hus explained that the saliva used by Christ to moisten the tongue of the disabled man came from the head, and that the head (when used properly) is the source of wisdom, the vehicle of which are words.⁹⁶ In Hus’s commentary, the physical miracle described in the Gospel was the change needed to receive the faith by an act of hearing the word directly from the mouth of the preacher. Hus paraphrases here the words of Saint Paul in Rom 10:17 — “fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi,” and then he asked rhetorically: “Who will believe without hearing, and who will hear without a preacher?”⁹⁷

⁹³ JOHN HUS, *Neděle dvanáctá po Svaté Trojici*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 364. Cf.: H. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta. Prinzipienlehre der mittelalterlichen Scholastik*, Freiburg im Breisgau – Wien 1964, p. 20; F. SEIBT, *Die Zeit der Luxemburger und der hussitischen Revolution*, in: *Handbuch der Geschichte der Böhmisches Länder*, ed. K. BOSL, Vol. 1, Stuttgart 1966, p. 463; ST. SWIĘŻAWSKI, *Eklezjologia późnośredniowieczna na rozdrożu*, Kraków 1990, p. 41; Z. KAŁUŻA, *Eklezjologia Mateusza z Krakowa*, p. 76, 132.

⁹⁴ “Jest také svazek jazyka bázeň, pro niž mnozí nesmějí pravdy vyznati: kněžie nesmějí *kázati a laikové i ženy nesmějíse zpoviedati. Kněžie nesmějí, aby obrokův nezbyli, v žaláři neposelěli, pohanění nebyli a neb umořeni. A svěštší nesmějí se pro stud velikýchhřiechův zpoviedati a neb pro veliké pokánie a také, jakož sem od mnohých slyšal, pro to, že na ně zpověď kněžie pronášejí”, JOHN HUS, *Neděle dvanáctá po Svaté Trojici*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 365.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, p. 365.

⁹⁶ “A tak pustil jest Ježíš prsty v uši hluchého, to jest dal jest jemudary ducha svatého, aby slyšal, co má slyšeti. <A plinuv dotekl se,> to věz slínú, <Jazyka jeho.> Skrze slínu, die svatý Rehoř, múdrost se znamená a miení múdrost syna božieho řka: <Slína nám jest z úst vykupitele vzatá múdrost v svatém písmě. Neb slína od hlavy teče v usta, protož ta múdrost, kteráž on jest, když jazyka našeho dotkne, ihned se k kázání slov božích otevře,>” ibidem, p. 364. Cf.: GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Homilia 10*, ed. Gregorii Magni *Homiliarum in Ezechielem prophetam libri duo*, Lib. 1, ed. PL, Vol. 76, Paris 1878, col. 894; JOHN HUS, *Sermones de tempore qui Collecta dicuntur*, ed. A. SCHMIDTOVÁ-VIDMANOVÁ, Prague 1959 (MAGISTRI IOHANNIS HUS *Opera omnia*, Vol. VII), p. 443.

⁹⁷ “Kterak uvěrie, když neuslyšie, a kterak uslyšie bez kazatele?”, JOHN HUS, *Neděle dvanáctá po Svaté Trojici*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 363.

The act of faith is realised in the act of hearing, between the will of the listener and the wisdom of the speaker. Therefore, preaching was not only the fundamental instrument of instruction but also the source of wisdom, a condition of faith. Words are the inborn vehicle of wisdom, so it makes sense that Christ would enable the man physically to speak words by placing his saliva (which comes from the head, the seat of wisdom) on the man's tongue.

The freedom to preach in all places (and not just in formal settings) was, in Hus's view, in line with the precepts of Christ, who himself taught on the shores of a lake, in a boat, in the desert, on the seashore, and even on the sea itself. This assertion prefigured the Four Articles of Prague, but also referred back to the bull of Pope Alexander V, issued in 1409 at the request of Zbynek Zajíc of Házmburk (Hajnburk). This bull limited preaching to parish, monastic, and chapter churches, thus forbidding sermons at the Bethlehem Chapel. Hus also alluded to his double excommunication (of 1409 and 1410), which he reported with regret in his sermon.⁹⁸

Hus says that, in order to instruct other people, a good preacher must fulfil four conditions. He should preach in line with the letter of the law of God, instead of telling fables or things that are untrue or impractical. The faithful ought to be encouraged not threatened. He should not be in state of mortal sin, or he achieves nothing. Most of all, the preacher should value godly living.⁹⁹ These four points encompass the imperative of the law of God and fidelity to the Biblical sources of faith that, in Hus's view, determine the moral qualities of priests. These ideals also led to the increasing prominence of the Decalogue, understood as the *gubernacula vitae hominis*, in Hus's sermons.¹⁰⁰ Correspondingly, Hus wrote a lengthy *Expositio Decalogi* and the text of the Decalogue became

⁹⁸ Ibidem, p. 320 and idem, *Sermo XLVI: In die Johannis de mane*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 156. Cf.: TH.A. FUDGE, "Feel this!" *Jan Hus and the Preaching*, p. 110; P. SOUKUP, *Jan Hus as a preacher*, p. 108–109; FR. ŠMAHEL, *Jan Hus*, p. 99–100; J. MAREK, *Jakoubek ze Stříbra a počátky utrakvistického kazatelství v českých zemích*, Praha 2011, p. 59–61.

⁹⁹ "J sú ještě jiná naučení ve čtení. Prvé, že lidé mají býti pilní slyšení slova božieho; to v tom sě znamená, že <zástupové valili sú sěk Ježíšovi, aby slyšeli slovo božie>. Druhé, že kazatel má vyprati své sieti, to jest řečvyčistiti, jíž má lidi z moře tohoto světa Kristovi lovit, tak aby *kázal čistý zákon boží, *ne básní, ani lží, ani *neužitečných řečí, a ovšem jimíž by lidi svodil aneb lúpil. Třetí, že, ktož v noci, t. v hříše smrtedlném loví, ten nic sobě k spasení neuloví, a zvláště kněz, kázeli v smrtedlném hříše. Čtvrté, že kazatel má povýšiti života nad jiné a hlúbe znáti pána boha", JOHN HUS, *Neděle pátá po Svaté Trojici*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 321.

¹⁰⁰ J. DAHMUS, *Medieval German Preaching on the Ten Commandments: a comparison of Berthold of Regensburg and Johannes Nider*, „Medieval Sermon Studies”, Vol. 44, 2000, p. 37–52; K. BRACHA, *The Ten Commandments in preaching in late medieval Poland: „Sermo de praeceptis” from the MS. 3022 at the National Library in Warsaw* (in print).

an element of the internal decoration of the Bethlehem Chapel.¹⁰¹ In one of the Bethlehem Sermons, Hus emphasized the necessary harmony between the obligation to teach the Decalogue in sermons and the preacher's adhering to the ten commandments in his own life.¹⁰² Obedience to the law conditions the effects of the preacher's work among the people. Hus would not question the validity of the sacraments administered by unworthy clerics, but he underscored the relationship between moral standards and the responsibility to the faithful, for whom a man of the cloth should be an authority, source of knowledge, and example to follow. We find the same arguments used when Hus turns reverses his perspective and describes the false preacher. Repeated moral instruction and an emphasis on the moral conduct of the preacher was the condition of credibility, Hus thought. Again, he stressed the close association of the behaviour of the laity with the attitudes of the clergy — 'like people, like priest' (Os 4:9). The same was repeated by Matthew of Janow and Jacob of Mies.¹⁰³ If a preacher had a concubine, it meant that he taught the people what he did not practice himself.¹⁰⁴ He was tying a rope around his own neck.¹⁰⁵ If he was preaching for material profit (*propter divitias; pro pera*) or for vainglory, his preaching was not based on pure intentions (*pura intentione*).¹⁰⁶ Looking for material profit remained at odds with the love of God, while benefits damaged the mouth of the preacher. Such preachers were not messengers of God, but of idols, Mammon, Baal or Satan. They did not gather the faithful for a sermon, but rather to fill their own purses.¹⁰⁷ If a preacher told fables instead of teaching the Gospel, he

¹⁰¹ JOHN HUS, *Expositio Decalogi*, in: MAG. JOANNIS HUS *Opera omnia*, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1, ed. W. FLAJŠHANS, Prag 1903; idem, *Výklad na desatero přikázanie*, in: MAGISTRI IOHANNIS HUS *Opera omnia*, Vol. 1: *Expositiones Bohemicae — Výklady*, ed. J. DAŇHELKA, Praha 1975, p. 327; *Betlemské texty*, ed. B. RYBA, Praha 1951, p. 37–38; FR. ŠMAHEL, *Slovo psiane i mówione*, p. 186.

¹⁰² "Et ergo predicator, qui digne vult predicare verbum Dei, debet mandata Domini servare. Que si non servaverit, sciat, quod indigne predicat", JOHN HUS, *Sermo CLXXXI: Fer. 2^a p. Pent., epist.*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 160–161.

¹⁰³ A. MOLNÁR, *Aktyvnosť ludu*, p. 116; K. BRACHA, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁴ "Et hoc faciunt maxime iterati concubinariii sacerdotes, ant bmnij brzyechi a zabmnijneczynyty toho: ex naturalibus nemo debet confundi czot gest przyrozena wyecz, toho nemagy bmnity", JOHN HUS, *Sermo XXI: Sabbato: In die Nicolai*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁵ JOHN HUS, *Sermo LXIV: Epistola in Septuagesima*, ibidem, p. 241.

¹⁰⁶ JOHN HUS, *Sermo XXXV A: Post prandium*, ibidem, p. 101; idem, *Sermo CCLXIII: In die ss. Simonis et Iude*, ibidem, p. 132; idem, *Sermo CVI: Dominica Laetare*, ibidem, p. 137; idem, *Vejkład mistra Jana Husi na pašui vedlé sepsání svatého jana v osmnácté kapitole*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká sváteční kázání*, p. 241.

¹⁰⁷ JOHN HUS, *Sermo III: In die animarum*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 18; idem, *Sermo XXX: 3^a dominica in adventu*, ibidem, p. 65; "Cuius nunc fit oppositum, quia nunc ad visitandum mittuntur, non ad predicandum, non etiam ut aggregent homines, sed bursas impleant. Jesus illum mittit, quem salus populi et honor Domini ad predi-

did not tell the truth. His speech was sterile — as worthless as straw or a cloud deprived of water, which would be blown away by the wind. It was Satan people were listening to, not the preacher.¹⁰⁸ Hus placed at opposite poles those who preached badly, told jokes or lies, or preached for their own profit or vainglory, and those who pulled the faithful away from sin for the glory of God and for redemption.¹⁰⁹ The unconditional requirement of moral virtues and intolerance of vices such as keeping concubines and the desire for material goods brought to mind the fundamental ideals of the movement against simony and mortal sins that was to become part of the canonical language of the reform. Hus honored above all the role of the preacher, which defined the identity of the clergy and the mission of the priesthood in general.

Consequently, Hus argued that preachers are needed — indeed, they are necessary — because the Saviour himself commanded his followers to convert people and dissuade them from sinning. Priests cannot abstain from delivering sermons; they must preach continually, for the Lord “k ustavení své cirkvi jich potřebuje.”¹¹⁰ It was equally wrong to abstain from preaching, he stated, as to listen to sermons carelessly; both shortcomings amounted to not conforming to Christ.¹¹¹

Much later, just before the middle of the fifteenth century, John of Wünschelburg (d. ca. 1456), a theologian from the University of Leipzig who also functioned as a municipal preacher at Amberg, explained the role of preaching in his treatise *De superstitionibus* in similar, albeit more universal, terms. John, a Silesian by birth, belonged to the anti-Hussite camp. He was educated in Prague, which proved important. He turned to the medical rhetoric frequently used in the pastoral literature of the day to substantiate the need to improve the world by providing by the following “medications”: wisdom, grace, clemency, penance and preaching.¹¹² He elevated preaching to the status of basic cure for

candum ducit; si vero pro pera predicat, ut pecuniam accipiat, non a Jesu, sed a Mamone mittitur. Si vero propter gulam, ut delicate vivat, tunc a Beele mittitur; si vero propter superbiam, tunc a Sathana”, idem, *Sermo CCLXIII: In die ss. Simonis et Iude*, in: ibidem, p. 132.

¹⁰⁸ JOHN HUS, *Sermo CVIII: Feria 2^a p. Laetare*, ibidem, p. 141; idem, *Sermo CCXXVI: Dominica 12^a p. Trinitatem*, ibidem, p. 11; idem, *Sermo XXXII: In die Sapientie*, ibidem, p. 75; idem, *Sermo CCXXV: Dominica II^a p. Trinit.*, ibidem, p. 350.

¹⁰⁹ JOHN HUS, *Sermo CLXXIII: In die Ascensionis*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 125–126.

¹¹⁰ JOHN HUS, *Na květnů Neděli*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 182.

¹¹¹ JOHN HUS, *Sermo CCV: Dom. 5^a p. Trinit.*, in: [MAGISTRI IO. HUS] *Sermones in capella Bethlehem 1410–1411*, p. 264. Hus referred to the statement quoted above from the *Liber regulae pastoralis* by Gregory the Great with the recommendation of tying bells to their garments before entering the temple. JOHN HUS, *Neděle druhá*, in: MISTR JAN HUS, *Česká nedělní postilla*, p. 217. Cf. above fn. 20.

¹¹² “Et in hoc tempore multiplex medicina sapientie incarnate, de qua *Ecclesiasticus XXXVIII*

the ailments of the world, because it was universal in character and independent of time and audience. Hence, John built up the introductory part of his treatise into a monumental defense of preaching. He argued that listening to the voice of the preacher had therapeutic consequences. Anyone who would not listen was avoiding taking their medication.¹¹³ These views found an interesting illustration in an allegory that belonged to a long literary tradition of metaphorical symbolism in which he compared the preacher to a rooster. This “ornithological” interpretation of the *instrumentum praedicationis*, in which we find metaphorical borrowings from Hugh of Saint Victor, was not only an allegorical illustration of preaching, but also a substantiation of the appropriate choice of time for the instructive and therapeutic function of preaching. In his comments to the *verbum thematis* of the treatise, John of Wünschelburg concluded that now is the “optimum tempus habes predicandi.”¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, he lamented, when “The flowers appear on the earth” (Song of Solomon 2:12), alongside the good there appears evil. Sermons are directed against this evil, which proliferates in a threefold manner. *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, apparently a continuation of his preaching efforts, was an expression of anxiety and frustration at the confusion and unhelpful religious polemics caused by deficiencies in the Church’s evangelization efforts, and in particular by bad preaching.¹¹⁵ These frustrations

[38,4]: «Altissimus de terra creavit medicinam et vir prudens non abhorrebit eam». Secunda est gratie, de qua *Ecclesiasticus XLIII* [43,24]: «Medicina omnium in festinatione». Tertia est indulgentie, de qua *Ecclesiasticus XXVIII* [28,3]: «Homo homini servat iram et a Deo querit medelam». Quarta est pene a Deo inflicte ad salutem, de hac *Iob V* [5,18]: «Ipse vulnerat et medetur». Quinta est predicationis salutifere,” JOHANNES DE WÜNSCHELBERG, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Cod. Wrocław BU I. F. 212, f. 228ra–rb.

¹¹³“Secundo non sanatur, quis infirmus, quia non audit, nec recipit medicinam”, ibidem, f. 229rb.

¹¹⁴Ibidem, f. 229vb. Cf.: K. BRACHA, *Kogut, czyli dobry kaznodzieja*, in: *Ambona. Teksty o kulturze średniowiecza ofiarowane Stanisławowi Bylinie*, p. 227–252; idem, *Polemik gegen den hussitischen Bildersturm im Lichte des Traktates “De superstitionibus” Johannes von Wünschelburg (1380/1385 – ca.1456)*, „Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission”, No. 11, 2016, p. 147–208.

¹¹⁵“Sed hec medicina non habet effectum ex causa multiplici vel quia non dat in tempore aperto, *Ieremias VII* [8,15]: «Expectavimus pacem et non erat tempus bonum medelle et ecce formido». Tales sunt predicatorum non habentes differentiam temporum nec personarum, qui tamen per gallum designati sunt”, JOHANNES DE WÜNSCHELBERG, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, Cod. Wrocław BU I. F. 212, f. 228rb. Wünschelburg’s sermons have not been researched as yet. Cf.: JOHANNES DE WÜNSCHELBERG, *Discipulus de sanctis ac officarius de sanctis*, Cod. München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 9730, f. 161r–236v; idem, *Sermones per Quadragesimam*, Cod. Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek M. ch. f. 137, f. 99va–131rb. Cf.: K. HALM, G. VON LAUBMANN, W. MEYER, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Vol. 2,1. *Codices num. 8101–10930 complectens*, Monachii 1874, p. 121–122; H. THURN, *Die Handschriften aus benediktinischen Provenienzen. Hälfte 1. Amorbach. Kitzingen. Münsterschwarzach. Theres. Würzburg: St. Afra, St. Burkhard, Schottenkloster St. Jakob. Anhang: Erfurt, Minden, Mondsee*, Wiesbaden 1973 (Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, Vol. 2, Hälfte 1),

led to the conviction that, precisely because the times were so full of errors and perversions, the moment was ripe for improvement and reform rather than passivity among preachers. These ideas were supported by the later actions of the penitent Observant preacher John of Capistrano in his journey through Central Europe in the years 1451–1456.¹¹⁶ In one of his sermons to the clergy, “Ego vos elegi,” he recounted the basic responsibilities of priests: to eradicate errors, destroy heresy, eliminate lies and hypocrisy, remove tyranny, develop the Church, and plant virtues.¹¹⁷ Yet John of Capistrano’s influence on the reformist attitudes in this part of Europe requires separate treatment and further studies.

From the statements of preachers and Church authorities who either belonged to the Prague milieu, or in one way or another drew upon the reformist climate of Prague, there emerged a great vindication of the *ars praedicandi*. One encounters constant appeals for diligence and moral credibility on the part of the preachers, because their efforts can bring about reform on a mass scale. On

p. 132–133 and FR. FUCHS, *Buchbesitz als Altersvorsorge. Eine Bibliothekstiftung des Johann von Wunschelburg für die Prädikatur bei St. Martin in Amberg im Jahre 1450*, in: *Wirtschaft-Gesellschaft-Mentalitäten im Mittelalter. Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Rolf Sprandel*, hg. v. H.-P. BAUM, R. LENG, J. SCHNEIDER, Stuttgart 2006 (Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, 107), p. 685, fn. 10. Cf.: *Sermo defunctorum magistri Johanni Wunschelburgensis*, Cod. Wrocław BU I. Q. 58, f. 110vb–113ra.

¹¹⁶Principal editions: *Johannes von Capistrano. Teil II, Dritte Folge: XLIV sermones Vratislaviae habiti a.D. MCCCCLIII*, ed. E. JACOB, Breslau 1911; *De sermonibus s. Johannis a Capistrano*, ed. L. ŁUSZCZEK, Romae 1961. Some of Capistrano’s sermons have not been edited, i.a.: Cod. Wrocław BU I. F. 577, f. 182–214 and Cod. Kraków BJ 1678, f. 265 ff.: “Incipit passio quam predicavit frater Johannes de Capistrano”. Cf.: J. HOFER, *Johannes Kapistran. Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche*, Vol. 2, Romae 1965; K. DOLA, *Wzorzec kapłana w kazaniach wrocławskich św. Jana Kapistrana*, „*Analecta Cracoviensia*”, Vol. 27, 1995, p. 111–121; idem, *Św. Jan Kapistran a próby reformy życia kleru diecezji wrocławskiej w połowie XV wieku*, „*Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego*”, Vol. 8, 1980, p. 198–218 (with transliteration in an appendix *Sermo ad clerum: “Ego vos elegi”*); K. ELM, *Johannes Kapistrans Predigtreise diesseits der Alpen (1451–1456)*, in: idem, *Vitas fratrum. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eremiten- und Mendikantenorden des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. D. BERG, Wehl 1994, p. 320–337; A. LISSOWSKA, *Antyhusycka misja Jana Kapistrana na Śląsku*, in: *Bernardyni na Śląsku w późnym średniowieczu*, ed. J. KOSTOWSKI, Wrocław 2005, p. 60–61; J. KOSTOWSKI, “*Contra hereticos hussitas. O niektórych aspektach stylu pięknego na Śląsku i w krajach sąsiednich*”, „*Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*”, Vol. 60, 1998, No. 3–4, p. 572–576; O. GECSEK, *Itinerant Preaching in Late Medieval Central Europe: St. John Capistran in Wrocław*, „*Medieval Sermon Studies*”, Vol. 47, 2003, p. 5–20. Cf.: C. MUESSIG, *Bernardino da Siena and Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation*, in: *Observant Reform in the Later Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. J. Mixson, B. Roest, Leiden – Boston 2015 (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, Vol. 59), p. 185–203.

¹¹⁷JOHANNES DE CAPISTRANO, *Sermo ad clerum: “Ego vos elegi”*, ed. K. DOLA, *Św. Jan Kapistran a próby reformy życia kleru*, p. 216–217. Cf.: A. LISOWSKA-LEWKOWICZ, *Capistranus triumphans. Jan Kapistran kaznodzieja podróżujący, czyli jak miasto wita świętego męża*, in: *Samotrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakami? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. M. SACZYŃSKA, E. WÓŁKIEWICZ, Warszawa 2012, p. 159–173.

the other hand, if a preacher refrained from action, remained silent, prevaricated, or displayed greed and vainglory, he was condemned and his behaviour counted as a lapse in the preaching mission. Bad preachers worked against the good of the faithful, whom they orphaned and excluded from access to new, refreshing ideas.

All of the above relates back to an idea that became a fundamental concept of the Central European Church, according to which the sermon is not only indispensable for salvation, but also the sole valid instrument of mass communication — and a particularly effective one when the vernacular is used. The sermon is an instrument of effective evangelization and instruction; it deepens piety by correcting attitudes and criticising errors. It encourages the faithful to go to confession and receive Holy Communion frequently. The live spoken word sprang from a tongue refreshed by the Lord's saliva, as it were, and those listening to it were energized by the wisdom carried by the words. The sermon is part of a broader trend of practical, pastoral implementations of theology (*theologia practica*). It was not by accident that this reforming tactic was based on the authority of the Bible, because the development of all non-Biblical *ad inventiones* was considered the cause of the crisis; a return to the authentic sources of the faith (the Bible and the imitation of Christ) was the true means of healing the Church, according to the reformers. They wished to transform piety along the lines of *devotio moderna*.

There is a medieval proverb: *De praedicationibus numquam satis* — never enough about preaching. Paraphrasing it, let us say that, before a detailed study on the connection between preaching and Church reform can be attempted, more research is necessary. Future studies should concentrate on the content and meaning of the large number of extant sermons, not only from Central Europe but from other regions.

NOURISHMENT AND CORRECTION: PREACHING AND REFORM IN CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

S U M M A R Y

This article shows that the connection between Church reform and preaching during the later Middle Ages attained particular features in Central Europe. These features reached beyond the geographical boundaries of the region, especially in the case of Hussite thought and its concept of free expression of ideas. This was due primarily to the rising role of preaching within the pastoral activity of the Church in general, as well as to the considerable development of

homiletics by the mendicant orders and the newly established academic communities of Central Europe. The Church reform movement in Central Europe in the later Middle Ages has been thoroughly researched. Yet the role of the *instrumentum praedicationis* within it has not received sufficient attention. The limitations imposed by the form of an article do not allow one to cover all the details of such a wide and diverse phenomenon. We will therefore restrain ourselves to a comprehensive characterization, accompanied by some detailed analysis of the chief motifs and ideas and the most representative authors, protagonists, and propagators of the use of the pulpit in the cause of Church reform and the reform of piety more generally. This will be done mainly on the basis of statements by Czech pre-Hussite and Hussite authors, including John Hus himself, as well as by Polish, Silesian, and German preachers (Johán of Vodňany, John Milíč of Kroměříž, John Štěkna, Conrad of Waldhausen, Matthew of Janow, Matthew of Cracow, Petrus of Miłosław, John of Ząbkowice, Nicholas Magni of Jawor, Stanislas of Skarbimierz, John Geiler of Keisersberg, John of Wünschelburg, John of Capistrano). The wide range of primary sources, including texts other than specifically homiletic materials, demonstrates a particular Central-European phenomenon: the post-Lateran elevation of preaching as an instrument of reform, based on the Biblical concept of preaching as a triad of word-seed-nourishment (Lc 8:11), and its material result: the erection of permanent preaching posts.

According to the idea of the time, a sermon is a form of nourishment indispensable for salvation. It was also the sole instrument of mass communication (and a particularly effective one when the vernacular language spoken by the faithful was used). Preaching was perceived as an instrument of effective evangelisation and instruction and a means of deepening piety by criticising theological errors and exhorting believers to go to the confessional and receive Holy Communion frequently. The sermon thus finds itself within a broader trend toward practical and pastoral implementations of theology (*theologia practica*). It was not by chance that this reforming idea was based on the authority of the Bible. Indeed, all non-Biblical *adinventiones* of earlier times were considered by the reformers of this era to be causes of the crisis. Through a return to the authentic sources of faith — to the Bible and the imitation of Christ — reforming preachers wished to heal the Church. They pushed piety in the direction of *devotio moderna*.

KEYWORDS: Medieval Preaching, religion in the Late Middle Ages, reform of the Church in the Late Middle Ages, Hussitism

SŁOWA KLUCZE: kaznodziejstwo średniowieczne, religijność późnego średniowiecza, reforma Kościoła późnego średniowiecza, husytyzm