

***CHRISTUS MEDICUS* AND RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY
IN LATE-MEDIEVAL EUROPE:
DISSIDENCE, AUTHORITY, AND REGULATION**

DISSERTATION

**Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department
of English at McGill University**

Patrick Outhwaite
M.A., 2016
M.St., 2015
B.A., 2014

McGill University
2021

Abstract

Modern scholars have decisively shown that in the Middle Ages there was not a clear divide between religion and medicine, yet the true significance of the connection is still to be uncovered. Nowhere are the nuances of the relationship between religion and medicine more clearly presented than in the tradition of Christ the Divine Physician, *Christus medicus*. The allegory of Christ the Divine Physician originated in the Synoptic Gospels, where Christ's Passion signified the ways in which suffering could be reconfigured as a process of healing. *Christus medicus*, however, was more than an allegory. Throughout the Middle Ages physicians invoked Christ in their treatments as bodies and souls came to be treated under the same joint process of healing. Hospitals were important settings for experimentation with medical and religious treatments. Nun-nurses and chaplains facilitated physical as well as spiritual remedies, and within these institutions patients often engaged more with spirituality and the Church sacraments than when they were healthy. In England and Bohemia (now part of the Czech Republic), reformist groups used concepts developed in these institutional settings to press for increased lay access to religion off against the strictures of the Church hierarchy. Ecclesiastical authorities consequently entered debates over who had the authority and legitimacy to facilitate Christ's spiritual and bodily healing. These debates were initially localised concerns, but questions of who had the authority and training to administer healing came to engulf the entire Church during its greatest crisis of the late medieval period: the Papal Schism (c. 1378-1417). During the Schism, in which the papacy split into two and then three competing factions, the Church was described as a diseased body by dissident and more orthodox theologians alike. The dissident groups to which this study attends believed themselves to be the ideal healers of the Church.

Drawing on previously unpublished sermons, devotional works, and medical texts, this study contends that dissidents from related movements in England and Central Europe invoked *Christus medicus* both as a metaphor through which to criticise the Church and as a means to relate Christ's healing to practical reform directly. Wycliffites in England and Hussites in Bohemia drew on forms of lay spirituality that were remarkably similar to those employed in contemporary hospitals. They claimed that the health of the souls of the laity depended on lay inclusion in the sacraments and access to Scripture in a manner that they could understand, namely, translated and preached in the vernacular. Wycliffites and Hussites sought to create a more personal and direct spiritual connection between the laity and Christ the Divine Physician, and thus to bypass the mediation of what they viewed as a corrupt clergy. The laity were encouraged to read Scripture for themselves, confess directly to Christ, and take the Eucharist on a more frequent basis in order to facilitate spiritual health. Shaped by localised institutional contexts, issues of spiritual health came to take centre stage at two of the most important ecumenical councils of fifteenth century, at Constance (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1449). During the Papal Schism, a time when theologians and reformist groups were increasingly concerned with facilitating a direct interaction with Christ through the words of Scripture and the sacraments, Christ the Divine Physician was a malleable figure that appealed in numerous contexts. Throughout this project, *Christus medicus* featured in texts that addressed different audiences in different regions, but the tradition remained remarkably consistent between cultures, languages, and genres in its calls for greater access to Christ's healing. These consistencies were not mere coincidence, but part of a sustained plea for Christ to treat his patients' bodies and souls.

Résumé

Des chercheurs modernes ont démontré de manière décisive qu'au Moyen Âge, il n'existait aucune séparation distincte entre la religion et la médecine, mais la véritable importance de ce lien reste à découvrir. Nulle part ailleurs les nuances de la relation entre la religion et la médecine ne se sont présentées plus clairement que dans la tradition du Christ médecin divin, le *Christus medicus*. Le Christ le médecin divin est né d'une allégorie des Évangiles synoptiques, sa Passion symbolisant les moyens de canaliser la souffrance en processus de guérison. Cependant, le *Christus medicus* était plus qu'une allégorie. Il avait un impact direct sur le discours médical, car les corps et les âmes en venaient à être traités selon le même processus conjoint. Les hôpitaux étaient des lieux importants pour l'essai de traitements médicaux et religieux. Les infirmières et les aumôniers facilitaient les remèdes physiques aussi bien que spirituels et souvent les patients de ces institutions s'engageaient davantage dans la spiritualité et les sacrements de l'Église que lorsqu'ils étaient en bonne santé. Les groupes réformistes d'Angleterre et de la Bohême (qui fait aujourd'hui partie de la République tchèque) ont utilisé, en opposition aux restrictions de la hiérarchie de l'Église, les concepts développés dans ces institutions pour réclamer des mesures en faveur d'un meilleur accès à la religion pour les laïcs. En conséquence, les autorités ecclésiastiques ont entamé des débats sur la question à savoir qui avait l'autorité et la légitimité pour faciliter la guérison spirituelle et corporelle du Christ. Il s'agissait au départ de préoccupations locales, mais cette question finit par englober l'ensemble de l'Église lors de sa plus grande crise de la fin du Moyen Âge, le schisme papal (vers 1378-1417). Pendant le schisme papal, au cours duquel la papauté s'est divisée en deux puis trois factions concurrentes, l'Église a été décrite comme un corps malade par les théologiens

dissidents et plus orthodoxes. Les groupes réformistes et dissidents, auxquels cette étude s'intéresse, se considéraient comme les guérisseurs idéaux de l'Église.

En se basant sur des manuscrits inédits de sermons, de textes dévotionnels et médicaux, cette étude soutient que les dissidents d'Angleterre et d'Europe centrale ont invoqué le *Christus medicus* à la fois comme une métaphore pour critiquer l'Église et comme un moyen de relier directement la guérison par le Christ à une réforme concrète. Les Wycliffites en Angleterre et les Hussites en Bohême se sont inspirés de formes de spiritualité laïque qui étaient remarquablement similaires à celles employées dans les hôpitaux contemporains. Ils affirmaient que la santé des âmes des laïcs dépendait de leur inclusion dans les sacrements et de leur accès facile aux Écritures, celles-ci devant donc être traduites et prêchées en langue vernaculaire. En contournant la médiation de ce qu'ils considéraient comme le clergé corrompu, les Wycliffites et les Hussites ont cherché à créer un lien spirituel plus personnel et plus direct entre les laïcs et le Christ médecin divin. Plutôt que de compter sur un prêtre pour faciliter l'engagement avec les Écritures et les sacrements, les laïcs furent encouragés à lire les Écritures par eux-mêmes, à se confesser directement au Christ et à recevoir l'Eucharistie plus régulièrement. Façonnées par les contextes institutionnels locaux, les questions de santé spirituelle ont occupé le devant de la scène lors de deux des plus importants conciles œcuméniques du XV^e siècle, à Constance (1414-1418) et à Bâle (1431-1449). Pendant le schisme papal, une époque où les théologiens et les groupes réformistes étaient de plus en plus soucieux de faciliter une interaction directe avec le Christ à travers les paroles des Écritures et des sacrements, le Christ médecin divin était une figure malléable qui séduisait dans de nombreux contextes. Tout au long de ce projet, le *Christus medicus* est apparu dans des textes qui s'adressaient à des publics différents dans des régions différentes, mais la tradition est restée remarquablement cohérente entre les cultures, les langues

et les genres dans ses appels à un meilleur accès à la guérison par le Christ. Cette cohérence n'est pas le fruit du hasard, mais fait partie d'un appel soutenu au Christ pour qu'il soigne le corps et l'âme de ses patients.

Abstrakt

Moderní učenci rozhodně dokázali, že ve středověku neexistuje jasný rozdíl mezi náboženstvím a medicínou, ale skutečný význam jejich spojení je ještě třeba odhalit. Nikde nejsou nuance vztahu mezi náboženstvím a medicínou prezentovány zřetelněji než v tradici Krista Božského lékaře, *Christus medicus*. Metafora vznikla jako alegorie v synoptických evangeliích a Kristovo umučení ukazuje způsoby, jimiž by utrpení mohlo být překonfigurováno jako proces uzdravení. *Christus medicus* však byl více než alegorií; přímo ovlivnil lékařský diskurz, neboť těla a duše byly ošetřovány v rámci stejného společného procesu. Nemocnice byly důležitým prostředím pro experimentování s lékařskými a náboženskými léčebnými postupy. Jeptišky-sestry a kaplani poskytovali fyzické i duchovní léčebné prostředky a pacienti se často v těchto institucích zabývali spiritualitou a církevními svátostmi více, než když byli zdraví. Reformní skupiny v Anglii a v Čechách (nyní součást České republiky) používaly koncepty vyvinuté v těchto institucionálních prostředích k prosazování lepšího přístupu světského lidu k náboženství a proti strikturám církevní hierarchie. V důsledku toho církevní úřady zahájily debaty o tom, kdo má autoritu a legitimitu umožnit Kristovo duchovní a tělesné léčení. Zpočátku to byly lokalizované obavy, ale otázky, kdo má pravomoc a výcvik poskytnout léčení, pohltily celou církev v období její největší krize pozdního středověku, papežského schismatu (c. 1378-1417). Během schismatu, v němž se papežství rozdělilo na dvě, a poté na tři soupeřící frakce, církev byla popsána jako nemocné tělo, a to jak disidenty, tak i více ortodoxními teology. Disidentské skupiny, kterým se tato studie věnuje, se domnívaly, že jsou ideálními léčiteli církve.

Na základě dříve nepublikovaných rukopisných materiálů tato studie tvrdí (zejména kázání, náboženské a lékařské texty), že disidenti v Anglii a ve střední Evropě se odvolávali na *Christus medicus* jako na metaforu, jejímž prostřednictvím lze kritizovat církev a také jako na

prostředek k přímému propojení Kristova léčení s praktickou reformou. Viklefité v Anglii a husité v Čechách čerpali z forem světské spirituality, které byly pozoruhodně podobné těm, které byli používány v dobových nemocnicích. Tvrdili, že zdraví duší světského lidu záviselo na začlenění světského lidu do svátostí a přístupu k Písmu způsobem, kterému by rozuměli, jmenovitě překlady a kázání v lidové řeči. Viklefité a husité usilovali o vytvoření osobnějšího a přímějšího duchovního spojení mezi lidem a Kristem Božským lékařem, a tím se obejít bez zprostředkování těch, které považovali za zkorumpované duchovenstvo. Lidé byli povzbuzováni, aby si četli Písmo sami pro sebe, a aby se zpovídali přímo Kristu a častěji přijímali eucharistii. Otázky duchovního zdraví, formované lokalizovanými institucionálními kontexty, se dostaly do popředí ve dvou nejvýznamnějších ekumenických radách patnáctého století, v Kostnici (1414-1418) a v Basileji (1431-1449). Během papežského schismatu, v době, kdy se někteří teologové a reformní skupiny stále více zajímaly o usnadnění a umožnění přímé interakce s Kristem prostřednictvím slova Písma a svátostí, byl Kristus Božský lékař tvárnou postavou, která apelovala v mnoha kontextech. Během tohoto projektu se Kristus Božský lékař objevil v textech, které oslovily rozličné publikum v různých regionech, ale tradice zůstala pozoruhodně konzistentní mezi kulturami, jazyky a žánry ve svých výzvách k lepšímu přístupu k léčení Krista. Tyto konzistence nebyly pouhou náhodou, nýbrž součástí trvalé prosby ke Kristu, aby léčil své pacienty na těle i na duši.

Acknowledgements

I first of all thank Professor Michael Van Dussen, my doctoral supervisor, for his generosity, enthusiasm, humour, and wisdom in the development of my project. His unswerving focus and kindness have been an inspiration. I could not have asked for a better mentor and I have been extremely lucky to have benefitted from his guidance and friendship.

I have also been influenced by a number of other scholars from McGill University, the broader Montreal area, and other institutions across North America. In particular, I would like to thank the members of my committee and examiners. Professor Faith Wallis for her support and patience, especially with the first chapter of this dissertation. She has been essential in the development of my thinking and in pushing me to explore areas that I would not have otherwise considered. Professor Stephen Yeager of Concordia University offered his enthusiastic support throughout my PhD and provided helpful insight in the final stages. Professor Dorothy Ann Bray has been a friendly face and a constant source of encouragement and wisdom. Her feedback on this dissertation was instrumental in its refinement. The expertise and inexhaustible knowledge of Professor Fiona Somerset made her an ideal examiner, and this project benefited greatly from her feedback and suggestions. Aside from my committee, my discussions with Zachary E. Stone were invaluable in the final stages of my PhD and in my overall development as a scholar. Alessio Marziali Peretti of l'Université de Montréal has been a wonderful friend, collaborator, and confidant over the last four years.

This project would not have been possible without the collegiality and good will of scholars across the globe. Pavel Soukup granted me access to the library of the Centrum Medievistických Studií and he instantly made me feel welcome during my extended stay in Prague. I would also like to thank Lucie Doležalová for her enthusiasm and valuable guidance.

My dear friend Martin Pjecha made my stay in Prague particularly memorable, with our long discussions and jokes on the finer points of Jakoubek of Stříbro's sermons. Professor Stephen E. Lahey of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln has been a joy to communicate with and his passion for Central European theologians has been an inspiration.

I thank the staff at the Knihovna metropolitní kapituly and Národní knihovna libraries in Prague, Moravská zemská knihovna in Brno, Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków, and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna for their correspondence and willingness to grant me access to items in their archives. I would like to thank the Unterlinden Museum in Colmar for their valuable correspondence and for granting me permission to display images from their archives in this dissertation. A special mention should also be made for Dr Elma Brenner and the staff of the Wellcome Trust Library, as well as the staff of the Osler Library of the History of Medicine, who not only allowed me to spend hundreds of hours in their rare books departments, but also provided me with all the secondary literature necessary for this study and more.

A project such as this, which took me to archives across countries and continents, would not have been possible without the generous support of multiple scholarships, particularly the McGill University Graduate Excellence Award, Slava Klima Prize for Excellence in English Literary Studies, and Fonds de recherche du Québec: Société et Culture. I am extremely grateful for the Schull Yang International Experience Award, which enabled me to spend an extended period in Prague and Kraków, formative periods in the coming together of this project.

Much of this dissertation would not have been possible without the support and friendship of the unflappable G.D. Currie. Without our (pre-lockdown) daily coffee excursions and solidarity in the face of evil, this project may have defeated me in its early stages. I also owe an incredible debt to my long-suffering best friend Mihai Burai-Pătrașcu, who has lived with me

and put up with my foibles and faults for over four years. He has shared my passion for Central and Eastern Europe and now knows more about the medieval world than he ever would have wanted.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother Ruth and my grandparents Jean and Patrick. Thank you for all your encouragement, love, and understanding. From discussing and reading my work to sending me *The Times* Latin crossword every week, you are in no small part responsible for this dissertation.

Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	ii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>List of Figures</i>	xiii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction: The <i>Christus Medicus</i> Tradition.....	1
Chapter 1: The Virgin Mary as Nurse, Medicine, and Mother: Devotional Texts and Hospitals.....	29
Mary as nurse.....	38
<i>Maria medica</i>	49
Mary as mother and the <i>Maria lactans</i>	63
Mary as mother and intercession.....	76
Chapter 2: Sacramental Medicine and Frequent Communion from Prague to Kraków.....	84
1373-4 Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and the illness of sin.....	93
Preparing for communion.....	104
1388-93 Anticlericalism and the University of Prague.....	113
Jan of Jenštejn and changing attitudes towards frequent communion.....	123
1394-1431 the University of Kraków and the agency of the clergy.....	132
Combating utraquism with frequent communion.....	143
Chapter 3: Disenfranchised Surgeons: <i>Christus Chirurgus</i> and Wycliffite Preaching in England.....	156
Surgeons of the soul.....	161
Preaching confession.....	173
Two parallel regulating crises.....	188
Disenfranchised patients and surgeons.....	198
Chapter 4: The Diseased <i>Ecclesia</i> from Jan Hus's Exile to the Council of Basel.....	213
Identifying and curing disease.....	220
Condemnation and excommunication.....	236
Preaching <i>verbi medicina</i>	248
Scriptural interpretation.....	257
Chapter 5: Responses to Heresy at the Councils of Constance and Basel.....	272
Invasive surgery at the Council of Constance.....	276
Reconciliation at the Council of Basel.....	289
Afterword.....	305
<i>Index of Manuscripts</i>	312
<i>Bibliography</i>	313

List of Figures

Figure 1: Grünewald, Isenheim Altarpiece (unfolded)	44
Figure 2: Grünewald, Isenheim Altarpiece (folded)	45
Figure 3: Casimir Tollet, Hôtel-Dieu, Paris, woodcut, 1892	54
Figure 4: A short timeline of surgical craft regulation in London (1369-1451)	197

Abbreviations

DMLBS	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> , ed. Richard Ashdowne, David Howlett, and Ronald Latham, 3 vols. (Oxford: British Academy, 2018; published online in Leiden: Brepols, 2015-)
EETS	Early English Text Society
FRB	<i>Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum</i> , ed. Josef Emler, et al., 8 vols. (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1873-1932)
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis, 21 vols. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954-2001)
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PL	<i>Patrologia latina</i> , ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864)
PKMK	Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly
PNK	Prague, Národní knihovna
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue (http://www.ustc.ac.uk)
Vulgate	<i>Biblia sacra vulgata, editio quinta</i> , ed. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006)

INTRODUCTION

The *Christus Medicus* Tradition

In late-medieval Europe, preachers and medical practitioners repeatedly called upon *Christus medicus*, Christ the Divine Physician, to treat both body and soul. Sermons, medical texts, and devotional works used medical imagery associated with Christ's life to invoke his mission of preaching and healing as described in Matthew 9: 35: 'Jesus went about all the cities and towns, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and infirmity.'¹ Nevertheless, the concept of an orator healing an audience, just as a physician cures a patient, was prominent before the birth of Christ in Hebrew traditions and also in the ancient cult of Asclepius that preceded and then co-existed with early Christianity.² As numerous scholars have commented, the Christian concept of the *cura animarum*, or care of souls, was remarkably similar to Hellenistic 'psychagogy,' in which philosophers looked to cater to the intellectual, spiritual, and moral growth of their audiences.³ The Christian tradition extended psychagogy to include the care of souls in an eschatological economy under which the body and soul were both contingent on states of health and illness, virtues and vices, sin and absolution.⁴

¹ Vulgate, Matthew 9: 35: 'Et circuibat Jesus omnes civitates, et castella, docens in synagogis eorum, et praedicans Evangelium regni, et curans omnem languorem, et omnem infirmitatem.'

² Timothy A. Brookins, 'Paul and the Ancient Body Metaphor: Reassessing Parallels,' *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 6 (2016), pp. 75-98.

³ Paul R. Kolbet summarises scholarship on psychagogy in relation to early Christianity and the thought of Augustine in *Augustine and the Cure of Souls: Revising a Classical Ideal*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 17 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), pp. 7-8. See also Abraham J. Malherbe, 'Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament,' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)* 2, 26 (1992), p. 301.

⁴ Paul Rabbow uses the term 'Seelenleitung' to refer to a system of ancient spiritual guidance that was reconfigured in the Christian tradition. *Seelenführung: Methodik der Exerzitien in der Antike* (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1954), p. 17. Scholars have built and expanded upon the themes that Rabbow explored in relation to St Paul and the New Testament, see: Clarence Glad, *Paul and Philodemus: Adaptability in Epicurean and Early Christian Psychagogy* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989).

Augustine is often cited as the most important proponent and innovator of the rhetoric of *Christus medicus*.⁵ Through a rigorous engagement with the Gospels, Augustine outlined a scheme of spiritual health based on a rational and systematic approach to medicine and the functioning of the body. While he did not discredit the type of healing experienced in miracles and healing charms that invoked Christ's name and those of saints, his conception of spiritual health did not rely on them. By definition, miracles were events that were largely beyond human comprehension, whereas Augustine's model of spiritual health typically depended on a rationalised view of how the body and soul functioned in accordance with each other.⁶ Furthermore, his medical theology did not apply solely to the individual, but also to collective understandings of the Church and humanity. When the Church functioned as intended, it was akin to a body in a state of perfect health, but Augustine explained that the entire world, from the west to the east, was a giant patient that was corrupted by sin:

Aegrotat humanum genus, non morbis corporis, sed peccatis. Iacet toto orbe terrarum ab oriente usque in occidentem grandis aegrotus. Ad sanandum grandem aegrotum

⁵ R. Arbesmann, 'The Concept of "*Christus Medicus*" in St Augustine,' *Traditio*, 10 (1954), pp. 1-10; John Haldane, 'Soul and Body,' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy, I*, ed. Robert Pasnau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 293-304; Zdzisław Kuksewicz, 'Criticisms of Aristotelian Psychology and the Augustinian-Aristotelian Synthesis,' in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 595-601.

⁶ Although miracles described in hagiographical texts and miraculous charms were certainly a connecting factor between medicine and religion in the Middle Ages, they do not directly relate to the *Christus medicus* tradition as described by the likes of Augustine. Furthermore, these miracles have already received excellent analysis in scholarship. For more on hagiography and medicine, see: Clare Pilsworth, 'Medicine and Hagiography in Italy c. 800-c. 1000,' *Social History of Medicine* 13, 2 (2000), pp. 253-64; Valerie J. Flint, 'The Early Medieval "Medicus," the Saint – and the Enchanter,' *Social History of Medicine* 2, 2 (1989), pp. 127-45; Sara Ritchey, 'Health, Healing, and Salvation: Hagiography as a Source for Medieval Healthcare,' in *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500-1500*, ed. Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Reading Medieval Sources* 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 417-36. For more on religious charms, see the edited volume *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. James Kapaló, Éva Pócs, and William Ryan (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), especially Edina Bozóky, 'Medieval Narrative Charms,' pp. 101-15. The work of Lea Olsan has been particularly influential, see: 'Latin Charms of Medieval England: Verbal Healing in a Christian Oral Tradition,' *Oral Tradition* 7 (1992), pp. 116-42.

descendit omnipotens medicus. Humiliavit se usque ad mortalem carnem, tamquam usque ad lectum aegrotantis. Dat salutis praecepta, contemnitur: qui audiunt, liberantur.⁷

The human race is afflicted not by bodily illness, but by sin. The giant patient lies stretched out over the whole world from east to west. The Almighty Physician came down to cure the giant patient. He humbled himself to mortal flesh, even to the bed of the patient. He gives wholesome prescriptions and is disdained, but those who listen are freed.

Augustine states that the world is corrupted by sin, and then focuses in on the Church, which was the target of his medical discourse. By combining metaphors of medicine applied to the individual and to the collective Church, Augustine stresses the dual applications of spiritual medicine and the communal nature of sin. When one member of the Church sinned, the transgression had the potential to corrupt the entire body of the Church. The corruption of the body was especially harsh when sins were committed by members of the clergy in positions of power, who were supposed to be models for all Christians to follow. Augustine explicitly privileged the soul over the body in his conception of health, but he acknowledged that the relationship between the body and soul—the perishable, fleshly substrate and the immortal, animating element that connected the body to the divine—was multivalent and complex. While Augustine recognised that the body and soul coexisted and functioned in tandem, he ultimately maintained that the soul did not depend on the body to exist.⁸ The soul existed outside of the body after death until it was reunited with the resurrected body in the End Days before the Final Judgement. By contrast, the body needed the soul to animate it, and in fact the health of the body

⁷ Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis* 87, 11, 13, in PL 38: 537-8; Arbesmann, 'The Concept of "Christus Medicus" in St Augustine,' pp. 23-4. For more on this sermon, see: A. Kunzelmann, 'Die Chronologie der Sermones des hi. Augustinus,' *Miscellanea Agostiniana* 2 (1931), p. 428.

⁸ Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

very much depended on the soul. Sin could lead one to a physical illness just as readily as it could cause moral decay throughout the giant patient of the Church.⁹

As high and late medieval authors refined their understanding of the relationship between physical and spiritual medicine in the Church, they collectively defined the ways in which the soul interacted with the body and led the mind.¹⁰ In *Piers Plowman*, William Langland was particularly concerned with outlining the various functions of the soul in relation to the body. In passus fifteen, for instance, *Anima* cites Isidore of Seville and Augustine as chief authorities on the soul and the ways in which he (who is here gendered male) directs one's life and afterlife:

'The whiles I quykke the corps,' quod he, 'called am I *Anima*;
And whan I wilne and wolde, *Animus* Ich hatte.
And for that I can and knowe, called am I *Mens*;
And whan I make mone to God, *Memoria* is my name.
And whan I deme domes and do as Treuthe techeth,
Thanne is *Ratio* my right name, Resoun an Englissh.
And whan I fele that folke telleth, my firste name is *Sensus*,
And that is wytte and wisdom, the welle of alle craftes.
And whan I chalange or chalange noughte, chepe or refuse,
Thanne am I Conscience y-calde, Goddis clerke and his notarie;
And whan I love lelly owre Lorde and alle other,
Thanne is lele love my name, and in Latyn *Amor*.
And whan I [flee] fro the flesshe and forsake the caroigne,
Thanne am I spirit specheles: *Spiritus* thanne Ich hatte.'¹¹

In life, then, *Anima* led the mind to God through *memoria*, but he was also the source of reasoning and controlled the senses and conscience. *Anima* left the body at the point of death, taking on the name *Spiritus* for his journey to the afterlife. In several episodes throughout *Piers Plowman*, *Anima* appears to be ambivalent or callous towards the material and fleshly. Despite *Anima*'s attitude, the body is not inconsequential for the relationship between the body and soul.

⁹ Virginia Langum, *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins in Late Medieval Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 1-16.

¹⁰ Julie Orlemanski, *Symptomatic Subjects: Bodies, Medicine, and Causation in the Literature of Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

¹¹ William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, trans. E. Talbot Donaldson, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Stephen H. A. Shepherd (London: Norton & Company, 2006), passus 15, ll. 23-36.

On the contrary, the use of medicines in the text, especially those of Christ, emphasise the ways in which the health of the body and soul were connected and treated through the same means. Thus, although *Anima* views himself as superior to the flesh, he is forced to live and function according to the strictures of the body and is constrained by the same systems of health and medicine. Langland exploited a homiletic discourse to depict what was already familiar to audiences, namely the functioning of the body, and to place it in relation to a religious narrative that culminates with Christ's healing.¹² It is likely that few medieval audiences would have had a deep understanding of the minutiae of medicine, yet the concept of healing a body was an easily transmutable image upon which to map the health of the soul. Christ the Divine Physician would offer relief to those suffering in spiritual illness through his salvific powers and grace, in the same manner that a sick body was brought back to health by an earthly physician.

Yet Christ was not merely a metaphorical doctor; he was as much a healer of the body's physical ailments as he was a healer of the soul. Links between physical illness and sin went beyond imagery or rhetoric employed to evoke devotion among audiences. For medieval society, the causes and effects of sin on one's health were clear and obvious. Throughout the Middle Ages, medical and theological writings commonly referred to sin as a cause of ill health and suggested spiritual purification as a treatment.¹³ Many contemporary medical terms in both Latin and Middle English and their modern English cognates have religious connotations and meanings. For instance, 'miasma' is derived from the Greek words *miasma*, meaning 'defilement,' and *miainein*, meaning 'to pollute.' Miasma theory, in which it was believed that disease was spread through the inhalation of fumes from decaying matter, related not only to

¹² Julie Orlemanski, 'Langland's Poetics of Animation: Body, Soul, Personification,' in *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 33 (2019), pp. 159-84; Raymond St-Jacques, 'Langland's Christus Medicus Image and the Structure of *Piers Plowman*,' *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 5 (1991), pp. 111-27.

¹³ Langum, *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 1-16.

medical theories about decay and smell but also to concepts of religious defilement. While the word ‘miasma’ was not used by the authors that this study investigates, the words they did use, the Latin *polluere* and the Middle English *polluten*, had the same connotations and meanings. The verb ‘to pollute’ related to uncleanness and the spreading of illness in a medical sense, but also to the profane pollution of the sanctity of religious symbols and objects, such as a church or altar, and to moral and ceremonial corruption.¹⁴ The related verb ‘to purge’ equally had medical and religious connotations. *Purgare* and *purgen*, in Latin and Middle English respectively, denoted the evacuation of evil humours and waste matter from the body, but also the cleansing of sin, especially in relation to confession.¹⁵ Mary Douglas has explored the joint notions of hygiene and spiritual purity, demonstrating that religious conventions had symbiotic rationales linked to the history of ritual and a desire to avoid that which she refers to as ‘dirt.’¹⁶

Nor were concepts of purity and corruption alone in sharing dual implications of hygiene and religious ritual; preservation and healing were similarly linked by medical and religious signification. Salvation, for instance, meant saving one’s soul, particularly in relation to the afterlife, and to preserving a part of the body from destruction or decay.¹⁷ For a physician, therefore, salvation could mean to prepare a soul before death or to prevent a patient from losing a limb. Of course, these two meanings had a joint focus for *Christus medicus* who, as we will see, performed medical and spiritual duties in tandem. In addition, one meaning of *salvare* is the same as *ungere*: to anoint with holy oil or chrism in sacraments such as baptism and extreme unction. The Middle English cognate, *enointen*, had both this religious meaning and a medical

¹⁴ DMLBS, sv. *polluere*; MED, sv. *polluten*.

¹⁵ DMLBS, sv. *purgare*; MED, sv. *purgen*.

¹⁶ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Oxford: Routledge, 1966), pp. 7-29. For a more modern treatment of these concepts, see: Moshe Blidstein, ‘Purity and Defilement,’ in *The Oxford Handbook of the Abrahamic Religions*, ed. Adam J. Silverstein and Guy G. Stroumsa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 448-65.

¹⁷ DMLBS, sv. *salvare* (*salvere*); MED, sv. *savacioun*.

connotation, to use an unguent, salve, ointment, lotion, or any other type of medicine that required manual application. To further solidify the dual medical and religious meanings, a *salve* in Middle English was not only a medicine that required manual application, but was commonly used as an epithet of the Virgin Mary and texts frequently referred to spiritual salves in the treatment of sin.¹⁸ All of these definitions and their different signified meanings related to concepts of physical and spiritual health and ill health, yet, the word health (from the Old English *hælhth*, lit. ‘wholeness’) or *salus* in Latin, had multifarious meanings. Health and *salus* related to one’s bodily state as well as one’s welfare, prosperity, and, most importantly, one’s salvation.¹⁹ With these different connotations, health could relate as much to whether one had shelter and sustenance as it could to one’s physical condition. As will later be demonstrated, this is why hospitals for the sick poor placed an emphasis on a charitable mission to take in those that were poor and destitute alongside those suffering from illnesses.²⁰

It was not merely in theory that concepts of spiritual and physical healing were linked; responses to real-world medical crises of the late medieval period invoked both religious and secular forms of medicine, and often the two approaches were inseparable. For instance, in dealing with the plague (*Yersinia pestis* and bubonic plague) across Europe in the fourteenth century,²¹ municipal religious responses were governed by the same principles as those

¹⁸ DMLBS, sv. *salvare* and *unguere*; MED, sv. *enointen* and *salve*.

¹⁹ DMLBS, sv. *salus*; MED, sv. *helthe*.

²⁰ P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, ‘Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: “To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor”’, *Northern History* 29 (1993), pp. 24-39; Carole Rawcliffe, ‘The Hospitals of Later Medieval London,’ *Medical History* 28 (1984), pp. 1-21.

²¹ Recent ancient DNA (aDNA) analysis has confirmed the presence of *Yersinia pestis* in numerous medieval cities during the Black Death outbreak of 1348. Maria A. Spyrou, et al., ‘Historical *Y. pestis* Genomes Reveal the European Black Death as the Source of Ancient and Modern Plague Pandemics,’ *Cell Host & Microbe* 19, 6 (2016), pp. 874-81. See also Kirsten I. Boz, et al., ‘A draft genome of *Yersinia pestis* from victims of the Black Death,’ *Nature* 478 (2011), pp. 506-10. Subsequent outbreaks of plague have yet to receive the same aDNA analysis, but scholarly opinion generally treats them as cases of the bubonic plague. Medieval observers may also have folded other outbreaks into their concepts of plague, especially in cities that lacked a firm medical infrastructure to catalogue and record symptoms. See: Ann G. Carmichael, ‘Epidemics and State Medicine in Fifteenth-Century

associated with public health.²² These responses did not simply compare plague victims with sinners, but formed a discourse of health that related one's interaction with Christ to one's spiritual and physical welfare. Across Europe, the sacraments were administered as a means of healing both sinners and those who suffered from physical illness. A case in point is the viaticum, the consecrated wafer that was delivered to those who were dying (hence the name, lit. 'bread for the journey') and unable to attend mass in person. The viaticum was not administered to keep those that were bedridden and dying from being excluded from their religious community, but expressly for easing illness.²³ Physicians and university medical masters likewise invoked Christ in parables used to explain their medicine to students and patients, and in some instances they recommended the sacraments as part of a regimen of health.²⁴ In fact, while patients were treated in hospitals or by university-educated physicians, they often had greater access to the sacraments than when they were healthy. Medical practitioners used the tools of the Church alongside their medicines to heal the body and soul under one joint system of care.²⁵

Still, greater access to the sacraments was not universally the case for patients, and not all hospitals were spiritually rich environments. In the thirteenth century, the Dominican Humbert of

Milan,' in *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, ed. Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, Andrew Cunningham, and Luis García-Ballester (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 221-47.

²² Abigail Agresta, 'From Purification to Protection: Plague Response in Late Medieval Valencia,' *Speculum* 95, 2 (2020), pp. 371-95; Peregrine Horden, 'Ritual and Public Health in the Early Medieval City,' in *Body and City: Histories of Urban Public Health*, ed. Sally Sheard and Helen Power (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 17-40; Carole Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 55-115. For more on the historiography, see: Justin Stearns, 'New Directions in the Study of Religious Responses to the Black Death,' *History Compass* 7, 5 (2009), pp. 1363-75.

²³ Thomas M. Izibicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 178-220.

²⁴ Peter Murray Jones, 'The Surgeon as Story-Teller,' *Poetica* 72 (2009), pp. 77-92; Lea T. Olsan, 'Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice,' *Social History of Medicine* 16, 3 (2003), pp. 343-66.

²⁵ Adam J. Davis views the emergence of the charitable mission of the hospital as providing new opportunities for lay men and women to perform works of mercy and acts of penitence that could assist in their spiritual development. Lay men and women could work at hospitals or support them through providing resources, but the patients themselves were also given increased opportunities to develop their spirituality. Davis argued that these new opportunities for penitential engagement developed alongside urban, commercial developments. Adam J. Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation: Charity, Commerce, and the Rise of the Hospital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), p. 9.

Romans (d. 1277) complained in a sermon meant for a hospital audience that patients rarely received the sacraments or heard sermons. Since patients were unable to leave their beds and priests were often reluctant to travel from their parish churches, especially if the spread of disease was a concern, certain patients were isolated from key aspects of religious practice.²⁶ Nonetheless, by the mid- to late fourteenth century, patients in many hospitals across Europe had increased access to the sacraments and religious practice, particularly (as demonstrated in chapter one) in hospitals intended for the sick poor. These hospitals replaced an early medieval focus on religious asceticism, marked by withdrawal from the world, with a charitable mission that was embedded in secular society to care for those that were ill alongside those who could not afford accommodation, such as orphaned children, the poor, and the elderly.²⁷

Hospitals for the sick poor were somewhat difficult to classify, and canon law presented no clear definition. Different hospitals were established to cater to different needs and not all custodians were linked to the Church or a particular religious order. Some, for example, were essentially houses for the elderly. As Adam J. Davis argues, what linked these different institutions was a concern for ‘social welfare.’²⁸ Since hospitals for the sick poor were established for a variety of reasons, those who worked in them and cared for the patients or guests also came from a variety of backgrounds. For instance, some institutions had lay women and men caring for patients as part of a penitential mission to perform works of mercy. In other hospitals, university medical graduates were usually employed on an ad hoc basis to treat patients, though this was not universally the case. Those hospitals associated with religious

²⁶ Humbert of Romans, ‘De eruditione praedicatorum,’ in *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, ed. M. de la Bigne, 27 vols. (Lyon, 1677), vol. 25, sermo 1.2. 92, p. 502.

²⁷ Cullum and Goldberg, ‘Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York,’ pp. 24-39; Rawcliffe, ‘The Hospitals of Later Medieval London,’ pp. 1-21.

²⁸ Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation*, p. 5.

orders or canons regular had nun-nurses or canonesses, respectively, in residence to assist in medical procedures, wash bed sheets, and oversee the convalescence of patients. Order established in the twelfth century and canons regular were particularly devoted to charitable hospitals and reinvigorated the longstanding tradition of religious women serving as caregivers.²⁹ Typically, chaplains were on hand to perform Mass and hear confession, and it was customary for the nurses to display images of Christ's Passion to comfort patients through identification with his struggle.³⁰ Even hospitals run by townspeople and confraternities—groups who inhabited the same areas of the city or practised the same craft—typically organised hospital treatment around religious activities, such as holding processions for protector saints and masses for patients. Frequently these hospitals for the sick poor were governed by quasi-monastic rules,³¹ and in some cases physicians refused to treat patients unless they had first confessed.³² The architecture of the hospitals themselves also sought to inspire religious devotion. One of the most famous European hospitals, the Santa Maria della Nuova in Florence (founded 1288) was built in the shape of a cross, with the male ward situated on the long axis and the female ward on the short.³³ Of course, these hospitals represented the ideal, but in many cases across late-medieval Europe, patients were treated poorly and confraternities failed to fund their institutions

²⁹ Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation*, pp. 21-22. Monks, by contrast, often had a secondary role in such institutions, see: Daniel Le Blévec, 'Les moines et l'assistance: L'exemple des pays du Bas-Rhône (XIIe–XIIIe siècles),' in *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite Grec et Latin*, ed. Jean-Loup Lemaitre, Michel Dmitriev, and Pierre Gonneau (Geneva: Droz, 1996), pp. 335-45.

³⁰ Joseph Ziegler, 'Medicine and Immortality in Terrestrial Paradise,' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 201-42; Rawcliffe, Carole, *Medicine for the Soul, The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 20, 169-70.

³¹ Christopher F. Black, *Italian confraternities in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

³² John Henderson, *The Renaissance hospital: healing the body and healing the soul* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).

³³ Katherine Park and John Henderson, "'The First Hospital Among Christians': The Ospedale Di Santa Maria Nuova in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence,' *Medical History* 35 (1991), pp. 164-88.

sufficiently.³⁴ Nonetheless, the ideal that governed such hospitals was based upon creating a devotional atmosphere that was believed to support physical treatments and aid convalescence. It was in these settings that the concept of *Christus medicus* received its most overt medical implementation, and indeed the imagery of Christ depicted as a Divine Physician developed in significant ways in hospitals.

While hospitals were important progenitors of the *Christus medicus* tradition in institutional contexts, it was through popular reformist movements, in which the laity sought a more personal relationship with the Divine Physician, that the rhetoric was most widely dispersed in the late medieval period. *Christus medicus* imagery and the reformist preaching through which it was developed straddled the realms of medicine and allegory. We have already seen how Augustine used the image of the giant patient, and this image developed significantly in the high and late medieval periods. The Church came to be depicted as a living body in which the pope was the head and the clergy formed the various parts of the body, each individual performing their own role to contribute to the overall health of the body.³⁵ Perhaps the first pope to explicitly use this organological imagery was Innocent III, who explained in a letter from August 1198 that cardinals were ‘members of our body’ [membra corporis nostri] and the pope was the head.³⁶ He continued that if the members made the body ill through clerical abuses, the pope would be afflicted in his heart and cause illness throughout the entire Church.³⁷ During the schism, when the papacy split into two (c. 1378-1410) and then three (c. 1410-1417) competing factions, this organological model of the Church morphed into a multi-headed beast. Authors

³⁴ Ample examples are provided in Tatjana Buklijaš, ‘Medicine and Society in the Medieval Hospital,’ *Croatian Medical Journal* 49, 2 (2008), pp. 151-4.

³⁵ Agostino Partavicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 63-5.

³⁶ *Regesta sive Epistolae*, lib. 1: 345 in PL 214: 319-20; Partavicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, pp. 63-5.

³⁷ *Regesta sive Epistolae*, lib. 9: 517-18 in PL 215: 949.

such as John Gower (d. 1408) claimed that the rival popes caused a series of illnesses and diseases that afflicted each member of the body. To return the body of the Church to health, the body had to have one head rather than two (as was the case during Gower's lifetime), but deciding who was the legitimate head of the Church was a difficult task, because, according to Gower, 'Mais tu n'es ore la seconde, / Ove deux chiefs es sanz chevetein / [...] Nuls est de son estat certein, / Quant falt l'essemble de son mestre' [With two heads, you are without a head (...) No one is certain of his estate if he lacks the example of his master].³⁸ The Schism thus threw the structure of the body into chaos, with multiple heads pulling the Church in different directions.

The Schism was not the primary cause of the intersecting controversies to which this study attends, but it provided a sense of urgency to questions of who, if anyone, should mediate between God and the laity. Dissident preaching movements attempted to answer these questions and challenged the primacy of the Church when it came to spiritual healing. The most prominent movements of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were the English Wycliffites and Bohemian Hussites, which originated at the universities of Oxford and Prague, respectively. What started as intellectual reform movements that emerged from universities, soon spilled into more diffuse controversies involving the laity and the vernacular.³⁹ These movements created

³⁸ John Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme* in *The Complete Works*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899-1902), vol. 1, 22190-1, 22221-2; translation from *Mirour de l'Omme*, ed. and trans. William Burton, rev. Nancy Wilson Van Baak (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1992), pp. 294-5. Zachary E. Stone has recently suggested that authors such as Gower and William Langland constitute a 'vernacular ecclesiology' in their understanding of and responses to the Papal Schism. Stone explains how the themes Gower draws upon were not exclusive to England, but part of a broader engagement with schism that found parallels in works across European vernacular cultures. 'Towards a Vernacular Ecclesiology: Revising the *Mirour de l'Omme*, *Vox Clamantis*, and *Piers Plowman* during the Western Schism,' *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 33 (2019), pp. 69-109, especially pp. 74-82.

³⁹ There are debates involving the nomenclature that applies to the Wycliffites/ lollards. Throughout this study, I use the term 'Wycliffite' both for the sake of consistency, but also to signal the ways in which the dissidents relied upon an academic discourse developed originally in Oxford by Wyclif himself. Of course, Wyclif did not intend to start a dissident movement, and neither, for that matter, did Jan Hus. By using the term Wycliffite, I present the dissidents in relation to the Hussites, who also have debates surrounding their nomenclature and were similarly defined in relation to one figure that may or may not be wholly representative of the movement. My intention is not to spark

friction with Church authorities who labelled them heretics. The fractiousness and heresy that had been spreading across Latin Christendom from localised contexts during the Schism came to a head at the Council of Constance (1414-1418), where Jan Hus (d. 1415)—who preached contentious sermons to the laity in Latin and Old Czech—was tried for heresy and condemned as another John Wyclif (d. 1384). Wyclif, who was indeed a major influence on Hus, encouraged evangelical preaching among the laity, criticised clerical mediation of the sacraments, and condemned the mendicant orders. Hus was turned over to secular authorities, who burned him at the stake for his perceived radical theology and indebtedness to Wyclif. His execution occurred in no small part because of anxieties about communication between heretics in England and Bohemia. In dealing with these groups (as will be argued in the final chapter) the Church used medical concepts of surgery to define legitimate membership of the body of Christ's Church. What was initially conceived metaphorically, then, had physical ramifications, with the healing of the mystical body of the Church leading to the burning of heretics.

In singling out the Wycliffites and Hussites, the council Fathers at Constance linked problems of control in England and Bohemia, regions which faced remarkably similar preaching controversies and were self-conscious of the fact. Thomas Netter, who was a key source of authority at the Council of Basel, maintained that although they had different names, the Hussites and Wycliffites were part of the same heresy. Netter explains in his *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei*

debate over the use of the term Wycliffite, it is simply to investigate the dissidents in relation to other comparable developments in late-medieval Europe, for which I find the term Wycliffite to be the most suitable. Ultimately, I defer to the arguments of Fiona Somerset in her influential monograph *Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press, 2014), in which she decides to use a lower case label 'lollardy'. Although I do not use the same term, I concur with her move away from treating lollardy as a specific group or heresy, towards a collection of books that are characterised more ambiguously by a style of writing and method of interpretation. She identifies a 'core group' of texts that cite John Wyclif, share a similar writing style and produce the same interpretive results (p. 6). Somerset acknowledges that this mode of classification might cause scholarly dispute (and indeed it has), but she convincingly argues that the lack of a clear definition, while difficult for study, is reflective of late-medieval society.

Catholicae Ecclesiae (written in the 1420s) that '[s]ectatores illius haeresis ibi appellantur Hussitae, amisso nomine principis sui Wicleffi; quemadmodum amisso nomine Donati in Africa, postmodum Sectatores illius Rogatistae dici coeperunt' [the followers of heresy there (in Bohemia) are called 'Hussites,' having done away with the name of his leader, Wyclif; just as, when they did away with the name of 'Donatists' in Africa, (Donatus's) followers afterward began to be called 'Rogatists']. Netter goes on to clarify that although the Wycliffites and Hussites had different ideas concerning the Eucharist, this did not mean that they were categorically different.⁴⁰ Theologians like Netter considered these heresies to be part of a general moral deterioration that threatened the entire continent if left unchecked.

Furthermore, the dissidents themselves linked their movements to each other, even if they recognised themselves as maintaining unique positions and emphases. Jan Hus, in a letter to the English Wycliffite Richard Wyche, linked the Bohemian and English Churches through their devotion to Christ: 'Salutat Christi ecclesia de Bohemia ecclesiam Christi in Anglia, optans esse particeps confessionis sancte fidei in gracia domini Ihesu Christi' [The Church of Christ from Bohemia salutes the Church of Christ in England, desiring to be a sharer of the profession of the holy faith in the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ].⁴¹ As lay literacy and access to texts was on the rise, authors, preachers, and dissidents in England and Bohemia were in regular contact, exchanging manuscripts, ideas, and people. Perhaps the most notable example is that of Peter Payne (commonly referred to as Petrus Anglicus), an Oxfordian Wycliffite who fled to Prague c.

⁴⁰ Thomas Netter, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae*, ed. B. Blanciotti, 3 vols. (Venice: 1757-9; reprinted, Farnborough: Gregg International, 1967), vol. 2, col. 26; translation from Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 116. Netter explains that the Hussites emerged from the Wycliffites even if they may be separated from them in the heresy of the Eucharist: 'Hussitae omnes sunt in Wiclevistarum fonte damnati, quamvis ab eis in haeresi Eucharistiae sint emoti.'

⁴¹ *M. Jana Husi Korespondence a dokumenty*, ed. Václav Novotný, (Prague: Nákladem Komise pro Vydávání Pramenů Náboženského Hnutí Českého, 1920), document 24: 'M. Jan Hus Richardovi Wycheovi,' p. 85; translation from Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, p. 73.

1414, amid growing fears of persecution. He took a position as a master at Prague University and disseminated a selection of Wyclif's works. Most significantly, Payne travelled with the Bohemian delegation to the Council of Basel in 1433 and defended the Four Articles of Prague along with Wyclif's oeuvre.⁴²

Considering the exchange of ideas that occurred between different languages, cultures, and modes of writing, this study situates the importance of the rhetoric and imagery of *Christus medicus* in the history of religious controversy in England and Central Europe during the Papal Schism (or Western Schism). Although Wycliffite preachers themselves did not comment much on the proceedings of ecumenical councils, the theology of John Wyclif and his followers had a great impact when the council fathers linked the Wycliffite movement to the Hussites. In the spirit of several scholars, therefore, I seek to move beyond the false notion that England during this period was not only geographically, but also culturally insular.⁴³ The Wycliffites did not form a laager, isolated from the rest of the Church; on the contrary, they engaged with and held an influence over others in Europe, most notably in Bohemia.

Bohemia, and Prague in particular, was one of the most important cultural and political centres in late-medieval Europe. Prague was the seat of the Holy Roman Empire and Bohemia was one of the largest production centres of books up until the Council of Constance, particularly in comparison to England, which produced far fewer books. Yet as Michael Van Dussen has shown, English works held a cultural sway with Bohemian audiences, who imported and produced their own editions and translations of the works of English authors. Among other

⁴² William R. Cook, 'Peter Payne, Theologian and Diplomat of the Hussite Revolution' (unpubl. PhD diss.: Cornell University, 1971). For a list of Payne's works, see: František Michálek Bartoš, *Literární činnost M. Jana Rokycany, M. Jana Příbama, M. Petra Payna* (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1928), pp. 90-113.

⁴³ J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen, 'The Europe of Wycliffism,' in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), pp. 1-10.

authors, Bohemian readers were interested in the writings of John Wyclif, or, as he was referred to by Hussite scribes and authors, the ‘doctor evangelicus.’ As previously stated, Wyclif was a key authority for the Hussites in Bohemia, and scribes copied and preserved his works on a larger scale than in England.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it was not merely authors associated with the Wycliffites and Hussites that were popular in Bohemia. For instance, Richard Rolle was copied and cited by reformist and more orthodox Bohemian theologians alike.⁴⁵ Several scholars have, therefore, proved that the textual exchanges between England and Bohemia were particularly fruitful.⁴⁶

This study will extend the geographical boundaries of exchange, both textual and cultural, further. Theologians in Kraków were significant for both their proximity to the University of Prague and their approaches to subduing heresy. Influenced by the same people that became chief authorities of the Hussites, most notably Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, theologians from Kraków used the same authorities as Bohemian dissidents. However, they used Milíč’s theology of frequent communion to condemn the heresies of the Hussites. For scholars of Kraków, Milíč’s writings offered a way for the laity to participate in the sacrament of

⁴⁴ As Van Dussen explains in *From England to Bohemia*, p. 2: ‘Bohemian manuscripts containing Wyclif’s writings outnumber those in England by nearly three to one.’

⁴⁵ Van Dussen has demonstrated that a large number of Richard Rolle’s writings survive in Bohemian manuscripts. See: Van Dussen, ‘Richard Rolle’s Latin Psalter in Central European Manuscripts,’ *Medium Aevum* 87 (2018), pp. 41-71; idem, *Richard Rolle: On Lamentations. A Critical Edition with Translation and Commentary*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020). Other English authors such as Robert Holcot and Robert Grosseteste were also popular, but they were popular in almost every corner of Europe, and thus their presence in Bohemian manuscripts is not necessarily exceptional.

⁴⁶ Particularly important in opening up the comparative study of Bohemian and English trends were Anne Hudson, František Šmahel, and more recently Michael Van Dussen and Stephen E. Lahey. See: Anne Hudson, ‘From Oxford to Prague: The Writings of John Wyclif and his English Followers in Bohemia,’ *The Slavonic and East European Review* 75 (1997), pp. 642-57; eadem, *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif’s Writings*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 907 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); František Šmahel, *Die hussitische Revolution*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky, trans. Thomas Krzenck, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften 43, 3 vols. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002); Stephen E. Lahey, ‘Wyclif in Bohemia,’ in *A Companion to the Hussite Movement*, ed. Michael van Dussen and Pavel Soukup (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 63-98. For Van Dussen’s relevant publications, see note 34 and 35 above.

communion on a regular basis as an alternative to Hussite utraquism (communion in both kinds). Dissidents and those that condemned them, therefore, participated in the same theological debate that sought to heal the Church and often they had more in common than may immediately be apparent. Conventional and dissident theologians may have disagreed on specific issues and approaches, but they shared much more in their theology than that which separated them.⁴⁷ In considering the theological conflicts that arose during the Papal Schism, the responses of conventional and dissident theologians are equally significant in identifying the healing rhetoric of *Christus medicus*.

Although England and Central Europe are the locations that this study most explicitly addresses, I contend that dissidents in these regions engaged in a broad European movement towards a popular devotional culture and decentralised approach to affective piety through a medical rhetoric.⁴⁸ In considering the pan-European context of religious reform, John Van Engen and Berndt Hamm offer invaluable models. Hamm's concept of *Frömmigkeitstheologie* captures

⁴⁷ See Fiona Somerset's *Feeling Like Saints*, in which she argues that there was 'no litmus test for lollardy,' and their writings have a lot in common with more orthodox works (p. 12). In other words, lollard writers did not seek to: 'reinvent the enterprise of pastoral instruction from the ground up or radically alter its content. Lollards agreed with their contemporaries, broadly speaking, about what the fundamentals of lay pastoral teaching should be' (p. 29). Furthermore, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton's *Books Under Suspicion* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2006) argued that there were plenty of authors in late-medieval England who were more radical than lollards. She believes that the amount of surviving data has skewed perceptions, and that scholars have focused on Wycliffism merely because of the large amount of surviving lollard texts and heresy trials. J. Patrick Hornbeck's *What is a Lollard?* (Oxford University Press, 2010) draws on continental philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein's theory of 'family resemblance,' which asserts that groups that could be thought to be connected by essential common features could in reality be connected by a number of overlapping qualities. He posits that lollard texts are not characterised by one set of clearly defined values that they all must share, but rather a lollard text presents a handful of features out of a larger range. The works of Pavel Soukup have been especially important in the Bohemian tradition. His *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stříbra* (Prague: Filosofia, 2011) has been influential in considering the preaching career of Jakoubek of Stříbro, a Hussite known for his radical positions regarding utraquism and the Church of the Antichrist (as explored in chapter four). Nonetheless, Soukup acknowledges the ways in which Jakoubek engaged with and helped develop theological trends that were prevalent across Europe. From the authorities Jakoubek engaged with to the images he employed in his sermons, he was well aware of the intellectual debates of late-medieval universities.

⁴⁸ John Van Engen, 'Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church,' *Church History* 77, 2 (2008), pp. 257-84; Berndt Hamm, 'Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconography,' trans. John M. Frymire, in *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm*, ed. Robert J. Bast (Boston, Leiden: Brill, 2004).

much of what dissidents or more moderate reformists who were not condemned by the Church looked to accomplish, namely ‘the practical realisation of religion—of modes of believing, proclaiming, teaching, forming ideas, conceiving and articulating values, fears, hopes, etc.—in such a way that daily life is formed and informed by it.’⁴⁹

As I demonstrate, the *Christus medicus* tradition that linked medicine and religion was one of the primary rhetorical devices by which dissidents engaged in these debates and others, including those that pertained to intellectualism, professional training, who had the authority to interpret Scripture and administer the sacraments, the legitimacy of those who provided healing, and how preaching regulation was imposed and enforced. These concerns were crucial in defining the interactions between dissidents and Church officials, but also in reshaping lay access to Christ’s *salus*. Preachers in England and Bohemia used medical imagery to realign the dynamic between the preacher and the faithful in relation to Christ. No longer was it satisfactory to rely on the mediation of the Church, as dissidents stressed the need for the laity to be directly treated by *Christus medicus*. Church officials, by contrast, claimed the dissidents undermined their authority and threatened the structure of the body of the Church. These religious disputes often ran parallel to debates over authority and training in strictly medical contexts and mirrored much of the rhetoric and language of medical authorities. Consequently, religious and medical debates intersected with and influenced each other, as medicine, allegory, and physical intervention became increasingly entangled in the late medieval period.

⁴⁹ Hamm, ‘Normative Centering,’ p. 308; idem, ‘Was ist Frömmigkeitstheologie? Überlegungen zum 14.–16. Jahrhundert,’ in *Praxis pietatis. Festschrift für Wolfgang Sommer*, ed. Hans-Jörg Nieden and Marcel Nieden (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), pp. 9-45.

This study begins in an institutional context, in which nun- and canoness-nurses of fourteenth-century hospitals took on many of the responsibilities of priests and physicians. Not only did nuns and canonesses administer medication and bandage wounds, but they also facilitated the development of their patients' religious devotion, particularly when priests or chaplains did not visit the hospitals as much as the patients would have liked. Devotional works connected to hospitals invoked *Christus medicus* and his nurse, the Virgin Mary, to assist in treatment and subsequent convalescence. Hospitals were foundational in the promulgation of *Christus medicus* across Europe and became institutions of spirituality as much as of medical treatment.⁵⁰ Within this context, Mary the divine nurse became just as important as her son because she was presented as a figure that nurses could imitate.

Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines, an Anglo-Norman prose work composed in 1354 by Henry of Grosmont, first Duke of Lancaster (c. 1310-61), had a strong association with the hospital of the Annunciation of St Mary in Leicester, where Henry was patron. In Henry's *Livre*, Mary carries out the roles of a medieval hospital nurse and becomes a healer and source of spiritual and bodily medicine. For Henry, those who provided healthcare in an institutional context mimicked the assistant to *Christus medicus* in healing the bodily and spiritual ailments of patients. Henry of Grosmont's depiction of Mary was far from unique; Mary's role as a divine nurse was recognised across Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While devotional works and the nurses they addressed were not intentionally reformist, they contributed to a blurring of the boundaries of medical and ecclesiastical authority, where religious women facilitated every aspect of their patients' lives. Largely due to necessity, nurses took on

⁵⁰ Carole Rawcliffe, 'More than a Bedside Manner: the Political Status of the Late Medieval Court Physician,' in *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Richmond and E. Scarff (Leeds: Maney Pub., 2001), p. 85.

responsibilities that were usually ascribed to priests, surgeons, and physicians. Consequently, hospital staff invoked Christ and Mary as direct sources of authority in healing and convalescing their patients.

Hospitals for the sick poor and the devotional atmosphere created by religious women were common all throughout Europe in the later Middle Ages, but it was through popular reformist movements that the *Christus medicus* rhetoric was most publicly and at times notoriously dispersed among the laity. Reformist preachers outside of hospitals presented a parallel (though not necessarily a self-conscious one) with the system of care that was overseen by nurses in a medical sphere. Those who aimed to heal the souls of their congregations employed many of the concepts that were developed in institutional medical contexts in their sermons. These preachers found a receptive audience among the laity, who were calling out for greater inclusion in Christ's healing mission. In Prague, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž (d. 1374), who preached evangelical sermons in Latin, Old Czech, and German, espoused daily reception of the Eucharist for the laity as part of a diet for maintaining spiritual health. During Milíč's lifetime the contacts between England and Bohemia were not pronounced, but the early Bohemian reform movement that he set in motion would condition the way that Wycliffism would later be received. The early Bohemian reform movement developed a distinct medical and organological discourse within a reformist sphere that (as we will see in chapter four) would have a significant influence on the Hussites. Together the separate English and Bohemian movements, which shared much in common through their participation in wider European devotional trends, would later intersect at the ecumenical councils at Constance and later Basel.

Still, while connections between England and Central Europe were not pronounced at the time that Jan Milíč was preaching, Milíč's sacramental theology is vital for understanding the

developments that led to the proceedings of Constance and Basel. Milíč employed the hospital imagery of Christ the Divine Physician and Mary the divine nurse, and he drew explicit parallels between his treatment of the Eucharist and the use of the sacrament of the altar in the viaticum. Furthermore, Milíč is an exceptional example because we have clear evidence of how he put his ideas of sacramental medicine into practice. His religious community, ‘Jerusalem,’ was devoted to creating a pious environment for lay members of society that had much in common with hospitals for the sick poor. The residents had regular access to the sacraments and the community provided a spiritual environment for souls that required healing. Jerusalem was established on the site of a former brothel, familiarly called ‘Venice’. Milíč celebrated communion with the ex-prostitutes there because he believed that the Eucharist was a medicine that was specifically designed for those who suffered from the illness of ‘incessant sinning,’⁵¹ and hence the sacrament should not be reserved for those that were spiritually pure. While Milíč’s call for frequent communion in Jerusalem was initially defended by King Václav IV, it did not stop the clergy and mendicant friars of Prague from condemning him. Eventually he was denounced in a papal bull, and those that followed his sacramental model were ordered to recant their views.

These measures did not stop the dissemination of the Milíč’s theology of frequent communion. The cause was taken up by masters at the University of Prague, such as Matthew of Kraków and Matěj of Janov, and even the Archbishop of Prague, Jan of Jenštejn, endorsed frequent communion as a medicine. It did not take long for the cause to spread to the University of Kraków and by the turn of the fifteenth century a handful of masters at the university preached about the efficacy of frequent communion for the laity. These masters of the Kraków theological faculty, several of whom had previously belonged to the University of Prague, considered that

⁵¹ PNK, I D 37, f. 235ra.

the intimate relationship between the laity and Christ that frequent communion facilitated could steer people away from heresy that was emerging in Bohemia after the Council of Constance. At a time when the Hussites were gaining support across Bohemia and threatening to move into Silesia and Poland, the theology of frequent communion served as an alternative to utraquism (communion in both kinds), the eventual *cause célèbre* of the Hussite movement after Hus's death. Of course, Hus himself did not endorse the practice of utraquism, and similarly Milíč, who died before the Hussite movement first formed, likely would not have intended his frequent communion theology to be folded into certain elements that would come to characterise the Hussite sacramental practice.

From its inception in the sermons of Milíč in the late fourteenth century to its use at the University of Kraków in the early fifteenth century, those who campaigned for frequent communion among the laity looked to exploit the increasing lay desire to participate in all aspects of religion. In the view of these theologians, the laity were not content simply to observe priests taking communion but wanted to engage directly with Christ and receive the host themselves. Frequent communion for the spiritually ill was not adopted outside of Central Europe, but its later proponents in Kraków specifically targeted dissidents in England and in Bohemia (collectively referred to as 'Wycleffistae' in the sources) when they suggested that the sacrament could be used to heal schism and heresy. Kraków masters and council fathers maintained that the Wycliffites in England were part of the same dissident movement as the Hussites, and consequently invectives against the heretics were directed towards English and Central European audiences.

At the same time that the theology of frequent communion was developing in Central Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century, English Wycliffites presented their own medical

rhetoric that paralleled many of the themes of spiritual medicine and increased lay piety that informed Milič's theology. Although Wycliffites placed less trust in communion as a medicine, they still accentuated the healing benefits of other sacraments and of preaching God's Word. Wycliffite preachers used a medical rhetoric to cast doubt on allegedly corrupt clergy. These criticisms were particularly biting towards those who used fictitious extra-biblical exempla in their sermons. The Wycliffites' own sermons promised a more direct engagement with Scripture and Christ's *salus* by preaching more frequently in the vernacular and cutting out the mediation of the clergy.

Wycliffite criticism of the clergy was one of the chief stimuli for the *Constitutions* of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1407 and 1409, which prohibited preachers who were not explicitly authorised by a licence. Ecclesiastical elites banned and burned contentious books to prevent heresy, and Wycliffite preachers were imprisoned. The Wycliffite medical imagery that I explore in this chapter was informed by concurrent developments in attempts to regulate the field of medicine. At the same time that preaching regulation restricted Wycliffite preachers, there was a parallel regulating crisis emerging among surgeons and barbers in English cities. Within hospitals, the oversight of care was relatively easy to maintain, with senior infirmarers supervising nurses, but outside of these institutions it was much harder to control medical practitioners. England had a population of barbers who received apprenticeship training that was managed by craft guilds, yet throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, England had to contend with a large contingent of untrained surgical practitioners. These unauthorised barbers and surgeons were seen to compromise the health of patients with their uninformed and sometimes reckless practice. There are remarkable similarities in the legislation of ecclesiastical authorities and surgical craft guilds, which used the same criticisms to marginalise unsanctioned

preachers and surgeons—namely, that their lack of skill and training posed a danger to the public.

I argue that in response to the parallel regulation crises, Wycliffite preachers adopted and encouraged comparisons with disenfranchised surgeons through a subset of *Christus medicus* imagery, that of *Christus chirurgus*, or Christ the Surgeon. A striking number of Wycliffite sermons describe detailed surgical procedures performed by Christ—such as washing wounds, stitching them together, and soothing them with salves—all of which specifically evoke the imagery of the Passion. This imagery attempted to add a sense of immediacy to Wycliffite invocations to Christ as the ultimate healer by referencing surgical procedures and the presence of unauthorised barbers and surgeons. Wycliffite preachers were not the only ones to make comparisons between preaching and surgery, but they used the medical imagery in innovative ways to stress the importance of their dissenting pastoral agenda. Through the surgical narratives that the Wycliffites employ, they make a case for a closer engagement with Christ that cuts out the mediation of the corrupt clergy. Within these sermons, the clergy are compared with authorised surgeons and barbers who were seen to charge an extortionate amount for their ineffective procedures. The dissenting preachers catered to those who desired an alternative to mainstream preachers, just as certain barbers and surgeons capitalised on a market that rejected the perceived professional conservatism of master surgeons. Wycliffite sermons that promoted lay access to Christ's healing provoked a national dispute and countrywide regulation, and the arguments that started in localised contexts came to consume the English Church.

The controversies that the Wycliffites fuelled in England quickly became a broad European concern and one of a host of urgent matters that the Church's ecumenical councils sought to address. Wycliffite criticisms of the clergy and the Church's response were pivotal

factors in the fractiousness that the Councils of Constance and Basel looked to address. Even though the Wycliffites did not often comment on European Church politics, their theology and texts had a profound impact on the Church as a whole. The councils most urgently sought to deal with the heresies in England and Bohemia, which vehemently attacked the Church's restrictions on preaching and administering the sacraments. Although they were separate and nuanced movements, the heresies in England and Bohemia were portrayed as interconnected and addressed many of the same issues. The Council of Basel represented the culmination of the disputes between the Church and what the council fathers referred to as 'Wycleffistae.' Although the longstanding history with the Wycliffites had a profound impact on how the Hussites would be received, the Council of Basel sought explicitly to deal with the Hussites. It is, therefore, imperative to turn to the Hussites in the fourth chapter to fully understand how the Councils of Constance and Basel addressed the medical discourse that had been developing in Bohemia and England. In fact, the Hussite preachers who attended or were addressed by the ecumenical councils of Constance and Basel arguably applied the medical rhetoric that is explored in previous chapters in its most radical forms.

Hussites drew equally from the early Bohemian reform movement that is outlined in the second chapter, particularly the works of Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Matěj of Janov, and the Wycliffite theology that is discussed in chapter three. In chapter four, I argue that the Hussites criticised the papacy and the Church Councils through an organological model of disease and used a discourse of humoral medicine to map their calls for reform on to the diseased body of the Church, which they maintained had the Antichrist at its head. By presenting the body of the Church as diseased, Hussite preachers pressed the need for reform measures, depicted as tonics, used to purge the body of corrupt members of the clergy, who were portrayed as excess

substances. But the medical rhetoric was complicated in the 1420s when the Hussite movement split into a number of different factions. The Taborites, who emerged around 1419, took a more radical stance than the moderate Utraquists of the University of Prague, and a period of infighting ensued. At this point, the humoral model that had previously applied exclusively to what the Hussites deemed the Church of the Antichrist, namely the Church controlled by the papacy, was now applied on two fronts. Utraquists and Taborites applied the humoral rhetoric to the corrupt clergy that followed the papal Antichrist, but also to each other. The radicals and moderates eventually reunited during the anti-Hussite crusades to fight the forces of Sigismund of Luxembourg (d. 1437). This Hussite coalition was successful in seeing off the forces of the Roman Church, and as a consequence the Bohemian dissidents were invited to attend the Council of Basel. The Bohemian delegation attempted to debate the finer points of their Four Articles of Prague: demanding free preaching of the Word of God, utraquist communion, the removal of civil ownership or dominion from the clergy, and the punishment of all public mortal sins.⁵² These dissidents used Wycliffite and pre-Hussite Bohemian theologians as sources of authority, taking their arguments for lay access to Christ's *salus* from localised and national debates to a debate on the Church's largest stage.

The final chapter serves as a coda, addressing the differences in medical imagery between dissidents and the ecumenical councils of Constance and Basel. Representatives of the Church councils used medical imagery for vastly different ends than the dissidents addressed in this study, demonstrating that similarity in imagery can be deceptive. Where the Hussites and Wycliffites looked to *Christus medicus* to facilitate more direct access to religion for the laity and to condemn corrupt members of the clergy, at Constance the language of amputation was to

⁵² František Michálek Bartoš, *Do čtyř pražských artikulů: z myšlenkových a ústavních zápasů let 1415-1420* (Prague: Nákladem Blahoslavovy společnost, 1940), pp. 70-3.

justify the excommunication and execution of heretics. By using the most extreme forms of surgery, ecumenical councils sought to inflict irreparable violence upon the Church body in a manner that was not condoned even by the most radical of dissidents. Surgical imagery continued from Constance into the proceedings at Basel, but the rhetoric associated with it changed. Whereas at Constance the Church looked to sever the Hussites from the ecclesiastical body, at Basel the Church's representatives looked to reattach the severed limb. Using imagery of surgery, then, the medical rhetoric changed from amputation to reunion.

Although Christ the Divine Physician featured in texts that addressed different audiences in different regions, the imagery remained remarkably consistent between cultures and genres. In each case, Christ is depicted as a physician to support calls for greater lay access to his *salus*. It is only at the ecumenical councils that the medical imagery turns toward violent acts of surgery in an attempt to root out the dissident movements. What started as the concern of nurses and preachers in localised contexts was, consciously or unconsciously, adapted and developed by dissident groups who used a rhetoric of spiritual health and medicine to address broader concerns involving the laity and spirituality. The theological issues raised by the dissidents quickly turned into a Church-wide dispute, with the Council of Basel presenting the culmination of building discontent. Not only were the issues pushed by dissidents debated at Basel, but the dissidents themselves were invited to attend. From the perspective of the representatives of the council, the heretics were invited in an effort to return them to the body of the Church. The Bohemian delegation, on the other hand, saw the council as an opportunity to push further for the Church reforms that they thought would restore the health of the ecclesiastical body. Basel failed in reaching a lasting resolution and matters were complicated when the Hussites left in 1433. Still, the council represented a crescendo of calls for reform. Issues of authority, legitimacy, training,

and regulation came to the fore, as tensions that were rising in England and Bohemia reached the height of controversy at the centre of the Church.

CHAPTER 1

The Virgin Mary as Nurse, Medicine, and Mother: Devotional Texts and Hospitals

In the late medieval period, a new type of hospital based on a charitable mission within society came into prominence: hospitals for the sick poor. Prior to the emergence of these institutions, hospitals typically cloistered patients away and adopted a selective admittance policy. Hospitals for the sick poor sought to be inclusive; they were based within city walls and governed by apostolic principles that focused on healing a cross-section of the population, including those that were not explicitly ill, such as orphaned children, the poor, and the elderly.¹ The growth in popularity of these hospitals constituted a part of what André Vauchez has termed ‘une véritable révolution de la charité,’ which led the clergy to involve themselves more heavily in secular society.² In such hospitals, university medical graduates were employed on an ad hoc basis to treat patients, and nun-nurses or canonesses stayed in residence to assist in medical procedures, wash bed sheets and clothes, and oversee all aspects of their patients’ convalescence. Although fraternal orders usually stayed in residence on site, they attended more to the religious duties of administering the sacraments and less to the physical care of patients, which was usually the sisters’ domain. Even hospitals run by secular confraternities and staffed by lay women and men presented the same joint focus on religion and medicine, typically structuring treatments around religious activities like processions for patron saints and masses for the patients.³

¹ P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, ‘Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: “To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor”,’ *Northern History* 29 (1993), pp. 24-39; Carole Rawcliffe, ‘The Hospitals of Later Medieval London,’ *Medical History* 28 (1984), pp. 1-21.

² André Vauchez, *La Spiritualité du moyen âge occidental (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle)*, Série Histoire 184, 2nd edn. (Paris: Seuil, 1994), p. 118. See also: Tiffany A. Ziegler, *Medieval Healthcare and the Rise of Charitable Institutions: The History of the Municipal Hospital* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 74-9.

³ Christopher F. Black, *Italian confraternities in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

As Carole Rawcliffe has demonstrated, in late-medieval hospitals physicians and nurses sought to follow ‘in the steps’ of *Christus medicus*, who provided an ideal model of care for them to emulate.⁴ Christ’s role as the *medicus* was dominant in late-medieval culture, but his mother was far from superfluous. Indeed, in the hospital context the Virgin Mary was equally important; she served as Christ’s assistant as well as a medical healer and caregiver in her own right. Christ and Mary were depicted together as hospital staff who oversaw the care of those suffering from sin and physical illness. In this context, Mary carried out the daily responsibilities of the care and convalescence of patients, duties that *Christus medicus* did not typically fulfil. From administering medicines to bathing patients, Mary embodied the ideal nurse. But she also extended the responsibilities associated with nurses by adopting roles traditionally assigned to physicians and surgeons, namely bandaging wounds, administering salves, and even mixing medicines.

The type of devotion displayed in hospitals for the sick poor was far from a late-medieval invention. As the Dominican preacher Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) explained in the thirteenth century, the clergy were encouraged to preach in hospitals in an attempt to imitate Christ washing the feet of lepers and curing the infirm.⁵ For certain preachers, therefore, the very act of preaching in hospitals became akin to a penitential rite. In one of his *sermones ad status*, Humbert complained that in hospitals patients rarely heard the words of God:

Notandum, quod huiusmodi infirmi qui raro audiunt loqui de Deo, et multum simplices sunt quamplures eorum, multum indigent verbo Dei, et ideo opus maximum est pietatis verae, vel divisim, vel in communi cum fieri potest, loqui eis de Deo.⁶

⁴ As I explain below, the term ‘nurse’ is anachronistic to the medieval period, yet I use it here for the sake of clarity. For more, see: Carole Rawcliffe, ‘More than a Bedside Manner: the Political Status of the Late Medieval Court Physician,’ in *St George’s Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Richmond and E. Scarff (Leeds: Maney Pub., 2001), p. 85.

⁵ For Humbert of Romans’s *ad status* hospital sermons in his ‘De eruditione praedicatorum,’ see *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, ed. M. de la Bigne, 27 vols. (Lyon, 1677), vol. 25, pp. 75-7, 99, 452, 502-3.

⁶ Humbert of Romans, ‘De eruditione praedicatorum,’ 1.2. 92, p. 502.

It is to be observed that the infirm [in hospitals] seldom hear talk of God, and many of them are very simple and greatly need the word of God, and thus the greatest work of one who is truly pious is to tell them about God, whether individually or as a community when it is possible.

The infirm, more than any others in a priest's congregation, required God's words to heal their illnesses and soothe their pain. God's words were especially needed by those whom Humbert deemed *simplices*—those that were poor, typically uneducated, and with a loose grasp of what was required of them as Christians. Humbert acknowledged that during sermons many of these *simplices* often did not pay attention, but while they were bedridden in hospitals preachers had a captive audience. Preaching to the infirm in hospitals, therefore, was an opportunity to increase the piety of many.⁷

Yet, at the time that Humbert was preaching, many members of the clergy hesitated to visit patients for fear of contamination with diseases.⁸ Many hospitals had members of fraternal orders as well as those preparing to enter the orders living in residence who could preach and administer the sacraments. Male members of the clergy would also be appointed as infirmarians. Infirmarians' duties would overlap with those of nurses, but their responsibilities would be almost entirely medical, and they left laundry and the day to day care of patients to nurses. Members of the fraternal orders that stayed on the sites of hospitals largely separated themselves from lay patients, especially lepers. For instance, the regulations of Syon monastery specified that lepers were to be kept 'fer from al other' and were only to be visited by nursing sisters who

⁷ Adam J. Davis, 'Preaching in thirteenth-century Hospitals,' *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 72-89. See also: Jessalyn Bird, 'Texts on hospitals: translation of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia occidentalis* 29, and edition of Jacques de Vitry's sermons to hospitallers,' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, *York Studies in Medieval Theology* 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 109-34.

⁸ For more on leprosy and preaching, see: *Voluntate Dei leprosus. Les Lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles*, ed. Nicole Bériou and François-Olivier Touati, *Testi, studi, strumenti* 4 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi Sull'altro Medioevo, 1991).

‘may come to them & comforte hem.’⁹ Certain patients were, hence, neglected by the fraternal orders, even though hospitals were partly established to ensure that patients’ souls were healed. The majority of late-medieval hospitals for the sick poor had chapels on site, but having a chapel did not necessarily mean that all patients would have access to regular sermons. Members of the fraternal orders that stayed in residence would hear confession and consecrate hosts for communion and the viaticum, but much of their time was devoted to other duties. They simply did not regularly preach in the manner that Humbert suggested.¹⁰ Medieval hospitals were also frequently underfunded and lacked the necessary means to care for their patients’ medical treatment, let alone their spiritual needs.¹¹ Preachers and hospital staff alike were aware of the necessity of spiritual healing, but the fact that Humbert urged more preachers to visit these institutions speaks either to a lack of available preachers or their unwillingness to visit hospitals.

The stress placed on hospitals and the clergy who served them increased dramatically at the outbreak of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century. In most hospitals, physicians would treat the most severe illnesses, but they were not able to keep up with the increased intake of plague victims. Where some hospitals had physicians as members of staff,¹² the majority

⁹ George James Aungier (ed.), *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1840), pp. 395-6.

¹⁰ Léon Le Grand (ed.), *Statuts d'Hôtels-Dieu et de Léproseries; Recueil de textes du XII^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1901), p. 47 ‘Statuta domus dei Parisiensis,’ 1220, no. 24.

¹¹ See: Tatjana Buklijaš, ‘Medicine and Society in the Medieval Hospital,’ *Croatian Medical Journal* 49, 2 (2008), pp. 151-4. Humbert explains that because he did not have alms of gold or silver, just like St Peter, he intended to make alms out of the words of God, because those are far better and stronger than money: ‘quia non habeo eleemosynam auri vel argenti, sicut nec Petrus habebat, intendo vobis facere eleemosynam de eo, quod habeo scilicet, de verbo Dei, quod multo melius valet.’ This is not to say that Humbert was explicitly targeting those hospitals with a lack of funds, but rather he recognised the healing potential of the Word of God above that of financial gain. Humbert of Romans, ‘De eruditione praedicatorum,’ 1.2. 92, p. 502.

¹² For instance, in the archives of the Hôtel-Dieu for 1221, the services of a surgeon named Hubert were acquired for the remuneration of providing a house for him and his wife in exchange for the annual rent of forty sous. *Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (1157-1300)*, ed. Léon Brièle and Ernest Coyecque (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894), p. 62.

would only hire a physician when they had a patient that required specialist treatment.¹³

Hospitals for the sick poor were not organised around the treatments of physicians, but rather the daily care and convalescence provided by nurses. Nevertheless, the outbreak of plague called for more specialist treatment, and consequently some nurses were required to take on more medical responsibilities and care for more patients. Alongside the increased need for medical care was an equal need for spiritual treatment, and again nurses were called upon.¹⁴ This is not to suggest that religious women did not fulfil these medical and religious responsibilities before the outbreak of plague, but rather that the forms of spirituality to which this study attends were developed by nun- and canoness-nurses in greater numbers in the later Middle Ages.

In response to the increased need to fulfil the charitable mission of hospitals in late-medieval Europe, authors produced devotional texts for hospital patients and staff. These texts provided spiritual comfort to patients and encouraged religious women to treat their duties as part of a dual system of spiritual and physical healthcare.¹⁵ Michael Leahy has referred to this joint effort of spiritual and physical care as constituting an ‘institutional imaginary’ that governed both religious and medical institutions of the late medieval period. The institutional imaginary at once upheld and questioned hierarchical principles of hospital governance, not dismissing the treatments of university-trained physicians and the clergy but relying more on

¹³ In the case of St John’s Hospital in Brussels, a doctor would not visit regularly, but rather was called whenever the need arose. *Cartulaire de l’hôpital St. Jean de Bruxelles (Actes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles)*, ed. Paul Bonenfant (Brussels: Palais de Académies, 1953), c. 25, p. 24. Ernest Wickersheimer, ‘Médecins et chirurgiens dans les hôpitaux du moyen-âge,’ *Janus* 32 (1928), pp. 9-11.

¹⁴ Judit Majorossy and Katalin Szende, ‘Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,’ in *Europäisches Spitalwesen: Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, and Alfred Stefan Weiss, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsbände* 51 (Vienna and Munich: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), pp. 409-54; James Brodman, ‘Religion and Discipline in the Hospitals of Medieval France,’ in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. Barbara S. Bowers (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 123-32.

¹⁵ For more on the subject of spiritual care within hospitals and the charitable mission, see: Adam J. Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation: Charity, Commerce, and the Rise of the Hospital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), pp. 255-61, 274.

alternative forms of care and affective piety.¹⁶ One such work was *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, an Anglo-Norman prose text composed in 1354 by Henry of Grosmont, first duke of Lancaster (c. 1310-61).¹⁷ The text is a first-person confessional work that centres on an allegorical medical narrative in which Henry's wounds become allegories of sin. The first section of the book consists of Christ the Divine Physician diagnosing Henry's maladies and enacting painful purgative treatments.¹⁸ This purgation explicitly mimics the sacrament of confession and the resulting pain of penance. Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa explains that Henry's suffering of penance is a mode of *imitatio Christi* in which Henry shared Christ's pain during the Passion through his own wounds, which were located on the same parts of the body as Christ's. The crucified Christ therefore became 'a site of self-identification' for Henry and, by extension, his audience, who were likewise presented as spiritually wounded.¹⁹

¹⁶ Michael Leahy, 'Sickness and Healing in the Institutional Imaginary,' *Postmedieval* 8, 2 (2017), pp. 179-93.

¹⁷ The work survives in two manuscripts that differ in their quality of production. The Lancashire, Stonyhurst College, MS. 24 copy is an impressive production that contains a number of decorative features. The frontispiece declares Henry's Lancastrian affiliations and presents Lancastrian heraldic designs. There is no clear indication as for whom this luxury codex, which features gilded initials and a gothic textura quadrata formata script, was made. The later fourteenth-century manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 218, is a modest fere textura production that begins with a simple rubric: 'In nomine patris et Filij & Spiritus Sancti. Amen' (f. 1r). Another devotional treatise by an aristocratic author—Louis IX of France's *Monitiones* to his son Phillip III, in a Latin translation by Geoffroi de Beaulieu—has been added to the back of the codex (ff. 68r-70v) in a different hand. Where Stonyhurst underscores its author's aristocratic background in heraldic decorations and the declaration of Henry's Lancastrian affiliations, Corpus Christi uses the contents of the codex to provide the author's aristocratic credentials. Despite the similarities, Catherine Batt believes that the manuscripts address two different audiences. The grandiose style of the Stonyhurst manuscript indicates that it was a display copy designed to be shown off, whereas the modest character of the Corpus Christi copy suggests that it was created for private study. Whether one accessed the display copy as part of a more public audience or read the work privately, the goal of invoking devotion would have been the same. Readers are encouraged to treat Henry's wounds of sin and their healing as an exemplar for their own devotional practises and spiritual healing. See: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Book of Holy Medicines*, trans. Catherine Batt (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014), pp. 14-7 (hereafter Batt).

¹⁸ The first section is Batt, pp. 67-188.

¹⁹ Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 'Holy Medicine and Diseases of the Soul: Henry of Lancaster and *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*,' *Medical History* 53 (2009), pp. 398, 404-6, 413. Richard W. Kaeuper offers an alternative view of Henry's relationship with Christ, aligning the themes of his book with Henry's aristocratic background as the duke of Lancaster. Kaeuper argues that Henry attempts to mimic the chivalric virtues displayed by Christ as a sinless redeemer and a 'great warrior who victoriously battles the devil'. This forms a 'subtext' in the *Livre* that can be compared with texts that are more openly chivalric, such as Geoffroi de Charny's *Livre de chevalerie*. Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 42-7, 120.

The second section of Henry of Grosmont's *Livre* focuses on the soothing convalescent healing provided by the Virgin Mary that aimed to restore spiritual health. Readers were encouraged to treat Henry's wounds of sin and his healing as an exemplum for their own devotional practices and spiritual healing. Mary represented the ideal forms of convalescent care that were to be administered by nurses. Indeed, the text may well have served as a didactic and pastoral device for the nurses and patients of the hospital of the Annunciation of St Mary in Leicester—founded in 1331 by Henry's father, the third Earl of Leicester and Lancaster (d. 1345)—where Henry was patron. Although *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines* does not mention the Leicester hospital by name, the text alludes to hospital practices and draws on Henry's experience as a hospital benefactor. Henry did not take a passive role as benefactor, but actively campaigned to make provisions and renovations. For instance, in 1353 he obtained papal approval to turn the hospital into a college with a dean and ten Augustinian canons, as well as to enlarge the number of patients the hospital could accommodate.²⁰ He expanded the hospital to accommodate approximately one hundred poor and infirm patients who were cared for by ten canoness-nurses (previously the hospital had enough space for fifty patients who were cared for by five nurses).²¹ Henry's role as patron gave him valuable insight into the administration of a hospital and an idea of how nurses were to operate effectively. He drew from this experience in his portrayal of Mary as the ideal nurse, caring for the physical and spiritual needs of her patients.²² The importance of this Marian devotion is shown not only in the dedication of the Leicester hospital to the Virgin Mary but also in the *Livre* itself, which is dedicated to Mary and

²⁰ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: c. 1307 to the early sixteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 178.

²¹ A. Hamilton Thompson, *The History of the Hospital and the New College of the Annunciation of St Mary in the Newarke, Leicester* (Leicester: Backus, 1937), pp. 18-9, 45.

²² Peregrine Horden, 'A Non-natural Environment: Medicines without Doctors and the Medieval European Hospital,' in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. Barbara S. Bowers (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 138-43.

all the saints in heaven.²³ In other words, Henry recognised the potential for healing in Marian devotion in his text, where she is explicitly addressed as a healer, and also in his hospital.

This chapter demonstrates that Mary fulfils three connected roles in Henry's *Livre* that make her an ideal model for nursing sisters to follow. First, Mary is a nurse or attendant of *Christus medicus* who administers his medicines and bandages wounds as a means of convalescence. Henry insists that Mary is well suited to this role because she is a woman, but I ask whether it is rather her unique attributes as Christ's mother, and thus a divine figure, that make her ideally equipped to be a nurse. Mary's divine role as Christ's mother was something that could not be replicated, yet through this mothering role Mary embodied the protective duties of nurses. Religious women working as nurses were expected to emulate Mary's divine motherhood as best they could through compassion and protecting their patients. The divine and human sides of Mary's nature raised important questions about healing illnesses and the ways in which Christians engaged with religion in their daily lives.

The second role that Mary fulfils is through her body, which, much like Christ's in communion, is a source of medicine. Henry described Mary's tears as a substance through which wounds could be cleansed, and as a result she became the *Maria medica*: a provider of intimate care and a source of extreme compassion that turned the tears she shed for her son at the Passion into an ingredient for various healing treatments. Turning bodily fluids into medicine may seem to be something that nurses could not possibly emulate, but several texts relate the laundry duties of nurses in washing bedsheets and garments as well as bathing patients to the cleansing that Mary's tears provided.²⁴ Mary's bodily medicine contrasts that derived from Christ throughout

²³ Corpus Christi College MS. 218, f. 1r.

²⁴ Jane Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2008), pp. 30, 52-9, 132-43.

Henry's *Livre*. Where Mary's bodily fluids performed a cleansing function that sought to facilitate the soothing and convalescence of patients, Christ's blood and sweat were invoked as symbols of his Passion and the means by which patients recreated his suffering through their own illnesses.

Finally, Mary is a mother to Christ and all patients. Throughout the *Livre*, Henry, the patient of his narrative, places himself at the scenes of Christ's life only to supplant him and become the object of Mary's mothering. Henry replaces the Christ child and suckles at Mary's breast in an image of the *Maria lactans*.²⁵ It would be absurd to expect the nurses of Henry's hospital to have mothered their patients in the same way that Mary mothered Henry; rather the *Maria lactans* served as a pastoral metaphor that encouraged nurses to nourish their patients' spiritual development and physical convalescence. The nurses would feed those patients who were the feeblest and use spiritual treatments designed to increase devotional piety and heal the soul. Breastfeeding imagery reaches its most extreme application in the preparation for a patient's death, in which Mary serves as the mediator between man and Christ. Mary intervenes on behalf of the patient to convince the judge at the Final Judgement to lessen any punishment. In the *Livre* and indeed more broadly across medieval culture, Mary's breast milk was held to be salvific in promoting the health of the soul and the very act of breastfeeding, within which the infant is clutched to the chest, was viewed as a protective act for those facing the Final Judgement. In an eschatological context, then, Mary became an intercessor that was in some circumstances more instrumental than Christ in helping the faithful attain salvation.

²⁵ Beth Williamson 'The Virgin Lactans as Second Eve: Image of the Salvation,' *Studies in Iconography* 19 (1998), pp. 105-38; Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), chapter 13 'The Milk of Paradise'.

In performing these three roles—the nurse, *Maria medica*, and mother—Mary could be seen to exceed the responsibilities of a nurse. Dianne Watt has demonstrated that the Virgin Mary acted as a divine physician and often replaced *Christus medicus* in female vision writings of post-conquest Europe,²⁶ but authors such as Henry of Grosmont approach the allegory of Marian medicine in a different manner. The Virgin Mary did not perform the functions of a physician in diagnosing and prescribing purgative treatments, as Christ does, but used her bodily fluids to supply convalescent medicines to accompany her provision of motherly care. As this chapter contends, Mary was depicted in a manner that would best represent the duties of nun- and canoness-nurses who cared for patients in hospitals for the sick poor. This form of Marian devotion sought to portray the medical and spiritual functions of nurses. This argument does not serve to discredit the Virgin’s role as a divine healer, but rather to stress that her role was different to that of *Christus medicus*. She was not a physician, but a nurse.

Mary as nurse

As I have begun to indicate, the Virgin Mary plays a vital role in Henry of Grosmont’s *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*. She oversees his convalescence by bandaging Henry’s wounds, administering daily medicines and bathing him after Christ has performed his invasive and painful treatments. Yet, if Christ has omnipotent healing powers, why would Henry need to turn to the Virgin Mary at all? Surely Christ could oversee to the purgative and convalescent care of his patients without any help. Henry justifies Mary’s treatments by explaining that she is more

²⁶ Dianne Watt, ‘Mary the Physician: Women, Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages,’ in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture*, ed. Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 27-44.

suited to convalescence than Christ because she is a woman and thus better able to provide convalescent care:²⁷

et par ceo q'elle est femme, s'en doit elle ester le meultz purveue de cel endroit qe un homme ; et pur ceo, tresdouce meistres, jeo voise a ma douce Dame vostre benoite miere la tresseinte Marie et treshumble pucele, a ly requere q'elle me voille doner ascun remenant de ces blancs drapels pur moy enveloper, si qe jeo ne perde mye la vertue de bons emplastres et de seinte oynementz qe sont mys sur mes plaies pur les garrir.

and as she [Mary] is a woman, she should be the better provided with such things than would a man. And for that reason, most sweet Master, I should go to my sweet Lady, your blessed mother, the most holy and most meek Virgin Mary, to ask her to be so good as to give me some scrap of those white bandages to wrap around me, so that I do not lose any of the potency of the fine salves and of the holy ointments that are applied to my wounds to heal them.²⁸

Mary becomes the ultimate nurse, performing a very different function to that of Christ. Where Christ heals with purgative medicines, Mary provides protection and convalescence. Her bandages ensure that Henry's wounds remain free of infection and their white colour symbolises Mary's virginity and purity. While virginity and purity may have been chiefly feminine virtues, they are ultimately traits that link Mary with the divine, recalling the Virgin Birth. Mary's part in the Virgin Birth was associated with her gender, but she also held divine virtues that applied to her alone. For Henry, then, is it Mary's gender or her divine attributes that make her so ideal for convalescent care?

Henry's assessment of women as better care providers is likely drawn from contemporary medical practices and his own experiences at the hospital of the Annunciation of St Mary.

Although there are no accounts of the duties of the nursing sisters in Leicester, we can get some sense of their responsibilities by comparing them with their contemporaries at the Hôtel Dieu in

²⁷ Both Catherine Batt and E.J. Arnould, the modern editors of *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, refer to Mary fulfilling the role of a 'nurse' in assisting Jesus the Divine Physician. Batt, pp. 272-3, and p. 252 n. 516; *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. E. J. Arnould, Anglo-Norman Texts 2 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940), see the introduction, and the marginal annotation to p. 233 (hereafter Arnould).

²⁸ Arnould, p. 207, ll. 14-22; translation by Batt, pp. 251-2.

Paris, a similar urban hospital for the sick poor.²⁹ The Augustinian nurses at the Hôtel Dieu typically began their careers between the ages of ten and twenty as ‘filles blanches,’ and took their vows between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. After a sister had taken the veil, she would enter a year of probation under the guidance of an older sister or prioress, who would provide an apprenticeship-style education.³⁰

Still, the statutes of the Hôtel Dieu do not reveal much about the exact medical procedures that might have been carried out by the nurses. Johann Henri’s devotional text, *Le Livre de Vie Active de l’hotel Dieu de Paris*, gives us a clearer picture. Henri was the proviseur of the Hôtel Dieu from 1471 to 1479 and again from 1482 to 1484. In his text, the nursing sisters bandage and close wounds, apply medicinal salves, and, above all, facilitate the spiritual healing of their penitent patients. The nurses are imagined as instruments of spiritual care, personified as penitential figures throughout the work. ‘Confession’ and ‘Satisfaction for Jesus’ are portrayed as nurses who administer the purgative medicines that are prescribed by Christ and stored in a pharmacy on the hospital site. The purgatives follow the structure of confession, initially causing distress when one confesses one’s sins to the priest, before providing comfort: ‘Confession baille les medicines purgatives par la bouche, et satisfaction, par jeusne, par oraison, par ausmonne et aultres telles œuvres vertueuses et penibles, sert d’électuaires restauratis et confortatis’ [Confession gives the purgative medicines by mouth, and Satisfaction for Jesus, by prayer, by alms and by other such distressing and virtuous works. These serve as electuaries of restoration

²⁹ Carole Rawcliffe, ‘Hospital Nurses and their Work,’ in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. R. Britnell (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), p. 63; P. H. Cullum, ‘Hospitals and Charitable Provision in Medieval Yorkshire’ (unpubl. PhD diss.: University of York, 1990), pp. 103-4; Alexis Chevalier, *L’Hôtel Dieu de Paris: et les Sœurs augustines (650 à 1810)* (Paris: Chez H. Champion, 1901), pp. 59-60; Carole Rawcliffe, ‘A Marginal Occupation? The Medieval Laundress and her Work,’ *Gender and History* 21 (2009), pp. 154-5, 160.

³⁰ Members of the fraternal orders lived and worked at the hospital, but there is little mention of medical responsibilities among the statutes. *Archives de l’Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (1157-1300)*, p. 32.

and comfort].³¹ Confession and Satisfaction offer penance through electuaries (a medicine mixed with honey or another type of sweet substance) that are prescribed by the Divine Physician. The medicines associated with penitence and penance—such as confession, prayer, and almsgiving—are depicted as distressing purgatives, but the inclusion of electuaries soften the bitterness. As a consequence, the nurses turn their namesakes, which are harsh and bitter medicines, into sweet and convalescing treatments that comfort their patients.

The responsibilities of overseeing confession and satisfaction were not merely allegorical in Henri's text. While the nurses themselves would not have heard confession, they certainly assisted priests and comforted patients after they had administered the sacrament. Confession was incredibly important in the running of the Hôtel Dieu. When a patient was admitted, they were superficially examined, typically by one of the nursing sisters, to quickly assess the severity of their illness and then, before any treatment was conducted, ordered to confess their sins.³² This penitential focus was maintained beyond the initial admittance of a patient; it was tied to every aspect of their care. Humbert of Romans explains that spiritual healing was the primary consideration in all duties that a nurse performed, even the most mundane. In a sermon to hospitallers, Humbert declared that religious women working as nurses were humble and charitable figures who cared for their patients through each of their senses, which were tied to specific responsibilities:

In serviendo enim pauperibus infirmis meretur tactus dum manibus elevatur, deponitur, et ducitur ad loca necessitatis, et apportantur infirmo necessaria, et discooperitur, et cooperitur, et induitur, et exuitur infirmus, et similia. Similiter et visus dum visis miseris compatitur. Similiter, et auditus dum verba impatientiae eorum et gemitus nocturnos somnum turbantes sufferuntur patienter. Similiter gustus, dum propter eorum servitium

³¹ Johann Henri, *Etude du Livre de Vie Active de l'Hôtel Dieu de Paris de Jehan Henry XVe siècle*, ed. Marcel Candille (Paris: S.P.E.I., 1964), p.23.

³² Le Grand, *Statuts d'Hôtels-Dieu et de Léproseries*, p. 46: 'Statuta domus dei Parisiensis,' 1220, no. 21.

intermittitur interdum mensa, et similia. Et sic patet, quod omnes sensus merentur in tali servitio.³³

For those serving poor patients, touch is required while the hand lifts or sets [the patient] down to the necessary places, and the things that are needed are brought to the patient, and the patient is covered and uncovered, and dresses and undresses the patient, and so on. Similarly, sight is required while comforting [the patient] with compassionate looks. Likewise, hearing is required to patiently endure [the patient's] words of impatience and the nocturnal groans that disturb sleep. Similarly, taste is required when a meal is missed, as happens sometimes, to serve [the patient]. And thus it is well known that all senses are required in such servitude.

Humbert continues to explain that all these tasks that are performed by nurses on the surface appear quite menial but are in fact part of a framework of spiritual mercy. Those whom the sermon addressed were invited to consider the nurse as a penitential figure worthy of emulation because of the typical humility that was required of them. Humbert was not suggesting that each member of his audience literally perform the duties of a nurse, but that they adopt the same humble and charitable attitude.

Humbert of Romans explained that although nurses could not perform the duties of a priest in providing the sacraments, they facilitated the spiritual lives of their patients in alternative ways. For instance, one of the chief responsibilities of female caregivers was to bring patients in front of hospital altars for communion and prayer. Decorated altarpieces proved to be important tools in upholding the spiritual environment of late-medieval hospitals.³⁴ Peregrine Horden has demonstrated that hospital art was significant in guiding and maintaining psychological states. These states were numbered among what were considered the Galenic non-

³³ Humbert of Romans, *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, ed. M. de la Bigne (Lyon, 1677), Tractatus 1, 40, col. 476A; translation from Alexander Murray, 'Religion Among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans,' *Traditio* 30 (1974), p. 297.

³⁴ Grace Goldin, *Works of Mercy: A Picture History of Hospitals* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1994), p. 31; Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1995-1997), p. 20; Merrall Llewelyn Price, 'Bitter Milk: The "Vasa Menstrualis" and the Cannibal(ized) Virgin,' *College Literature*, 28: *Oral Fixations: Cannibalizing Theories* (2001), pp. 147-9; D. Branch Moody, 'Healing power in the Marian miracle books of Bavarian healing shrines, 1489-1523 A.D.,' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 47 (1992), pp. 79-82.

naturals—that is, environmental and behavioural factors that effected the balance of the humours in the body.³⁵ The decorated altar of the main ward of the infirmary at the Hôtel Dieu (the Salle-Saint-Denis, which contained approximately eighty beds) depicts Mary at the side of the crucified Christ. Mary's grief for her crucified son served as a pictorial reminder of the care with which the nuns and canonesses were to attend to the sick, whereas patients could relate their suffering to that of Christ.³⁶ The central location of the altarpiece in the main ward attests to its significance in the daily life of the patients. Although there were multiple wards to treat separate illnesses and patients in different stages of care, the decorated altarpiece would most likely have reached the largest audience because the main ward housed the largest number of patients. Mary and Christ were constantly on display and watching over those that were bedridden.

Another hospital altarpiece, created by Mathias Grünwald (d. 1528) at the monastery of St Anthony in Isenheim—a monastery famous for taking in patients suffering from the plague—is particularly notable because its panels could be arranged in different configurations to display various scenes of Christ's life. One scene depicts Mary holding the Christ child as she sits on the ground in a landscape populated by Marian symbols (Fig. 1). Some of these symbols are explicitly linked to domestic life—a chamber pot and cradle, for instance, or the bathtub in which Mary bathes the infant Christ in the adjacent panel.³⁷ These symbols signified the responsibilities of mothering and nursing that Mary fulfilled for the infant Christ, and these responsibilities were in turn imitated by the religious nurses as they cared for their own patients.³⁸ When folded in another way, the altar reveals the crucifixion scene with Mary fainting

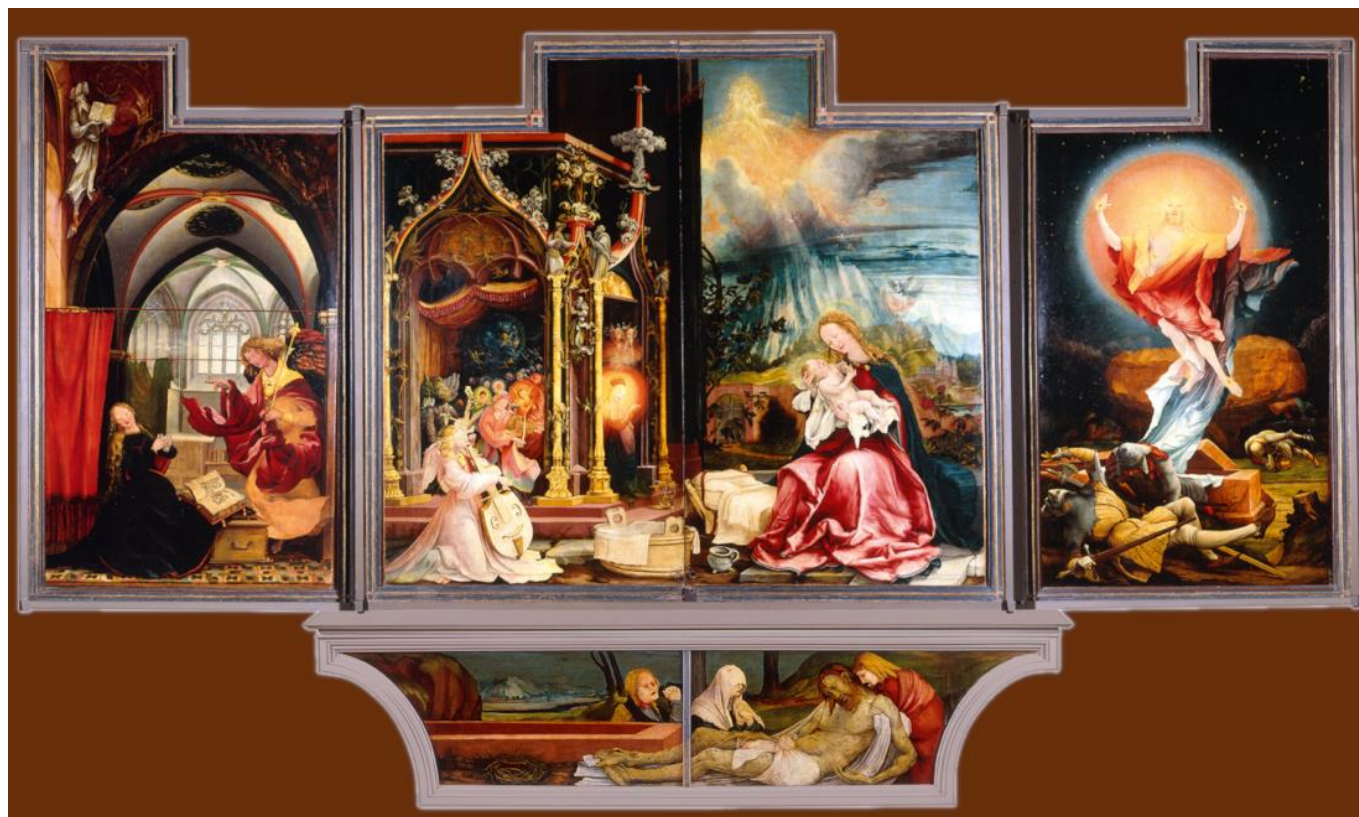
³⁵ Horden, 'A Non-natural Environment,' pp. 138-43.

³⁶ Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul*, p. 169.

³⁷ Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine: A Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912; the original Swedish version was published in 1909), p. 462.

³⁸ Andrée Hayum, *The Isenheim altarpiece: God's medicine and the painter's vision* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 113-5, 179-80 n. 53-4.

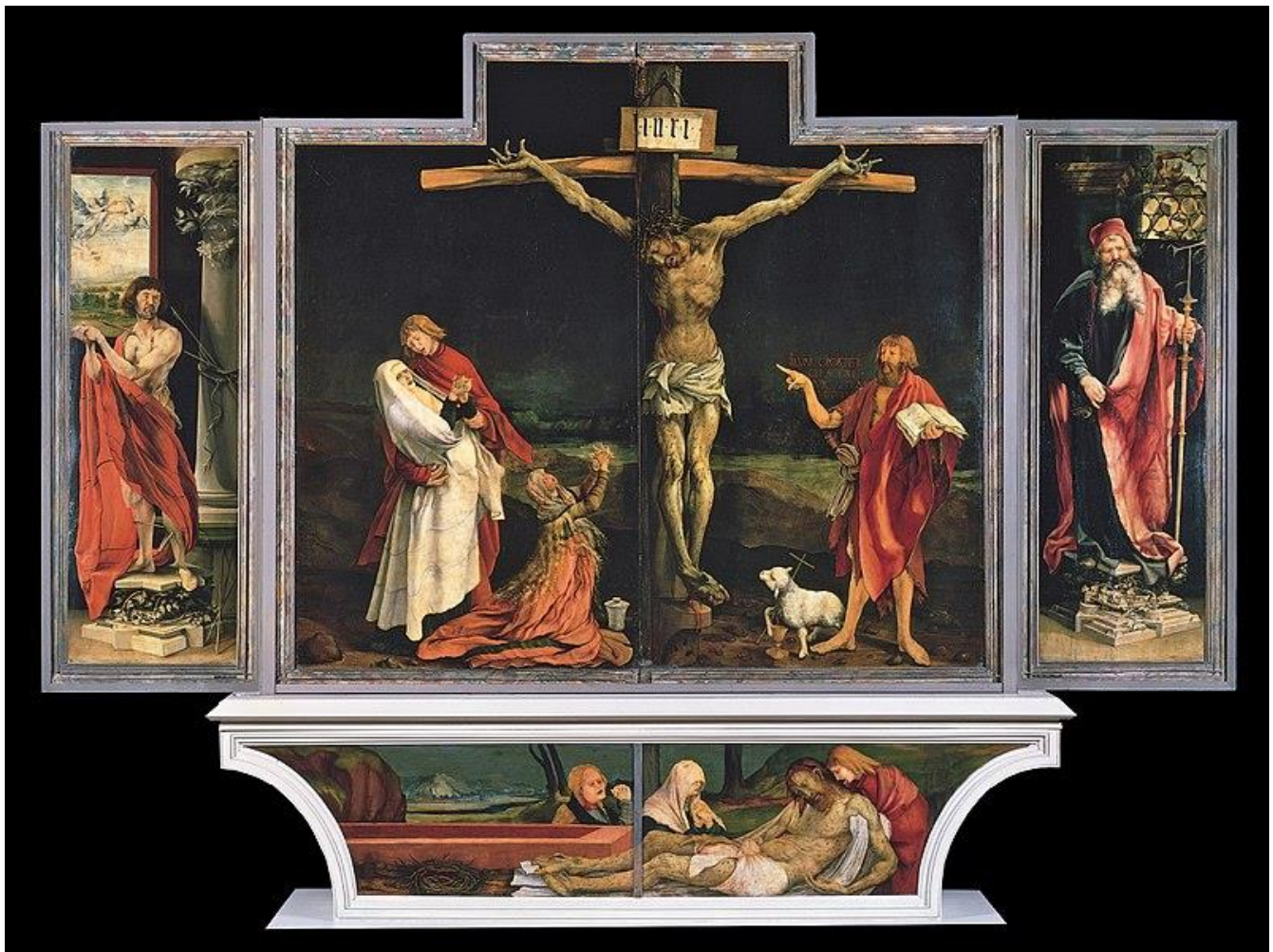
Figure 1: Grünewald, *Isenheim Altarpiece (unfolded)*. Courtesy of Unterlinden Museum, Colmar, France.



at Christ's side (Fig. 2). She is then depicted in the lower panel lamenting over the body of Christ once he has been removed from the cross.³⁹ The compassion displayed by Mary was equally important for the nursing nuns and canonesses, who were required to empathise with and care for their suffering patients as if each one of them were Christ. Altarpieces, therefore, were not only important locations in front of which patients prayed and received communion, but the images they depicted served to reinforce the spiritual care of nurses.

³⁹ Hayum, *Isenheim altarpiece*, pp. 75, 172 n.1.

Figure 2: Grünewald, Isenheim Altarpiece (folded). Courtesy of Unterlinden Museum, Colmar, France.



The depictions of the Virgin Mary at the Hôtel Dieu and on the Isenheim altarpiece stress the divine aspects of Mary's character as Christ's mother. Although there are obvious feminine traits ascribed to the mother, there is no explicit indication in hospital art that being a woman benefited one's ability to care for patients. After all, the apostles were also frequently depicted as comforting figures at Christ's side during his Passion. Nonetheless, Henry's *Livre* continually refers to Mary's gender as a benefit to her nursing duties because, he argues, a woman is more tender and caring than a man and thus more suited to overseeing convalescence.

Where else would these feminine virtues best be exemplified than in the figure of the most gentle and caring woman, the Virgin Mary? Henry elaborates:

Et desicome j'ai eu une si bone gardeyne qe me garde en ma maladie si tresdoucement et mes plaies envolepez si tres a poynt et si tresbien, qe trop serroit outrageous si jeo ne feusse patient, et ma maladie trop greve si elle ne tournast a garrison. Celle douz gardeyne, c'est la douce Virge Seinte Marie nostre douce Dame et vostre douce miere, cher Sires. Et c'est bone custume qe, quant l'en est durement desheitez, qe un femme est ordené a estre delez luy, car plus suef et plus gracieusement le manye et toutz chosers ly fait plus plesamment qe ne ferroit une homme.

And, since I have had such a good nurse, who looks after me so very tenderly in my sickness and bandages my wounds so very skilfully and so very well, I should be too grossly offensive were I impatient and my sickness would be serious indeed were she not to cure it. This gentle nurse is the sweet Virgin Holy Mary our sweet Lady and your sweet mother, beloved Lord. And it is sound practice that, when one is seriously ill, it is a woman who is appointed to tend one, for she ministers to one more tenderly and more gently, and does everything for one more agreeably, than would a man.⁴⁰

The description that Henry provides elides the duties of the nurse with those of the mother of Christ. Mary's relation to nun- and canoness-nurses is demonstrated in the very term used to refer to Mary, 'gardeyne,' which applied to the nurses that attended to patients in hospitals at this period. The use of the word 'nurse' to denote a medical caregiver is anachronistic to the late medieval period, as the term was used exclusively in medieval England to refer to wet nurses and those who provided nourishment to infants.⁴¹ One of Henry's main sources, Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pélerinage de vie humaine*,⁴² written in the 1330s, similarly uses the term *gardienne*. The narrative centres on a pilgrim's allegorical dream vision that features much of the same imagery that Henry explores. Penitence is personified as a 'gardienne' who heals the wounds of sin throughout the text. In the Middle English translation, *The Pilgrimage of The Lyfe*

⁴⁰ Arnould, p. 233, ll. 4-14; Batt, pp. 272-3.

⁴¹ MED, s.v. *norice*.

⁴² Batt, see part 6 of her introduction: 'Henry's debt to Deguileville, and why it matters,' pp. 52-5.

of *The Manhode*, the anonymous author translates the word ‘gardienne’ as ‘wardeyn.’⁴³ The term ‘wardeyn’ might be well suited for Mary’s position in *Le Live de Seyntz Medicines* because it refers to a protector, ward, or someone who keeps watch over vulnerable people.⁴⁴

The implications of protection inherent in the Anglo-Norman ‘gardeyne’ and Middle English ‘wardeyn’ are crucial to our understanding of Mary and religious nurses. Wrapping Henry’s wounds in white bandages, for instance, was considered to be a protective act that stopped dust and air from entering wounds.⁴⁵ The protective fabric that Mary uses to wrap the wounds of sin is related to the image of the Mother of Mercy, who sheltered faithful Christians beneath her cloak.⁴⁶ This image was originally used among the mendicant orders, where Mary kept friars under her cloak in heaven because they were so dear to her. Depictions of the Mother of Mercy became prevalent in hospitals after the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348, where her cloak protected patients from disease. Often images presented Mary pleading with Christ not to inflict the world with plague.⁴⁷ The Mother of Mercy was consequently linked explicitly to relics made of fabric and to charitable institutions that catered to the sick poor during the plague.⁴⁸ The protective and purifying values of the fabric in which Henry’s wounds are wrapped, then,

⁴³ Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of The Lyfe of The Manhode Translated anonymously into prose from Guillaume de Deguileville’s Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, ed. Avril Henry, EETS 288 (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 27, ll. 1109-16.

⁴⁴ MED, s.v. wardein.

⁴⁵ M. Teresa Tavormina, ‘Henry of Lancaster, *The Book of Holy Medicines*,’ in *Cultures of piety: medieval English devotional literature in translation*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 23, 27-8, 30, 34, 37.

⁴⁶ While Mary’s cloak was more often depicted as blue in colour, rather than white, she was frequently depicted with a white veil.

⁴⁷ Hanneke Van Asperen, ‘The Sheltering Cloak: Images of Charity and Mercy in Fourteenth-Century Italy,’ *Textile, Cloth and Culture* 11, 3 (2013), pp. 262-81; Nicole Archambeau, ‘Healing Options during the Plague: Survivor Stories from a Fourteenth-Century Canonization Inquest,’ *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85, 4 (2011), pp. 531-59; Juanita Ballew Wood, *Wooden Images: Misericords and Medieval England* (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), pp. 53-5. Chaucer famously parodied this image in his ‘Summoner’s Prologue.’ *The Riverside Chaucer*, general ed. Larry D. Benson 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), ‘Summoner’s Prologue,’ ll. 1668-99.

⁴⁸ Van Asperen, ‘Sheltering Cloak,’ pp. 265-7. See also the discussion in chapter two of the relics of St Vitus Cathedral in Prague.

parallel the virtues associated with the Mother of Mercy. The protecting treatments associated with the Mother of Mercy would be recreated by nun- and canoness-nurses through treatments traditionally associated with surgery, such as bandaging, as a means of protecting flesh.

Wound care was not an uncommon duty that women performed in late-medieval Europe. John Arderne (1307-90), for instance, recounts a case of a priest who was treated by a female practitioner for a cancerous lump on his right breast that had swelled to the size of a hen's egg. The female surgeon explained that the priest needed 'to leye ane emplastre therto & to drynke of the drynke of Antioche by longe tyme.'⁴⁹ Arderne brings up this example not to point to the peculiarity of a female surgeon, but to argue against the use of the 'drynke of Antioche,' which he saw as ineffective. Furthermore, there is ample evidence of women owning surgical books. This is not to say that all women who owned surgical texts were practitioners, but simply that they had these resources to hand. Surgical texts contained information that was useful to all, and so it is little surprise that they are often found in the libraries of aristocratic women who had no association with the professional practice of medicine. Monica H. Green has illustrated that aristocratic women frequently owned and bequeathed surgical texts in their wills. At a Franciscan house of minoresses that Henry visited at Aldgate, aristocratic women left various medical books to the library in their wills. The will of Elizabeth Wellys, dated 1520, for example, explains that she wished for the herbal book that she lent to the minoresses to remain at the house for the common use of the residents. Although a herbal is not strictly a surgical text, it would have been consulted for a large number of treatments, such as creating poultices for

⁴⁹ John Arderne, *The Lesser Writings of John Arderne*, ed. D'Arcy Power (London: Seventeenth International Congress of Medicine, 1913), p. 124; A.L. Wyman, 'The Surgeoness: The Female Practitioner of Surgery 1400-1800,' *Medical History* 28 (1984), p. 26.

wounds.⁵⁰ Evidence suggests, therefore, that religious women would not have been restricted from wound treatment, but would have been encouraged to take on some of the responsibilities of the surgeon.⁵¹ Where some nurses would simply have rebandaged wounds and cleaned them, senior nurses who had more experience would have conducted more complex wound treatments.

Practical acts of wound care were imbued with a spiritual significance that linked the day-to-day duties of nurses to the exemplarity of the Virgin Mary. From the most mundane or menial tasks to the most advanced forms of wound treatment, nurses were portrayed as performing vital penitential acts. They were to protect and care for their patients with a compassion that echoed Mary as she witnessed her son's crucifixion, and with a tenderness that matched Mary's as she bathed her infant son. Although it would be naive to suggest that all nuns and canonesses that served as nurses looked to imitate Mary as the divine nurse, Henry of Grosmont certainly tried to direct them towards Christ's mother as the ideal model of care and protection. By stressing the superior abilities of women in convalescence, Henry sought to turn the divine role of Christ's mother into qualities that could be imitated by nurses in their hospital care. Mary was the divine nurse who represented the highest standard of convalescent care, fulfilling duties for which Christ, in the role of physician, was not suited.

Maria medica

While Henry of Grosmont is adamant that Mary is best suited to the role of a nurse who oversees convalescence, she also takes on further responsibilities of healing. Mary is not the passive

⁵⁰ Monica H. Green, 'Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages,' *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 20 (2000), pp. 334-7, Table 1; Batt, pp. 57-9.

⁵¹ Winston Black demonstrates that women of late-medieval Europe were not excluded from medical licensing legislation and were in many instances subject to the same laws and regulations as their male counterparts. *Medicine and Healing in the Premodern West: A History in Documents* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2020), pp. 212-18.

observer of Christ the Physician; she had her own part to play in his Passion and in fact uses the products of her body medicinally in many texts of the period. Devotional traditions of the late fourteenth century depict Mary's body acts as a source of pharmacy akin to the 'drogueries' described by Johann Henri,⁵² where salvific medicines are produced and stored. In the *Livre*, the products of Mary's body are convalescent and soothing, whereas the medicines produced from Christ's body are painful and force the patient, Henry, to consider the intense suffering of the Passion. Possibly the most intense medicine that Henry endures is a 'corrosive powder' [poynante poudre] that is sprinkled on his wounds. Henry insists that although these medicines hurt, they will ultimately be less painful than eternal damnation in Hell.⁵³ Mary's medicines turn the hard work of penance, as represented in Christ's body, into the comfort of satisfaction. Henry's application of Mary's pharmacy was not unique; it was a recognised allegory in devotional and medical texts. For example, Teodorico de Borgognoni's *Vulnerabili* describes a cautery for use on fistulas of the tear duct or the jaw, herpes esthiomenus, cancer, and the more specific form of cancer called 'noli me tangere.'⁵⁴ The recipe requires the heating of arsenic and other acidic materials until a white residue is collected that '[h]ec acus fiat mitis et suavis sicut sudor beate Marie Virginis quando peperit Christum' [makes its sharpness soft and gentle like the sweat of the Blessed Virgin when she gave birth to Christ].⁵⁵ Through the influence of texts like Teodorico's, Mary's sweat became synonymous with sweetness and relief from the harsh

⁵² *Etude du Livre de Vie Active*, p. 23.

⁵³ Batt, p. 242; Arnould, p. 196, ll. 1-7.

⁵⁴ 'Noli me tangere' was a severe form of cancer that was often described as a hidden disease. The name of the illness itself is taken from John 20: 17, where Mary Magdalen recognises Jesus. The words (touch me not) are used in a medical context to warn off those considering treating a cancerous tumour by cutting into it or interfering with it, which could cause it to grow faster.

⁵⁵ Michael McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages* (Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni Del Galluzzo, 2006), p. 190; from the *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci*, (Venice, 1546), vol. 4. 8, f. 183va; translation from *The surgery of theodoric, ca. A.D. 1267.*, trans. Eldridge Campbell and James Colton (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1955), vol. 2, pp. 213-4.

burning of purging medicines and operations. Henry of Grosmont extends this use of Mary's sweat to turn the Virgin's entire body into a source of medicine through which pain is filtered and transformed.

The tears Mary shed at her son's crucifixion are perhaps the most efficacious form of body pharmacy in *Le Livre de seyntz medicines*. Henry does not place himself at the side of Christ during the crucifixion as an act of *imitatio Christi*, but at the side of Mary when she is mourning her son's death. In this scene Henry both identifies with Mary's painful grief and is the recipient of her emotion, seeking to use her tears to bathe his wounds:

A! Dame, purroie jeo pur nul bel priere fyner a si haute medicine come de tresdurement salés lermes qe de vos douz oeux si douloureusement plorastes, quant vous veistes vostre tresbenoit filtz ester feruz d'un rouillee lance par my le benoit costee tanqe au coer douz et debonaire. Et ne mye soulement au coer, mes par my celui humble coer tanqe a l'autre costee. [...] Et bein par reson deveroient estre celles precieuses lermes de vous, Dame, medicinales a ma plaie laver de coer, si nule laveure purroit eider. Car celle eawe si sourd primerement de nostre freile coer, qe par reson estoit incurable ; et puis de coer le douz Jesus corust, dont le coup estoit par reson incurable ; tanqe elle corust en coer de vous, ma douce Dame, et ausi par reson la elle estoit mult incurable, et plus de vostre entente meistes et de cure a morir qe a garrir ; et ensi il me semble, tresdouce Dame, qe plus noble licour je ne purroie poynte trover nule part a laver mon coer, qe si perillousement est naufrez. Et noble et durement bon coveneroit il estre qe par mye si precieuse lieu coert, com par my diaux si douz, humbles et si pitous coers com le coer de vostre filtz et le vostre. Et ausi bien est la plaie de mon coer incurable par toute reson, siqe celle douce laveure, il m'est avys, me serroit trop estable et bien aprpriez a mon male nettement laver.

Ah, Lady, if I may, for any fine prayer, come by so refined a medicine as that of your most intensely salt tears that you so sorrowfully wept from your sweet eyes, when you saw your most blessed son being wounded by a rusty lance though his blessed side, as far as his sweet and humble heart. [...] And, if any cleansing could help at all, those precious tears of your, Lady, would be medicinal to bathe my heart-wound, and with good reason. For that water sprang first in our sickly hearts, which were, by rights, incurable. And then it flowed from sweet Jesus's heart, wounded, by rights, incurably, until it flowed into your heart, my sweet Lady, the wound to which also was by rights most incurable, and you turned your efforts and your care more to dying than to healing. And so it seems to me, most sweet Lady, that I could nowhere find a more noble fluid to wash my heart, which is so dangerously wounded. And it is of necessity noble and extremely good, since it courses through such a precious place as through two so sweet, humble, and so compassionate hearts as the heart of your son, and your own. And just as, by all reason,

the wound of my heart is incurable, so it seems to me that sweet cleansing would be most helpful to me and highly suitable to wash away my ills properly.⁵⁶

Although the wound of Henry's heart is caused by sin rather than the lance of Longinus, the location of Henry's wound would suggest that it is part of his engagement with the *imitatio Christi*. Nevertheless, the primary focus of the passage is the tears that emanate from Mary's heart. Mary received an empathetic wound in her heart when Jesus was pierced by the rusty spear, and she began to weep salty tears. A hydraulic system is created that filters the blood of Christ through Mary's heart to create tears, which are in turn used to wash Henry's heart. As a result, Henry indirectly participates in the Passion through Mary's body.

The outpouring of emotion that Mary's tears signify can be compared with the use of tears in Johann Henri's *Livre de Vie Active*. In this text, the river Seine, upon which the Hôtel Dieu is situated, is used in a play on words with health, *saine*. The water that travels around the hospital acts as a source of life and cleansing. The sisters carry out their laundry duties in the river and it is a thoroughfare through which the hospital receives supplies. Moreover, all those who pass into the hospital must first pass over this water: 'Aussi verrez comme celle maison d'ausmonne est la religieuse maison d'ospitalité située en une isle environnée d'eau de larmes et de pitié qui rend ung fleuve de saine eau de grâce, lequel il convient passer qui veult entrer en celle maison d'ospitalité' [Also see how the house of alms is a religious house of hospitality situated on an island surrounded by water of tears and pity, which transforms into a healthy river of grace, over which one should pass who want to come into the house of hospitality].⁵⁷ This house of alms and hospitality is the hospital itself, and the river of tears and pity on which it is located is transformed into the healing water of grace by the care of the canonesses. There is also

⁵⁶ Arnould, pp. 143-4, ll. 20-31; Batt, pp. 199-201.

⁵⁷ *Etude du Livre de Vie Active*, p.20.

a strong connection between the river of tears and baptism, with the Seine acting like the river Jordan in an allegory of the cleansing of sin.⁵⁸ The trip across the Seine that each patient would take to enter the hospital would purify them for the convalescence provided within. Henri explains that those who enter the hospital are brought across the river on floating islands as part of a charitable mission:

Les isles flottantes et mouvantes sont les cuers des créatures humaines et mondaines flotans par compassion sur l'amertume et douleurs des misères de ce monde, muable comme la mer, et sont environnées du bras d'eau de larmes et de pitié qui s'espand par piteuse considération sur les particulières misères, pouvretés et necessités de ses prouchains; c'est quant proposent et se disposent secourir au besoing.⁵⁹

The floating, moving islands are the hearts of human and worldly creatures floating by compassion on the bitterness and pain of the miseries of this world, changeable like the sea. And they are surrounded by a channel of water of tears and pity that spread over individual miseries, poverty and the necessities of one's neighbours through compassionate consideration; it is in that moment that one must offer and provide help in time of need.

The floating islands parallel the barges on the Seine that travelled to and from the hospital in order to deliver and receive goods, and to ferry people back and forth (as depicted by Fig. 3).

Henri treats the islands as hearts because, like *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicine*, the emotion contained in the shedding of tears and the virtue of pity emanates from the heart. Clarissa Chenovick has described a 'cardiocentrism' in the later Middle Ages that centred on ideas derived from Galenic and Aristotelian sources about the function of the heart as the 'seat of the soul.' The heart was the vital organ in producing *pneuma* or *spiritus*, the essential component in the operation of memory and emotion.⁶⁰ Residents of the hospital are carried by their hearts to receive the treatment they need for curing sin and to ensure their spiritual convalescence. The

⁵⁸ For more on the relationship between bathing, cleansing, and baptism, see: Elma Brenner, 'Recent Perspectives on Leprosy in Medieval Western Europe,' *History Compass* 8, 5 (2010), pp. 388-406.

⁵⁹ *Etude du Livre de Vie Active*, p.27.

⁶⁰ Clarissa Chenovick, 'Speaking, Thinking, Writing: Meditative Surgery and Intercorporeal Circulation in Henry Duke of Lancaster's *Livre de Seyntz Medicines* (1354),' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46 (2016), pp. 35-40.

Figure 3: Casimir Tollet, *Hôtel-Dieu, Paris*, woodcut, 1892. An engraving based on the fifteenth-century manuscript of Henri's *Livre de Vie Active* now in the Musée de l'Assistance publique, Paris. Image courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine, IHM:0042581.



Seine is composed of the affective tears that offered a cleansing bath for sinful maladies, which patients both experienced when entering the hospital and when the nurses washed their garments and bed sheets in the river. Once again, the mundane tasks of the nurse were given a penitential significance.

Henry of Grosmont's text differs from *Le Livre de Vie Active* in that there the tears in the Seine are converted into the waters of grace, whereas the tears of Mary in *Le Livre de seyntz medicines* needed no transformation.⁶¹ Mary's tears possess the properties of rosewater, a fluid

⁶¹ While the hospital of the Annunciation of St Mary may not have had the Seine and its cleansing symbolism as portrayed in *Le Livre de Vie Active*, it had the river Soar, a tributary of the river Trent. In the fourteenth century the

commonly used in medieval medicines for its aromatic and cleansing properties. Rosewater was, for instance, frequently mentioned in medieval recipe books as a key ingredient in theriac.⁶²

Mary's body serves to filter Christ's blood and turn it into her rosewater tears:

Certes, tresdouz Dame Sainte Marie, solonc mon petit avys, il me semble qe ceste eawrose puisse jeo bien resemble a voz douces lermes, car, sicom j'ai dit devant qe homme prent de roses un bon quantité et toutz flestriees et les mette homme sur un fil, quelles sont celles rouges roses ? Ces sont les hidouses et senglantes plaies de Jesus, qe feurent tout mys sur un file—c'estoit le fil Sainte Marie qe vous, douce Dame Sainte Marie, par la grande humilité qe en vous estoit, ceo douz fil en voz douz flanes doucement filastes.

Indeed, most sweet Lady, Holy Mary, it seems to me, in my humble opinion, that I may aptly compare this rosewater to your sweet tears, for, where I noted above that one will take a good quantity of fully withered roses and put them on a string: what may those roses be? They are hideous and bleeding wounds of Jesus, which were all put on one thread—this was the son of Holy Mary, the sweet thread which you, sweet Lady Holy Mary, sweetly span in your sweet womb, in your great humility.⁶³

Mary's rosewater tears are composed of rose petals that symbolise Jesus's wounds.⁶⁴ These petals were then threaded on a string and exposed to the sun until they withered, much as Christ was left to hang on the cross.⁶⁵ As Catherine Batt has pointed out, the recipe also features a play

river Soar was not as large as it is today and could not accommodate barges like the Seine. Still, the Annunciation of St Mary was located almost on the riverbank and the Soar would have been a vital water source for the hospital.

⁶² For more on Rosewater and its historical and symbolic uses, see: Holly Dugan, 'Scent of a Woman: Performing the Politics of Smell in Late Medieval and Early Modern England,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, 2 (2008), p. 231; Christiane Nockels Fabbri, 'Treating Medieval Plague: The Wonderful Virtues of Theriac,' *Early Science and Medicine* 12 (2007), p. 251.

⁶³ Arnould, p. 150, ll. 21-30; Batt, pp. 206-7.

⁶⁴ As Catherine Batt suggests in her edition, Mary was commonly associated with the rose, especially in poems such as *Lumere* and *Miserere*. Batt, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, p. 31. Nonetheless, the rose is a symbol that is also linked to Christ and a number of other figures. For more see: Mia Touw, 'Roses in the Middle Ages,' *Economic Botany* 36 (1982), pp. 75-7.

⁶⁵ Turning from the metaphorical significance to the recipe itself, it is evident that it bears a strong relation to historical recipes of rosewater. The late fourteenth-century *Le Ménagier de Paris* lists several recipes for rosewater used in cooking and medicine. Every recipe required the petals to be left in the sun in order to dry them out and heat the concoction. An accelerated process was suggested by placing the vial above hot ashes or coals. The book does not mention placing the petals on a string, however, as in most recipes the petals needed to be crushed or simply mixed into the water. The closest the author comes to threading the petals on a string, is in placing them in a handkerchief, or piece of cloth, in the distillation process. The cloth seems to achieve the same purpose as the string in elevating the petals from the bottom of the vial. *Le Ménagier De Paris, Traité De Morale Et D'économie Domestique Composé Vers 1393 ... Publié Pour La Première Fois Par La Société Des Bibliophiles François*, ed. Jérôme Pichon, 2 vols (Paris: De L'imprimerie de Crapelet, 1846).

on the words *fil* (string) and *file* (son), further strengthening the symbolic potential of the rose petals and Christ, and representing an umbilical cord that links the mother's suffering with that of the son.⁶⁶ Identifying Christ's wounds as rose petals on a string may also take a cue from the medieval rosary or chaplet. The beads of the chaplet were often equated with Christ's wounds during the Passion and Mary's connection to them.⁶⁷ Whether Henry was consciously mirroring the chaplet in his recipe for rosewater or not, the association can certainly be drawn. The chaplet is, after all, a physical manifestation of Marian devotion.

Henry places himself at Mary's side during the Passion to receive the rosewater. Instead of making an explicit connection between his own wounds and Christ's, Henry explains how the rosewater tears of Mary can be directly compared with the wounds and blood of Jesus:

Et, tout estoient les roses rouges, et la eawe qe en vient estoit blanche et clere ; et si estoient les lermes blanches et cleres qe de rouges plaies vindrent. Et sicom j'ai dite cy devant qe riens ne ressemble l'eawe q'estoit si clere et si blanche q'ele deveroit venir de les rouges roses, forsqe par l'odour, c'est a entendre ausi qe les blanches cleres lermes qe vindrent de rouges plaies ne ressembloient pas forsqe [par] dolour.

And, although the roses were red, the water that came from them was both white and clear. And the tears that came from the red wounds were white and clear. And just as I said above, that the water that was so clear and so white in no way looks as though it had come from red roses, except for its odour, similarly one should understand that the white clear tears that came from the red wounds were like them only in their dolour and pain.⁶⁸

Throughout the *Livre*, Jesus's blood serves as a medicinal ointment, but in this excerpt Jesus's blood is replaced by the tears of his mother. Henry again refers to Mary's empathetic wound, and the tears she cries become a symbolic extension of Christ's blood that serve to include Mary in

⁶⁶ Catherine Batt, "'De celle mordure vient la mort dure': Perspectives on Puns and their Translation in Henry, Duke of Lancaster's *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*," in *The Medieval Translator, Traduire au Moyen Age*, ed. J. Jenkins and O. Bertrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 410.

⁶⁷ For the connection between Christ's wounds, Mary's grief, and the rosary: Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp.103-5; Rachel Fulton Brown, 'The Virgin in the Garden, or Why Flowers Makes Better Prayers,' *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 4 (2004), pp. 19-20.

⁶⁸ Arnould, p. 152, ll. 11-9; Batt, pp. 207.

the process of the Passion and Christ's bleeding.⁶⁹ These tears do not emanate from Christ's wounds but from the mother's heart, as his red blood is filtered through Mary's body and converted into white tears.

The whiteness of the tears indicates their purity and echoes the white colour of the bandages with which Mary later binds Henry's wounds. This colour change is further suggestive of rosewater, which changes the moisture from the red rose petals into a clear liquid.⁷⁰ The pain and stench of Henry's wounds then begin to mimic the rosewater when they are treated by Mary's tears:

Et entre *l'odour* et *dolour* n'y a qe petite difference de changement de diaux lettres—c'est de *d* et de *l* -, siqe jeo puisse bien dire qe les lermes de celle douce Dame, coment q'elles estoient cleres et blanches, eles par grant *dolour* ressembloient a les rouges plaies de son benoit filtz et plus ressembloit son *dolour* a sa mort qe ne ferroit nul autre *dolour* et more a celle *dolorouse* mort. Et, tresdouce Dame, desicome *l'odour* de mon orde et vil puant pecché est uncore tout dis en moy, jeo vous prie et requere qe tant deignetz prier et requere pur moy qe *l'odour* me soit tournee en *dolour*, qe jeo peusse changer de *d* a *l* - c'est de la *dolour* d'enfern a *l'odour* de la joie de paradis.

And between '*odour*' and '*dolour*' there is only a tiny difference in the exchange of two letters—that is, of the '*d*' and the '*l*'—so that I may say that the tears of that sweet Lady, although they were clear and white, were like the red wounds of her blessed son in their great *dolour*, and they resembled his *dolour* at his death more than any other *dolour* and death could be like that *dolorous* death. And, most sweet Lady, just as the *odour* of my filthy and evil stinking sin is still constantly within me, I beg and entreat you to agree to beg and entreat on my behalf that my *odour* be turned for me into *dolour*, that I may change from a '*d*' to an '*l*', that is, from the *dolour* of hell to the *odour* of the joy of heaven.⁷¹

⁶⁹ In some texts Mary's grief was described as a greater pain than Christ experienced, see: Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, p. 39; see also Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 151.

⁷⁰ *Le Ménagier de Paris* suggests that rosewater would have been clear because there is a separate recipe for red rosewater. This recipe required one to cut away the white or lighter coloured parts of red rose petals and to leave the concoction in the sun for nine days (significantly longer than the other recipes). See also the Anglo-Norman version of the *Practica Brevis of Platearius* in *Anglo-Norman Medicine I Roger Frugard's Chirurgia and the Practica Brevis of Platearius*, ed. Tony Hunt (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), lib 1, cap. 7, 7, *De Ptisi*, p. 205. There is a recipe for a syrup which mixes rosewater and a 'gumme arrabic' used for treating consumption (*de ptisi*). This recipe discusses the colour that one would expect to find in each of the ingredients.

⁷¹ Arnould, p. 152, ll. 19-31; Batt, p. 208.

Mary's tears are compared to Christ's blood because of the 'dolour' felt by the mother and son. Henry seeks to share in this grief by begging Mary to change the *odour* of his sinful wounds into *dolour* and then into the *odour* of paradise. The *dolour* offers a form of penance in recognising Jesus's and Mary's suffering during the Passion, with Henry becoming the third participant in a suffering trinity. The cure, however, comes from Mary alone in converting the stench for pain and then finally for joy.⁷² Only once Henry feels this pain that purges the foul stench of his wounds can his wounds emit a sweet, heavenly smell comparable to that of the 'odour of sanctity' that saints' corpses exude.⁷³ The odour of sanctity enables saints' bodies to be preserved and paraded in processions because they do not succumb to the process of decay.⁷⁴ Rosewater tears that submerge Henry's foul wounds elevate them from painful sin into something approaching a saintly purity.

Jesus has a surprisingly limited role in these passages; he is neither the subject of the excerpts nor the source of the medicine. Although Jesus provokes Mary's emotions in his Passion, he does not take an active role in Henry's healing. Henry does not mimic or share Jesus's wounds in the mode of *imitatio Christi*, but instead introduces himself into the crucifixion scene to siphon the products of Mary's grief. Jesus can be likened to an ingredient of the medicine, but Mary mixes and administers the curative tears to the patient. This is not to say that Christ provides no body pharmacy in Henry's healing. For instance, Henry depicts Jesus as a capon cooked in an earthenware pot. Jesus the capon is not eaten, however, as Henry makes a broth from his sweat. Terence Scully labels this dish 'Chicken Water' (Eaue rose d'un chapon

⁷² Batt, 'De celle mordure vient la mort dure,' p. 417.

⁷³ The association of heaven with sweet smells is a common trope for the period, see: Richard Palmer, 'In Bad Odour: Smell and Its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century,' in *Medicine and the Five Senses*, ed. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 68.

⁷⁴ C.M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 118-32; Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (London: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 138-9, 201-6.

ou poulle). This was a sickdish served to weak patients and dinner guests who suffered from ill health or a sensitive stomach.⁷⁵ The broth of Henry's *Livre*, drawing on Luke 22: 44, is composed of Christ's sweat, which became like 'drops of blood' before his crucifixion:

Beau Sires Dieux, vous estes le chapon qi suastes, et de vous degouteront tant des foutes d'un licour qe feust come sank tresprecious et tresseinte et c'estoit devant vostre dure passion, quant vous, douz Sires, adorastes a vostre Piere en ciel [...] qe, si il luy pleust, il vous desportast de celle mort et de celuy fer et dur turment [...]. Et la precieuse char, qe par sa nature fremer covenoit, et mult forte douter deust celle dure passion, si suoit d'anguise doutes com sank, le quel douz suour et goutes [...].

Dear Lord God, you are the capon that sweated, and many drops of a fluid like blood, most precious and most holy, trickled from you. And this was before your cruel Passion, when you, sweet Lord, prayed to your Father in heaven [...] that, if it pleased him, he should deliver you from that death and from that hard and cruel torment [...]. And the precious flesh—which it was natural to tremble, and which must have been terrified of that cruel Passion—sweated drops like blood in its anguish, which sweet perspiration and drops [...].⁷⁶

This sweat is likened to the blood that Jesus would later bleed while on the cross, yet the sweat is not taken as a form of blood and the imagery of sweating before the Passion is maintained throughout the passage.⁷⁷ Henry explains that Christ's sweat acts as a preparative that allows him to accept further medication:

tresdouce Sires, jeo vous requier, en noun de charité, qe jeo en puisse avoir ore a ma grande bosoigne, pur moy revigourer et faire fort pur recevoir toutes les autres medicines qe eider me poent et a soeffrir qe vous, beau douz Meistres, facetz toutes les meistries de moy qe il vous plerra pur moy garrir.

⁷⁵ Terence Scully, 'The Sickdish in Early French Recipe Collections,' in *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall, and David Klausner (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), pp. 133-5.

⁷⁶ Arnould, p. 195, ll. 12-23; Batt, p. 241. A similar passage is found in Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi*. This text was widely read in the late-medieval period and its descriptions of Christ's Passion were often adapted for sermons and devotional works. See: Holly Johnson, *The Grammar of Good Friday: Macaronic Sermons of Late Medieval England*, *Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching* 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), p. 75.

⁷⁷ There was a lot of debate among medieval theologians as to whether this sweat was actually blood or not. John Pecham wrote that Christ's foreboding affected his heart's humoral balance and led to the dispersion of excess blood to his other organs. The additional blood that was pumped around his body and the excess heat led to the blood being emitted as a type of sweat. John Pecham, *Quodlibeta quatuor*, ed. G. Etzkorn and F. Delorme, *Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica* 25 (Grottaferrata: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1989), *Quodlibet* iii.4, pp. 139-40; Joseph Ziegler, 'Medicine and Immortality in Terrestrial Paradise' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, *York Studies in Medieval Theology* 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 237-8.

most sweet Lord, I entreat you, in the name of charity, I may now have in my great need, to restore me to health and strengthen me to take all the other medicines that may help me, and to suffer that you, dear gentle Master, exercise upon me all the skills you please in order to cure me.⁷⁸

The sickdish serves as a necessary treatment that must be consumed before the stomach is strong enough to accept stronger medicines. Jesus's sickdish is thus a vital step in preparing the patient for further treatment. Yet, this broth composed of Jesus's sweat is one of the most abstract allegories of the work. While bathing in Mary's tears is an allegory that could not literally be enacted, one could come into the presence of Mary's tears in reliquaries and nun- and canoness-nurses looked to imitate the medicinal values of her tears in their laundry and bathing duties.⁷⁹ Depicting Jesus as a capon and consuming his sweat as a broth, by contrast, seems to be an obtuse metaphor. Capon broth may have been used regularly as a sickdish, but its relation to Christ's sweat is not immediately obvious. Nevertheless, the image of Christ the capon was not outrageous.⁸⁰ Henry's aim in writing the text is to describe a range of healing treatments to which the capon sickdish is one crucial element.

Just as the broth of the capon symbolised Christ's dread before the Passion, a bath of blood that Henry takes after eating represents the pain that Christ felt when his side was pierced on the cross. For Christ, 'le baigne estoit la fer passion sur la croice e le sank precious en qoi vostre benoit corps estoit baignee pur nous laver de nos pecchés' [the bath was the cruel Passion on the cross, and the holy blood, in which your blessed body was bathed in order to wash us of our sins].⁸¹ Christ's bath consisted of his side being pierced, which in turn made blood trickle down his body. Henry's bath, however, does not present the same pain because the 'blood' in

⁷⁸ Arnould, p. 195, ll. 23-8; Batt, p. 241.

⁷⁹ Cartwright, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales*, pp. 30, 52-9, 132-43.

⁸⁰ See, for example, the words of Jesus in *Vulgate*, Matthew 23:37: 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you! How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, you would not!'

⁸¹ Arnould, p. 204, ll. 21-4; Batt, p. 249.

which he bathes is configured as holy water that is not too hot or cold, and is not an unpleasant experience.⁸² This temperature is of the ‘second degree’ as designated in the *Liber graduum*, a medical text that was often included as part of the *Pantegni Practica*. The ‘second degree’ was as hot as ‘natural heat’ itself and was thus the ideal balanced temperature for maintaining the body’s perfect complexion (*perfecte complexio*).⁸³ When Henry leaves the bath, his body’s complexion changes and his temperature leaves the second degree. This change in complexion acts as a form of purgation because it causes him to sweat profusely: ‘apres ceo baigne, il me semble qe jeo deusse bien suer et terminer hors de ma maladie et de ma male destempree chalour de pecché en qoi j’ai si longement estee’ [after that bath I think that I ought to sweat well and convalesce from my illness and from my evil, immoderate heat of sin in which I have been so long].⁸⁴ When the body loses heat it is unpleasant, but leaving the bath enables the body to purge harmful humours through sweat.

Henry’s bath that cleanses sins can be linked with a bath of Christ’s blood that is discussed in the *Ancrene Wisse*, a guide for anchorites that has been suggested as an authority for the *Livre*.⁸⁵ The author compares a bath of blood that is used to cure a child of disease with an allegorical bath of blood that Jesus provided all Christians who were marked by sin: ‘Þis dude ure Lauerd us þe weren se seke of sunne, ant swa isulet þer-wið, þet na þing ne mahte healen us ne cleansin us bute his blod ane, for swa he hit walde. His luue madeð us beað [bath] þrof—

⁸² Arnould, pp. 202-03, ll. 8-14; Batt, pp. 247-8.

⁸³ Faith Wallis, ‘The Ghost in the *Articella*: A Twelfth-century Commentary on the Constantinian *Liber Graduum*,’ in *Herbs and Healers from the Ancient Mediterranean through the Medieval West: Essays in Honor of John M. Riddle*, ed. Anne Van Arsdall and Timothy Graham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 113-4, 131.

⁸⁴ Arnould, p. 203 ll. 15-18; Batt, p. 248.

⁸⁵ Yoko Wada, *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), p. 90; Liz Herbert McAvoy, ‘Medicinal Cures of Anchoritic Devotion,’ in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture*, ed. Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, *Gender in the Middle Ages 11* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 99-102.

iblescet beo he eature!’⁸⁶ The difference between Henry’s bath and that of the *Ancrene Wisse* is that blood itself does not cleanse Henry’s sins; it is rather the temperature of the blood and the resulting sweat caused from leaving the bath that causes the body to be purged. In the *Ancrene Wisse*, on the other hand, the blood itself is treated as the only medicine that could possibly heal sin. The anchorites are encouraged to participate in and re-enact Christ’s Passion, which can be a process of intense pain. Although Henry suffers pain in leaving the bath, this pain is not compared to Christ’s own suffering. In other words, Henry requires the fluids from Jesus’s body for the purging of sins, but he does not match the suffering of the Passion as an act of *imitatio Christi*. In fact, Henry’s bath might be said to enact a moment of Christ’s Passion in reverse: he first encounters Christ’s blood and then he sweats after he has left the bath.

Whether it is cooking Christ’s sweat into a sickdish or cleansing one’s heart in Mary’s tears, bodily fluids hold great significance throughout Henry’s *Livre*. The sacrament of communion offers an obvious comparison, in which the body and blood of Christ are transubstantiated, but Henry does not play upon this similarity. In fact, Henry seems less concerned with re-enacting the Passion than with using Mary’s body to purify her son’s blood and turn it into cleansing tears. This imagery had clear relevance for the cleansing and convalescent responsibilities of nurses, who were required to show the same levels of empathy for their patients as Mary showed her son. From literally washing the wounds and bedsheets of patients, to soothing their pain through spiritual treatments, Mary acts as both a source of body pharmacy and an ideal model to follow.

⁸⁶ *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402, Drawing on the Uncompleted Edition by E.J. Dobson*, ed. Bella Millett and Richard Dance, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005-2006), vol. 1, p. 149, 155-74; and notes vol. 2, p. 266; *The Ancrene Riwe: The Corpus MS.: Ancrene Wisse*, ed. M.B. Salu (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), p. 175.

Mary as mother and the *Maria lactans*

As much as Mary presents characteristics for nurses to imitate, she is still uniquely equipped with divine virtues that could not be replicated. Henry of Grosmont continually evokes Mary's divine motherhood as a part of his healing process and throughout the text he takes the place of the Christ child in an intimate relationship with the 'benoite miere.' Since Henry places so much emphasis on the mother-child relationship, he explains that he will always imagine Christ as a child: 'touz jours me semble il qe ceo douz seignur Jesus Crist est uncore enfant, coment qe meynt aunz sont passeez puisqe il feust neez de nostre douce dame Seynt Mariesa benoite miere' [always it seems to me that the sweet Lord Jesus Christ is yet a child, although many years have passed since he was born of our sweet lady Saint Mary, his blessed mother].⁸⁷ Christ never ages because he possesses a purity and an incorruptible nature akin to that of a child. He is naive, innocent, incapable of holding grudges, and is, above all, forgiving. Christ's forgiving nature and

⁸⁷ Arnould, p. 36, ll. 27-30; Batt, p. 107. Henry gives three reasons why Christ will forever be identified as a child. First, he explains that Christ's body is transubstantiated in the material accidents of the Eucharist, where it remains ageless and is renewed through frequent performance. Leah Sinanoglou has highlighted a strong relationship between the Christ child and the Eucharist that is displayed in numerous reports of miracles of the Christ child being present at Mass. Sinanoglou concludes that the child accentuates sorrow for Jesus's sacrifice because the innocence of a child's body presents a meek and pure image that contrasts with the barbarity of crucifixion. The Christ child, therefore, came to hold a special significance in eucharistic imagery because the image of a child amplified the severity of the Passion and signified the eternal nature of Christ's body. Leah Sinanoglou, 'The Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays,' *Speculum* 48, 3 (1973), pp. 491-509. The second reason why Christ will forever be identified as a child, is that his great acts are imbued with the humility and patience characteristic of a selfless child. An adult man calls on Jesus for help and to explain himself as if he were a 'great lord,' whereas in actual fact he is more like a gentle and meek child who cannot provide the rational explanations that they seek. Jesus acts selflessly and does not share the perceived rational interests of lords who lust after worldly goods. It is, therefore, foolish to speak to the gentle child as if he were a lord who has financial motivations. The final reason why Henry views Christ as a child is because no man can offend him to such an extent that he will not forgive them. If the offender asks for mercy, Jesus will always oblige. Adult men are evidently, for Henry, prone to holding grudges, especially in a courtly context, whereas children find it easier to forgive. For more, see: Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 76-4, 94-99, 154; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 'Mercy and Vengeance,' pp. 178-87. Henry goes on to state that Jesus gives his Father's inheritance to humanity because he feels no grudge over his crucifixion. There is a similar passage in the *Pilgrimage of The Lyfe*, but it does not explicitly lay out the reasons why Jesus should still be viewed as a child. Instead the author provides a narrative of Jesus, 'be child,' giving over his Father's inheritance, depicted as an apple, to man: *Pilgrimage of The Lyfe*, p. 27, ll. 1116-30.

inability to hold grudges are crucial for Henry's conception of the Final Judgement and his anxiety about the end times. Forgiveness is an attribute linked to Mary throughout the *Livre*, especially in her salvific healing that leads one to heaven. Her relationship with the infant Christ hence becomes a potent symbol of the mercy that Henry wishes to receive when his soul is judged.⁸⁸ In an effort to connect the forgiveness of the mother and the Christ child, Henry depicts breastfeeding as an act of healing that had benefits for his soul at the end times. Henry imitates the Christ child by suckling at the breast of Mary and receiving her milk for its medicinal properties. The imagery and benefits associated with the Virgin Mary's breast milk are part of a tradition known as the *Maria lactans*, in which milk was largely associated with understanding Scripture and obtaining a sapiential knowledge of God. This spiritual nourishment provided by Mary had direct implications for one's spiritual health both on earth and in the afterlife.⁸⁹

Before we can fully understand the implications of Henry's use of the *Maria lactans* tradition and its relation to the nun- and canoness-nurses of hospitals for the sick poor, we must first consider the broader uses of breastfeeding imagery in medieval theology. The image of Mary breastfeeding Christ was at the centre of a controversy involving the Dominicans and Franciscans. The two orders disagreed on the concept of the Immaculate Conception of Mary and whether she was born with Original Sin, and they consequently depicted her in different ways. On the one hand, Dominicans displayed the image of the lactating Virgin to emphasise her humanity in the relationship between the mother and child. Dominicans believed that Mary was born with Original Sin just like any other human and thus they had no problem depicting her lactation. On the other hand, Franciscans were uneasy about the humanity displayed in the image

⁸⁸ For example, Arnould, p. 171, ll. 3-7 and pp. 243-4, ll. 28-6.

⁸⁹ For more on the images of the *Maria Lactans* tradition see: Williamson 'Virgin Lactans as Second Eve: Image of the Salvation,' pp. 105-38; Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, chapter 13 'The Milk of Paradise'.

of the lactating Virgin, because it brought into question her divinity and complicated questions of her virginity.⁹⁰ For the Franciscans, lactating was associated with Original Sin and the manner in which humans were to give birth as a result of Eve's fault.⁹¹ The issue was eventually taken up at the Council of Basel, where it was decided that the Immaculate Conception of Mary was a doctrine that was consistent with Scripture, and so the Franciscan position became the standard interpretation.⁹² Henry had significant links with Franciscans. In 1349 he received a papal dispensation to visit the Franciscan minoresses at Aldgate, and he regularly called upon Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (d. 1360), who had a house in the precinct of the minoresses.⁹³ Nonetheless, there is not much reason to suggest that Henry would have had a particular loyalty to the Franciscans above other orders. Henry visited a large number of religious houses, including the Benedictine nunnery at Amesbury in Wiltshire, where his sister Isabella was a nun and would eventually become a prioress.⁹⁴ Even though he had friends and confidants among the Franciscan order, Henry employed the allegory of the lactating Virgin liberally.

In the later Middle Ages, the image of breastfeeding was commonly applied to biblical understanding. This metaphor was derived from 1 Cor. 3: 2, in which the faithful are fed milk until they are ready to be fed solid food—the analogy being that one is presented with biblical

⁹⁰ J.A. Tasioulas, 'Between Doctrine and Domesticity: The Portrayal of Mary in the N-Town Plays,' in *Medieval Women in their Communities*, ed. Dianne Watt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 227-9.

⁹¹ For more, see: Maria Mar Perez-Gil, 'Mary and the Carnal Maternal Genealogy: Towards a Mariology of the Body,' *Literature and Theology* 25, 3 (2011), pp. 297-311. The most extensive coverage of this question in relation to the Church Fathers is Luigi Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church: The Blessed Virgin Mary in Patristic Thought*, trans. Thomas Buffer (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999). This portrait of Mary and major theologians was continued by Luigi Gambero in *Mary in the Middle Ages: The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005).

⁹² Thomas M. Izbicki, 'The Immaculate Conception and Ecclesiastical Politics from the Council of Basel to the Council of Trent: The Dominicans and Their Foes,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History* 96 (2004), pp. 145-70.

⁹³ Batt, pp. 12-13.

⁹⁴ Catherine Batt, Denis Renevey, and Christiania Whitehead, 'Domesticity and Medieval Devotional Literature,' *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 36 (2005), pp. 224-7.

passages that are easier to digest until one is learned enough to receive more complex passages and exegesis.⁹⁵ Priests, therefore, were supposed to act in a motherly manner by nourishing their congregations with easily digestible material in sermons. However, many in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries argued that the clergy neglected this duty and left the laity without spiritual nourishment. In the Lamentations commentary of Richard Rolle (d. 1349), the laity and lower clergy were depicted as infants who were neglected by the clergy and left hungry:

[Lam 4: 4] *Adhesit lingua lactentis ad palatum eius*, id est, obmutuit a laude Dei, *in siti*, id est, dum non potatur lacte doctrine et gracie. *Paruuli*, id est, fideles in Ecclesia et laici, *pecierunt panem* predicacionis et Uerbi Dei, *et non erat qui frangeret eis*, id est, qui Scripturas exponeret ut ipsi intelligant. Sic lamijs sunt crudeliores ecclesiarum rectores.

[Lam 4: 4] *The infant's tongue has cleaved to its palate*, that is, it has grown silent from the praise of God, *in its thirst*, that is, while it is given no drink of the milk of doctrine and grace. *The young children*, that is, the faithful in the Church and the laity, *have begged for the bread* of preaching and the Word of God, *and there was no one to break it for them*, that is, no one who might expound the Scriptures so that they understand it. Thus the rectors of churches are crueller than jackals.⁹⁶

Converting the bread of the Word of God into milk signified the ways in which priests made Scripture easier to digest and understand by unpacking and elucidating the spiritually nourishing parts. Nourishing congregations with sermons was one of the key pastoral duties of the clergy, but Rolle argued that priests neglected preaching and left the faithful to cry out for the milk of doctrine and grace. For him, there was a moral decay since the time of the apostles, when all duties were enacted efficiently and for the betterment of all. This decay could largely be attributed to a failure of the clergy to carry out the duties of the *cura animarum* that had been passed down through the apostles. Instead of caring for their congregations, the clergy developed an obsession with worldly possessions and thus left the infant's tongue cleaved to its palate.

⁹⁵ Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 117-22.

⁹⁶ Richard Rolle: *On Lamentations. A Critical Edition with Translation and Commentary*, ed. and trans. Michael Van Dussen, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), cap. 4. 4, pp. 140-1, ll. 21-6.

Wycliffite preachers drew on many of the themes of Rolle's work (though not specifically this text) and on several occasions used him as a source of authority. The dissident Wycliffites criticised priests that neglected their curial duties and claimed that the clergy were too focused on attaining wealth to provide the spiritual nourishment that was required by their congregations. Restricted access to Scripture for the laity, who in most cases could not read Latin or have access to a Bible, became an increasingly critical issue for the Wycliffites as they pushed back against traditional models of clerical mediation with the divine. Wycliffites sought to rectify a lack of access to Scripture by translating passages into Middle English in their sermons and tracts.⁹⁷ In 1401, the Oxford scholar William Butler wrote a set of academic *determinationes* aimed against the Wycliffites that discussed how the laity could access and absorb scriptural instruction without succumbing to what he saw as heretics' crude manipulation. Drawing on Chrysostom, Butler explains that one's ability to understand Scripture depends on the strength of one's stomach and whether one has developed 'spiritual teeth.' The 'doctrine of perfection and justice' [perfectionis doctrina et iustitiae] of Scripture required spiritual teeth and rumination to properly digest. Butler was above all concerned that the Scripture that the Wycliffites translated and preached was too complex for their target audience, whose members had not yet developed spiritual teeth to chew the passages. Exposing the uninitiated to difficult exegesis could lead the laity into error, or worse, into heresy. To ensure that the laity interpreted passages faithfully, they required priests to instruct them, at least until they had developed 'spiritual teeth.'

Nonetheless, there were forms of engagement with the divine that required less experience and training, such as witnessing and hearing about a miracle in an exemplum.

⁹⁷ Anne Hudson, *Doctors in English, A Study of the Wycliffite Gospel Commentaries*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015). For more on the Wycliffite Bible, see the edited volume: Elizabeth Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Miracles, for Butler, are presented as a form of milk: ‘lac, [Chrysostomus] inquit, sine labore et opera dentium manducatur, et manducantem sua suavitate delectat. Sic miraculum nec laborem videntibus imponit, sed videntes admiratione delectat et ad fidem nos molliter invitat’ [milk, says Chrysostom, is chewed without exerting the teeth, and delights the one who chews it with its sweetness. In a similar manner, a miracle does not impose work on those seeing it, but delights them with wonderment and gently invites us to faith].⁹⁸ Miracles did not require the same rumination and meditation to comprehend as Scripture because they were divine interventions that were expected to be beyond human comprehension. The recipient was simply required to witness the miracle or hear about it in a sermon as an exemplum. Breastfeeding and its relation to understanding Scripture was not mere imagery, however. As one pronounced example, the image was manifested in the miracle of the ‘Lactation of St Bernard,’ in which Bernard received some milk on his lips directly from the Virgin’s breast. This miracle was frequently depicted in medieval art and manuscript illuminations. The symbolism of the Virgin as mother and the wisdom Bernard received perfectly encapsulated Chrysostom’s and in turn Butler’s assertions about spiritual understanding.⁹⁹ Bernard was not required to chew the milk, but simply to swallow the gift from Mary’s breast. Butler was not, of course, suggesting that miracles were to

⁹⁸ William Butler, *Contra translationem Anglicanam* in Margaret Deanesly (ed.), *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), Appendix II., p. 416; translation from Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy, Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 45 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 98.

⁹⁹ Jacques Berlioz, ‘La lactation de saint Bernard dans un exemplum et une miniature du Ci nous dit (début du XIVe siècle),’ *Cîteaux commentarii cistercienses* 39, 3-4 (1988), pp. 270-84; Cécile Dupeux, ‘La lactation de saint Bernard de Clairvaux: Genèse et évolution d’une image,’ in *L’Image et la production du Sacré: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 20-21 Janvier 1988, organisé par le Centre d’histoire des religions de l’Université de Strasbourg II, Groupe “Théorie et pratique de l’image culturelle,”* ed. Françoise Dunand, Jean-Michael Spieser, and Jean Wirth (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1991), pp. 165-93; eadem, ‘Saint Bernard dans l’iconographie médiévale: l’exemple de la lactation,’ in *Vies et légendes de Saint Bernard de Clairvaux. Création, diffusion, réception (XIIe-XXe siècles), Actes des Rencontres de Dijon, 7-8 juin 1991*, ed. Patrick Arabeyre, Jacques Berlioz, and Philippe Poirrier (Brecht and Pontigny: Cîteaux, Commentarii cistercienses, 1993), pp. 152-66; Jutta Sperling, ‘Squeezing, Squirting, Spilling Milk: The Lactation of Saint Bernard and the Flemish Madonna Lactans (ca. 1430-1530),’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, 3 (2018), pp. 868-918.

occur to every member of the laity, but rather that miracles could be used as exempla by priests to garner increased devotion from their audiences—much like Bernard was illuminated by the miracle of the Lactation.

Breast milk did not simply symbolise the nourishing role of pastoral instruction, but also the communal benefits of the Eucharist. The *Orcherd of Syon*, a Middle English translation of Catherine of Siena's petitions to God, directly compares Christ's blood with milk. In the text, God the Father proclaims: 'he schulde applie hym for to cleue to þe breste of my soopfast sone, Ihesu, where he schal boþe seke and fynde mylke and flesch togyders, þat is, drawynge to hym þe mylk of my very charite by mene of þe body of my sone crucified.'¹⁰⁰ By drinking the milk directly from Christ's wounds, the suffering of the Passion is converted into a form of nourishment for the entire community of the Church. The great bitterness and torment felt by Christ during his crucifixion is transformed into a nourishing and salvific sacrament in communion.¹⁰¹ Ingesting the Eucharist and drinking communion wine was not a painful process, but one of the most effective means of treating sin. Communion echoes breastfeeding when Christ's blood becomes like milk and the wafer is fed to the communicant, often placed directly in their mouths by the priest.

The symbolism that linked the Eucharist with breastfeeding was strengthened by medieval medical theories on the production of breast milk. The embryo is fed in the womb by the blood of the mother, and the infant is later fed by the mother's blood, which is transformed through the breast into milk. John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De*

¹⁰⁰ *The Orcherd of Syon*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, EETS 258 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.153.

¹⁰¹ For more see: Virginia Langum, 'The Wounded Surgeon,' pp. 281-3; Holly Johnson, 'A Fifteenth-Century Sermon Enacts the Seven Deadly Sins,' in *Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. Richard Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard (York: York Medieval Press, 2012), p. 108.

Proprietatibus Rerum cites classical sources, namely, Galen and Isidore of Seville, in describing a hollow vein through which blood is transported ‘into the pappis and waxith by vertu of ham and taketh the qualite of melk’.¹⁰² This relation between blood and milk was well developed in devotional texts of the period. *The Pilgrimage of The Lyfe of The Manhode* presents an allegory wherein the daughter who is conceived by Christ and ‘mooder Charite’ breastfeeds the pilgrim narrator. Her breast, which functions as a source of healing for the pilgrim, begins to speak to him: ‘Come forth! Haue! Whoso wole souke, come forth! In me is no more blood of ire: Charitee hath remeeved it and sodden it into whyt milk for commune profite.’¹⁰³ Although the milk is ingested by the pilgrim alone, the anthropomorphised breast explains that its milk has common profit for all the poor who have hunger. The breast milk provides them with both ‘[m]ete and drink,’ in a charitable act that benefitted all of Christian society.¹⁰⁴ The narrator cites Aristotle in explaining that milk is created from blood that has been heated by the body through the warm humours associated with anger.¹⁰⁵ Breast milk in *The Pilgrimage* is thus repurposed ‘blood of ire’ that turns the wrath and anger of the world into a salvific and nourishing food for the pilgrim. As a result of breastfeeding, therefore, the mother transforms the warm humours of anger into a loving or charitable act that nourishes the spiritual infant.

Viklefice (The Wycliffite Woman), an anti-Wycliffite poem in Old Czech from the fifteenth century, provides something of a mocking counterpart to *The Pilgrimage*. Within the

¹⁰² John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things, John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum, a Critical Text*, ed. M. C. Seymour, et al., 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975-1988), vol. 1, pp. 5, 34; Price, ‘Bitter Milk,’ p. 146. Bartholomaeus Anglicus is a likely source for Henry’s medical knowledge, see: Yoshikawa, ‘Holy Medicine and Diseases of the Soul,’ pp. 404, 408, 410. The *De Proprietatibus Rerum* was an incredibly popular work that was translated into numerous languages, including an Anglo-Norman version of book xv. See: Ruth J. Dean, et al. (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Literature: a guide to texts and manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), entry for ‘*Le livre des region et des provins dont la Bible [De Proprietatibus rerum xv]*.’

¹⁰³ *Pilgrimage of The Lyfe*, p. 173, ll. 7201-10.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Mete’ denotes both food and a spiritual, nourishing gift, MED, sv. mete.

¹⁰⁵ *Pilgrimage of The Lyfe*, p. 172, ll. 7188-96, referencing *De generatione Animalium*, lib. 6, cap. 8, A.L. Peck, Aristotle, *Generation of Animals* (London: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 472-5.

text, a lusty Wycliffite hag lures a young man to her house with the promise of expounding Scripture and exposing the true faith. The author makes the same connection between breast milk and scriptural knowledge, but uses the image to accentuate corruption through Wycliffite doctrine. Instead of exposing her breasts for nourishment, the Wycliffite woman sexualises the image of breastfeeding: ‘Tut mu baba bibli wilozi / dwie kapitolie wilozi / piekne welmi okruhle / k hrusskam byssta podobne / a tak welmi byle.’ [Here the hag laid out / Two chapters of the Bible, / Pretty and very round; / They were like pears / And also very white].¹⁰⁶ The author uses the verb *wilozit* (*vyložit* in modern Czech) to indicate both laying bare Scripture and laying bare the hag’s breasts. Yet the hag does not truly expound Scripture, but a twisted interpretation that corrupts its meaning and converts the inexperienced reader into a Wycliffite.

Although the breast of *The Pilgrim* and that of the old Wycliffite hag represent purity and lust respectively, both texts rest on the association between breastfeeding and expounding Scripture. The Wycliffite woman, of course, did not provide spiritual nourishment for the young man, but she was able to successfully trick him using the lure of scriptural understanding. Still, breast milk was not solely linked to scriptural interpretation, it was a flexible symbol that could be applied to all the sacraments. The *Ancrene Wisse* presents milk as a symbol of the salvific benefits of confession. In a section of the text that links the story of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Luke 18: 10) with the necessity of humility in confession, the author combines bodily fluids from both Mary and Christ to form a joint symbol of the Passion. Humility is personified as she who ‘put forð hire cancre, wepinde ant graninde biuore Godes ehnen; halesð meadlesliche on hir derue passion, on his deorewurðe blod, on his fif wunden, on his moder teares, o þe ilke

¹⁰⁶ Třeboň, Státní oblastní archiv, A 7, f. 155r; translation from *A blessed shore: England and Bohemia from Chaucer to Shakespeare*, ed. Alfred Thomas (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 124, ll. 36-40.

tittes þet he seac, þe milc þet hine fedde.’¹⁰⁷ Humility is essential in confession because through it one shares in Christ’s Passion and the emotions of his mother. The fluids of Christ and Mary mix to create compassion, which is then expressed through ‘his [Christ’s] deore spuse (þet is, to cleane sawle oðer to Hali Chirche).’ In confession and pastoral instruction, the clergy were providers of milk because they supplied maternal care in the place of the Virgin. Nonetheless, through a humility topos, even those who were educated and by all accounts well accustomed to Scripture described themselves as infants requiring milk. Humility was invoked as a key virtue, especially in relation to the Passion, and so even the most spiritually advanced requested the nourishment of milk as opposed to ‘mete’ that required spiritual teeth to consume.¹⁰⁸

Henry of Grosmont does not portray the same collective nourishment of ‘Hali Chirche’ as we find in other depictions of *Maria lactans*. For him, Mary’s breastfeeding was an intimate and personal treatment that excluded all others and did not carry a wider communal benefit. Henry begs the Virgin to give him the precious milk from her breast, and thus Henry supplants the infant Christ:

Tresdouz Dame Seinte Marie, qe de cest douz et precious boire estoietz braceresse et chief botillere, jeo vous prie, ma douz Dame, qe jeo en puisse avoir ore a ma grande bosoigne, et si largement com jeo en ai bosoigne. Jeo ne dye pas pur ceo qe si petit ne purroie jeo avoir qe a grante foisone ne feust et en grante deyntee [le deveroit hom tenir, car hom dist qe plenté n’est pas deynté]. Et par ceo doit homme bien tesnir cest noble sirop en grante deyntee, car unqes ne feust plus fait forsque diaux petiz barelles pleins, qe benoite soient. Ceaux diaux barelles s’estoient et sont les tresbeles et doucez mamelettes q’estoient pleyns d’un si precieuse et noble licour come d’un douz leet de virge, qe unqes ne feust veu ne jammes apres ne serra : bien doit estre douz celui boire, noble, chier et merveillous : noblez, pur ceo qe si noble seignur come luy douz Jesus en buyt et en prist sustenance de humanité.

Most sweet Lady Holy Mary, who are the brewer and chief cup-bearer of that sweet and precious drink, I entreat you, my sweet Lady, that I may receive some of it now in my great need, and as much as I need. I do not mean by this that were I to have only a tiny amount it would not be plenty enough; and one ought to value it highly, for as they say:

¹⁰⁷ *Ancrene Wisse*, vol. 1, pp. 124-5, ll. 409-33, and notes: vol. 2, pp. 225-6; Batt, p. 25.

¹⁰⁸ Julius Schwietering, ‘The Origins of the Medieval Humility Formula,’ *PMLA* 69, 5 (1954), pp. 1279-91.

“plenty is no dainty.” And so one ought to prize that noble cordial very highly, for there was never any more of it made than two full little barrels, may they be blessed. These two barrels were and are the most lovely and sweet little breasts, which were full of a very precious and exquisite liquid as the sweet milk of a virgin, which had never been seen before nor ever will be after. That drink must be sweet, noble, valuable, and miraculous; noble, because so noble a lord as the sweet Jesus drank of it and from it took sustenance for his human nature.¹⁰⁹

The privacy of this feeding is accentuated when Henry states that the two sweet barrels of milk, Mary’s breasts, have never been seen before and never will be again, as they were reserved for Jesus and himself. This is not the type of interaction that is described in the *Ancrene Wisse*, of Jesus feeding his Church milk and flesh, but a private treatment that nourishes the individual. Although Humility is the only one who receives the healing milk in the *Ancrene Wisse*, she is a personification of a virtue that all Christians should embody when taking confession and thus this act of breastfeeding had a communal aspect. Similarly, the one-on-one interaction that Henry depicts is to be used as an exemplum for all patients and nurses; yet they did not directly engage in the act of breastfeeding in the same manner as described in the *Ancrene Wisse*. Ideally, the intimate interaction described in the *Livre* would have been reproduced when the nurses nurtured the spiritual development of their patients by displaying devotional images of Christ’s Passion, praying for them, and singing psalms.¹¹⁰ The spiritual duties of religious women working as nurses, therefore, might not have had the same sacramental power as the breastfeeding of Humility, but they still performed a vital penitential care that displayed the compassion of the Virgin in caring for Henry in his *Livre*.

Breast milk was not simply used as an allegory of the ideal nurse-patient relationship in Henry’s text. He draws on contemporary medical theory to explain how and why Mary’s breast

¹⁰⁹ Arnould, p. 133, ll. 6-22; Batt, pp. 189-90.

¹¹⁰ Ziegler, ‘Medicine and Immortality in Terrestrial Paradise,’ pp. 201-42. These types of responsibilities are also outlined in *Archives de l’Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (1157-1300)*, especially concerning dinners, which were to be held in silent reverence and were usually followed by a lesson of scriptural instruction delivered by one of the resident male clergymen.

milk acts as a cure for his painful wounds. Mary's milk was not presented as an ingredient in a medicine, but rather in the *Livre* it had medicinal qualities in and of itself. Henry compares the milk to a concoction of herbs:

Et, tresdouce Dame, sicome il semble, jeo puisse dire qe vostre douz leet serroit bon pur mes plaies a boire, sicome ceaux qe sont plaiés boyvent un poi de *save*. Et celle *save* si est fait des herbes, et si est tresbone chose au bien garrir et tost, et si ne prent homme qe poi a un foize a la mountance de un greyn, et le mette homme en ascun licour et le boit homme ; et si vert com il entre la bouche, ausi vert elle s'en ist a la plaie et nettoie tresbien les plaies de lour ordure. Et ensi puisse jeo bien dire qe un tout soul goute de vostre chier leet, ma douce Dame, me soeffiroit assez pur garrir mes plaies.

And, most sweet Lady, as it seems to me, I may say that to drink your sweet milk would be good for my wounds, just as those who are wounded drink a little *save*. And this *save* is made of herbs, and is an excellent thing for healing well and quickly; and indeed a man takes just a little at a time, just a grain in quantity, and dilutes it in some liquid, and drinks it. And it emerges in the wound as green as it has entered the mouth, and it cleans the wounds of their filth extremely well. And so I may truly say that one single drop of your precious milk, my sweet Lady, will be more than enough for me for healing my wounds.¹¹¹

Catherine Batt translates the Anglo-Norman word 'save' as 'salve,' but I have chosen to place the original word 'save' back into the text. A 'salve' is a medicine rubbed onto the exterior of a wound, whereas Henry describes a drink for the internal treatment of wounds. Henry seems to be calling attention to a distinction for which Anglo Norman and Middle English had a word, but which has been lost in modern English. The word *save* denotes a decoction of herbs to be taken internally for the treatment of wounds and broken bones. A *save* is specifically distinguished from a salve, which describes a treatment for the exterior of sores and wounds.¹¹² Henry then explains in detail that after one has drunk this *save*, the wound would turn the same colour as the

¹¹¹ Arnould, p. 134, ll. 4-15; Batt, pp. 190-1.

¹¹² MED, s.v. *save*: 'A decoction of herbs, taken internally as a remedy for wounds, broken bones, etc. [...] appears to have been distinguished from *salve*'. Compare this with D.A. Trotter and W. Rothwell, et al. (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Dictionary Online*, (London: MHRA, 1977-). The definition for 'Salve' finds 'save' to be a synonym. However, there are only two entries for the word, both of which were taken from *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*.

green concoction before becoming white, indicating that the wound had been cleansed from within.

Henry strengthens the association between Mary's milk and a *save* when he compares her breast milk to a treatment in which sick patients would drink goat's milk in May. Goat's milk was said to have medicinal benefits that were imparted when the goats ate medicinal herbs that flowered in the spring. This was such a potent medicine that in some texts it was second only to theriac as an antidote for poison.¹¹³ Henry goes on to explain that if the milk of such an ugly creature, the goat, is medicinal, then the milk of Mary, the 'lovely creature' [beal beste], would have much greater benefits. Three explanations are given for the superiority of Mary's milk. The first is that Mary's milk is one of the 'first signs' [primers signes] of salvation, acting as a medicine that heals one's soul and providing a taste of the everlasting joys of heaven that are to come. The second reason may relate to the theological debates of the day concerning the Immaculate Conception of Mary: 'coment qe le douce leet [corust] naturelement, toutdys estoit la virginité sauve' [although the sweet milk flowed naturally, your virginity was always safe].¹¹⁴ Henry feeds from her lactating breast, emphasising Mary's humanity and a possible connection with Original Sin, but he would never wish to cast doubt on her virginity and purity. The final reason why Mary's milk is so potent is because Christ himself suckled on her breast. In comparing the milk of a goat and that of Mary, then, Henry combines the medical and spiritual by grounding an allegory in contemporary medicine.

While Henry uses the *Maria lactans* tradition as a penitential metaphor, he maintains a strong focus on practical forms of medicine that ground his allegory in contemporary medical practices. The treatments that Henry describes were not, therefore, as abstract as they may at first

¹¹³ Batt, p. 192 n. 375.

¹¹⁴ Arnould, p. 134, ll. 17-19; Batt, p. 191.

appear. Nor were they entirely unique to him. John Trevisa provides a clear parallel to Mary's body pharmacy in a recipe for a concoction attributed to Constantinus Africanus that was to be used for aches that 'comeþ of inner humours.' The concoction was composed simply of 'water of roses [rosewater] wiþ wommannes melk'.¹¹⁵ Combining rosewater and breast milk had clear symbolic potential for Marian devotion, especially in Henry's text, where Mary produces both rosewater tears and a milk *save*. The healing achieved through Mary's breastfeeding was part of her caregiving duty, which was followed by the bathing of Henry's wounds in her rosewater tears: 'Après cest medicine, covient uncore un autre, qe de vous, douz Dame, ausi covient avenir et sourdre; et c'est sicom il est coustume a laver ausi les plaies et nettoier par dehors, si bien come par dedeinz par le beverage' [After this medicine (breast milk) yet another is necessary, which, sweet Lady, should also come and spring from you, in the same way as it is customary also to wash wounds and clean them externally as well as internally by means of the drink].¹¹⁶ Henry believes that tears are the next logical medicine after breast milk because it is necessary to wash a wound after one has treated it with a salve. These procedures are part of the same convalescent scheme of restoring spiritual health that culminates with Mary wrapping Henry's wounds in white, pure bandages. Trevisa's work postdates Henry's, but the comparison accentuates Henry's dual focus on the spiritual and medical.

Mary as mother and intercession

According to Henry, Mary's breast milk was one of the 'primers signes' of salvation, that is, one of the first treatments in an eschatological scheme that led to salvation. Mary's breast milk is an eschatological image that is continually linked to Christ's wounds, and together these symbols

¹¹⁵ *On the Properties of Things*, vol. 1, pp. 359-60.

¹¹⁶ Arnould, p. 136 ll. 3-6; Batt, p. 192.

form what Barbara Newman labels ‘Double Intercession’ imagery, where the mother and son share an equal part in the process of saving Christian souls in the Final Judgement. Newman points to a number of fifteenth-century images that depict Christ holding his wound next to Mary as she clutches her breast, each figure drawing attention to the parts of their body that provide the salvific medicine for the soul.¹¹⁷ Double intercession had a direct correlation with the roles of the clergy, especially in a hospital setting, where death was an ever present threat. The nurses that attended to patients on their deathbeds echoed the intercessory role of the Virgin Mary, who was regularly called upon in liturgical rites to care for Christians at their hour of death. In *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, Henry of Grosmont connects the roles of intercession and mothering by using the image of breastfeeding to explicate his anxiety about the afterlife. Breast milk therefore served as a symbol of spiritual nourishment and as a salvific medicine that would prepare one’s soul for death and the Final Judgement.

In the late-medieval *Maria lactans* tradition, Mary’s body became the site of a kind of alternative Eucharist (though never characterised as such explicitly) that substituted Christ’s blood for milk. The increased popularity of the image of breastfeeding in relation to the Eucharist made the act of lactation in late-medieval images and texts less about milk and more about the blood of which it was said to be composed. Gail Paterson Corrington has described this metaphor as part of the economy of salvation, where the symbol of milk became ‘detached from anything resembling actual lactation’ but an abstract image associated with leading the faithful to heaven.¹¹⁸ The case can certainly be made that Henry engages with an alternative Eucharist that places Mary’s body at its centre, but he does not emphasise blood over milk. Henry continually

¹¹⁷ Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses, Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 261.

¹¹⁸ Gail Paterson Corrington, ‘The Milk of Salvation: Redemption by the Mother in Late Antiquity and Early Christianity,’ *Harvard Theological Review* 82, 4 (1989), pp. 393-420.

refers back to lactation and as a result the breastfeeding image never loses its potency. Even when Mary's breast milk is explicitly linked with the wounds of Christ, milk is brought to the fore when the red blood becomes clean and white: 'Et bien sai qe de celle meismes colour isseroit come elle entroit, et cel colour serroit blanke sicome elle est, qe signifie nettete, et pur ceo bien serroit aprpriez a nettoier et bien garrir les ordes plaies envenymez dedinz' [And I understand that this (breast milk) comes out (of the wounds) the same colour as when it enters, and that colour will be white, just as it is, which signifies cleanness, and for that reason it would be suitable for cleaning and perfectly healing the filthy and poisoned wounds from within].¹¹⁹ Cleanness, signified by the white colour of the wounds, indicates that the filth has been eradicated. Henry's sores begin to mimic Mary's breasts by discharging a white liquid. Lactation, then, does not serve as a secondary consideration that allows the author to move on to the more important image of his wounds or blood, but rather his wounds resemble a lactating breast. By transforming his sore wounds through Mary's cleansing breast milk, Henry looks to invoke her purity at the Final Judgement.

Immediately following the purification of Henry's wound with Mary's breast milk, Henry petitions Mary to intervene in his Final Judgement: 'tresdouce Dame, jeo vous prie qe vous plese a requer vostre douz filtz q'il voile avoir pit  de moy cheitif, qe sui si durement navrez qe, si jeo n'eie le plustost eide de cest noble medicine, verraient jeo ne siu qe morte, car mes plaies purrissent sur moi' [most sweet Lady, I entreat you, may you be pleased to ask your sweet son to be so good as to have pity on my wretched self, who am so badly wounded that unless I immediately receive the help of this noble medicine, truly, I am no better than dead, for my wounds are rotting upon me].¹²⁰ Henry's wretched wounds of sin are, then, offset by Mary's

¹¹⁹ Arnould, p. 134, ll. 24-8; Batt, p. 191.

¹²⁰ Arnould, pp. 134-5, ll. 28-2; Batt, p. 191.

cleansing milk and his own humble petition for mercy. Breast milk and Christ's bleeding wounds become twin symbols of atonement in appeasing the wrath of God at the Final Judgement. However, Christ is the Divine Judge in Henry's text and Mary in turn becomes a protecting influence who can persuade Christ to have pity. Mary does not become a part of Barbara Newman's 'Double Intercession,' but a lone intercessor who must appeal to her son to lessen his judgement.

While Christ the Judge is associated with harsh chastising and condemnation, Mary is credited with being more forgiving and provides protection from the eternal damnation of Hell.¹²¹ As Caroline Walker Bynum explains in relation to Gueric of Igny and Aelred of Rievaulx, Mary serves as a mother for all those that feared the Final Judgement, and both authors describe themselves as 'curled up against her breast.'¹²² We therefore return to the concept of the *gardeyne*, with Mary protecting her children from the Father in this fraught family. The protecting role of Mary is explicitly laid out in the Middle English rendering of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, where the narrator begs Mary to be the judge and 'leche' of his soul:

Redresse me, mooder, and me chastise,
 For certeynly my faderes chastisinge
 Þat dar I nouht abiden in no wise
 So hidous it is [rihtful] rekenynge.
 Mooder of whom oure merci gan to springe,
 Beth ye my juge and eek my soules leche,
 For euere in you is pitee haboundinge
 To eche þat wole of pitee you biseeche.¹²³

¹²¹ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991), pp. 106-8.

¹²² Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 131, 137.

¹²³ *Pilgrimage of The Lyfe*, from Geoffrey Chaucer's 'An ABC,' p. 143, stanza R, ll. 5962-9. For more on this poem and its place in the larger text, see: Martha Diana Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 213 n. 73.

The mother provides protection from the Father's chastising, and in turn provides her own, more merciful, punishments. Consequently, the pilgrim begs the mother to be his Judge and the physician of his soul, two traditionally male roles that are more commonly ascribed to Christ and God the Father. Henry directly petitions Christ to allow Mary to be involved in his Judgement process because it is more befitting of a woman to look upon him with pity: 'car par la grande bonté q'est en luy, il m'est avys qe au toutez fynez elle coveneroit avoir pitié de moy, et vous, Sire, mercy de moy, car bien est avenante a dame d'estre pitouse, et au seignour merciable' [for by the great goodness that is in her (Mary) it seems to me that ultimately it would befit her to take pity on me, and you, Lord, to have mercy on me, for it is most seemly for a lady to be compassionate and for a lord to be merciful].¹²⁴ Henry relates the roles of Christ and Mary to a courtly setting, addressing the mother and son as lord and lady respectively. Here Mary becomes less the mediatrix between God and man because Henry addresses Christ, who in fact becomes the mediator between man and Mary.

Towards the end of the *Livre*, Henry repeatedly expresses his desire to have Mary serve as his judge because of her motherly compassion. In the final passage of the text, Henry again addresses Christ directly, but this time Henry mentions several others who could intercede for him alongside Mary:

et la tresseinte seintetee de celle douce Dame et de celle tresseinte compaignie almoignes, charitez, devoutes prieres et meynt bone fait, qe ovesques eaux son ten paradys, jeo voz require, tresdouz Sires, qe tout ceo me puisse eider a conduire l'alme de moy la droite voie envers paradis et la mettre tout droit. Et contre mes maux, qe jeo puisse avoir un poys qe puisse poise roue moy en la balance encontre mes pecchés : et ceo soit les peynes, tourmentz, penitences, de nostre douce Dame et de seintz Apostles, Martirs et Confessours, Virges et Veves. Ensi soit il. Amen!

And I ask you, most sweet Lord, that the most saintly holiness of that sweet Lady and the pious deeds, charitable works, devout prayers, and many a good act, of that most holy company, which are with them in heaven, that all of this may help me to guide my soul

¹²⁴ Arnould, p. 171, ll. 3-7; Batt, pp. 223-4.

straight along the right path towards heaven. And to counter my misdeeds, may I have a weight that may weigh with me in the scales against my sins. And may this be the sufferings, torments, and penances of our sweet Lady and of the holy apostles, martyrs and confessors, virgins, and widows. So be it. Amen.¹²⁵

Despite his reference to the penance and suffering of the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins and widows, Mary is still the main object of Henry's plea for compassion. After all, Mary is the only one that Henry addresses in his book, whereas the other figures are mentioned only in passing. The suffering, torment, and penance he experiences, along with the pious deeds, charitable works, and devout prayers that Mary performed on his behalf, should be considered when Henry is judged, and thus any punishments should be lessened. It is a short step from this invocation of Mary as an intercessor and protective mother to the work of religious women in a hospital setting. After all, nun- and canoness-nurses performed pious and charitable deeds on a daily basis and would extend their spiritual care to devout prayers for their patients, both living and dead. Indeed, the broader significance of Henry of Grosmont's eschatological allegory is that it was recreated every day in the relationship between nurses and their patients.

It was not merely in devotional texts that the eschatological concerns of patients were placed in relation to Mary and her son; hospital art served as an implicit reminder of the spiritual role that nuns and canonesses owed to their patients. Matthias Grünewald's Isenheim altarpiece, discussed earlier, offers a concise overview of the Virgin Mary's intercessory functions as mother, source of medicine, and nurse. Mary's grief in the crucifixion scenes (Fig. 2) displays the emotion that Mary showed in her intercessory role in Henry's judgement. Her fainting at the side of Christ conveys her grief, and her tears produced over the body of Christ (in the bottommost panel) underscore her pity. The same grief and pity that Mary felt for her son are invoked by patients who were often confronted with the real possibility that they could die and

¹²⁵ Arnould, pp. 243-4; Batt, p. 282.

face either eternal damnation or salvation. By folding the altarpiece to reveal Mary holding the Christ child (Fig. 1), Mary's nursing duties are displayed. The image of Mary as a mother explicitly relates to the *Maria lactans* tradition that used her body as the site of an alternative Eucharist. It is significant that when the altarpiece is folded in this manner, the image of Mary weeping over her son's body is still visible, thus juxtaposing the beginning and end of Christ's life. When Henry of Grosmont placed himself in similar scenes, he received Mary's salvific bodily fluids in her tears and milk, but also her care and devotion.

The Marian devotion explored in this chapter rests on a maternal femininity that was believed by certain authors to be inherent in the nurses of hospitals for the sick poor. Henry undoubtedly invokes the divine aspects of Mary's character in his healing treatments, but her femininity was held to be a grounding factor that connected her divine position as Christ's mother to her humanity. Mary's roles in the hospital setting were not merely allegorical; they were recreated by nurses in their daily duties. Nun- and canoness-nurses were not just tasked with assisting physicians in administering medicines, providing comfort to patients, and maintaining hygiene standards, they were also explicitly tasked with overseeing the spiritual convalescence of patients. Spiritual and physical treatments were administered in tandem, creating a highly devotional atmosphere that facilitated a sustained engagement with religion. For most patients, the devotional environment of hospitals for the sick poor would have granted them a greater access to religion and the sacraments than they would have received when healthy. Devotional texts such as *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines* portrayed what was at stake in the spiritual and medical contexts of such institutions. The pious atmosphere described in the text was reconstructed across Europe in hospitals for the sick poor, and in fact many of the themes that connected spiritual and physical welfare were recreated outside of the hospital setting. There

was a porousness between the discourses that developed in the devotional texts of hospitals and reformist preaching that we have already begun to examine in this chapter. Those that wrote devotional texts or oversaw convalescence in hospitals for the sick poor were not self-consciously pursuing a reformist agenda, but they contributed to many of the features of the pious environment that were invoked by reformists. These reformist preachers who, as we will see, sparked such controversy, looked to facilitate a similar level of spiritual healing for those that they perceived to be gravely ill from sin.

CHAPTER 2

Sacramental Medicine and Frequent Communion from Prague to Kraków

The end of the *De bono morbis*, written by Jan of Jenštejn, Archbishop of Prague (1379-1396; d. 1400), features the story of a wealthy woman named Elizabeth who suffered from convulsions that left her paralysed and unable to speak. Physicians and members of the clergy failed to diagnose her illness and cure her, and it was not until Matthew (Mateusz) of Kraków (d. 1410), master of Prague University and Elizabeth's confessor, prescribed daily communion that her illness ceased:

Hec cum cottidie pluribus infirmitatibus quateretur, egrotare tandem et infirmari ad mortem cepit, circumstantibus et admirantibus pluribus sacerdotibus et religiosis mulieribus, cum loqui non posset, manibus annuit ut hinc inde adlatus discederent. Qui non intelligentes misterium eius tamen uoluntati parentes secesserunt ad partem. Cumque post tempus uiribus aliquantulum resumptis loqui cepisset, interrogatam acircumstantibus, cur ipsa eis manibus annuisset ut ad latus secederent. 'Dulcissimo,' inquit, 'Ihesu Christo sponso meo qui me ingenti cum gloria uisitauit iter preparauit,' plurimis ibi deuotissimis uerbis quam plurima enarrando que uidit. Nunc suspirabat; nunc exultabat; nunc inextasi posita in requie fruicionis diuine tenebatur suspensa. Cumque paucis post diebus in eadem infirmitate decumberet sacramentis omnibus procurata pluribus magistris de Pragensi uniuersitate.¹

When this woman was shaken daily by many infirmities, she began at last to languish and to be weakened to death, and when she was unable to speak with the many who were standing by her in wonder with the priests and religious women, she signalled with her hands that they should withdraw from whence they had been brought. No one understood the mystery, yet willing to obey, they went about their business. And when after a time she recovered enough strength that she might have begun to speak, asked by the bystanders why she had motioned to them with her hands that they should withdraw to the side, she said, 'Most delightful Jesus Christ, my Bridegroom visited me in his divine glory to prepare me for the journey.' Many who were there and saw it reported it with the most pious words. One moment she sighed, the next she exulted, and at other times she was put in ecstasy by the enjoyment of the divine, held in a state of respite. And few days after she had taken to her bed with the same disease, she was provided with the sacrament administered many times by the master of the University of Prague.

¹ Vatican Lat. 1122, ff. 85r-v and PNK, Osek 37, f. 160rb. Note that the Vatican manuscript suffers from scribal corruptions and errors in this passage.

While many could not understand Elizabeth's affliction, Matthew recognised that her convulsions were a result of her sinful life, in which she spent her time mingling in courtly circles, dancing, and overindulging instead of devoting herself to God.² This link between physical illness and sin was no mere metaphor; for medieval physicians and theologians the causes and effects of sin on one's health were clear and obvious. The theory that sin could make one physically ill was established at least as early as the Old Testament and early Christians developed ancient Greek, Roman, and Hebrew influences into their conception of the *cura animarum*.³ Throughout the Middle Ages, medical and theological authorities developed theories that explicitly described sin as a cause of ill health and spiritual purification as a treatment.⁴ The relationship between spiritual and physical health is neatly exemplified in the case of Elizabeth. Matthew of Kraków administers the eucharistic wafer to Elizabeth on a daily basis to purge the sin that was the cause of her physical illness. In the same way that Elizabeth's illness was a spiritual infirmity that had physical consequences for her health, so the Eucharist was a spiritual cure manifested in the physical wafer. In other words, the dual spiritual and physical nature of the cure matched that of the illness. The effectiveness of Elizabeth's engagement with Christ is evidenced by his guidance at her bedside, appearing to Elizabeth as a sign of the spiritual healing that he performed through the sacrament of communion.

² Vatican Lat. 1122, ff. 85r-v and PNK, Osek 37, f. 160ra. Jenštejn explains that Elizabeth became ill because she led a life of vain worldly affairs, dressed in gold clothes and luxurious threads, frequenting dances, and indulging in superfluous delights: 'Vanam iniuentute et secularem duxit uitam uestibus auro et gemmis contextis usa fuit choreis frequentibus occupata et multis fuit delicijs superflua.' There may be a connection between the rapid movements of dancing and convulsions, as well as between overindulging in food and drink and being unable to speak. Elizabeth's afflictions present themselves almost in a mocking manner, losing control of the senses that brought her joy at court. However, Jenštejn does not explicitly make such a connection.

³ Paul R. Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls: Revising a Classical Ideal*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 17 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), p. 7; Abraham J. Malherbe, 'Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament,' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)* 2, 26 (1992), p. 301.

⁴ Virginia Langum, *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins in Late Medieval Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 1-16.

On the surface, then, it appears as if the case of Elizabeth and her confessor, Matthew of Kraków, was a success. Not only had Elizabeth fully recovered from her illnesses, but she vowed to live a more devotional life. Nevertheless, using communion as a medicine to heal those afflicted with the infirmities of sin was a controversial issue in Bohemia when Jenštejn praised its virtues in the early 1390s.⁵ In fact, only a few years prior, Jenštejn himself used his office to condemn frequent communion among the laity in Prague. As a direct result of measures imposed by King Václav IV during Jenštejn's tenure as archbishop, Elizabeth was imprisoned and her properties were seized because of her reception of daily communion.⁶ Matthew of Kraków and others who sought to use frequent communion as a medicine were also challenged by the Bohemian monarchy and Church in a series of clerical synods. In campaigning for frequent communion, reformers in Bohemia disturbed the tradition of the clergy taking the Eucharist on behalf of the laity, thus challenging the role of priests as mediators between God and man.⁷

Chief among the proponents of frequent communion in Bohemia was Jan Milíč of Kroměříž (d. 1374), who devised much of the sacramental theology that later masters such as Jenštejn would adopt. Milíč campaigned for the laity to accept communion on a more frequent basis in order to heal the souls of those who were corrupted by sin. His ideas were put into practice at his religious community, named 'Jerusalem,' founded on the site of one of Prague's most notorious brothels ('Venice'). The community became a residence for a number of former prostitutes who devoted their lives to penitence and frequent communion. The guiding principles

⁵ The *De bono morbis* was written after Jenštejn returned from his trip to Rome and before his quarrel with King Václav IV in 1393. Gottfried Vielhaber, 'Der *Libellus de bono mortis* des Erzbischofs Johann von Jenstein,' in *Festschrift des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, seinen mitgliedern gewidmet zur feier des 40jährigen bestandes*, 27. mai 1902 (Prague: Der Verein, 1902), pp. 159-65.

⁶ Jaroslav V. Polc, *Svatý Jan Nepomucký* (Prague: Zvon, 1993), p. 382 n. 26.

⁷ There is evidence to suggest that certain members of the urban elite participated in frequent communion by the time that Jenštejn had argued for its benefits in the 1390s. Olivier Marin, 'The Early Bohemian Reform,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), p. 50.

upon which Jerusalem was founded paralleled the rhetoric of spiritual healing that was employed in contemporary hospitals across Europe. Hospitals for the sick poor created devotional environments within which the laity could engage with the sacraments in a more direct fashion than when they were well. The principle behind this greater access was that receiving the Eucharist, either in a mass held at the hospital or as the viaticum, would simultaneously heal the souls and bodies of the patients. The pastoral mission of Milíč developed a type of spirituality that (likely unintentionally) was comparable to that invoked in hospitals for the sick poor. These parallels between hospitals and Milíč's house for reformed prostitutes are striking. Both institutions encouraged the reception of the sacraments as a form of healing ill souls, and both established a quasi-monastic setting for the laity to undertake a reformation of bodies and souls in tandem. Milíč and his peers explicitly referred to the viaticum as a basis to introduce frequent communion to the laity, and they employed the same images of Christ the Physician and Mary the nurse that we saw with the hospital texts of chapter one.

At first, the movement towards frequent communion in Bohemia was supported by Emperor Charles IV, who looked to create a more pious environment throughout Prague, but eventually those who proposed frequent communion for the laity faced opposition from Church authorities. What started as a tolerable practice that was limited to the enclosed community of Jerusalem quickly became an issue that dominated Church politics throughout the archbishopric of Prague. Followers of Milíč and his sacramental theology were met with scepticism and condemnation, especially following Milíč's death in 1374, when Gregory XI sent inquisitors to Prague to root out those who were associated with the Jerusalem community. The community itself was dismantled in that same year, but Milíč's sacramental theology continued to be preached among university masters in Prague.

Frequent communion again became the object of criticism and condemnation in the Prague clerical synods of 1388 and 1389. In the 1380s and early 1390s, the practice became a central concern for scholars such as Matěj of Janov (d. 1393), Matthew of Kraków, Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov (Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio, d. 1388), and the Dominican Heinrich (Jindřich) of Bitterfeld (d. c. 1405).⁸ On the heels of increased support for the contentious issue, the 1388 provincial synod limited communion among the laity to once a month. This regulation was further cemented at the autumn synod of 1389, in which Matěj of Janov and Jakub Matějův of Kaplice were forced to recant their views on daily communion and their condemnation of the worship of images.⁹ Circumstances were complicated, however, when in 1390 Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn had a life-changing experience when he was struck ill on a trip to visit the papacy in Rome. He was subsequently healed by taking daily communion. After this near-death experience, Jenštejn campaigned for the restrictions of 1388-89 to be repealed.¹⁰ Jenštejn was also likely influenced by his close confidant Matthew of Kraków. Throughout the 1380s, Matthew worked in collaboration with the Archbishop of Prague, preaching at synods on Jenštejn's request and serving as the vicar-general of the archbishopric to help Jenštejn reform

⁸ In previous scholarship Tomáš of Štítné, a nobleman from Bohemia, was considered to have been influential in translating several Latin pastoral works into Old Czech and spreading the influence of the frequent communion movement. However, Pavlína Rychterová has demonstrated that Tomáš's works barely circulated outside of his family and friends during his life. It was not until the height of the Utraquist influence at the University of Prague that his Czech translations began to receive recognition and subsequently his works were printed in numerous editions. Pavlína Rychterová, 'Preaching, the Vernacular, and the Laity,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 90 (Brill: Leiden, 2020), pp. 301, 322-3. For more on these trends in historiography, see: Stanisław Bylina, 'František Palacký a české reformní hnutí 14. století,' in *František Palacký 1798/1998. Dějiny a dnešek*, ed. František Šmahel and Eva Doležalová (Prague: Historický ústav AVČR, 1999), pp. 123-37. For more on Tomáš and his medical model of the sacraments, in which he himself labels Vojtěch Raňkův and Milíč's Jerusalem as influences, see David R. Holton, 'The Sacramental Theology of Tomáš Štítný of Štítné,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), pp. 57-79.

⁹ Milena Bartlová, 'Hussite Iconoclasm,' in *From Hus to Luther: Visual Culture in the Bohemian Reformation (1380-1620)*, ed. Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk, Medieval Church Studies 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 60-2; František Palacký, *Documenta Magistri Ioannis Hus* (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1869), p. 701.

¹⁰ Pavlína Rychterová, 'Charisma und charismatische Legitimation in der Vita von Johannes von Jenstein,' in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Andrea Langer (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), pp. 346-53.

the clergy.¹¹ Jenštejn's official endorsement of frequent communion, along with his close relationship with Matthew of Kraków, helped to ensure that increased participation in communion was the order of the day. In June 1391, a Prague synod declared that the laity could take communion as frequently as they wished, and in June 1392 another synod proclaimed that communion could not be denied to criminals awaiting execution.¹² After 1393, the issue ceased to be a source of significant contention as more pressing concerns came to dominate Church politics: principally, Jenštejn's quarrel with King Václav IV (d. 1419) over the appointment and eventual murder of Jan of Nepomuk (Nepomucký).

The reformers led by Jenštejn won the day before the archbishop's unceremonious ejection from public life. Still, the frequent communion movement continued with Matthew of Kraków after he moved to Heidelberg around 1394. Matthew especially influenced his contemporaries at the University of Kraków, where frequent communion was adopted by several theologians.¹³ After the regulation of 1388-89 that restricted communion, Matthew appeared to change his position on the practice to align with the Prague clerical synods. He publicly wrote that everyone should conform to the statutes and he condemned any independent action among the laity. Nevertheless, Matthew did not give up on the Milíčian ideal of frequent communion, and he collaborated with scholars from Kraków to espouse the medical virtues of communion.

As a consequence, scholars at Kraków, such as Stanisław of Skarbimierz (d. 1431) and his

¹¹ Jenštejn, for example, asked Matthew of Kraków to preach at the October synod of the clergy in 1384. Matthew delivered a sermon on Jeremiah 11: 15 in which he warned against the profanation of the sacraments, and in the spring synod of 1386, he addressed the issue again in a sermon based on the Epistle of 1 Peter 5: 8.

¹² Ruben E. Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein, 1348-1400: Papalism, Humanism and Reform in Pre-Hussite Prague* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), p. 176; Jaroslav V. Polc, 'Statutes of the Synods of Prague (1386-1395),' *Apollinaris* 53, 3-4 (1980), pp. 437-8; Constantin Höfler, *Concilia Pragensia, 1353-1413 : Prager Synodal Beschlüsse* (Prague: K. Seyfried, 1862), pp. 41-2; Klement Borový, *Libri erectionum Archidioecesis Pragensis Saeculo XIV. et XV.*, 7 vols. (Prague: Calve, 1875), vol. 4 (1390-1397), pp. 385-6.

¹³ Evidence is hazy on when exactly Matthew moved to Heidelberg, see: Dietrich Schmidtke, 'Pastoraltheologische Texte des Matthäus von Krakau,' in *Schriften im Umkreis mitteleuropäischer Universitäten um 1400. Lateinische und Volkssprachige Texte aus Prag, Wien und Heidleberg: Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten, Wechselbeziehungen*, ed. Fritz Peter Knapp, Jürgen Miethke and Manuela Niesner (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 178-96.

student Nicolas (Mikołaj) of Błonie (fl. 1400-1440),¹⁴ preached freely on the importance of frequent communion among the laity. As I demonstrate below, Stanisław and Nicolas in fact recommended frequent communion as an alternative to another practice that spread from Hussite Bohemia into Poland: the administration of communion under both kinds (*sub utraque specie*), or utraquism. Only a handful of scholars from Kraków preached in favour of frequent communion, largely because Polish authorities were keen to limit any type of reformist thinking that might have had links, no matter how tenuous, to Hussitism. Polish ecclesiastical authorities and university masters were concerned that Jan Milíč and those that associated with him represented a grass-roots spirituality that could lead to more radical forms of dissidence. Nevertheless, the use of frequent communion to combat utraquism is particularly significant because the Hussites cited Jan Milíč as a saintly figure who faced unwarranted criticism for his concern for the spiritual health of the laity. These dissident preachers did not adopt Milíč's model of frequent communion as a medicine but folded certain features of Milíč's sacramental theology into the rationale behind their practice of utraquism. In other words, each side of the controversy drew on the same source material but interpreted Milíč's theology for different ends.

While the various proponents of frequent communion—from the preaching of Jan Milíč in the 1360s and 70s to scholars from Kraków in the early fifteenth century—had different theological focuses and aims, one thing they held in common was that the Eucharist should be used as a medicine. Communion was not held to be the only spiritual medicine by those who

¹⁴ Nicolas was nicknamed 'Pszczółka' [bee] because of his work ethic, and it is not irregular to see his name presented as 'Mikołaj Pszczółka' in manuscripts. Marian Zwiercan, 'Mikołaj z Błonia,' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, general ed. E. Rostworowski (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1976), vol. 21, pp. 102-04. The most widely cited and comprehensive work on Nicolas's life is Bolesław Ulanowski, 'Mikołaj z Błonia, kanonista polski z pierwszej połowie XV wieku,' *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności: wydział Historyczno-filozoficzny* 23 (1888), pp. 1-60.

advocated its frequent reception, but it was undoubtedly seen as the most efficacious.¹⁵ In fact, the medicinal benefits of the Eucharist were acknowledged in canon law and Church practice surrounding the viaticum, that is, a consecrated wafer offered to those that were bedridden.¹⁶ The viaticum was not offered merely to avoid excluding those that were ill or to prepare those on their deathbeds to die (cf. extreme unction); it was explicitly used to assist in the recovery of those who were bedridden by illness. The sacramental medicine of the viaticum offered an apt comparison for those that recommended frequent communion for the spiritually impure: if the Eucharist was given to promote recovery for those who suffered physically, why not extend this practice to those that were spiritually ill? This was the question that drove Milič, among others, to campaign for communion to be taken more frequently by penitent Christians.

Calls for frequent communion were not attempts to democratise the sacrament, but to include communion in a spiritual regimen of health that was intended to cure the most sinful. After all, it would not make sense to offer a medicine to those that were already healthy. So while offering communion to the most sinful may initially sound radical, Milič and those who followed his theology insisted that communion be grounded in confession and penitence in an attempt to prepare the souls of sinners. Preparation was key. Every theologian addressed in this chapter maintained that one could not accept communion without preparation, and that this preparation would ensure that one lived a devout lifestyle centred on frequent confession and penitence alongside communion. With a strong focus on penitence and increased access to the

¹⁵ James W. Kinn, *The pre-eminence of the eucharist among the sacraments according to Alexander of Hales, St. Albert the Great, St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas Aquinas*, Dissertationes ad Lauream 31 (Mundelein, Illinois: Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, 1960); Richard A. Nicholas, *The Eucharist as the Center of Theology: A Comparative Study* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), especially pp. 1-13.

¹⁶ This practice was enshrined in canon law across Europe in the high Middle Ages. For instance, the Westminster council of 1200 stipulated that a renewed host be taken to the sick every Sunday. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 43-4. The most comprehensive treatment of the viaticum is Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 178-220.

sacraments, the theologians that espoused frequent communion participated in a reformist tradition that sought to facilitate a direct engagement with Christ the Physician and his healing.

The reform program to which Milíč contributed so much continued into the period of the Papal Schism, and the figures addressed in this chapter were acutely conscious of the deficient health of the Church. During the Schism, which emerged after Milíč's death, those that espoused his sacramental theology sought to repair the divisions with Christ's ultimate medicine, the Eucharist. While many of the ideas concerning frequent communion emerged from Prague, frequent communion was not a uniquely Bohemian theology. The medicinal virtues of frequent communion were derived from both Bohemian and foreign influences, and although the discussion of frequent communion was rejected relatively quickly in Poland, the theology went on to have a profound impact on Polish ecclesiastical practices and debates surrounding ecclesiology. Historiography has advanced considerably in the last thirty years, from solely treating Bohemian theologians, namely Jan Milíč and Matěj of Janov, as progenitors of this theology, to a more comprehensive approach that considers influences from across Central Europe. David R. Holeton, Olivier Marin, Matthias Nuding, and Stanisław Bylina have been particularly influential in considering a broader milieu of reformers.¹⁷ Yet the relationship

¹⁷ David R. Holeton is one of the most influential scholars in the history of frequent communion and its preachers, see his *La Communion des tout-petits enfants: Etude du mouvement eucharistique en Bohême vers la fin du Moyen-Age*, Bibliotheca « Ephemerides Liturgicae » Subsidia 50 (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1989). For the medical rhetoric in particular, see: idem, 'The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 1 (1996), pp. 23-48. Olivier Marin produced one of the most important treatments of pre-Hussite reform in Bohemia in her *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí, 1360-1419* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2017), originally published in French as *L'archevêque, le maître and le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois. Années 1360-1419* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005). This work was crucial in reconsidering the role of late fourteenth-century Bohemian reformers and their manuscript circulation as a criterion for their position in the long Bohemian revolution as it has been traditionally defined by the likes of František Palacký. Matthias Nuding wrote the foundational monograph on Matthew of Kraków, considering his entire career from Prague to Heidelberg and demonstrating his importance in Central European reform. *Matthäus von Krakau: Theologe, Politiker, Kirchenreformer in Krakau, Prag und Heidelberg zur Zeit des Großen Abendländischen Schismas*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). Stanisław Bylina has been influential in considering the circulation of the manuscripts of fourteenth-century Bohemian reformers in Silesia and Poland, demonstrating the significance of these reformers outside of Bohemia. 'František Palacký a

between the theology of Milíč, the theological faculty at Prague in the 1380s and 90s, and scholars from Kraków has yet to be explored in relation to Milíč's frequent communion movement.¹⁸ This chapter exposes the intricacies and significance of the medical discourse of those that campaigned for frequent communion, and reappraises the geographical scope of its influence to consider the University of Kraków alongside developments in Prague. The themes I investigate in this chapter had a profound impact on the proceedings of Constance and Basel. As already explained, the Hussites cited the early Bohemian reformists alongside Wycliffite influences as their main sources of authority. These Bohemian and English influences were separate, but both the Wycliffites and the early Bohemian reformers drew from and contributed to the same diffuse discourse of lay spirituality and medical imagery that the Hussites later exploited. The Polish context became particularly important around the Council of Basel, when several masters from the University of Kraków used the early Bohemian reformists as sources for condemning utraquism. Put simply, the individual movements in England, Bohemia, and Poland converged at the centre of Church politics at Constance and Basel.

1373-4 Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and the illness of sin

The theological innovations of Jan Milíč of Kroměříž influenced a large swathe of Central European reformers, but Milíč was hardly the first to advocate the benefits of taking communion

české reformní hnutí 14. století,' pp. 123-37; idem, 'La catéchisation du peuple en Bohême aux xiv^e et xv^e siècles,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 3 (2000), pp. 25-33; idem, 'La dévotion nouvelle et le problème de la communion fréquente en Europe centrale, xiv^e–xv^e siècles,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), pp. 31-42.

¹⁸ There have been significant contributions that discuss the influence of Milíč on members of the theological faculty at Prague, such as: Jaroslav Kadlec, 'Teologická fakulta,' in *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 142-55; Jana Nechutová, 'Autorita Bible a její překlady podle kvestie Jana z Myta Utrum dictis sanctorum patrum,' *Česka literatura* 47 (1999), pp. 510-14; eadem, 'Konrad von Soltau. *Lectura super caput Firmiter*,' in *Schriften im Umkreis mitteleuropäischer Universitäten um 1400, Lateinische und volkssprachige Texte aus Prag, Wien und Heidelberg, Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten, Wechselbeziehungen*, ed. Fritz Peter Knapp, Jürgen Miethke, and Manuela Niesner, *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 3-19.

regularly, nor were his theological justifications without authority or precedent. Augustine consistently conceptualised communion as a medicine to cure souls, and Ambrose espoused the benefits of daily communion in his widely cited *De sacramentis*.¹⁹ Milíč drew on Augustine's and Ambrose's theological arguments for daily communion and adapted a number of their assertions to suit his situation in fourteenth-century Bohemia. His theological innovations were particularly remarkable because he influenced a generation of reformers at Prague and, unlike most preachers, with Milíč we have proof of how he put his ideas about sacramental medicine into practice. In 1372, Emperor Charles IV demolished 'Venice,' one of the most notorious brothels in Prague. On the site of the destroyed brothel a chapel was built and dedicated to three saints who were former prostitutes: Mary Magdalene, Afra of Augsburg, and Mary of Egypt.²⁰ This chapel, named 'Jerusalem,' was to be overseen by Milíč and would come to house an undefined number of ex-prostitutes who lived alongside a small number of priests.²¹

Reforming the sinners became Milíč's central mission and, as already stated, the administration of frequent communion was a central pillar of his program. He faced significant opposition to his policy of frequent communion, and matters reached a head in 1373 when mendicants and parish priests from Prague banded together and accused him of defying canon

¹⁹ There were many throughout Church history that advocated for daily reception. Possibly the most cited work that advocates frequent communion is Ambrose's *De sacramentis*, especially book 5, cap. 4, 25, where he explains that since the Eucharist is a medicine for the souls of all Christians, they ought to take it daily. See: *Ambroise de Milan, Des Sacrements. Des Mystères. Explication du Symbole*, ed. Dom Bernard Botte, Sources Chrétiennes 25bis (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961), pp. 132-4; Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls*, pp. 95-107.

²⁰ These three saints were well known to preachers through the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine and its Czech translation. Olivier Marin, *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí*, p. 411; David C. Mengel, 'A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit: Making the Life of Milíč,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5 (2004), p. 37.

²¹ Sources are unclear as to who exactly resided in Jerusalem. Some mention only 'publicae meretrices de prostibulis,' but others use a broader reference to members of the laity including some former prostitutes from Venice. See: Holeton, *La Communion des tout-petits enfants*, pp. 22. Matěj of Janov in his recount of community referred to the residents as 'publicae meretrices de prostibulis' and 'poenitentes mulieres'. Matěj of Janov, 'Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii,' in his *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamentum*, vols. 1-4, ed. Vlastimil Kybal (Prague: Innsbruck, 1908-1913); vol. 5, ed. Vlastimil Kybal and Otakar Odložilík (Prague: Innsbruck, 1913); vol. 6, ed. Jana Nechutová and Helena Krmíčková, *Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum* 69 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993), vol. 3, p. 359; 'Vita Milicii' in FRB, vol. 1, pp. 418-19.

law. Where Emperor Charles IV and Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim (d. 1380) had in the past defended Milíč, on this occasion they refused to intervene, leaving him no option but to travel to Avignon to present his case to the pope in person. Milíč died of the plague on the shores of the Rhône on 29 June 1374 before his case was resolved, and three weeks later Pope Gregory XI issued a bull that condemned him.²² As a result, priests who followed Milíč or were connected to Jerusalem were interrogated and some were forced into exile.²³ In December 1374, Charles IV gave Jerusalem and all its properties to the Cistercians, who built a theological *studium* on its site.²⁴ Those who opposed Jerusalem argued that the community was a new religious order in all but name—a controversial prospect, because starting a religious order without the explicit permission of the papacy did indeed defy canon law. The coalition of secular clergy and mendicants in Prague claimed that the residents of Jerusalem wore simple clothes that resembled a habit, undertook frequent confession and communion, and lived cloistered away from the rest of the city.²⁵ This criticism resembled more widespread criticism over beguine and beghard communities in Prague and throughout Europe.

While the criticisms of the clergy in Prague are not an entirely faithful portrayal of the community at Jerusalem, the accusations provide precious information that in some cases can be

²² František M. Bartoš, 'Ze studií husitských,' *Časopis matice moravské* 61 (1937), pp. 213-14; David C. Mengel, 'From Venice to Jerusalem and beyond: Milíč of Kroměříž and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague,' *Speculum* 79, 2 (2004), p. 438.

²³ *Soudní akta konsistoře Pražské (Acta judiciaria consistorii Pragensis)*, ed. Ferdinand Tadra, Historický archiv 1 (1373-1379) (Prague: Česká akademie císaře, 1893), for examinations: pp. 96-7 nos. 119-20; for suspensions and exiles, p. 72 no. 1, p. 81 no. 52, p. 88 no. 88, and pp. 92-3 no. 104.

²⁴ *Libri erectionum archidioecesis Pragensis saeculo XIV. et XV.*, ed. Clemens Borový (Prague: J.G. Calve, 1875), vol. 1 (1358-1376), p. 105 no. 219.

²⁵ Mengel, 'From Venice to Jerusalem,' p. 436. In the twelve articles levelled against Milíč, several of the accusations seek to portray his community as a new religious order. For instance, the articles allege that the women at Jerusalem wore monastic-like habits and were subject to strict enclosure. Those that went outside the community without permission reportedly faced corporal punishment. 'Articuli domini Milicii' in *Über Formelbücher, zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte. Nebst Beilagen. Ein Quellenbeitrag zur Geschichte Böhmens und der Nachbarländer im 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. František Palacký, 2 vols. (Prague: Kronberger und Řivnač, 1873), vol. 2, pp. 182-6; summarised in Mengel, 'From Venice to Jerusalem,' p. 437 n. 134; translated in Jiří Kejř, 'Žalobní články proti Milíčovi z Kroměříže,' *Husitský Tabor* 10 (1988-1991), pp. 181-9.

verified by Milíč's preaching. For instance, the claim that the former prostitutes took frequent communion matches the content of Milíč's sermons.²⁶ Throughout his *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei* sermon cycles (composed c. 1363-5 and c. 1371-2 respectively),²⁷ Milíč prescribes communion for those that were spiritually impure. The former prostitutes of Jerusalem would have been counted among the most sinful in society. Brothels were on the one hand set on the margins of the city to make them less visible and to cordon them off from the rest of the population, but in fact their location made them more conspicuous and the objects of suspicion because they were not fully integrated into the urban environment.²⁸ The placement of Jerusalem at the city walls thus added to the suspicion that the Prague clergy felt towards Milíč and his followers. For Milíč, those at the edges of the city required the spiritual healing of the Eucharist more than anyone else.

To fully understand why there was such controversy surrounding Jerusalem, we must first explore the historical context in which Milíč and those he inspired were writing. In the late medieval period, few outside of the clergy received the sacrament of the altar on a regular basis. The laity participated in communion by observing priests consecrating and consuming the host once a week. Furthermore, the clergy were permitted to take communion once a day for the betterment of all Christians, though, of course, the laity did not observe the clergy taking the sacrament every day. Throughout Europe, members of the laity were usually able to consume the wafer three times a year: at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.²⁹ Communion could also be taken

²⁶ Kejř, 'Žalobní články proti Milíčovi z Kroměříže,' p. 186.

²⁷ Peter C.A. Morée, 'The Dating of the Postils of Milicius de Chremsir,' *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 121 (1998), pp. 64-83.

²⁸ Mengel, 'From Venice to Jerusalem and beyond,' pp. 412-28. For more on brothels and the social perception of prostitutes in late-medieval society, see: Erik Spindler, 'Were Medieval Prostitutes Marginals? Evidence from Sluis, 1387-1440,' *Revue belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 87, 2 (2009), pp. 239-72.

²⁹ Izibicki, *Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 138-40. This was enshrined by 1318 in the Olomouc statutes, where Christians were told to confess and receive communion three times a year, or at the very least at Eastertide in

at baptisms, deathbed rites, and as the viaticum for those that were severely ill. Taking communion was optional except for at Easter, where it was made mandatory by the Fourth Lateran Council for all who were over the age of discernment.³⁰ Crucially, Lateran IV declared that confession had to precede communion so that the priest could examine the sinner and have a chance to assess the extent of their sin, recommending abstinence if the sins were especially heinous.³¹ This level of mediation served to protect the laity from receiving the sacrament in a sinful state, which would, as Paul explained in 1 Corinthians 11: 29, lead the sinner to condemnation.³² The Pauline warning informed much of Church doctrine on the sacrament in the later Middle Ages, which stressed worthy reception. According to the French canonist Guillaume Durand (d. 1296), in the early Church communion was taken every day by all, but, he said, the laity were considerably more sinful in his present day and so the Church restricted them to merely observe the sacrament.³³ The Pauline caution was opposed by some who stressed the benefits of taking the sacrament as stated in John 6: 54: ‘unless you eat the flesh of the Son of

order to conform to the Lateran decree. *Synody a statuta Olomoucké diecéze období středověku*, ed. Pavel Křafl (Prague: The Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2003), pp. 131-2.

³⁰ Guiseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (ed.), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), vol. 1, ‘Concilium Lateranense IV 1215,’ decree 21, p. 178.

³¹ The need for confession before receiving the sacrament linked back to the early ecumenical councils of Nicaea, in which one was only considered to be worthy of the Eucharist if one had undertaken a series of public penances. See: Norman P. Tanner, ‘The Eucharist in the Ecumenical Councils,’ *Gregorianum* 82 (2001), pp. 38-9.

³² Vulgate, 1 Cor. 11: 29 ‘For those who eat and drink without discerning the body of Christ eat and drink judgment on themselves’ [Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini].

³³ The Lateran Council decreed that the laity was unworthy to take communion regularly, but rather they should observe it. Guillaume Durand, *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinarum officiorum I-IV*, ed. Anselme Davril and Timothy M. Thibodeau, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), lib. 4, cap. 53: 3, p. 544, ll. 43-8: ‘Postmodum autem, quia nec hec digne potuit observari’. For more, see: Timothy M. Thibodeau, ‘The Doctrine of Transubstantiation in Durand’s “Rationale”,’ *Traditio* 51 (1996), pp. 308-17. The same argument, that the laity were merely allowed to observe communion because of their sins, was used by Nicholas of Cusa at the Council of Basel in his reply to the Bohemians on utraquism. He explains that the Eucharist was once received often and under both species, but that was in the early Church when love of God was most ardent. Later, when that same love was less fervent, the sacrament was received less frequently in the year and under the species of dipped bread. At his present, when love was tepid, the Eucharist was even rarer and taken under one species. Nicholas of Cusa, *De usu communionis ‘ad Bohemos,’* in *Nicholas of Cusa: Writings on Church Reform*, ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 56-7, l. 41: ‘ut tunc saepe et sub utraque specie, quando ardens est; tunc rarius in anno, quando calida est, et sub intincti panis specie; tunc rarissime in anno et sub una specie, quando tepida est, ut hoc tempore.’

Man and drink his blood, you shall have no life in you.’³⁴ According to John, those that did not participate in communion were missing out on a key aspect of their spiritual life. In other words, while canonists tended to focus on worthiness in restricting access to communion, there was room for debate. In fact, there was no canon law that strictly prohibited daily communion, and canonists often cited Augustine’s non-committal position, namely that he neither condoned nor condemned frequent communion among the laity.³⁵

The ambiguity of canon law provided Bohemian reformers a loophole that they exploited in their espousal of frequent communion. Instead of reserving communion for the clergy, reformers like Milíč explained that the sacrament was intended precisely for those sinners that priests deemed unworthy. Milíč was not alone in this belief. One of the most popular devotional works produced in late-medieval Central Europe, the *Malogranatum*—produced at the *Aula Regia* monastery in the Zbraslav municipality outside of Prague in the mid-thirteenth century—argued that communion was a medicine that should never be denied to the laity.³⁶ The text

³⁴ Vulgate, John 6: 54: ‘nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis.’

³⁵ The main glossae concerning communion in the late medieval period balanced out authorities that advised against daily communion with Augustine’s ambiguous position. In Burchard of Worms’s *Decretum*, one of the most influential glossae on the topic, he includes a canon attributed to Pope Clement that urged priests to restrict lay participation so as not to harm their souls. However, he immediately follows this reference with Augustine’s assertion that he did not praise or find fault with daily reception of the Eucharist. Augustine then said that if one feared that he or she were in a sinful state, one should only take communion after one is purified. Burchardus Wormatiensis, *Decretum*, book 5, cap. 15 in PL 140: 755C-D; cap. 15: ‘De quotidiana perceptione Eucharistiae. / (Ex dicitis Augustinus). Quotidie Eucharistiae communionem percipere, nec laudo, nec vitupero: Omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus communicandum hortor. Si tamen metus in affectu peccandi est, gravari magis dico Eucharistiae perceptione quam purificari.’ Cf. Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, PL 161: 166C-D; Regino of Prüm, *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, ed. F.W.H. Wasserschleben and Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), pp. 176-7.

³⁶ Manfred Gerwing provides a date of 1335-40 for the composition of the *Malogranatum* in his *Malogranatum oder der dreifache Weg zur Vollkommenheit. Ein Beitrag zur Spiritualität des Spätmittelalters*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 57 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986). This date range has since been questioned by Helen Krmičková, ‘Le *Malogranatum* et la question de la communion fréquente,’ *Les cisterciens dans le royaume médiéval de Bohême (Actes du colloque de Kutná Hora, 9– 13 juin 1992)*, Cîteaux 47 (1996), pp. 135-43. The *Malogranatum* survives in approximately 150 manuscripts and was translated into German and Dutch in early printed editions. According to these numbers, then, the text was surpassed only by Matthew of Krakow’s *Dialogus rationis et conscientiae de crebra communione* (more on this text below).

presents a dialogue between a spiritual paternal figure and a novice on the three steps required to attain union with God. Partaking of communion was one of the necessary steps to purify one's heart because through the sacrament even the laity could achieve union with God. The first distinction of the third book asks '[u]trum melius sit frequenter accedere vel rarius ad hoc sacramentum' [whether it is better to receive the sacrament frequently or rarely].³⁷ Although the father figure maintains that there was no universal rule as to when or how often one should take communion, he explains that the Eucharist was a gift used to cure the sick and sinful, thus it should not be reserved only for those who were already pure. Ultimately he recommends: 'Melius est singulis ebdomatibus vel etiam diebus accedere cum vera humilitate et imperfectionis proprie recognitione, quam semel in anno, proprie iustitie ex presumptione' [It is better to receive (communion) once a week or even every day with true humility and acknowledging one's imperfections, than to receive it once a year out of presumption of one's own righteousness].³⁸ Since humanity was sinful by its very nature, one had to acknowledge one's imperfections and suffer in them when consuming the Eucharist. Ruminating on one's suffering during communion would lead the mind to consider the suffering of Christ, who was at once the object of suffering in the sacramental re-enactment of his death and a physician that cured sin through his healing grace.³⁹ Christ was thus the Divine Physician and the medicine, his body, was consumed to heal the faithful Christians: 'Medicus est et pi[i]ssimus distributor

³⁷ Paweł Krupa (ed.), 'La communion quotidienne à Prague au XIV^e siècle. *Malogranatum* III, 1, 26 : ses précurseurs et ses continuateurs,' *Crisi "mendicante" e crisi della chiesa. "Encomia sancti Thomae" e riforma savonaroliana, Memorie domenicane* 30 (1999), the text is edited at pp. 246-58.

³⁸ Krupa, *Malogranatum* III, 1, 26, p. 253.

³⁹ Berndt Hamm uses the term 'Frömmigkeitstheologie' to characterise this movement towards morality, spirituality, and a concern for a greater integration of individuals. 'Was ist Frömmigkeitstheologie? Überlegungen zum 14.-16. Jahrhundert,' in *Praxis pietatis. Festschrift für Wolfgang Sommer*, ed. Hans-Jörg Nieden and Marcel Nieden (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), pp. 9-45. The term is applied to late-medieval Bohemia by Olivier Marin, 'Early Bohemian Reform,' p. 37.

largissimusque remunerator' [he is the physician, the most pious distributor, and most bountiful remunerator].⁴⁰

It is a short step from the theology of the *Malogranatum* to that of Jan Milič. Although Milič does not cite the *Malogranatum*, there are clear parallels in their use of medical metaphors and emphasis on the Eucharist as the central tool of spiritual purification.⁴¹ Whether or not there was a direct influence, it is clear that Milič and the *Malogranatum* exploited a popular trend towards increased access to the sacraments that had been building since Austrian Konrad Waldhauser's anticlerical preaching, which started in September 1363 and continued until at least 1366.⁴² The Bohemian discourse of clerical reform stressed a direct engagement with Christ as the Divine Physician over a dependence on sinful members of the clergy and mendicant orders that had failed in their task of the *cura animarum*.⁴³ Milič plays upon this trend in a sermon from his *Gratia Dei* collection, in which Christ the Physician comes to the aid of the sinner:

Christus propter peccatores venit tanquam medicus propter egrotas, sed dicit Theofilus 'ideo iuste apropiuabant ad eum peccatores spe salutis.' Sicud enim dicit Petrus Ravennas in epistola, 'frequentis infirmi ex aptitudine medici graciosi conualescunt, et in eis ex quadam confidentia quam de medico concipiunt, natura iam deficiens conualescit.' Sic peccatores qui sunt infirmi in anima videntes medicum affabilem graciosum et de salute sperantem apropiuabant ad eum. Omnis enim defectus tollebat et omnem sufficiens prestabat quia hic medicus solo unico emplastro membre omnis sanabat.⁴⁴

Christ approaches sinners just as a physician approaches patients, but also Theophilus says, 'therefore rightly sinners drew near to him in the hope of health.' In the same way, Peter [Chrysologus] of Ravenna says in a letter 'that those who are frequently ill are convalesced by the gracious skill of the physician and from a certain confidence which they receive from the physician, and now the nature that falters regains its strength. Thus, sinners who are infirm in spirit, seeing that the affable physician is kind, draw near to him

⁴⁰ Krupa, *Malogranatum* III, 1, 26, p. 250.

⁴¹ The most commonly cited study on the homiletic parallels and sources is František Michalek Bartoš, 'Dvě studie o husitských postilách,' *Rozpravy Československé Akademie* (1955), pp. 1-56.

⁴² Marin, *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí*, p. 164; Stanisław Bylina, *Hussitica Studia* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2007), pp. 36-7.

⁴³ Stanisław Bylina, *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausena na Ziemiach Polskich w drugiej Połowie XIV i Pierwszej Połowie XV Wieku* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Kraków: Zakład narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966), especially pp. 15-24.

⁴⁴ *Gratia Dei* in PNK, XV D 7, f. 109ra.

in the hope of their health. For he raises all who are weak, and he applies every sufficient thing, for this physician alone cures all members with an unparalleled emplaster.

Milíč is not concerned here with the Pauline warning that taking communion in a state of sin would lead one to greater sin, but rather he states that ‘he raises all who are weak.’ That is, Christ’s cure is indiscriminate in its healing, and there is no risk for those who are affected by sin of worsening one’s spiritual state. Christ’s medicine is imagined as an emplaster because he is an affable physician. An emplaster was a treatment that combined medical ingredients with a resin to form a protective covering over a wound. Emplasters were typically covered in a healing solution or ointment, and were the mildest form of wound treatment that a surgeon had at their disposal.⁴⁵ Taking communion was a similarly affable procedure, in that it resulted in Christ entering one’s body and joining with the recipient in a state of union. This union was not an invasive procedure, but an altogether cordial treatment.⁴⁶ It was, in fact, the only way to heal the sins of the soul when inept priests, as Milíč viewed them, failed to properly care for the spiritually ill.

The medicinal benefit of communion was paramount for Milíč because he conceptualised sin as operating in the same manner as bodily illness. He did not simply imagine sin to be a malady, but rather theorised that sin corrupted the soul as a spiritual disease. Therefore, sin could present itself through various symptoms and, if left untreated, corrupt the entire soul, which would then lead to greater discord. Eventually, untreated sin would lead one to an increased time in Purgatory or even damnation at one’s death if one was not sufficiently contrite. Since sin was

⁴⁵ For more on emplasters and their symbolism in reformist preaching, see chapter 3 of this study.

⁴⁶ Through Milíč’s sermons, he repeatedly recommends frequent or daily reception of communion as a means not only of curing spiritual illness but also of directly interacting with God. In his sermon for the seventh Sunday after Trinity in his *Gratia Dei* cycle, Milíč plays with the words of the *Pater Noster* to emphasise the need for ‘daily bread’ to be delivered in communion. After all, Milíč says, it is not called weekly or annual bread. PNK, XII D 1, f. 65v; PNK XV D 7, f. 123va: ‘Sicut illi qui uno die expendunt quod octo diebus uel mense, uel anno sufficeret, talis enim panis non vocatur cottidianus sed septimanalis uel annalis. Et ideo tales expensores indigent novo Pater Noster, ut possint dicere panem nostrum annalem, uel septimanalem da nobis hodie.’

at its core a type of illness, it could be treated with medicine. Throughout his sermons, Milíč built an extended lexicon of medical terms through which to express the ways in which sin tainted the soul. In a sermon for the twelfth Sunday of Trinity from his *Abortivus* collection, he provides a comprehensive account of how spiritual illnesses paralleled those of the body. He begins his discussion by exclaiming: ‘Quanta luctamina in hoc mortali corpore sustinemus ut enim de aliis taceam, quante infirmitates, et quot modi languorum ex quibus hic febres nominantur. Et quis infirmitates anime enarrabit?’ [Oh, how many struggles we bear in this mortal body! That I may not speak of the others (i.e., to mention only a few) how many diseases and how many ways of languishing, from which fevers here take their name. And who will describe the diseases of the soul?].⁴⁷ Here Milíč is not concerned to enumerate the types of fevers that can afflict the body and soul, but by mentioning them in relation to one another, the parallel between spiritual and physical afflictions is established. Sin would not merely be symbolically linked to physical illnesses, but medical theory provided a framework for understanding sin and the ways it affected the body and soul.

Within this medical context, Milíč links sin and spiritual welfare with wound treatments in which fevers are a symptom of infection. Sin provided the initial wound, which would grow and develop until it caused a fever. Quoting Augustine, Milíč explains that the Divine Physician was required to intervene to ensure the lasting health of the laity:

Peccatum enim vulnus est, penitentia vulneris ligatura [est]. Tu qui penitentiam non vis agere, sine dubio dissimulas medicamenta tuis vulneribus adhibere; et non agnoscis quia plus crescit et maiorem fetorem facit vulnus discoopertum, quam si esset medicamentis appositis involutum.⁴⁸

Because sin is a wound, penitence is the bandage for the wound. You who do not wish to do penance, without doubt you ignore the medicine to apply to your wounds; and you do

⁴⁷ *Abortivus* in PNK, XXIII D 201, f. 355va.

⁴⁸ PNK, XXIII D 201, f. 358ra; Augustine, *Sermo* 257, in PL 39: 2220.

not realise that the wound grows and makes a greater stench when left exposed than if it were wrapped in the appropriate remedy.

Penitence was imperative for one's spiritual health because it was the foundational disposition for all spiritual treatments and was one of the requirements for the Eucharist to take effect.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, penitence went only so far in healing one's soul; it was a bandage that temporarily patched up the wounds of sin. When the penitent had no access to the medicine of communion, they were forced to trust more doubtful medicines that gave the appearance of health, attending, so to speak, to the exterior breaks in the skin without addressing the deeper problem. Without the Physician and his medicine, the wound of sin becomes larger and more infected. Here Milíč uses standard descriptions of the periodicities of putrid fevers, arising from the humours:⁵⁰

Correctionem ergo accipiamus et medicamen—contra febrem cotidiarum dum incessante peccamus; contra febrem interpolatam quando intercise peccamus, nunc bonum nunc malum faciendo; contra tercianam quando fidem et spem habendo; contra caritatem peccamus; contra quartanam quando a quatuor cardinabilis virtutibus deviamus—ut sic sanati ad eternam salutem feliciter veniamus.⁵¹

Let us then accept correction and medicine—against daily fever when we incessantly sin; against intermittent fevers when we sin every other day, one day doing good, the next bad; against fevers recurring every third day when we have faith and hope but we sin against charity; against fevers recurring every fourth day when we deviate from the four cardinal virtues—in order that we come happily to eternal health.

Fevers are a suitable analogy for sin because, just as a fever is felt recurrently, one usually sins intermittently throughout one's life, interspersed between periods of repentance and atonement.

Degree and regularity separate the type of sin and the intensity of the treatment required from the Physician. A bandage such as confession and regular penance is an ineffective cure when a wound becomes septic and one suffers from fevers. The only medicine that could truly heal these deeply rooted illnesses was to receive Christ's body through communion.

⁴⁹ Mengel, 'From Venice to Jerusalem,' pp. 431-2.

⁵⁰ See: Mirko Dražen Grmek and Bernardino Fantini (ed.), *Die Geschichte des medizinischen Denkens: Antike und Mittelalter* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), pp. 196-215; Luke DeMaitre, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), pp. 37-42.

⁵¹ PNK, XXIII D 201, f. 358vb.

For Milíč there was no disease that the Divine Physician could not heal, thus he would willingly accept all patients who came to him with the desire to be healthy. The penitent patient must approach the Physician through communion for Christ to treat the wounds of sin that caused fevers. Waiting until one was spiritually pure, then, was illogical, because one does not wait until one is healthy to take medicine. Considering the way that he viewed sin and medicine, it is not difficult to see why Milíč recommended daily communion for the former prostitutes at Jerusalem. Although Milíč made no mention of his community at Jerusalem in his sermons—explained by the highly adaptable medium of sermons, which were concerned with universal questions of faith rather than individual social or behavioural issues⁵²—he undoubtedly considered the residents to be spiritually ill and to require a regimen of daily communion to help cure their souls. It is also easy to see why Milíč’s use of communion at Jerusalem garnered such criticism in the context of late-medieval Bohemia. While some, such as the author of the *Malogranatum*, agreed that the Eucharist could be a healing remedy, few were prepared to risk administering it to the laity as often as Milíč.

Preparing for communion

With Jan Milíč so focused on providing frequent communion for those who were the most spiritually ill, the sacrament of communion could be mistaken as a universal cure-all to be taken

⁵² Adam J. Davis, ‘Preaching in thirteenth-century Hospitals,’ *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 75-6. Furthermore, as Beverly Mayne Kienzle has pointed out in her introduction to *The sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental* 81-83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 169-70, whether a sermon outline, model sermon, or *reportatio*, manuscripts often provide ‘an inexact reflection of a preaching event’. The language of the written text was often different from that which was preached. Milíč preached in Latin, Czech, and German, but all of his sermons are recorded in Latin. Furthermore, apart from language, a *reportatio* might reflect more about the *reportator* than the preacher himself. This has led scholars such as Jacqueline Hamesse to question who we should consider the rightful ‘author’ of the sermon. Jacqueline Hamesse, ‘La Méthode du travail des reportateurs,’ *Medioevo e rinascimento* 3 (1989), pp. 51-67. In sum, sermons as they were recorded in manuscripts were often second or even third hand reconstructions of the original sermon. Still, as Nicole Bériou has explained, they are useful sources in the history of the Middle Ages despite their flaws. Nicole Bériou, ‘La Reportation des sermons Parisiens à la fin du XIII^e siècle,’ *Medioevo e rinascimento* 3 (1989), pp. 87-103.

whenever one had sinned. This was not Milíč's position, however. Milíč maintained that those intending to receive communion had to prepare themselves to approach the sacrament with a penitent disposition. Preparing oneself for communion was, as we have seen, a core argument of canonists who believed that the sacrament should be taken only by the worthy. Milíč had a different standard of worthiness that depended on one's contrite and humble attitude as opposed to purity from sin. He thus maintained that one could be worthy every day and quoted Ambrose's *De sacramentis* as an authority. Ambrose explained: 'Accipe cottidie quod cottidie prosit tibi. Sic vive ut cottidie merearis accipere. Qui non meretur hodie accipere, quomodo meretur post annum accipere?' [Receive it daily because daily it profits you. Thus live so that every day you are worthy to receive it. Whoever is unworthy to receive it today, how will you be worthy to receive it after a year?].⁵³ Milíč agreed that there should be some degree of preparation that the layperson must undertake to be a worthy recipient, and he fails to see abstaining for a year as a necessarily step. The preparation that Milíč recommended took two forms: first, the recipient had to have been baptised, confirmed, and to have confessed, and second, the recipient had to maintain a penitent and contrite disposition. These forms of preparation ensured that one could not simply administer communion to all indiscriminately. For instance, one could not give communion to pagans because they had not undertaken the requisite preparatory sacraments. Equally, one could not give frequent communion to just any sinner, because they first had to be contrite. In undertaking these preparatory measures, Milíč ensured that the recipient of communion maintained a pious, devotional attitude in all aspects of their daily life.

⁵³ PNK, XXIII D 201, f. 219va; Ambrose, *Explanatio symboli, De sacramentis, De mysteriis, De paenitentia, De excessu fratris Satyri, De obitu Valentiniani, De obitu Theodosii*, ed. Otto Faller, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 73 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1955), lib. 5, cap. 4, 24, p. 69, ll. 66-9.

Despite Milíč's insistence on preparation involving multiple sacraments, there is no mystery as to why frequent communion received such a focus by his critics and indeed in modern scholarship; it was the most controversial part of Milíč's otherwise conventional theology.⁵⁴ But Milíč did not fetishize communion. He treated it as one aspect of a sacramental regimen of health. This can be shown by a quantitative survey of his sermons in which he writes approximately the same amount, in terms of volume, about the other sacraments as he does about communion.⁵⁵ Further, the sacraments of baptism and confession were often named alongside communion as essential medicines bestowed by God to liberate the soul from sin. Unlike baptism and confirmation, confession and communion had to be repeated; in fact, the two sacraments went hand in hand. Just like communion, the Fourth Lateran Council declared that confession had to be heard at least once a year to regularly absolve venial sins—although the laity typically had opportunities to take confession more than once a year.⁵⁶ In the thirteenth century, Dominican friars in urban environments encouraged the laity to include more minor venial sins in their confessions and to take confession more than once a year. Those among the laity who were most devoted were sometimes permitted to take confession daily. In Jerusalem, Milíč used the resident priests to hold confession regularly for the reformed residents, who were encouraged to take confession just as frequently as they took communion. Indeed, in the *vita* of Milíč it states: 'O quam assidua confessio ibidem erat poenitentium, quia quotidie tres presbyteri

⁵⁴ Modern scholarship has done a fine job of showing that Milíč was a relatively conventional theologian with only a few beliefs that proved to be controversial. See especially Peter C.A. Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-century Bohemia: The life and ideas of Milicius de Chremsir (+1374) and his significance in the historiography of Bohemia* (Slakov: EMAN, 1999), pp. 47-50, 61-3, for historiographical views on whether Milíč was radical or conventional in his views, see: pp. 212-18.

⁵⁵ Morée provides perhaps the most comprehensive survey of the *Gratia Dei* and *Abortivus* cycles and the treatment of the sacraments, *Preaching in Fourteenth-century Bohemia*, pp. 223-30.

⁵⁶ Nevertheless, certain Franciscan friars advised against frequent confession by explaining that priests were only required to hear confession annually. Hóleton, 'Sacramental Theology of Tomáš Štítný of Štítné,' p. 72; see also *L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378-1449)*, ed. Étienne Delaruelle, Edmond-René Labande and Paul Ourliac, *Histoire de l'Eglise Depuis les Origines Jusqu'à Nos Jours* 14 (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1962), p. 656.

in confessionibus audiendis sufficere non poterant' [Oh how constant was confession of the penitents in that place that every day three priests hearing confession was not enough to suffice].⁵⁷ Confessing one's sins and enacting the resulting penance would allow one to cleanse one's sins before taking the medicine that would ultimately heal them.

Throughout Milíč's preaching career, he treated confession as a means to wash the wounds of sin before communion could be taken to heal them. Maintaining a humble and penitent attitude from confession and penance was essential to eradicate pride and arrogance, which were the foundations of all sin. Pride and arrogance were especially prevalent, Milíč argued, in those members of the clergy who believed themselves to be without sin. As Milíč explains in his *Gratia Dei* cycle, sin is a plague that chiefly affects those who lack humility:

Quid enim peccata nisi plage quedam sunt et quid prima nisi medicina? Et scimus quia in sanandis vulneribus carnis, nisi congruum adhibeatur medicamentum dolori, nequaquam effectus sequitur curationis. Quia ergo per superbiam omne peccatum geritur, necesse est ut per humilitatem omnis peruina condiaur.⁵⁸

For what are sins if not wounds, and what is most required if not medicine? And we understand that in wounds of the flesh that are to be cured, unless medicine is applied that accords with the pain, no effect whatsoever follows upon the treatment. Because every sin is brought forth through pride, it is thus necessary that all strength is preserved through humility.

If sins are wounds, then medicine, here depicted as humility, is a priority for all pastoral instruction. Pride is so treacherous because it is the foundation upon which other sins develop and it blinds the sinner from the truth of their illness, creating further infirmities. By maintaining humility and remaining penitent, one can avoid the symptoms of the sinful plague and hope to be cured by Christ's sacraments, which are referred to explicitly as 'medicina.'

Nevertheless, taking the correct medicine was imperative for returning a patient to health. One could not simply use a single sacrament to cure all spiritual impurities. Different sacraments

⁵⁷ Marin, *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí*, p. 412; 'Vita Milicii,' in FRB, vol. 1, p. 420.

⁵⁸ PNK, XII D 1, f. 42r.

were suited to different spiritual illnesses. Milíč, for instance, consistently describes confession and its effects as a means to cleanse (mundare). In a sermon from *Arbortivus* on Matthew 8: 2-3, in which Christ heals a leper and tells him to go and show his priest, Milíč argues that each sinner must imitate the leper. To heal the types of sin that Milíč associated with leprosy, cleansing was required in a threefold process:

Tria in curacione leprosi et per consequens peccatoris cuiuslibet requiruntur. [...] Primo dico quod in curacione leprosi siue cuiuslibet peccatoris requiritur deuota fidelitas ut medico credat. Sicut iste accedens ad medicum animarum dixit grandi fide sanari posse credens, [Matt. 8: 2] ‘domine si vis potes me mundare.’ [...] Secundo ad hoc requiritur medici parata voluntas, quam Christus verus medicus animarum in se ostendit dicens [Matt. 8: 3] ‘volo mundare.’ [...] Tertio in curatione peccatoris uel infirmi requiritur pro salute recompensata facultas ne sumpto salutis beneficio homo videatur ingratus.⁵⁹

Three things are required in the treatment of a leper and hence of any sinner. [...] First, I say that in curing leprosy or any other sin, devout faith is required in order to trust the physician. Just as he [the leper], approaching the physician of souls, believing he can be healed by great faith, said: ‘Lord, if you will, make me clean.’ [...] Second, a prepared will is required of the physician, as Christ the true Physician of souls reveals himself, saying, ‘I will make [you] clean.’ Third, in curing the sinner or the infirm, a balanced judgment is required for health, lest the man appear ungrateful for the attained benefit of his health.

Milíč’s description of cleansing a leper follows the pattern of confession: first one must come to one’s confessor as the patient comes to the physician for treatment; then one must ask Christ for cleansing before one finally conducts penance for one’s sins, just as the leper must follow the physician’s orders to ensure convalescence. Nonetheless, confession was not, in the eyes of Milíč, a healing sacrament in the same way that communion was a medicine that cured sin. Confession was a preparative that exposed the wounds of sin and cleaned them, at which point one could take communion to begin healing the infection of sin. The physical connotations of cleansing were equally important in medicine, especially in maintaining the health of lepers, where the religious, metaphorical sense of cleansing was often evoked as part of the treatment. In

⁵⁹ PNK, XXIII D 201, ff. 69rb-70ra.

leprosaria, lepers bathed often and their sheets and clothes were washed regularly.⁶⁰ Yet the connection between cleansing lepers and confession was not merely metaphorical. Late-medieval leprosaria treated confession as therapeutic, and it was often demanded of patients that broke the rules of the hospital as a form of recompense.⁶¹ Confession was the equivalent of spiritually bathing a leper, a key process before healing and convalescence of the soul could begin.

Adding to his concern for cleansing lepers, Milič evokes the disease's symptoms to outline the ways in which sin could affect both body and soul. In a sermon for the fourteenth Sunday of Trinity, Milič pairs together ten different sins with ten different symptoms of leprosy in a strained and, at times, incoherent metaphor.⁶² The first sin is pride, which is displayed in swelled tumours that mimic an inflated ego. Second, adultery is shown in the increased libido from which, according to Milič and a number of authorities, lepers suffered.⁶³ Third, avarice,

⁶⁰ Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer Press, 2006), pp. 205-11, 232-8; Elma Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 91-2. The spiritual significance of bathing lepers was not lost on late-medieval society. In medieval art of Central Europe, the iconography of St Elizabeth of Hungary bathing lepers was a common theme. See: Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Leprosy: disease, religion, and politics in European art* (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2011), pp. 59-62.

⁶¹ Sufficient spiritual facilities in Leprosaria became a necessity as enshrined in canon law of the Third Lateran Council of 1179, which declared that lepers were to have their own churches or chapels, cemeteries, and priests. Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity*, pp. 127-30. The Eucharist was also a key part of their convalescence, with leprosaria emphasising the communal aspects of communion and providing sufficient lighting in leprosaria chapels to illuminate the host. See: Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, p. 341 n. 183 for more on the therapeutic value of seeing the Eucharist.

⁶² PNK, XXIII D 201, 298vb-302rb. Evaluation of the ten lepers was part of a long exegetical tradition. See: Richard Palmer, 'The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,' *Studies in Church History* 19: The Church and Healing (1982), p. 82; Françoise Bériac, *Histoire des lépreux au Moyen-Âge, une société d'exclus* (Paris: Imago, 1988), pp. 91-4; Michelle Still, *The Abbot and the Rule: Religious Life at St Albans, 1290-1349* (London: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 215-16. Medieval preachers devoted considerable space to exploring the story of the ten lepers, and the passage from Luke is repeatedly used in sermons of the period. For instance, in Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS 1354, pp. 120-2 there is a short text entitled 'De decem leprosis' on the ten lepers and their symbolism that is largely drawn from Gregory the Great. The text is likely an extract from a larger florilegium. The rest of the codex is largely made up of sermons from Church authorities and contemporary reformers, such as Stanisław of Skarbimierz, from which a preacher could draw in composing their own sermons. That the scribe of the manuscript, who was likely associated with the University of Kraków, devotes these pages to an exposition on the ten lepers, suggests it was a fertile topic for readers.

⁶³ There is some debate as to whether lust and leprosy were related in medieval diagnosis. Joseph Zias treats this issue in his 'Lust and Leprosy: Confusion or Correlation?' *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 275 (1989), pp. 27-8, 30. The threat of increased lust, however, would usually only be attributed to what Carole Rawcliffe terms 'wild' lepers, as opposed to the 'tame' lepers that were considered to be far more rational or even holy in certain cases. *Leprosy*, pp. 284-5. Peter D. Richards has demonstrated that leprosaria had harsh punishments

particularly in the forms of usury and simony, was represented by the unquenchable thirst of the lepers. The fourth sin was wrath that was shown in the heat and bright red colour of the leper's blood, a symptom not necessarily linked with leprosy, but common to those who were hot-tempered. Fifth, envy was linked to the pale skin of the leper that concealed excess black humours. Gluttony was the next sin, which was symbolised in the bloated body of the leper. Much like their increased libido, lepers were said to be unable to control their baser instincts and urges, such as the desire to consume excess food and drink. The seventh sin of sloth is represented in the inability of lepers to perform 'good works.' Milíč explains that because lepers found it difficult to move and hold things due to their sore skin, they ended up lying down for most of the day and bathed excessively on the advice of physicians. Of course, Milíč does not go as far as to claim that lepers did not perform good works because of sloth, but rather that sinners, due to sloth, acted as if they had leprosy in avoiding work. The eighth sin is hypocrisy, which is represented by the unpleasant appearance of lepers that offend the sight (*visum offendit*).⁶⁴ Milíč continues that the contagious nature of leprosy parallels the ways in which hypocrisy breeds further hypocrisy. Using the example of simony, Milíč states that corrupt members of the clergy become accustomed and callous to accepting money for their services and in turn encouraged others to accept payment for that which Christ intended to be free and available to all. Ninth, ingratitude is displayed in the impure blood of lepers (*non est de sanguine puro*).⁶⁵ Those that are

and rules in their regulations to avoid patients having sex. Peter D. Richards, *The Medieval Leper and his Northern Heirs* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer Press, 1977). This being said, some scholars argue that the association between lust and leprosy is not as clear cut as one may think, see: Luke DeMaitre, 'The Description and Diagnosis of Leprosy by fourteenth-century Physicians,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 59, 3 (1985), pp. 327-44. Bryon Lee Grigsby argues that the association between lechery and leprosy came about after the outbreak of syphilis, the 'French disease,' in the 1490s, and that associations reflect a diagnostic confusion. *Pestilence in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 12. Despite this, Virginia Langum has most recently demonstrated that medical texts and literature did commonly associate sex and leprosy, even though the connection may have been unfounded. *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins in Late Medieval Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), especially pp. 182-5.

⁶⁴ PNK, XXIII D 201, f. 300rb.

⁶⁵ PNK, XXIII D 201, f. 300va.

ungrateful show deceit in their hearts, which Milíč parallels with the impure blood in the leper's body.

The final sin was to avoid penitence.⁶⁶ Those who were not truly penitent were seen to suffer without end, just as leprosy was seen to be incurable.⁶⁷ The incurable nature of leprosy mirrored sin both in a sacramental and eschatological context. Sinners continually oscillated between states of illness and health when they sinned and were healed by the sacraments. If a sinner remained impure and did not receive sacramental medicine, when they died they ran the risk of spending a longer time in Purgatory or even facing eternal damnation. In the face of the repetitious nature of sin, each Christian needed to remain penitent in order to be prepared to receive communion and avoid lingering sin. Of course, modern scholarship has repeatedly shown that medieval responses to leprosy were complex and contradictory.⁶⁸ A leper could be treated as a sinner who was punished for repeated sin, or he or she could be revered as suffering from a penitential disease that served to lessen his or her time in Purgatory. While Milíč does not consider the leper to be a particularly holy figure in this sermon, he does link the overcoming of the leper's symptoms and baser desires with the ideal abstinence and moderation that was to be maintained by each Christian. There is, then, something in the continual suffering of the leper that Milíč found inherently praiseworthy, especially when the pain was linked to the distress one experienced when one became contrite.

Milíč's sermons often focused on the struggle to remain contrite and pure, and they frequently invoked the Virgin Mary as a model of purity whose calm influence aided those who

⁶⁶ Susan Zimmerman, 'Leprosy in the Medieval Imaginary,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, 3 (2008), pp. 559-87.

⁶⁷ PNK, XXIII D 201, ff. 298vb-301ra.

⁶⁸ Elma Brenner summarises the multifaceted understanding of the medieval leper and the historiography of the issue in 'Recent Perspectives on leprosy in Medieval Western Europe,' *History Compass* 8, 5 (2010), pp. 388-406.

sought to purge their sins. Forming a parallel with devotional texts produced for hospitals, Milíč describes Mary as a medical assistant to *Christus medicus*. For Milíč, Mary was actively involved in intervening on behalf of those looking for salvation and had her own part to play in the healing of sin. Yet Milíč did not stick to one Marian metaphor. He employs separate metaphors in quick succession to emphasise the Virgin's different but connected duties of intercession:

Aue [Maria], quia per te assistit medicus infirmis filiis Eue; hiis qui in tenebris sedent iustitie sol apparuit: que est tempestante patientibus anchora, et in fluctibus tranquillius portus pro seruis intercessor peregrinantibus consolator periclitantibus saluator; hiis que impugnantur et grauantur spei et caritatis fortissimus gubernator.⁶⁹

Hail Mary, for through you the physician attends to the infirm sons of Eve; the sun of justice has appeared to those who sit in darkness: you who are an anchor in the tempest for those who are patient, and a tranquil harbour amidst the waves; you are an intercessor for your servants, a comforter to pilgrims, a saviour for your advocates; to those who are assailed and oppressed, you are the most steadfast guide of hope and love.

Mary serves as both a medical assistant and as one who steadies a ship during a storm. The ship metaphor was commonplace,⁷⁰ and here it is used to signify the inner struggle of the penitent who must endure guilt and contrition before attaining absolution. Mary's role in assisting the Physician and in calming the penitent was commonly evoked throughout Europe as part of an increase in popularity of Marian devotion in the later Middle Ages. In Prague, for instance, the popularity of Marian symbols was displayed in the bloodied and white, pure veils of the Virgin Mary that were displayed to pilgrims in St Vitus Cathedral. These veils were the most venerated

⁶⁹ PNK, XXIII D 201, f. 136vb. Jan of Jenštejn presents the same role for Mary in his *Libelli de Laude Nominis Jesu Christi et Marie*, which stresses her importance in carrying out Christ's healing. He declares that through the name of Mary, leprosy is cleansed, demons cast out, sins buried, good works made permanent, contagion cleansed, and wounds healed: 'Per Marie igitur nomen lepra abstergitur, demonia eiciuntur, peccata merguntur, bona opera premiantur, contagiosa mundantur et saucia que sanatur.' Jan of Jenštejn, *Libelli de Laude Nominis Jesu Christi et Marie*, in Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, p. 224.

⁷⁰ See: Giles Constable, 'Medieval Latin Metaphors,' *Viator* 38, 2 (2007), pp. 1-20.

relics of the cathedral, and as a result of their popularity, the image of the veils became particularly widespread in Bohemian art.⁷¹

Whether listening to sermons such as Milíč's, or venerating the relics of St Vitus Cathedral, the devotional landscape of fourteenth-century Bohemia emphasised the need for penitence. It was this focus on continually maintaining penitence that characterised Milíč's sacramental theology, which treated confession and penitence in just as much detail as communion. To treat Milíč's calls for frequent communion without considering his views on confession and penitence, then, is to take one aspect of his sacramental theology out of context. Preparation for communion was equally important for Milíč as it was for more conventional theologians and canonists of the period; the only difference was the frequency with which Milíč prescribed confession and communion. Instead of reserving the sacraments for a few times a year, Milíč looked to make them part of the everyday life of the laity.

1388-93 Anticlericalism and the University of Prague

Jan Milíč's sacramental theology faced a major stumbling block in the clergy of Prague, whom he accused of neglecting the *cura animarum* when they withheld communion from the laity. There is some evidence in visitation records from the Prague archdeaconry that priests actively prevented parishioners from taking communion. For instance, one priest was denounced for withholding communion because his parishioners had not completed the penance he imposed.⁷² Nonetheless, there is not enough evidence to suggest that withholding communion occurred

⁷¹ Michal Šroněk, 'The Veils of the Virgin Mary. Relics in the Conflict between Roman Catholics and Utraquists in the 14th and 15th Centuries,' *Umění* 57, 2 (2009), pp. 118-39; Ota Halama, *Otázka svatých v České Reformaci: Její proměny od doby Karla IV. do doby České konfese* (Brno: L. Marek, 2002), p. 59.

⁷² *Visitační protokol Pražského arcijáhna pavla z janovic z let 1379–1382*, ed. Iavan Hlaváček and Zdeňka Hledíková (Prague: Akademia, Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1973), p. 157.

regularly in Milíč's day, not least because Prague lacks visitation records from before 1379. Still, the frequency of such occurrences was beside the point for Milíč; the fact that priests argued against daily communion was enough to condemn them. Priests were supposed to merely suggest that a member of their congregation abstain if he believed he or she was in a state of sin, but Milíč argued that priests in Prague imposed their will above God's by forcing members of the laity to abstain.⁷³ As a result of their corruption, the clergy in Prague were unable to identify who was diseased by sin, because they themselves were sinners:

Et quia sacerdotes debent iudicare inter lepram et lepram [Deut. 17: 8], quomodo iudicabunt, cum multi multarum provinciarum sint symonia leprosi: in prebendis, in consecrationibus ecclesiarum vel altariorum, in beneficiis, in ordinibus, in religionibus, in intitulationibus?⁷⁴

And because priests ought to judge between different forms of leprosy, but how will they judge when many of them from many different offices are lepers in simony: in prebends, in consecrations of churches or altars, in benefices, in the orders, in worship, in titles?

Milíč draws from the Book of Deuteronomy, which claims that if judging between similar cases, whether it be two different types of leprosy or two different murders, is difficult, it should be left to God to make a judgement. The clergy are hypocritical in this respect because they themselves are afflicted with leprosy, as their corrupt practices make abundantly clear. Although Milíč's preaching was anticlerical, in the vein of Konrad Waldhauser, he does not attempt to create a rift between himself and the Church in such criticism. The rhetorical circumstances of his synodal sermons meant that he could afford to be more critical of the clergy than he would be in sermons preached at Jerusalem. It was common for sermons meant for the clergy to be critical in this

⁷³ He explains that those who deny communion and confession to the laity follow their own laws rather than those of the Church. Consequently, these priests are no better than Judas and in fact worse because of their greed. 'Audite reges,' *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres sermones synodales*, ed. Vilém Herold and Milan Mráz (Prague: Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovaciae, 1974), p. 117, ll. 417-21: 'Quid dicam de illis, qui sunt causarum iudices propriarum, qui subditos prohibent a sacramentis et precipue communione propter iura sua? Alii autem, cum non sperant se aliquid habituros, denegant confessiones et salutaria communis ecclesie sacramenta. Hii sunt Jude socii traditoris et multo peiores propter avariciam suam.'

⁷⁴ 'Audite reges' in *Tres sermones synodales*, p. 116, ll. 369-76.

period, but Milíč never attempts to distance himself from the clergy, even when he advocates for frequent communion.⁷⁵ However, towards the end of his career, when he was increasingly occupied by the advent of the Antichrist, Milíč became more antagonistic towards those that denied frequent communion. It was this anticlerical stance mixed with his unconventional community at Jerusalem that led to Milíč's condemnation by the clergy and mendicant friars of Prague, a situation which in turn led to the official response of Gregory XI against him and his followers, mentioned above.

Despite Milíč's death, the dissolution of Jerusalem, and the persecution of his followers, the controversial issue of frequent communion was not resolved. There were still a handful of theologians at the University of Prague that continued to espouse frequent communion and cite Milíč as a source of authority. The extent to which these scholars endorsed the practice varied, however, as some were not willing to go as far as others in pursuing the more contentious aspects of Milíč's theology. Vojtěch Raňkův, for instance, appeared initially to be a key proponent of daily communion. Raňkův even taught and influenced others to espouse frequent communion, including Tomáš Štítný of Štítné, a lay author, unaffiliated with the university, who wrote a number of treatises in Old Czech. Tomáš even labelled Raňkův the spiritual son of Milíč.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Raňkův firmly stated that he believed that daily communion should not be open to the laity because it was almost impossible for them to be prepared to receive it every day.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Mishtooni Bose provides a summary of the anticlerical tradition in late-medieval preaching culture in 'Writing, Heresy, and the Anticlerical Muse,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne, Oxford Handbooks of Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 276-96. See also Heiko A. Oberman's overview of anticlericalism and its usage in his 'Anticlericalism as an Agent of Change,' in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 51 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. ix-xi.

⁷⁶ Holeton, 'Sacramental Theology,' pp. 60-1.

⁷⁷ Raňkův also maintains that the laity were not suited to daily communion because of the 'conjugal embrace,' which left the laity vainer and emptier than the clergy. Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježova, 'De frequenti communione ad plebanum Martinum,' in *Leben und Schriften des Prager Magisters Adalbert Rankonis de Ericinio*, ed. Jaroslav Kadlec, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* 4 (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1971), pp. 226-7: 'minus idoneos credo ad frequentacionem sacre communionis laicos vel laicas, qui quandoque

Similarly, Heinrich Bitterfeld, a Dominican at the University of Prague, took a more conservative approach to frequent communion among the laity.⁷⁸ He became a proponent of the practice after Jan of Jenštejn had campaigned successfully for it in clerical synods in 1390.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, Bitterfeld, in line with the ecumenical councils, wished to restrict certain sinners from taking communion.⁸⁰ In assessing the worthiness of each penitent, he compared the confessor to a physician examining the urine of a patient to determine their illness:

Sacerdos plebanus tenetur negare eucharistiam indigno, igitur tenetur scire indignum et dignum saltem ex confessione si alias non potest. Consequentia tenet. Sed antecedens probatur per illud Matt. 7 [6]: ‘Nolite sanctum dare canibus’ et illud [15: 26]: ‘Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus.’ Et confirmatur: Nullus medicorum vellet rationabiliter dare medicinam, nisi infirmitatem cognosceret. Sed si aliquis videret urinam infirmi et alius se de cura intromitteret infirmi sine cognitione urinae, stultum esset.⁸¹

The parish priest is charged to deny the Eucharist to an unworthy person, and therefore he is charged to distinguish the unworthy from the worthy through confession if he is otherwise unable to do so. The consequence holds. But the antecedent is proven by the familiar Matt. 7: 6: ‘Do not give that which is holy to dogs,’ as well as [Matt. 15: 26]: ‘It is not good to take the bread of the children and give it to dogs.’ And it is proven: no physician reasonably wishes to prescribe medicine unless he is familiar with the infirmity. For it would be foolish if one person looks at the patient’s urine and another administers the cure without examining the urine.

Bitterfeld maintained that there were some infirmities for which communion must be withheld, thus diverging from Milíč’s conception of confession as a cleansing process that prepared a sinner, no matter how severe their sins may be, to accept the Eucharist. Scholars such as Raňkův and Bitterfeld hence presented a form of frequent communion that was better aligned with canon law in stressing worthiness and maintaining the right of the priest to deny the sacrament.

coniugalibus amplexibus ex fervore libidinis servientes et aliis actibus forsitan conscienciis ipsorum plus noxiis vacantes [...]’

⁷⁸ Vladimír J. Koudelka, ‘Heinrich von Bitterfeld († ca 1405), Professor an der Universität Prag,’ *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953), pp. 15-29.

⁷⁹ Bitterfeld is treated as especially influential in campaigning for the acceptance of frequent communion by Marin in ‘Early Bohemian Reform,’ p. 47.

⁸⁰ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, vol. 1, ‘Concilium Lateranense IV 1215,’ decree 21, p. 178.

⁸¹ Waław Bucichowski, ‘Henryka Bitterfelda z Brzegu Determinatio de audientia confessionum,’ *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 5 (1992), p. 96, ll. 171-8.

Nevertheless, both Raňkův and Bitterfeld still faced opposition from the likes of Nicolas (Mikuláš) Biceps (d. 1390), a Dominican master at Prague who objected to frequent communion in all forms for the laity. Biceps's opposition shows that even in cases where theologians attempted to present frequent communion in a more acceptable form, the issue was still too contentious to accept.

Despite the contention caused by the issue of frequent communion, several masters were wholly convinced that consuming the host would heal souls that were affected by sin. Continuing Milíč's rhetoric, such preachers used medical metaphors to describe the efficacy of communion for spiritually ill members of the laity. One scholar that upheld Milíč's theology of communion faithfully, and in fact drifted into a more radical position than Milíč himself, was Matěj of Janov. Matěj's *Vita* of Milíč stressed the more radical aspects of his theology. There Matěj draws attention to the persecution and opposition from Church officials that Milíč faced, particularly in relation to Milíč's imprisonment for preaching that the Antichrist was born into the world in 1366.⁸² Matěj developed these radical aspects further in his *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamentum*, which focused heavily on the imminent arrival of the Antichrist. The threat of the Antichrist justified the need for frequent communion 'ad remedium fragilique et infirmo homini ad salutem' [as a remedy for the frail and infirm man to bring him to health].⁸³ He continues that communion should not be denied to the laity:

quod nulla infirmitas infirmorum, neque ulli defectus cottidiani hominum, neque suscepicio cottidiana spiritualium vulnerum, neque occupacio diurnorum laborum et sollicitudinum in rebus lictis et honestis, exceptis solis culpis mortalibus et affeccionibus

⁸² Matěj (*Regulae*, vol. 4, p. 361) in fact states that Milíč named Charles IV as the Antichrist, but this is not corroborated by other accounts. *Über Formelbücher*, vol. 2, p. 183. See also: Zdeňka Hledíková, 'Karel IV. A církev,' in *Karolus Quartus*, ed. Václav Vaněček (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1984), pp. 149-50; Mengel, 'From Venice to Jerusalem,' p. 439 n. 142.

⁸³ *Regulae*, vol. 5, p. 226. See: Holeton, *La Communion des tout-petits enfants*, pp. 44-9.

actualibus earum, valent vel debent sanctos plebeios a communione sacramenti impedire vel retrahere crebra vel ebdomadaria [...].⁸⁴

on account of no type of sickness of patients, nor any ordinary human defect, nor the daily assumption of spiritual wounds, nor occupation with day to day concerns and anxieties about things lawful and honourable, except only mortal offenses and their active states, can or should they [priests] impede or divert, frequently or weekly, the holy laity from communion of the sacrament [...].

Since there is no spiritual illness, aside from the most serious mortal sins, that cannot be treated by communion, there is no excuse for the clergy to deny it to the laity. Priests that denied daily communion were described as envoys of the Antichrist, for by restricting sacramental medicine they prevented Christ from healing his patients.⁸⁵

In his assertions against the Bohemian clergy, Matěj engages in one of the most contentious debates of the 1380s, namely, whether the laity had to consume the host physically to receive its benefits, or if the clergy could take it on their behalf. Canon law stressed that the clergy should take communion daily on behalf of the entire Church community and especially the laity.⁸⁶ Matěj objected to this because he believed that the sins of the clergy and their unapologetic attitude made them unworthy recipients, and thus they nullified the power of the Eucharist. This is not to say that a sinful priest could negate the power of the consecrated host, but rather that a sinful member of the clergy could not consume the Eucharist for the betterment of others.⁸⁷ If a sinful layman that approaches communion without preparation is not healed by the sacrament, why would it be any different for a sinful member of the clergy? Matěj goes on to compare the laity to the daughter of the woman of Canaan who was cured by Jesus in Matthew 15: 22-30. The Canaanite woman pleads with Christ that while it is not right to cast the food of

⁸⁴ *Regulae*, vol. 5, p. 65.

⁸⁵ Stephen E. Lahey, 'Matěj of Janov: *Corpus Mysticum*, *Communione*, and the Lost treatise of His *Regulae*,' *Religions* 9, 16 (2018), p. 12.

⁸⁶ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 50.

⁸⁷ As Holeton demonstrates, the belief that the clergy took communion for the betterment of all Christians was rejected by numerous other theologians of the period. Holeton, 'Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context,' p. 30.

children to dogs, ‘even whelps eat the crumbs that fall from their master’s table.’⁸⁸ Matěj explains that ‘moderni penitentes quicumque instantes importune pro crebra confessione peccatorum et frequenti communione’ [modern penitents who press insistently for repeated confession of their sins and frequent communion] show the same devotion as the Canaanite woman whose request was granted.⁸⁹ If Christ granted the woman’s request, then surely the priests should allow the laity to eat the ‘crumbs’ that fall from their tables, and consume the Eucharist themselves if they wish.⁹⁰

Matthew of Kraków, a colleague of Matěj’s at the University of Prague who was equally sympathetic to Milíč’s reformist agenda, also entered the debate as to whether the laity needed to physically consume the Eucharist. Like Matěj, Matthew stated that one had to consume the host on a regular basis to experience its benefits, but he also explained that it had to be physically consumed to please God. He presents this logic most succinctly in his *Dialogus rationis et conscientiae de crebra communione*, a pastoral dialogue between Reason and Conscience written at the University of Prague in the late 1380s. Throughout the dialogue, Reason presents Conscience with arguments demonstrating that Jesus wishes to be physically consumed. He therefore urges penitent Christians not to abstain even if they fear they might be in a state of sin. Reason asks:

quid est hoc quod propter indignitatem et insecuritatem vel timorem vel humilitatem vel quamcumque aliam causam vis sacramento carere, et sacramenti tamen habere effectum? Quid enim rationis est quaerere finem et nolle ire per medium, fructum desiderare et arborem fugere, thesaurum petere et nolle eum una cum scrinio recipere, in quo et gratius suscipitur et melius custoditur?⁹¹

⁸⁸ Vulgate, Matthew 15: 27: ‘nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum.’

⁸⁹ *Regulae*, vol. 6, pp. 250-1: ‘Similiter et moderni penitentes quicumque instantes importune pro crebra confessione peccatorum et frequenti communione signum habent magne fidei et ferventis in Christum dilectionis.’

⁹⁰ Nevertheless, Matěj was not strict in commanding all the laity to take daily communion, conceding that it would suit some laymen to take communion once a week and others once a day. *Regulae*, vol. 5, pp. 75-6.

⁹¹ *Mateusza z Krakowa Opuscula Theologica dotyczące spowiedzi i komunii*, ed. Władysław Seńko and Adam Ludwik Szafrński (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1974), pp. 401-2.

is it because of vileness and insecurity, or even fear or humility, or whatever other cause, that you wish to abstain from the sacrament, and yet still wish to have the effect? For what reason is there to search for the end and be unwilling to go through the middle, to desire the fruit and avoid the tree, to beg for treasure and be unwilling to first recover the chest in which it is preserved and guarded?

For Reason, to claim that the laity gain the same effect from the Eucharist as the priest who consumes it is illogical because the act of consuming the host was part of the spiritual exercise that enabled an interaction with Christ. Each sinner needed to consume the host physically for it to be assimilated into the soul; one could not experience the benefits of the Eucharist without directly participating in the sacrament. To expect the benefits of communion without physically consuming the host would be as unreasonable as wishing to reach one's destination without first making the journey, together with the other logical fallacies that Matthew presents.

Across his oeuvre, Matthew is concerned with the allegory of how the mouth and stomach react to eating the host, a key part of the spiritual exercise of the previous excerpt. Through an exploration of digestion, he emphasises the physical aspects of chewing the host and assimilating its salvific effects as resembling the way that the stomach breaks down food and absorbs useful humours. Matthew did not believe that one physically digested Christ in the material form of bread, a position that would be akin to the Wycliffite doctrine of remanence, rather he treats the spiritual notion of healing through humoral theory. His concept of assimilation and digestion went beyond mere metaphor to present a systematic theory of how the healing properties of the host were absorbed into the body. Matthew references this process of assimilation repeatedly in relation to one's 'appetite,' that is, one's preparedness to consume the Eucharist. In his sermon 'de cena Domini,' Matthew explains that an imbalance of humours could lead the body to reject medicine and food in the same manner that one's spiritual disposition could affect the way that one consumes the Eucharist:

Experientia siquidem docet, quo modo corporaliter infirmi malis ex humoribus de stomacho ascendentibus gustum habent infectum et cibum abhorrent, et quanto diutius abstinent, tanto minus possunt comedere et infirmiores sunt. Et ob hoc solent eis medici sanitatem providere, ut comedant, et nisi fecerint, mina mortis incutere talique modo fastidium repellere et eos ad manducandum compellere. Sic reversa medicus et salvator noster videns nos ex venenoso morsu serpentis antiqui, scilicet diaboli, nec non ex pessimis cogitationibus et affectionum humoribus de immunda conscientia tamquam quodam stomacho cordis ascendentibus amarum et infectum gustum habere, et spiritualia nobis non sapere. Immo ex defectu cibi omnes sensus nostros interiores deficere, qui etiam restaurari non poterant, nisi gustu reformato.⁹²

Experience teaches accordingly, how those who are infirm in their bodies, the result of bad humours ascending from the stomach, have a spoiled appetite and abhor food, and the longer they abstain, the less they can eat, and they grow sicker. And because of this, physicians are wont to provide health for them so that they may eat, and thus they take action, to incite with the threat of death and in such a way as to repel disgust and to compel them to eat. The health thus returned, our Physician and Saviour sees that we have a spoiled appetite as a result of the venomous bite of the ancient serpent, known as the devil, as well as from the wickedest thoughts and humours of the passions that come from an impure conscience, as if ascending in the stomach of the mind, and that we do not taste spiritual things. Furthermore, from a lack of food, all our interior senses fade, which likewise cannot be restored unless the appetite is reformed.

As explained above, there was a concern that to receive communion in a manner that does not benefit the sacrament produces an adverse effect on one's soul. Just as certain medicines can have no effect on a patient or even worsen their condition, so the Eucharist could have negative effects if one did not have the correct 'appetite.' By reforming the appetite and preparing to consume the Eucharist, one turns toward the Physician who cures all sin. Still, the patient relies on Christ the Divine Physician to influence their humoral complexion and to allow their body to consume food and not reject it. The Physician had to be directly involved in the process so that he might repel disgust and consequently the devil's malicious influence.

The radical positions that Matěj and Matthew held on the Eucharist were not left unchallenged, and Matěj was investigated in a synod at the University of Prague for his beliefs

⁹² *Mateusza z Krakowa Opuscula Theologica dotyczące spowiedzi i komunii*, p. 430, ll. 114-32. This sermon survives in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2244, ff. 104v-09v where it is included among other anticlerical sermons and treatises.

about daily communion and idolatry. The 1388 clerical synod declared that communion could be taken a maximum of once per month by members of the laity.⁹³ Matěj was suspended from preaching in 1389, and shortly thereafter inquisitors arrested some of his associates who were allegedly reading and disseminating dissenting tracts in secret.⁹⁴ Ultimately, Matěj was forced to recant his controversial positions on daily communion and his condemnation of religious images. Other individuals were also condemned, namely Jakub of Kaplice and a certain priest named Ondřej, both of whom were accused of encouraging laymen to snatch communion wafers out of the hands of their priests if they were denied the sacrament.⁹⁵ The restrictions placed on Matěj and his associates were part of a policy instituted by the Church in Prague under the leadership of Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn, which looked to clamp down on a supposed increase in dissent in Prague and the surrounding area.

There is evidence to suggest that Jenštejn was not totally on board with the measures imposed in 1388-9. He was generally in favour of the decrees against dissenting theologians that were imposed by King Václav IV, but Jenštejn showed concern that legislation introduced to expel 'beghards and hypocrites' unintentionally affected innocent Christians. Jenštejn explained that the same Elizabeth whom Matthew of Kraków healed by administering communion was subject to great persecution and subsequently deprived of her property and possessions.⁹⁶ The result of this decree was that Jenštejn complained to the king that all cases of heresy and

⁹³ The synod decrees do not survive, but Matěj of Janov records the decisions. Jaroslav V. Polc and Zdeňka Hledíková, *Pražské synody a koncily předhusitské doby* (Prague: Karolinum, 2002), pp. 243-5. Milan Žonca argues that this restriction may have been the result of growing antisemitism and a concern over communion wafers falling into the wrong hands and being tortured by Jews. Milan Žonca, "'... and order was upset' Easter, the Eucharist, and the Jews of Prague, 1389," in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 297.

⁹⁴ Ivan Hlaváček, 'Zur böhmischen Inquisition und Häresiebekämpfung um das Jahr 1400,' in *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, ed. František Šmahel, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 39 (Munich: De Gruyter, 1998), pp. 116-17.

⁹⁵ Polc and Hledíková, *Pražské synody*, p. 247.

⁹⁶ Polc, *Svatý Jan Nepomucký*, p. 382 n. 26.

expulsion should go through the archbishop.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, Jenštejn was concerned with preserving orthodoxy and seemed to have generally supported the royal decrees. He used the royal expulsion decree on a number of small Beguine houses, such as the house of Kateřina of Sulevice, which was situated beside the Church of St Benedict at Hradčany.⁹⁸ While Beguines and Beghards presented a different variety of piety than Milíč and others who campaigned for frequent communion, for Jenštejn they represented different parts of the same threat to the conventional religious houses of Bohemia. The Church was thus able to suppress much of the religious enthusiasm that had been growing in Prague since the death of Milíč. Clearly, the legislation of the monarchy and archbishop were detrimental to the efforts of those who sought to use communion as a medicine. Not only were theologians such as Matěj actively targeted and restricted from preaching, but the authorities accused him and his associates of disturbing the traditional order. In other words, all arguments about the healing benefits of the sacraments were ignored in order to privilege more conventional religious houses.

Jan of Jenštejn and changing attitudes towards frequent communion

It seemed that the campaign for frequent communion would end with Matěj of Janov's recantation, which in turn prompted Matthew of Kraków to throw his support firmly behind the clerical synods of 1388-9. However, Jenštejn reversed his position on frequent communion in 1390 after he fell gravely ill on his travels from Rome to Prague and was miraculously cured by taking daily communion. After experiencing the medicinal power of frequent communion first hand, Jenštejn decided to campaign for its daily reception and to overturn the legislation of 1388-

⁹⁷ Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, pp. 233-4.

⁹⁸ Rostislav Nový, 'Ženské řeholní a laické komunity v předhusitské Praze,' *Documenta Pragensia* 13 (1996), pp. 41-6.

9.⁹⁹ A synod of 10 October 1390 encouraged frequent reception of the sacrament if taken following confession. On 16 June 1391, Jenštejn declared before the synod: ‘veri penitentes, cum sint tamen confessi et contriti et digni, possint communicare quotiescumque affectant’ [true penitents, provided they confess and are penitent and worthy of the sacrament, may receive it as often as they desire].¹⁰⁰ On its own, the statement seems to convey the same sacramental theology as Milíč, with the same focus on confession and penitence. Yet Jenštejn’s position was not entirely consistent with Milíč because Jenštejn expressed scepticism towards medicine as a field. In fact, Jenštejn devotes a large section of his *De bono morbis* to discrediting the medical profession. While Milíč recommended communion for illnesses caused by sin, Jenštejn suggests that frequent communion could act as a medicine for all types of physical illness, even if the malady did not have an obvious link to sin. Sin and illness were explicitly linked in Milíč’s theology, but this did not mean that all illnesses were caused by sin. Jenštejn was acutely aware of this distinction, and yet for him communion was still an effective medicine for all varieties of illness.

Jenštejn’s brush with death in 1390 filled him with vigour for frequent communion. Nonetheless, it was not solely this experience that alerted him to the virtues of spiritual medicine. In the *De bono morbis*, Jenštejn makes several claims to have experienced the healing power of communion. Crucially, he declares that Nicolas Biceps, outspoken opponent of the practice at the

⁹⁹ This was reported by Petr of Roudnice in his vita of Jenštejn. He declares that Jenštejn’s bodily health was secured by the sacrament after he fell gravely ill in 1390 on his return from the Roman Curia. He returned to Prague and was looked after by the brothers of the lord Paul of Prague in the Church of St Appolinarius. The brothers administered communion daily because they thought Jenštejn would soon die, but he recovered to full health. *Vita domini Iohannis, Pragensis archiepiscopi tercii in Querite primum regnum Dei. Sborník příspěvků k poctě J. Nechutové*, ed. Helena Krmíčková (Brno: Matice moravská, 2006), p. 453: ‘Eciam reverendus pater sanitatem corporis ex vi sacramenti experimentaliter percipiebat. Nam anno domini 1390 post gratiam iubilei a Romana rediens curia graciter infirmatus, ut ipse michi retulit, dolorem dissolutionis corporis et animae persensit. [...] Dum ergo in manibus fratris sui domini Pauli Prage decumbens circa sanctum Appollinarem quasi moreretur et communionem sacram devotissime prestolaretur [...] ut salutarem hostiam Dominici corporis percepit, eciam simul sanitatis corporee antidotum reportavit, quod eciam pluries est expertus.’

¹⁰⁰ Polc, ‘Statutes of the Synods of Prague (1386–1395),’ pp. 445–7.

University of Prague, was the only guest at a dinner party with Jenštejn to die of the plague. All the guests contracted the plague, but the others recovered because, unlike Biceps, they took communion daily until they were healthy.¹⁰¹ Another example of the power of communion occurred while Jenštejn was in Montpellier, where he fell ill and was taken under the care of one of the most famous physicians of the late medieval period, John Jacobi:

Namque michi contigit, quod enarro gracia studiorum, cum in monte Pessulano degerem ubi esset de mundo nobillimus studium medicorum, et egregij reperiuntur medici. Ibidem infirmari grauiter cepi fere ebdomada integram. Enotabilioribus autem aliis me uisitauit medicus nomine Johannes Jacobi, quem postmodum Parysius Rex Francorum Karolus in eodem ad huc studio me perseuerante propter suam eleganciam, ut sui curam gereret assumpsit. Hic cum grauiter decumberem, et ipse de uita mea desperasset, pulmentum michi quodam dari mandauit. Vinum autem omnino prohibuit bibere nisi semel uel bis, idipsum duplo limphatum sed magis me infirmante. Contigit die quadam scolarem quendam michi cibum et potum in absencia aliorum secundum libitum mee uoluntatis dedisse. Cumque uix duo coclearia pulmenti recepissem, octo uero de forti uino ciphos epotaui. Et ex inde sospitatem perfectam recepi. Igitur medicus post paululum ad me uenit uerius manum contactis et succlamare stupefactus cepit: 'Sanus est. Sanus est,' nimirumque admirans inquirere cepit, unde michi sanitas euenisset, sibique quod gestum fuit, narrantibus dicere cepit. 'Ve nobis! sepe enim falluntur alienigenas domesticis curare medicamentis, qui uita moribus situ longe a nobis distare uidentur.'¹⁰²

And so this which I recount for the sake of learning happened to me when I was spending time in Montpellier, where there is the most exceptional *studium* of medicine in the world and where distinguished physicians are found. In that very place I became violently ill for approximately a full week. Among other very notable physicians, one named John Jacobi (whom afterward Charles, the Parisian King of the French, retained) visited me in that same place, persisting through his grace with enthusiasm that he might carry out his treatment. Now, when I lay down painfully and he despaired of my life, he ordered that a small portion of food be given to me. He prohibited me from drinking wine altogether, except once or twice, doubly diluted, yet still I became increasingly ill. It happened one day that a certain student in the absence of others gave me as much food and drink as I liked. And at a time when I could barely hold back two spoonfuls of food, I swallowed down eight glasses of strong wine from the communion chalice and recovered to perfect

¹⁰¹ Jenštejn states that he sat down to eat with Albert of the Carthusians, John of St Clement, and Nicholas Biceps in Prague and all of the dinner guests fell ill. He explains that Biceps was young and strong, yet he died of the plague while the other guests all recovered. Vatican Lat. 1122, f. 75ra; PNK, Osek 37, ff. 150ra: 'Siquidem religiosus nuper et Deo deuotis assidentibus michi et conuescentibus mecum uiris, Alberto Carthusiensis uidelicet et Johanne sancti Clementis in Praga ordinis predicatorum, prioribus eiusdemque ordinis. Religiosus uir pie recordacionis in theologia et magister Nicolaus cognomina Biceps uir utique deuocionis magne. Acer ingenio gnarus scientia, et multiplici redimitus uirtute. Qui in robore fortis et etatem nouiter uirile attingeret. [...] Namque cena nobiscum peracta unusquisque ad propria remeauit, et illa nocte omnes eramus infirmi per plures dies. Ipse tamen magister epydemie morbo grauiter santius uix duobus diebus et noctibus superuixit.'

¹⁰² Vatican Lat. 1122, ff. 76r-v; PNK, Osek 37, ff. 151r-v.

health. Then after a little while the physician came to me, touched me with his hand and, truly amazed, began to shout, ‘He is healthy! He is healthy!’ Without doubt astonished, he began to inquire who brought about my health and how he had done it. He reported, ‘Woe to us! Often they fail to cure foreigners—who are evidently so different from us in life, customs, and locale—with domestic medicines.’

This episode likely took place when Jenštejn was a student. He studied in Montpellier and Paris, as well as Padua and Bologna between 1370 and 1376, and associated with some eminent French masters, such as Jean de Bournazel, canonist and Prior of St Martin in Chartres.¹⁰³ He also mixed in courtly circles, notably that of Charles V (d. 1380), who suggested (according to Jenštejn’s own testimony) that Jenštejn remain at the university in Paris in order to attain the magisterial dignity.¹⁰⁴ It is conceivable, then, that Jenštejn could well have been under the care of John Jacobi in Montpellier. On the other hand, Jenštejn may have chosen Jacobi for the story because he was one of the most famous physicians at Jenštejn’s time of writing—a time in which Jacobi’s plague tracts were widely circulating and often cited among physicians.¹⁰⁵ Jacobi would hence be a proponent of the type of medicine that Jenštejn looked to criticise.

John Jacobi’s reaction is equally telling. He attributes the cure to strange homemade treatments and the foreign complexion of Bohemians that differed from the French,¹⁰⁶ rather than to acknowledging the power of communion. Jenštejn takes a harsh line in condemning what he terms the ‘*medicus carnalis*’ [physician of the flesh] and his ignorance of spiritual illnesses and cures. He seeks to explain why physicians such as Jacobi failed to cure his sickness:

In uacuum igitur medicus carnalis laborat, quando corpus sanat et uicium anime. Unde manat infirmitas ignorat neque ergo dubium medicos id circo falli, et fallere posse plurimos. Medicus namque carnalis morbos uel languores, quos uisu et tactu et alijs

¹⁰³ Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁰⁴ Johann Loserth, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung. II. Der Magister Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio,’ *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 57 (1879), p. 272.

¹⁰⁵ For a general introduction to Jacobi, see: Melissa P. Chase, ‘Fevers, Poisons, and Apostemes: Authority and Experience in Montpellier Plague Treatises,’ *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 441 (1985), pp. 153-70.

¹⁰⁶ For more on how different medicines affected different classes, nationalities, and statuses of people, see: Allen J. Grieco, ‘The Social Politics of Pre-Linnaean Botanical Classification,’ *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 4 (1991), pp. 131-149.

manifestis experimentis comprehendit, quantum ualet manifestis curare nititur medicamentis. Ea uero que inuisibilia et intangibilia sunt ab exterioribus sensibus non discernuntur. Utpote spiritus et anime internas et inuisibiles passiones, nulla ualent ratione comprehendere et similiter curare. Nam in libro sapiente [16: 12] scribitur, hii qui diuersis morbis infecti erant non per hoc quod uidebant saluabantur sed per omnem saluatorem, 'neque herba neque malagma sanauit eos, sed sermo domini qui sanat omnia.' Hec ideo subintuli, quia etiam de uisibili morbo sepe oculus et manus fallitur medicorum.¹⁰⁷

A carnal physician therefore labours in vain when he heals the body and the plight of the soul. Whence sickness springs he is ignorant, and therefore there is no doubt that physicians are deceived and deceive others on that account. For the carnal doctor deals in diseases or feebleness, which he perceives by sight and touch and other palpable experiments, insofar as he has the power to cure by that which is palpable, he depends on medicines. But those things which are invisible and intangible are not discerned by the outward senses. Since spirits and souls [have] internal and invisible passions, no one can by reason comprehend and similarly cure them. For as it is written in the book of Wisdom [16: 12], those who were infected by diverse sicknesses were cured not through that which they saw, but all were cured through the Saviour: 'neither herb nor poultice healed them, but the word of the Lord that heals all.' For that reason these things are said, for often the eyes and hands of doctors are deceived even when it comes to visible disease.

For Jenštejn, all illnesses chiefly affected the soul, and so treatments based on rational medicine were ineffective. He draws on Wisdom 16, where the Egyptians were bitten and stung by the very animals that they worshiped. The Egyptians tried all sorts of medicines to cure the illness that they caught from the animals, but these were ineffective without God's healing word. This episode provided an apt analogy for Jenštejn because he presented physicians as indeed causing the illnesses that they looked to cure. Like the Egyptians of Wisdom 16, physicians trusted in something other than God, namely medical authorities, and in turn caused more infirmities than they cured.

Despite Jenštejn's distrust of medicine, he repeatedly draws on his knowledge of medical authorities throughout the *De bono morbis*. Jenštejn clearly knew the most famous authors of the

¹⁰⁷ Vatican Lat. 1122, f. 77r; PNK, Osek 37, f. 152r.

medical profession, and in fact at one point he quotes the opening lines of Hippocrates's

Aphorisms:

Ecce quanta dubia et incerta medicamentorum tradicio, et inexperta medicinarum et medicorum sciencia. Prout idipsum experti dicunt medici, et inponitur Ypocrati qui dixit: 'Vita brevis, Ars uero longa, Experimentum fallax, Iudicium difficile.'¹⁰⁸ Et quasi concludendo subiungam medicum doctum et expertum experienciam et scienciam habere debere omnium precedencium medicorum; et sic vix adhuc effugiet, quod in multitudine, quam cottidie curat et uisitat, quod in aliquo non offendat et irregularitatem non incurrat. Quia offendens in uno factus est omnium reus, et sic grauiter peccat.¹⁰⁹

Behold how doubtful and uncertain is the profession of medicine, and how untried the science of medicine and of doctors. Accordingly, medical experts together declare and quote Hippocrates, who said: 'Life is short, but art is long, experience is false, judgement difficult.' And as if to conclude I will add that the learned and proven physician ought to have experience and knowledge of all precedent physicians [i.e. medical authorities]; and thus he will hardly flee those in the multitude whom he daily cures and visits, because he should not offend in anything and should not incur irregularity. Because he who offends in one thing is guilty of all things, and thus he gravely sins.

Here Jenštejn's scepticism is not directed towards Hippocrates himself—indeed he seems to hold a degree of reverence towards the father of medicine—but rather he criticises those who valued his medical theories above the healing power of the sacraments. Hippocrates explains that the physician must devote his short life to studying the theory of medicine and precedent cases, thus the student combines knowledge and experience in healing their patients. Jenštejn uses the famous quote to argue that when a physician neglects his daily visits to his patients, he lets down the entire profession, especially as there was no clear punishment for negligent physicians. This

¹⁰⁸ Jenštejn misses out 'occasio praeceps' in the famous quote. Note that the famous lines did tend to vary in the Middle Ages. For instance, ancient authors tended to write 'experimentum periculosum' rather than 'fallax,' but medieval authors such as Arnold de Villanova chose to translate 'ἡ δὲ πείρα σφαλερὴ' as 'experimentum fallax.' Jenštejn's word choice and omission may simply be the way it was presented in his exemplar (if he indeed used one rather than simply relying on his memory) and not necessarily an indication of his unfamiliarity with Hippocrates. See: Pearl Kibre, 'Hippocrates Latinus: Repertorium of Hippocratic Writings in the Latin Middle Ages (II),' *Traditio* 32 (1976), pp. 257-92; I. Arnaldi de Villanova *Expositio super aphorismo Hippocratis «In morbis minus»*, II. Arnaldi de Villanova *Repetitio super aphorismo Hippocratis «Vita brevis»*, ed. Michael R. McVaugh, Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Medica Omnia 14 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera/Universitat de Barcelona, 2014); Faith Wallis, 'Why was the Aphorisms of Hippocrates Re-Translated in the Eleventh Century?,' in *Vehicles of Transmission, Translation and Transformation*, ed. Carlos Fraenkel, Jamie Fumo, Faith Wallis, and Robert Wisnovsky (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 179-99.

¹⁰⁹ Vatican Lat. 1122, f. 76v; PNK, Osek 37, ff. 151v-2r.

argument was frequently used against the clergy—namely, that the clergy were let down by corrupt individuals that coloured the way the profession was received as a whole—by the anticlerical preachers of Bohemia such as Matěj of Janov and by many others across Europe.¹¹⁰

Although Jenštejn did not directly attack medical authorities, he pointed out their shortcomings. He argues that the types of medical authorities that were commonly cited lived long ago and in regions with vastly different living conditions.¹¹¹ In one sense, Jenštejn makes a valid point that temporal factors such as living conditions and access to ingredients were especially important to medicine. Hippocrates and Galen were Greek and Avicenna was Arabic, meaning that they were exposed to different ingredients for medicines. Jenštejn also maintained that the time which had passed since the fathers of medicine lived rendered their writings useless, as different illnesses and methods of treatment had been developed. Nevertheless, Jenštejn's argument ignores the ways that physicians adapted received medical knowledge. First, physicians would alter recipes and remedies for their specific needs. Irma Taavitsainen has shown that the genre of the recipe book was more 'adaptable and flexible' than typical academic works, and scribes and owners often adapted recipes instead of rigidly following an authoritative exemplar.¹¹² Thus, physicians would not simply employ the same medicines across the globe, but would suit them to their circumstances and needs. Second, medical authors did not rely on ancient works for their recipes in the later Middle Ages, but largely used more recent works of practical medicine.¹¹³ The works of Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna were still staples of the physician's education, but primarily for their theoretical concepts on how the body functioned.

¹¹⁰ Bylina, *Wpływ Konrada Waldhausena*, pp. 24-5; Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-century Bohemia*, pp. 100-26.

¹¹¹ Vatican Lat. 1122, f. 76r; PNK, Osek 37, f. 151r.

¹¹² Irma Taavitsainen, *Middle English Lunaries: A Study of the Genre*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 47 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1988), p. 116.

¹¹³ Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals, The Illustrative Tradition*, The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (Toronto: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 307-8; Francesco Roberg, 'Text- und redaktionskritische Probleme bei der Edition von Texten des Gebrauchsschrifttums am Beispiel des Antidotarium

In pointing out the foreignness of medical authorities and describing Jacobi's failures, Jenštejn sought to expose a lack of familiarity with what was required to heal the soul. Christ, by contrast, is intimately acquainted with the soul and what is needed to cure it. Acting as both a physician and patient, Christ is the Man of Sorrows who turned the great suffering of his Passion into an act of healing through its re-enactment in the sacrament of communion:

[John 6: 51-2]: 'Ego sum panis uiuus qui de celo descendi. Si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane uiuet in eternum.' Ipse denique salutaris sanctus est nobis medicus et salutare medicamentum, quia ipse cognouit figmentum nostrum pro eterna namque sanitate nostra non requirebamus ydoneum alium, sicut [Isaiah 53: 3] 'uirum dolorum et scientem infirmitatem.'¹¹⁴

[John 6: 51-2]: 'I am the living bread that has come down from heaven. If anyone eats this bread, he shall live forever.' He in the end is a health-giving holy Physician for us, and a wholesome medicine, for he has known our form for eternity, and indeed we do not require another who is sufficient to our health, [Isaiah 53: 3] 'as a man of sorrows and one who knows weakness.'

Since Christ suffered a truly painful death and took on the sins of the world, he is fully acquainted with every type of infirmity that can afflict the soul. Additionally, man was made in God's image, and thus Christ understands the physical plight of humans. This makes him the perfect physician: he empathises with his patients and his working knowledge of each infirmity comes from his own suffering in the Passion. Therefore, ultimate trust must be placed in Christ the Divine Physician, the only one equipped to heal all infirmities. Despite Jenštejn's insistence that Christ was the most suitable physician, he does acknowledge that there had been various physicians who were holy enough to be revered:

Lucas uidelicet medicus cuius laus in euangelio, gloriosi martires Cosmas et Damianus beatus eciam Panthaleon cum ceteris sanctis qui utroque modo diuina suffulti gracia, et corporis et anime medici exstiterunt quamquam magis anime quam corporis, animam oratione deuota.¹¹⁵

Nicolai (12. Jahrhundert) – Einige F.R., Beobachtungen. Mit einem Editionsanhang,' *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 42 (2007), pp. 1-19.

¹¹⁴ Vatican Lat. 1122, f. 78r; PNK, Osek 37, f. 153r.

¹¹⁵ Vatican Lat. 1122, f. 77v; PNK, Osek 37, f. 152v.

One may note Luke the physician, whose renown is in the Gospel, and the glorious martyrs Cosmas and Damian, blessed Panthaleon, too, with the other saints who were supported on both sides by divine grace alone, came forth as physicians of both body and soul, although more of the soul than the body.

These physicians were important figures because they acted with divine will and showed how effective it could be to treat the soul with God's approval. Luke the Evangelist was of course an entirely trustworthy physician because he was an apostle and the Holy Spirit worked through him. Other saints that were renowned for their roles as physicians were held in a similar level of reverence. Saints Cosmas and Damian are the saints most regularly associated with physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists. They were Arab physicians who would not accept money for their treatments and were hence dubbed the 'silverless' saints. St Panthaleon became more frequently invoked as a patron saint of physicians and midwives after the outbreak of the plague in the mid-fourteenth century. He shared a connection with Cosmas and Damian because in the Eastern Church Panthaleon was considered to be another of the silverless saints. These saintly physicians were associated with healing the soul rather than the body alone, and were not guilty of the same greed of which Jenštejn accused medieval physicians.¹¹⁶

De bono morbis was an incredibly important text in Jenštejn's career, one which presents the culmination of his turn towards frequent communion. In a matter of months, he had gone from condemning daily communion to wholeheartedly endorsing it. After 1390 it seemed as if those who campaigned for frequent communion had won the day. It ceased to be the focus of Church synods, but in reality more pressing issues came to take priority in Prague. Jenštejn came under increasing criticism from Václav IV over issues of Church governance, and in particular the appointment of Jan of Nepomuk as the vicar-general of St Giles Cathedral. After Nepomuk

¹¹⁶ Richard Rutt, 'Saints Cosmas and Damian: patron saints of medicine. A story from prayers and pictures?', *Journal of medical biography* 2 (1994), pp. 48-52.

was murdered by the king in 1393, Jenštejn retired to live with the canons of Roudnice, where Petr of Roudnice later wrote his *vita* of the Archbishop. That Jenštejn chose to live in Roudnice—aside from the fact that it was traditionally an archiepiscopal summer residence—is telling because it reveals something of Jenštejn’s devotional attitude. Roudnice had developed a reputation for devotion and a progressive stance on Church reform since its foundation in 1340 by Augustinian canons.¹¹⁷ By the time that Jenštejn resided there, it was inhabited by Dominicans who encouraged frequent confession and a more personal engagement with religion by all. Jenštejn’s career ended with an anti-climax professionally, but his influence must not be understated. His reformist position was fundamental to the softening of attitudes towards frequent communion in Bohemia at a time when Matěj of Janov and his colleagues were facing heresy charges. Not only did Jenštejn adopt the position of those he condemned at the Prague clerical synods, but he developed the theology further than Milič and Matěj by encouraging sacramental medicine as an alternative to treatments offered by physicians of the body. No other advocate of frequent communion placed such trust in communion to renounce the field of medicine. Indeed, Jenštejn viewed his sacramental medical model as a replacement to all other medicines, which he considered to be grounded in an inferior rational knowledge of man.

1394-1431 the University of Kraków and the agency of the clergy

While Archbishop Jenštejn was making progress for the cause of frequent communion in the early 1390s, a new controversy arose at the University of Prague that captured the masters’ full attention. Increasingly, masters who were not part of the Czech *natio* of the university were feeling unwelcome. Those scholars that were members of the German nation, including Matthew

¹¹⁷ Franz Machilek, ‘Die Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Böhmen und Mähren,’ *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien* 4 (1976), pp. 107-44.

of Kraków, were marginalised after the king gave his full support to the Czech contingent. The king's endorsement privileged Czech scholars and gave them control over the university, which had previously been dominated by German-speaking masters.¹¹⁸ After a period of infighting, Matthew of Kraków left Prague to become the rector and dean of the theological faculty at the University of Heidelberg in 1394. During this period, Matthew also spent much of his time at the University of Kraków, preaching and collaborating with Polish masters.¹¹⁹ At Heidelberg, Matthew adopted a hostile attitude towards certain Bohemian masters, and there is no clear evidence that he ever returned to Prague.¹²⁰ It appears that after he left Prague, Matthew's career priorities shifted from academic concerns to those of diplomacy and Church administration. From 1395, Matthew was a councillor to Rupert II, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and later the Elector Palatine Rupert III. The zenith of Matthew's career was his appointment as the Bishop of Worms in 1405.

In taking these high-profile positions, Matthew would surely have had to tone down any ideas that might have been considered controversial. He does not, in fact, seem to have written much on the benefits of frequent communion in this phase of his career, but this did not keep him from controversy. After he wrote the most influential work of his later career, *De praxis Romane Curae*, Matthew was challenged by Jan Falkenberg.¹²¹ Falkenberg argued that Matthew and his

¹¹⁸ František Šmahel, *Alma mater Pragensis: studie k počátkům Univerzity Karlovy* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016), pp. 108-15.

¹¹⁹ Nuding shows that there is definitive evidence that Matthew delivered sermons from 1397 onwards, if not before. Nuding, *Matthäus von Krakau*, p. 232.

¹²⁰ Miroslav Danyš, *Master Matthew of Cracow* (Warsaw: Semper, 1995), pp. 27-8; Nuding, *Matthäus von Krakau*, pp. 223-53.

¹²¹ *De praxis* has been named by a number of scholars as one of the most important reformist writings produced against papal centralisation in the fifteenth century. Matthew of Kraków's text was later revised by Job Vener (d. 1447) and Konrad Soest (d. 1422), who added canonistic citations. This revised version became known as the 'Heidelberg Postillen'. For more and a historiographical survey, see: Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of The Council of Constance (1414-1418)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 13-14; Hermann Heimpel, *Die Vener von Gmünd und Strassburg, 1162-1447: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte einer Familie sowie des gelehrten Beamtentums in der Zeit der abendländischen Kirchenspaltung und der Konzilien von Pisa, Konstanz und Basel*, 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 700-01.

associates, namely Peter Wysz and Stanisław of Skarbimierz, undermined papal authority with their criticisms of the Church hierarchy during the Papal Schism. In response to those he condemned, Falkenberg wrote a defence of papal theocracy in his *De monarchia mundi*, which argued against Matthew's criticisms of the widespread influence of simony upon the integrity of the Church.¹²² These debates that took place with Falkenberg only compounded the anticlerical, reformist rhetoric developed by Matthew and his allies in Kraków.¹²³ The theology of frequent communion, however, shifted when it was adopted by Matthew's allies at Kraków. Following Matthew's own anticlerical preaching after he left Prague, the few masters who espoused frequent reception in Kraków—such as Stanisław of Skarbimierz and his student Nicholas of Błonie—presented the practice as a tool in combatting heresy, and in particular the heresy that emerged from Bohemia.

While relatively few masters in Kraków adopted frequent communion as a tenable cure for heresy and schism, they had a direct impact on how the Hussites were received in Poland and in fact influenced developments in Polish ecclesiology in the early fifteenth century. The position of priests as spiritual physicians who used the sacraments to cure alleged heresy were shaped by the changing perceptions of Matthew of Kraków and his associates. After Matthew of Kraków left Prague, he shifted the focus of his anticlerical criticism towards the Bohemian Church and Prague University in particular. In targeting Bohemia with his anticlerical criticism, Matthew set

¹²² For a critical edition, see: Jan Falkenberg, *Krakowska redakcja J. Falkenberga "De monarchia mundi,"* ed. Władysław Seńko, *Textus et studia historiam theologiae in Polonia excultae spectantia* 20 (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1986). Falkenberg does not merely attack Matthew and his colleagues in his text, but condemns all those who undermined the rule of the pope, such as Dante in his *De monarchia* who, according to Falkenberg, placed secular power of kingship above that of the papacy. *Dante's De Monarchia: Translated with a commentary*, ed. Richard Kay, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Toronto: Studies and texts 131 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of medieval Studies, 1998), p. xxxii.

¹²³ Hartmut Boockmann, *Johannes Falkenberg, der Deutsche Orden und die polnische Politik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), pp. 135-54; Zenon Kałuża, 'Chronologie des premières discussions ecclésiologiques à Cracovie (1404–1407),' *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 52 (1997), pp. 111-27; Krzysztof Ożóg, *Uczni w Monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysław Jagiełły (1384–1434)* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2004), pp. 62-3.

up a dichotomy between Bohemians and Polish masters that was exceedingly useful in turning sacramental medicine into a tool for contesting heresy.

Matthew had long adopted an anticlerical stance that he found helpful in pushing for reforms, and under Jenštejn he became the vicar-general of the archbishopric of Prague. Matthew explained that his position was intended ‘totum clerum, immo per clerum totius provincie populum de preteritis malis corrigere, munire de futuris, ad ea que facienda sunt dirigere et quasi pro dimidio anno medicinam adhibere’ [to correct the whole clergy, and through the clergy, the people of the whole province of their past errors, to put them on guard against errors to come, and show them what they should do, applying a treatment that lasts for half a year].¹²⁴ There is nothing contentious in this statement, but Matthew’s anticlericalism would come to take an increasingly radical position that echoed the apocalyptic sentiments of Jan Milíč. For instance, in his 1386 autumn synod, he explained that a priest who lived a life of sin became an antichrist.¹²⁵ This apocalyptic rhetoric was then turned explicitly towards Prague in another synodal sermon, ‘Venit iudicare’, delivered around 1387.¹²⁶ Throughout the sermon he claims that the city of Prague, the great seat of the Holy Roman Empire, had been corrupted by the apocalyptic dragon from Revelation, along with demons and those who promoted heresy.¹²⁷ Of course, there were a number of scholars at Prague and members of the clergy that Matthew considered allies,

¹²⁴ ‘Sermo Digne ambuletis’ in *Mateusza z Krakowa „De Praxi Romanae Curiae,”* ed. Władysław Seńko (Wrocław, Warsaw, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1969), p. 140.

¹²⁵ ‘Digne ambuletis’ in Seńko (ed.), *De Praxi*, pp. 140-9, especially pp. 146-7.

¹²⁶ Nuding, *Matthäus von Krakau*, p. 65.

¹²⁷ Matthew explains that Prague was once a *studium* of sacred Scripture, but it had become a *studium* of the dragon and a place where demons and sirens seduced the masters with imperial and regal titles. The devil thus deformed the beauty of Bohemia. Jana Nechutová, ‘Reform- und Bussprediger von Waldhauser bis Hus,’ in *Kirchliche Reformimpulse des 14./15. Jahrhunderts in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Winfried Eberhard and Franz Machilek, *Forschungen Und Quellen Zur Kirchen Und Kulturgeschichte Der Deutschen in Ostmittel Und Sudosteuroopa* 36 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), pp. 246-8, 252-3. 171: ‘Nam olim ibi remotis draconibus studium sacrae scripturae et industria multorum se in studio et virtutibus exercentium sunt exorti, hodie vero saltant ibi daemones, erides iudificant et syrenes. [...] O Praga! Ultra regna multa ipsis tuis elevata, O Bohemia, imperiali quodam et regali titulo decorata, libet plangere: quo abiit gloria tua, quo modo ablata est magnificentia tua, qualiter deformata est speciositas tua!’

particularly Jenštejn, but the turn against the German nation at Prague seems to have particularly irked him. The divide between the university nations was not a binary; the situation was more nuanced, with the German nation influencing the Czech. Aside from Matthew, Nicholas of Dresden was a key member of the German nation who became a source of authority for a number of Bohemian scholars such as Matěj of Janov.¹²⁸ In ‘Venit iudicare,’ however, Matthew played upon the divisions and cast his lot in with the Poles, urging them to avoid their dangerous Bohemian neighbours in order to stay penitent and free from heresy.¹²⁹

Although Matthew went to Heidelberg to teach, his affinity for Polish scholasticism was borne out in his collaboration with Peter (Piotr) Wysz Radoliński of Leszczyc, bishop of Kraków (d. 1414), in writing *De praxis Romanae Curiae* in 1405.¹³⁰ This work was the culmination of Matthew’s preaching career from the early 1390s onwards.¹³¹ *De praxis* argued that the Papal Schism grew out of the centralisation of Church government, widespread simony, and a decline in the collegiality of the clergy. Matthew campaigned to limit papal power and re-establish authority in local churches, granting them the right to choose their supervisors, bishops, and abbots. With these issues taking priority, frequent communion was no longer such a pressing concern for Matthew, who is cagey in his later writings on whether faithful laymen should be allowed to take communion every day.

Still, simony was a critical issue for the administration of the sacraments and for Matthew’s medical rhetoric, because when a priest accepted money it could be read as a payment

¹²⁸ Helena Krmičková, ‘Vliv Matěje z Janova na utrakvismus Jakoubka ze Stříbra a Mikuláše z Drážďan,’ in *Mistr Matěj z Janova ve Svě a v Naši Době*, ed. Jan B. Lášek and Karel Skalický (Brno: L. Marek, 2002), pp. 119-31.

¹²⁹ ‘Venit iudicare’ in Seňko (ed.), *De Praxi*, p. 171: ‘Et quia pericula vicinorum dant cautelam [...] ab aliis Polonia abstineat.’

¹³⁰ The work was relatively popular, surviving in twenty-four known manuscript versions and three printed editions produced in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. It does not approach the popularity of his earlier works, but it found a receptive audience among Protestants in the early modern period. See the introduction in Seňko (ed.), *De Praxi*, pp. 7-30.

¹³¹ Seňko (ed.), *De Praxi*, cap. 11, especially p. 97, ll. 1-7.

in exchange for their services. Peter Wysz's *Speculum aureum de titulis beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum* echoed the message of the *De praxis* and was widely included alongside Matthew's text in manuscripts across Central Europe.¹³² Wysz contended that the clergy neglected their healing duty that was passed down from Christ:

Quoad legem divinam patens est scriptura, Matth. X. ubi Salvator instruens apostolos docuit omnes apostolici officii successores dicens: 'Euntes autem praedicate, quod appropinquabit regnum caelorum; infirmos curate, mortuos suscite, leprosos mundate, daemones eicite; gratis accepistis, gratis date; nollite possidere aurum et argentum et pecuniam.' Et non est dubium, quin secundum expositores hoc dixerit non solum de expressis in Evangelio, scilicet curatione infirmorum, suscitatione mortuorum etc., sed omnia etiam alia dona sua gratuita et ipsorum effectus [...]¹³³

With respect to the divine law Scripture is clear, in Matthew 10: 7-9, where the Saviour instructed the apostles and all apostolic offices of succession to teach, saying: 'Go and preach this message: The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils: freely have you received, freely give. Do not possess gold or silver.' And there is no doubt but that, according to the commentators, he said this not only about things described in the Gospel, namely, curing the sick, raising the dead, etc., but likewise about all his freely given gifts and their effect [...]

The gifts of the Church, that is the sacraments, are supposed to be freely given to the faithful, but were, according to Wysz, in the late-medieval Church monetised by avaricious clergymen. For Wysz, this healing mission had fallen by the wayside because the clergy were covetous of titles and benefices. Just as Matthew argued in his *De praxis*, Wysz claims that the result of an increase in simony within the Church was accompanied by increased restrictions on who was eligible to take the sacraments and when. Wysz does not claim that the laity should be able to take communion as freely as they wished, but he does suggest that withholding the sacrament

¹³² Hermann Heimpel labels this process a cross-fertilization between canonists and reformist writers, and specifically refers to Wysz and the *De praxis* as particularly important texts in conciliarist thought in this period. See: *Studien zur Kirchen- und Reichsreform des 15. Jahrhunderts: II. Zu zwei Kirchenreform-Traktaten des beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts: Die Reformschrift "De praxi curiae Romanae" ("Squalores Romanae curiae," 1403) des Matthäus von Krakau und ihr Bearbeiter; Das "Speculum aureum de titulis beneficiorum" (1404/5) und Verfasser*, Sitzungsberichte der Universität Heidelberg, phil.-hist. Klasse 1974, 1 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1974).

¹³³ Peter Wysz, *Piotr Wysz z Radolina (ok. 1354 - †1414), i Jego Dzieło "Speculum Aureum,"* ed. Władysław Seńko, *Studia Przeglądu Tomistycznego* 2 (Warsaw: Instytut Tomistyczny, 1995), pp. 124-5, ll. 23-36.

was a direct consequence of the corruption caused by the Papal Schism, which in turn restricted the healing potential of the clergy.¹³⁴

In treating the healing power of the Eucharist and the ways in which simony corrupted it, Matthew and Wysz sought to force the clergy to reform. Although some such as Jan Falkenberg found their opinions to be scandalous, their conceptions of the Church were quite conventional, falling in line with the *Decretals*.¹³⁵ Matthew and Wysz defined the Church as a mother that cared for her congregation of children, while the clergy were referred to as Christ's spiritual physicians on earth. Stanisław of Skarbimierz was influenced by Matthew of Kraków, Peter Wysz, and possibly also by Bohemian theologians he encountered while he was a student in Prague. He placed a renewed stress on the role of God's spiritual physicians on earth in his *Sermones de Sapientia Dei*, a cycle of 113 sermons gathered between 1409 and 1415.¹³⁶ Throughout the sermons, Stanisław portrays the essential role of the priest in facilitating the sacraments:

Sacerdos quippe est tantae excellentiae, quod ad vocem suam summa infimis iunguntur. Dei Filius de summis caelorum ad ima descendit et virtute sua potenti invisibili panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem suum transubstantiat et transire facit accidentibus derelictis. Ipse manibus suis tractat invisibilem, levat inaccessibilem, locat inpalpabilem,

¹³⁴ For more on Wysz's program of clerical reform, see: Krzysztof Ożóg, 'Formacja intelektualna biskupów krakowskich w średniowieczu,' in *Cracovia, Polonia, Europa: Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Waldemar Bukowski, et al. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia 'Secesja,' 1995), pp. 171-2.

¹³⁵ Matthew quotes *Decreti secunda pars, causa II qu VIII ad Romanam; Sexti Decretalium* 1, IX 'De poenis' cap. 5 'Felicitas'. Seńko (ed.), *De Praxi*, pp. 74-5: 'Sancta Romana ecclesia super omnes alias ecclesias principatum obtinet, utpote mater omnium Christi fidelium et magistra. Et ob hoc debeat esse iurium conditrix, propagatrix spiritualium, correptrix malorum, directrix errantium, persecutrix vitiorum, iustitiae et virtutum prosecutrix, oppressorum, defensio, relevatrix pauperum, rectificatio et reformatio deformiter inordinatorum, doctrix errantium, morum exemplar, magistra et ministra omnis boni, regula agendorum. Ipsa est enim, quae supremam habet clavium potestatem, et ad quam pro talibus, etiamsi diu alibi quaeratur, finaliter recurritur. Ibi namque quaeritur plena absolutio criminum, amotio scrupulorum, conscientiarum serenatio, discussio dubiorum, terminatio litum, declaratio et determinatio veritatum.'

¹³⁶ Zofia Kozłowska-Budkova, 'Sermones Sapientiales Stanisława ze Skarbimierza,' *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 53 (1952), pp. 394-6; Celina Zawodzińska, 'Pisma Stanisława ze Skarbimierza,' *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 4 (1960), pp. 299-327, Bożena Chmielowska 'Stanislas de Skarbimierz—Le premier recteur de l'Université de Cracovie après le renouveau de celle-ci,' *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 24 (1979), pp. 73-112; Roman Maria Zawadzki, *Periodyzacja Twórczości Stanisława ze Skarbimierza na Tle Jego Działalności Publicznej* (Kraków: Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, 1977), especially p. 30.

concludit Omnipotentem; de summo caelo usque ad terram evocat Deum et hominem verum.¹³⁷

Naturally the priest is of such excellence that the greatest things are united with the humblest according to his voice. The Son of God descended from the highest heavens to the deepest places, and by his powerful, invisible strength he transubstantiates the bread and wine into his body and blood and causes them to change, with the accidents left behind. He [the priest] handles the invisible with his own hands, lifts up the inaccessible, situates the impalpable, contains the all-powerful; from the highest heaven all the way down to the earth, he summons true God and true man.

While certain followers of Milíč, including Matthew himself when he was in Prague, devalued the role of the priest in delivering Christ's medicine, theologians at Kraków re-empowered the priest as mediator. Instead of referring to Christ as directly treating his patients through communion, limiting the priest's position to consecration alone, theologians such as Stanisław gave the clergy a more active role. Milíčian theology, by contrast, treated priests merely as the hand of the Physician (*manus medici*) who performed the treatments that God prescribes. In other words, the clergy were essential to delivering the sacraments in the same way that a hand is needed to carry out the wishes of the brain. Milíč explains:

Primum attende quia Deus est omnia in omnibus. Et quidquid nos boni facimus imbuti gratia per liberum arbitrium; hoc non nos dicimur fecisse sed solus Deus, et cum nos cum ipso, illa operamur. Sicut dicit Apostolis, i^a, Cor. xv^o. 'Habundancius omnibus laboravi non autem ego, (ecce negat se fecisse), subdens, sed gratia Dei.'¹³⁸

First, consider that God is all in all. And everything that we do that is good is imbued with grace through free will; we are not said to have caused this but rather God alone, and when we perform those things, we do it with him. Just as the Apostle says in 1 Cor. 15 [: 10]: 'I have laboured harder than all others,' (behold that he does not say that he himself caused anything), adding: 'yet not me but the grace of God.'

Reformist theologians did not reach a clear consensus on the role of priests in administering sacraments. Orthodox authorities such as Aquinas, for instance, held that priests wielded God's

¹³⁷ Stanisława ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones de Sapientia Selecti*, ed. Bożena Chmielowska (Warsaw: Corpus Philosophorum Polonorum Series Medievalis, 2016), p. 129, ll. 183-90.

¹³⁸ PNK, XII D 1, f. 42v.

power and thus could grant absolution in confession.¹³⁹ Stanisław followed and cited Aquinas in his discussions of the powers of the clergy in carrying out the sacraments. For him, priests were entrusted with God's power to heal whenever they consecrated the host and distributed it to their congregation. Others, such as Milič, held that there was a much looser connection between God's power and the priest's agency. The priest did not at any point possess God's power when administering the sacraments, but simply acted as his tool to deliver his medicines. In other words, when one is healed by the Eucharist, it is a direct interaction with Christ that heals them rather than a mediated interaction through the priest because one physically consumes Christ's body.

Stanisław clearly differed from Milič in his ideas about the role of the clergy, treating them as spiritual physicians empowered by Christ to heal the laity. He stresses the need for knowledge in both theology and medicine to facilitate this healing. In 1400, Stanisław's inaugural sermon as rector of the University of Kraków conveyed the need for both spiritual and bodily healing by presenting the roles of students in the theological and medical faculties in tandem. After describing the members of the theology faculty as cherubim with flaming coals surrounding them that illuminated the path towards spiritual health, Stanisław explained that those who studied medicine were seraphim who cried out day and night in praise of God:

Semper nempe medicus sollicitus est, quod emungat extranea, quod roboret debilia, quod procuret cordialia, quod laetificet vitalia. Ipse ministrat comfortativa capiti, recreativa cordi epati ac aliis membris iuxta; qualitatem morbi et quantitatem casus providet sollerter.¹⁴⁰

A physician is of course always concerned to purge what does not belong, to strengthen what is weak, to administer cordials, and to gladden essential members of the body. He

¹³⁹ Henri Dondaine, *L'Attrition suffisante*, Bibliothèque thomiste vol. 25 (Paris: Vrin, 1943), p. 17; Artur Landgraf, 'Grundlagen für ein Verständnis der Busslehre der Früh- und Hochscholastik,' *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 51, 2 (1927), pp. 189-90.

¹⁴⁰ Juliusz Domański, 'Discours d'inauguration fait par Stanislas de Skarbimierz à l'occasion du renouveau de l'Université de Cracovie,' *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 24 (1979), p. 129, ll. 186-9; Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Mowy wybrane o mądrości*, ed. Mirosław Korolko (Kraków: Arcana, 2000), p. 248.

himself administers comfortives to the head, recreatives to the heart, liver, and other members equally; he attends to the nature of the illness and the magnitude of the case skilfully.

In developing the skills required to deal with the needs of a patient, the physician had to consider the souls of his patients and be equipped to treat them spiritually, or at least remain conscious of when to refer the patient to a priest. Particularly in late-medieval hospitals, keeping patients spiritually engaged was a key concern, and consequently the sacraments became a vital component of treatment. Stanisław was aware of the overlap in theology and medicine that informed such institutions, and he viewed the fields as addressing the same issue from two different angles. The medical faculty chiefly looked to cure the body while also acknowledging spiritual health, whereas the theological faculty primarily attended to the health of the soul, with the body serving as a secondary consideration when affected by the disease of sin.

The most extensive treatment of the duties of spiritual physicians was by Nicolas of Błonie, a student of Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Francis Krzyżowic of Brzeg (d. 1432). Nicolas's *Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis et divinis officiis* (composed c. 1431) was particularly popular, surviving in numerous manuscript copies and in early printed editions from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹⁴¹ The text draws from Gregory the Great, Ambrose, and most extensively from Stanisław of Skarbimierz. In fact, Nicolas claims that many of the ideas presented in the text are developed from Stanisław's sermons and writings.¹⁴² Nicolas demonstrates his strong medical focus right from the outset of the *Tractatus*, which

¹⁴¹ For the history of the tract and its early printed editions, see: Krzysztof Bracha, *Casus pulchri de vitandis erroribus conscientiae purae: Orzeczenia kazuistyczne kanonistów i teologów krakowskich z XV w.* (Warsaw: DiG, 2013), pp. 77-8; Marek Tomasz Zahajkiewicz, 'Polskie traktaty teologiczno-duszpasterskie okresu przedtrydenckiego,' *Archiwa Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 21 (1970), pp. 206-07.

¹⁴² Nicolas of Błonie, *Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis*, ed. Johann Prüss (Strassburg, 1486), f. 55rb: 'Respondeo post cum eo episcopus dispensare ex causa necessaria vel utili, ut aliquas alias orationes [...] dicat ratio magistri Stanislai de Scarbimiria, domini mei [...]' All quotations have been checked alongside Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1440, which is a copy with minimal scribal corruptions and errors.

begins, ‘Physician, heal thyself’ [Medice cura teipsum]—the words Jesus said to those who doubted him in Luke 4: 23.¹⁴³ Taking these words and applying them to the clergy, Nicolas maintains that each priest is a spiritual physician who had to prove his worth against those who doubt them:

‘Medice cura teipsum.’ Luce iii. c. Sicut ait Gregorius prima parte sui *pastoralis ca. ij.* ‘Quis autem cogitationum vulnera occultiora ne sciat esse vulneribus viscerum?,’ nimirum videtur medicum spiritualem multo subtiliorem debere fore medico corporali, quod ut bene curet vicia: multa peritia opus habet, presertim ut vim pigmentorum spiritalium considerans, priusque ceteros curare desideret, circumquaque regulas medicine conoscat. Alioquin si artem spiritualis imperitus, et in seipso ignorantie confossus vulneribus alios mederi properet audire non immerito merebitur, ‘medice cura teipsum.’¹⁴⁴

‘Physician, heal thyself.’ [Luke 4: 23]. Just as Gregory says in the first part of his *Pastoral Care* [I, 1]: ‘For who does not realise that the wounds of the mind are more hidden than the internal wounds of the body?’, doubtless, it seems that spiritual healing ought to be much more nuanced than bodily healing, because it ably cures vices: the work encompasses much practical knowledge, especially in considering the strength of spiritual drugs. Before he [the physician] can investigate the other cures, he should know the rules of medicine in every respect. Otherwise, if he is unskilled in the spiritual art, and in himself he is wounded by ignorance or other injuries that need immediate cures, it is not unmerited for him to hear, ‘physician, heal thyself.’

Much like Stanislaw, Nicolas emphasises the gulf in difficulty between healing the soul and healing the body. Healing the soul was a more complex subject than the body, and thus it required a great deal more skill to treat. Implicitly underscoring this passage is the sovereignty of Christ as the greatest physician, a title that the clergy were to emulate as best they could in their care of souls. This mode of *imitatio Christi* necessitated a great deal of education and skill because, just like a physician, ignorance can lead to mistakes that endanger the patient. When a priest makes such mistakes, he needs to be cured himself:

Magna quippe stulticia est ut idem ait Greg. si aliquis alios mederi properat: ‘qui et ipse in facie vulnus portat.’ Et maxima plane dementia est (ut inquit in *pastorali ca. ij.*) dum

¹⁴³ Cf. Matt. 27: 42; Mark 15: 31; Luke 25: 35.

¹⁴⁴ *Tractatus sacerdotalis*, f. 2ra.

hi 'qui nequaquam precepta spiritualia cognouerunt, cordis se medicos profiteri non metuunt, dum qui pigmentorum vim nesciunt, videri medici carnis non erubescunt.'¹⁴⁵

It is of course great stupidity, says Gregory, to hurry to cure others 'when he himself carries a wound on his face.' And it is clearly the greatest madness (as it is said in the *Pastoral Care*, ca. ij.) when those 'who know nothing of spiritual precepts whatsoever fear not to profess themselves as physicians of the heart, while those who are ignorant of the strength of drugs are not ashamed to appear like physicians of the flesh.'

Just as it would be unwise for an injured physician to heal a patient before healing himself, so a spiritual physician needs to be free of serious sins to heal the soul. The ignorant physicians that Nicolas described were the Hussites that supposedly tried to lead people away from the true spiritual physicians, that is, those who had the backing of the Church. According to Nicolas, the Hussites claimed that they possessed the necessary skills to heal the laity, when in fact their theology and particularly their practice of utraquism contravened canon law. The emergence of the Hussites and their utraquism after the Council of Constance became a pressing concern for all during the 1430s, and at the Council of Basel in particular. Hussite preachers, working from the anticlerical and apocalyptic positions of Matěj of Janov and Jan Milíč, contested the role of the priest in presenting the healing sacraments. Establishing the role and authority of the clergy as Christ's spiritual physicians therefore became a priority for theologians such as Nicolas and Stanisław. Through medical imagery, masters from Kraków were able to make a case that the clergy were the only ones qualified to deliver Christ's healing.

Combating utraquism with frequent communion

Before the Hussite heresy became a source of contention in Central Europe, concerns over dissident voices were already building. The great influx of corruption that Matthew of Kraków saw to be a direct result of the Papal Schism left the Church, and particularly the papacy, open to

¹⁴⁵ *Tractatus sacerdotalis*, f. 2ra. Gregorius Magnus, *Regula pastoralis*, lib. 1, cap. 9, in PL 77: 21D.

infectious opinions from those who looked to exploit the disruption. Matthew maintained that it was undoubtedly true that the greatest negligence and corruption came from inside the Church, and thus reform of the clergy was needed. Ecumenical councils, Matthew explained, were set up specifically to ensure the spiritual integrity of the Church, and it was thus the duty of these councils to cure the diseased body of the Church by converting infidels, removing heresy, and resolving conflicts between local churches and the central administration.¹⁴⁶ Matthew complains in his *De praxis* that the Church and its councils were charged with:

declaratione dubiorum, quorum multa et magna satis periculosa in diversis locis diversimode ventilantur [...]. Vadunt enim Begardi, Fratricelli, Sectarii suspectissimi de haeresi, clero infestissimi, erectis capitibus sine ullo timore et seducunt libere quotquot possunt.¹⁴⁷

revealing those who are dubious, among which many and great dangers are diversely exposed in diverse locations [...]. Indeed beghards, Fratricelli [or spiritual Franciscans], and sectarians who are very suspect of heresy go about, the most infested clergy, their heads held high without any fear, and they freely seduce as many as they are able.

Revealing those who disrupted the unity of the Church, principally beghards and beguines, was a concern of the Bohemian Church and reformists alike.¹⁴⁸ Milíč himself was especially critical of beghards and beguines because he viewed many of their practices as comprising an extreme version of what he objected to in mendicancy.¹⁴⁹ Due to the development of beghard

¹⁴⁶ Matthew explains that if one considers the facts from both inside and outside the Church (as much as one is able to because of the limits of human comprehension), then it is clear that the greatest negligence is found within the structure of the Church. Since it is held that the council and the ecclesiastical assembly are striving for spiritual purity and health, they are entrusted with the duties of converting the infidels, seeking out heresy, reducing schisms, reforming deformity within the Church body, and reforming the status of the clergy and orders. Zenon Kałuża, 'Eklezjologia Mateusza z Krakowa (Uwagi o *De praxi Romanae Curiae*),' *Studia Mediewistyczne* 18 (1977), pp. 100-22: 'Si vero considerentur exteriora facta eius, et ex exterioribus interiora, quantum humanitus conici licet, tunc invenitur maxima negligentia plurium valde necessariorum ecclesiae. Quando enim ibi habetur consilium vel consistorium de pure spiritualibus et pertinentibus ad salutem, ut de conversione infidelium, de inquisitione et exterminatione haereticorum et haeresium, reductione schismaticorum, de reformatione destructorum vel deformium, utpote status clericalis, monasteriorum et ordinum, de defensione iustitiae et iniuste oppressorum, [...]'

¹⁴⁷ *Sermones de Sapientia Selecti*, pp. 75-6, ll. 1-15.

¹⁴⁸ For the nuances of the term 'beghard' and 'beguine' in a German context, see: Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: 1972), pp. 122-3.

¹⁴⁹ Ferdinand Menčík (ed.), 'Milíč a dva jeho spisy z roku 1367,' in *Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk* 8 (1890), p. 322.

communities across Europe there was a continual suspicion, whether accurate or not, that heretics would spread their pernicious influence and turn the impressionable laity away from the Church. In fact, the measures imposed by Václav IV and Jenštejn were primarily directed towards beghards, while those who took communion frequently were of only secondary concern. To fully comprehend the medical imagery that was associated with frequent communion, we must first discuss the ways in which frequent communion was used more broadly to dissuade against utraquist practice. The context in which frequent communion was preached is just as important as the medical imagery itself in understanding the *Christus medicus* tradition in Central Europe.

Matthew of Kraków died before the emergence of the Hussites in Bohemia, but his colleagues were forced to address them as a serious threat to the integrity of the Church. Masters in Kraków were quick to react to the growing threat of the Wycliffites and Hussites. As early as 12 August 1416, the University of Kraków informed the Council of Constance that it approved of the condemnations of John Wyclif and the executions of Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague. The University further claimed that it was ready to contribute to the battle against heresy.¹⁵⁰ Sentiment against Hus and his followers was met with enthusiasm in the university in Kraków partially because the theological faculty was populated with former masters from Prague who had dealings with Hus—especially Stephen Pálež and Mařík (Mauricius) Rvačka of Prague, as well as Jan Štěkna, who was in fact one of the first preachers of Bethlehem Chapel.¹⁵¹ Stanisław of Skarbimierz was equally important in stirring anti-Hussite opinion. In 1416 he preached a

¹⁵⁰ Paul W. Knoll, “A Pearl of Powerful Learning”: *The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 250.

¹⁵¹ Mieczysław Markowski, *Dzieje wydziału teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w latach 1397–1525*, Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2 (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 1996), pp. 105-09, 122.

sermon condemning Wyclif and Hus.¹⁵² He extended his condemnatory discussion to include an attack on the practice of utraquism:

‘Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces.’ Hi enim sunt fontes sine aqua et nubes sine rore. Qui singularitatis spiritu decepti velut de sacramentis Ecclesiae sentiunt quam sentit Romana Ecclesia, velut Hussonistae, qui praeter et contra consuetudinem generalem Ecclesiae seorsum sub specie panis, seorsum sub specie vini, Corporis et Sanguinis Christi sacramentum vulgum non sine gravi periculo et scandalo communicant.¹⁵³

[Matt. 7: 15] ‘Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.’ For they are springs without water and clouds without dew; those who, having been deceived by the spirit of singularity [against catholicism], act as if they understand the Church sacraments better than the Roman Church perceives them. This is the case for the Hussites who, beyond and contrary to the common usage of the Church, administer the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ to commoners separately under the species of bread and wine, but not without grave danger and scandal.

While Stanisław agreed that it can be healthy and useful to receive communion (est salubre et utile saepe ad panem hunc venerabilem accedere), he stuck firmly to the doctrine of concomitance, whereby Christ’s body and blood are contained fully under each individual species of communion.¹⁵⁴ Even when the laity took communion on the three sanctioned days in the Church year, they would never, or exceedingly rarely, drink consecrated wine. It was more likely that they would drink water after consuming the wafer, in order to ensure one swallowed all of the wafer.¹⁵⁵ The practice of utraquism was not heretical because it had previously been a

¹⁵² It is unclear whether his sermon was preached before or after the university petition to Constance. Knoll, “*A Pearl of Powerful Learning*,” p. 250 n. 88; Ożóg, *Uczni w monarchii Jadwigi Andegawęńskiej i Władysława Jagiełły*, p. 299.

¹⁵³ *Sermones de Sapientia Selecti*, p. 166, ll. 195-203.

¹⁵⁴ Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones sapientiales*, ed. Bożena Chmielowska, 3 vols. (Warsaw: Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 1979), vol. 1, p. 382; Stanisław Bylina ‘La dévotion nouvelle et le problème de la communion fréquente en Europe centrale, xiv^e–xv^e siècles,’ *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), pp. 38.

¹⁵⁵ The issue of completely swallowing the host was addressed by Nicolas, who explained that if a vestige of the host remains between the teeth when swallowing, it did not hinder communion because the host was not consumed in the same manner as food or drink. Rather the host would be taken in through the mouth and remains with the saliva, and thus fully consuming Christ could not be avoided. Any remnants of the host that remain are simply the accidents of the bread and not Christ’s body. *Tractatus sacerdotalis*, f. 16ra: ‘si reliquias cibi inter dentes remanentes transglutiret, non impeditur communicare, quia non sumpsit illud per modum cibi vel potus, sed per modum salive que vitari non potest.’

part of Church practice, but Constance had decreed that the Hussites went against the decrees of the council when the dissidents argued that withdrawal of the chalice was a disservice to the laity.¹⁵⁶ Stanisław explains that to insist that both the bread and wine had to be accepted was to place too much emphasis on the accidents of the bread and wine rather than the spiritual value of the sacrament as a whole. In several sermons, Stanisław stresses that communion should be provided by priests to cure the infection caused by heretics who preached false opinions. In fact, the only requisites for taking frequent communion were, for Stanisław and indeed all who espoused the practice, to remain contrite, to have taken confession, and to avoid generating scandal. Another crucial component was that communion had to be conducted in a church under the supervision of a priest.¹⁵⁷ Right until his death in 1431, Stanisław vehemently condemned Hussites and what he deemed their ‘superstitious’ sacramental practices that accentuated the accidents of bread and wine.¹⁵⁸ Still, Stanisław recognised the medicinal benefit of the Eucharist, especially if it were taken more frequently than three times a year.

¹⁵⁶ Ian Christopher Levy, ‘Interpreting the Intention of Christ: Roman Responses to Bohemian Utraquism from Constance to Basel,’ in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 173-5.

¹⁵⁷ Stanisław emphasises that the priest should always provide communion to those that approach them with the correct level of contrition. Still, communion was not to be administered to those who had not been reconciled with the will of the Church and Christ through confession. *Sermones de Sapientia Selecti*, p. 81-2, ll. 173-84: ‘Aliquis accedit ad communicandum et tandem remorsum habet conscientiae accedere, quid faciet? Si accedet, aget contra conscientiam, si non, scandalum generabit. Sed certe secundum Petrum [Lombardus]: Peccator contritus, quando vult communicare, si habet copiam sacerdotis, qui eum possit absolvere, peccat sine confessione communicando, quia ad sacramentum istud sumendum requiritur reconciliatio secundum iudicium Ecclesiae, si autem non habet et imminet aliqua necessitas communicandi vel celebrandi, at quia timetur scandalum populi vel iam inceptit ministerium sacramenti, vel alius sacerdos officians amisit loquelam, tunc non peccat sumens cum proposito confitendi.’

¹⁵⁸ Stanisław treated superstitious practices most comprehensively in his sermon on Proverbs 5: 13 ‘Magistris non inclinavi aurem meam’. He also led an investigation of Henry the Bohemian, an astrologer from the court of Władysław Jagiełło accused of being a Hussite and of using crystallogogy to acquire the help of demons in finding buried treasure. Stanisław sentenced Henry along with three university masters (two of them from the faculty of medicine) of heresy and they were sentenced to life in prison. There is, however, disagreement as to whether Henry the Bohemian was simply condemned as a Hussite as a form of slander and libel or whether he actually held Hussite views. The inquisitorial record plays upon the discord created by his practises of nigromancy and the fact that he was Bohemian, rather than any definitive Hussite beliefs. Benedek Láng emphasises the scandal caused by Henry’s practises of magic, but also considers that Hussite sympathies may have played a part in his condemnation. *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), pp. 214-23.

The anti-Hussite sentiments of Stanisław and the other members of the theological faculty at Kraków were compounded by subsequent synodal decrees. Particularly important was an item inserted into an oath sworn by all students when matriculating at the university, which stated that they condemned Hus. Furthermore, all Polish students in Prague were ordered to return home.¹⁵⁹ Despite these measures, Polish and Bohemian scholars maintained contact. Masters at Kraków hoped that the Hussites would adopt a more moderate and acceptable position. Matters came to a head in the spring of 1431, when a delegation of Taborites and Utraquists came to Kraków for a debate.¹⁶⁰ The delegation was granted safe conduct, but when they arrived in Kraków, Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki refused to let them stay in the city, and so they stayed instead in the neighbouring Kazimierz. The dissidents were, therefore, instantly met with hostility, which continued in their debates with members of the theological faculty at Kraków. Details of the debates survive only in a letter from King Jagiełło to Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg and in the *Annales* of Jan Długosz.¹⁶¹ The debates lasted several days, focusing on the Four Articles of Prague and the practice of communion in both kinds in particular. According to Długosz, the Polish delegation were able to make some progress towards a

¹⁵⁹ The addition of the sentiment against Hus was added to the student oath circa 1420. Knoll, “*A Pearl of Powerful Learning*,” pp. 250-1.

¹⁶⁰ There had been a prior disputation in Kraków circa 1430, but no Hussite representatives were in attendance. The debates were on the nature of papal power and Hus’s position on the Church, and the textual record quoted long passages from Stanislaus of Znojmo and Stephen Pálec. *Scripta manent: textus ad theologiam spectantes in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculo XV conscripti*, ed. Zofia Włodek, Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 12 (Kraków: Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 2000), pp. 163-225; Zofia Włodek, *Z dziejów filozofii i teologii na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku. Sylwetki, teksty, studia*, Historia et Monumenta Universitatis Jagellonicae 2 (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2011), pp. 394-409.

¹⁶¹ Letter from Jagiełło to Emperor Sigismund in *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges*, ed. František Palacký, 2 vols. (Prague: B.F. Temský, 1873), vol. 2, no. 734. Długosz stated that the Hussite representatives were Prokop the Great, Bědřich of Stražnica, and Peter Payne, and the Polish professors that debated them included Nicholas Kozłowski, Andrew Kokorzyński, Francis of Brzeg, John Elgot, Benedict Hesse, Jakub of Paradyż, and Elias of Wąwelnica. Długosz is not, however, an entirely reliable reporter as he claimed that Stanisław was in attendance, but he had died a few months earlier. John Długosz, ‘*Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*,’ in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Alexandri Przezdziecki, et al., 14 vols. (Kraków: Kirchmayeriana, 1863-78), vol. 13, ‘*Liber undecimus et duodecimus 1431–1444, sub anno 1431*,’ pp. 18-20.

consensus with the Hussites on three of the four articles, but they reached a stalemate on the issue of utraquism.¹⁶² Although Stanisław died a few months prior to the Polish debates with the Hussites, his theological arguments against them were prevalent in the proceedings. The Polish delegation were willing to cede ground on many issues, but they remained firm on the nature of communion, which they held to be the most important article.

The 1431 Kraków debates were rehashed during debates at the Council of Basel, which involved several of the same delegates. But before the council, Nicolas of Błonie succinctly summed up the Polish stance towards the Hussites in his *Tractatus*. Nicolas attacks the Hussites for corrupting the sacred medicine of communion, explaining that Hussite theology was based on a misreading of St Ambrose's *De sacramentis*:

etiam allegant hussite heretici, dantes presumptionem communicandi secularibus quottidie, ubi dicitur [Ambrosius, *De sacramentis*]: 'Qui semper pecco, semper debeo accipere medicinam' hoc tamen est intellegendum quantum ad preparationem animi et conscientie. Unde dicit ibidem glosa, debeo semper accipere, id est, semper me preparare habilem debeo et dignum ad recipiendum facere.¹⁶³

the Hussite heretics also allege, exhibiting stubbornness, that they are to administer communion to the laity on a daily basis, whereas it is said [by Ambrose in *De Sacramentis*]: 'However much I sin, I ought always to receive the medicine.' This must nevertheless be recognised as much as possible for the preparation of the soul and conscience. Whence he says in the same gloss, 'I always ought to receive it,' that is, 'I always ought to prepare myself properly and to do what is appropriate to receive it.'

As we saw in relation to Jan Milíč, who in fact quoted the same section of Ambrose,¹⁶⁴

preparation for communion was a matter of prime importance, no matter how frequently the sacrament was taken. Since Nicolas placed such a strong emphasis on confession and penitence in relation to communion, he ensured that those that took communion received it for their spiritual betterment. The Hussites, by contrast, were condemned for bringing scandal to the

¹⁶² Marian Rechowicz, *Św. Jan Kanty i Benedykt Hesse w świetle krakowskiej kompilacji teologicznej z XV wieku* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1958), pp. 153-4.

¹⁶³ *Tractatus sacerdotalis*, f. 16rb; Ambrosius, *De sacramentis*, lib. 4, cap. 6, 28, p. 58, ll. 17-8.

¹⁶⁴ See note 53 above.

Church and undermining its authority without remorse, which in turn meant that they did not hold the appropriate disposition to accept the Eucharist. Instead of interpreting Ambrose's quote as a justification for providing communion as if it were owed to the recipient, Nicolas shifts the focus to the preparation, which would ensure that the recipient would continually be penitent. Maintaining this attitude was almost as important to Nicolas as the sacrament itself. Still preparation fulfilled a different function than taking communion; the sacrament of the altar was taken to heal the soul, but maintaining a penitential attitude acted as a prophylactic against acquiring further spiritual wounds.

Elsewhere in his *Tractatus*, Nicolas condemns the Utraquists for their insistence on taking communion in both kinds, but his focus on preparation exposes the depth of his Miličian theological inheritance, which was interpreted through Matthew of Kraków and Stanisław. Nicolas clarifies that frequent communion, when practised alongside correct preparation through confession and penitence, was the most effective medicine that presented many benefits over annual reception of the sacrament. Quoting Augustine, Nicolas explains:

‘Ut quid paras ventrem et dentes’ et non mentem? ‘Crede et manducasti.’ [...] Patet etiam secundo ex hoc quod periculose errant illi qui dicunt: sufficit quod ergo ante communionem pascalem quadraginta diebus quadragesime me reddam habilem ad communionem, non curando totum tempus anni inutiliter expendere, ymo credentes se dignos tunc ad communionem currunt intrepidi, quibus tunc melius esset si quotidie digne existentes acciperent spiritualiter et mentaliter quam semel in anno sacramentaliter et damnabiliter.¹⁶⁵

‘For what purpose do you prepare your stomach and teeth’ and not your mind? ‘Believe and eat.’ [...] In the second place it is also shown that they err dangerously who say: ‘it is therefore enough that in the forty days before Easter communion, on the fortieth I make myself fit again for communion,’ caring nothing about spending the whole span of a year unprofitably, but believing oneself worthy, then they run off to communion unfazed. It might be better for them if, living worthily each day, they received spiritually and mentally that which they receive sacramentally and damnably once a year.

¹⁶⁵ *Tractatus sacerdotalis*, f. 16va; *Corpus Juris Canonici: Decretum Gratiani emendatum et notationibus illustratum Gregorii XIII*, ed. Justus Henning Böhrer, Aemilius Ludwig Richter (Leipzig: Sumptibus Bernh. Tauchnitz Jun., 1839), part 3, *De consecratione*, distinction 2, c. 47, p. 1331.

This reaches the crux of Nicolas's argument about frequent communion, that it ensures that communicants always live pious lives. If one takes communion once a year at Easter, one need only ensure that one is pure enough to receive the sacrament during Lent. Daily communion, on the other hand, helps to ensure that the recipient is constantly ready to accept the sacrament. Nonetheless, by suggesting that each Christian make themselves ready to receive daily communion, he does not impose the sacrament. Nicholas was aware that there was a portion of the lay population that were not necessarily enthused at the prospect of daily communion. Just before this excerpt, Nicolas explains that it would be ideal if each Christian received communion every day, 'si non sacramentaliter tamen spiritualiter scilicet per fidem deuotionem et charitatem' [if not sacramentally then spiritually, namely through devotional faith and charity].¹⁶⁶ This did not mean, however, that one had no need to participate in the sacrament. On the contrary, Nicolas asserts that the sacrament, if received correctly, was the most powerful medicine at the disposal of the spiritual physician and thus could be used whenever they saw fit. Rather, Nicolas wishes to communicate that if one cannot participate in the sacrament oneself, then the next best thing is to maintain devotional faith and a spirit of charity.

In presenting his argument for frequent communion immediately after his condemnation of utraquism, Nicolas sets the two practices in binary opposition. Although frequent communion was met with scepticism and condemnation earlier in the period, it was now portrayed by several theologians as a tool that could be used to combat the spread of dissidence. Of course, frequent communion was not widely endorsed outside of Bohemia at this time, and even in Kraków only a handful of masters preached in favour of its efficacy. Yet those who campaigned for frequent communion were adamant that it could help to repair the damage caused by heresy and the Papal

¹⁶⁶ *Tractatus sacerdotalis*, f. 16va.

Schism more broadly. The reason why it could serve as an alternative to utraquism was because it facilitated the type of intimate relationship between the laity and the sacraments for which the Hussites campaigned. Utraquists sought to consume Christ's blood and provide increased access to the sacraments in an attempt to overcome what they viewed as antichristian priests that had emerged as a result of the fractiousness of the Papal Schism.¹⁶⁷ While utraquism was undoubtedly radical, its focus on a direct participation in the sacrament was shared by those that proposed frequent communion. At a time when the Church, especially in Kraków, feared the discord that Hussites might bring, frequent communion was a compromise to encourage laypeople who sought a more active role in the Church to avoid heresy.

While Nicolas of Błonie was clear on the ways in which frequent communion differed from the practice of utraquism and could in fact serve as an alternative to it, other theologians took a less nuanced position. Nicholas of Cusa, for instance, equates many of the aspects of frequent communion with the Hussite position in his *De usu communionis 'ad Bohemos'*, which he wrote at the Council of Basel. In the tract, Nicholas outlines the arguments of the Hussites in defending their contentious position, invoking their voices in the first person:

Credimus etiam irreprehensibiliter hanc sacratissimam refectionem non tantum necessariam in anno semel, sed pro nostra infirmitate crebriter utilem. Habenti enim corpus debile tanta annalis abstinencia periculosa est a cibo ipsum confortante et vivificante. [...] Hoc enim in proba hominis latet, an abstinencia conferat sanitati potius quam cibatio et in medici providentia, cuius vicem pastores credimus gerere, qui ovibus alimenta ministrant aut subtrahunt, prout utilius iudicaverint.

It is our irreproachable belief that this most holy nourishment is necessary not just once a year but is useful, received frequently, for our infirmity. For anyone weak in body, such a year-long abstinence from the food that strengthens and gives him life is dangerous. [...] In the test of a man it is hidden whether abstinence contributes more to his health than eating; this lies within the providence of a physician, in whose place we believe pastors

¹⁶⁷ Utraquism is most comprehensively and skilfully examined by Dušan Coufal in 'Sub utraque specie: Die Theologie des Laienkelchs bei Jacobell von Mies († 1429) und den frühen Utraquisten,' *Archä Verbi* 14 (2017), pp. 157-201.

act, who serve nourishment to their sheep or take it away, following the course they think most useful.¹⁶⁸

This extract could well have been written by Jan Milič, Matthew of Kraków, or indeed any other proponent of frequent communion. The only indication that this passage related to the Hussites was the insistence, slightly later in the text, that this frequent communion had to be in both species. In Nicholas's reply to the Hussites, he never explicitly mentions frequent communion as an error, but through his summary of the Hussite position he signals that the frequency of communion, alongside the insistence on receiving both species, was an error that the Hussites had defended. Although Nicholas of Cusa's tract lacks nuance on frequent communion and its relation to utraquism, he demonstrates the strength of the medical model through which communion was presented. This is not to suggest that the practice of utraquism was always presented through a medical argument, but the frequency in which communion was taken was unmistakably married to the concept of spiritual health.

Although Nicholas of Cusa never endorsed frequent communion, he still recognised the need for spiritual healing during the turbulent time of the Council of Basel: 'quibus fidelibus hoc tempore tamquam ab hinc decessuris, sicut infirmis solitum fuit, viaticum convenit ministrari sub una scilicet specis panis' [in these times the faithful are like persons departing this world, and it is appropriate to administer the viaticum to them, as used to be done in the case of the infirm, under the single species of bread only].¹⁶⁹ On the one hand, Nicholas claims that communion should be received less frequently than in the early Church and in one species only because love and religious devotion in the contemporary Church were waning, yet on the other he acknowledges the healing potential of the sacrament. Whether taken as often as Nicolas of

¹⁶⁸ Nicholas of Cusa, *De usu communionis 'ad Bohemos,'* ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki, pp. 12-13, 7.

¹⁶⁹ Nicholas of Cusa, *De usu communionis 'ad Bohemos,'* ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki, pp. 82-3, 56.

Błonie recommended or more rarely as Nicholas of Cusa suggested, the sacrament was consistently cited as a means to heal the chaos of the Papal Schism and the spread of the Hussite heresy. Frequent communion was held by several theologians of Kraków as a viable alternative to the utraquist practice of the Hussites because it would facilitate the spiritual engagement with the sacraments for which many members of the laity were looking. Further, as Milíč originally maintained, frequent communion was a means of healing the illnesses of sin even for the most sinful members of society. This sustained engagement with the sacraments, in which one took confession to prepare oneself for communion, created a regimen of health for the soul. For those masters and preachers that viewed the sacrament of the altar as a spiritual medicine, daily reception of the host offered a more intimate engagement with *Christus medicus* through consuming his body in a manner that did not contravene canon law. While Milíč's initial use of frequent communion at Jerusalem aroused suspicion from the Church authorities, at Kraków the position of the Church was significantly altered by a handful of masters. The threat of the Hussite Utraquists moved the boundaries of what was acceptable, and frequent communion seemed a compromise that would genuinely heal the souls of the laity.

Nonetheless, frequent communion was never adopted as an alternative to communion under both species by the Church, which in fact accepted the practice of utraquism in the *Compacta* of the Council of Basel. The *compacta* were a series of agreements between the council and the moderate Hussite Utraquists, which authorised the practice of communion under both kinds. Yet it is remarkable that the theologians of the University of Kraków that we have considered endorsed frequent communion so fully in their tracts and sermons, especially at a time when the Hussites seemed to be encroaching from Bohemia into Silesia and Poland.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Bylina, *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausena*, especially pp. 57-9.

After all, the papacy and ecumenical councils did not authorise frequent communion and in fact condemned Jan Milíč for the very same practice. Milíč was a connecting factor between the Hussites and theologians from Kraków, as both used him as a source of authority. The Hussites held Milíč as a source of inspiration, and he was interpreted through Matěj of Janov and Jakoubek of Stříbro. For a number of Hussite theologians, Milíč was a saintly figure who foresaw the coming apocalypse, and Jakoubek used his works alongside Matěj's *Regulae* to campaign for communion in both kinds. Several masters from Kraków, by contrast, used Milíč's sacramental theology to denounce the radical theology of the Hussites. Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Nicolas of Błonie drew on passages from Milíč's oeuvre that may well have been interpreted through Matthew of Kraków. Matthew was undoubtedly a moderating influence after the controversies of the clerical synods in Prague of 1388-9. His theology influenced several key members of the theological faculty at Kraków who sought to re-empower the place of the priest as Christ's spiritual physician on earth. Provided that the priest did not succumb to the heresy of simony that had corrupted so much of the clergy, he would serve to heal the wounds caused by schism and heresy, delivering Christ's healing *salus* through the most powerful sacramental medicine.

CHAPTER 3

Disenfranchised Surgeons: *Christus Chirurgus* and Wycliffite Preaching in England

At the same time that theologians in Central Europe were campaigning for frequent communion to heal the soul, Wycliffites in England showed scepticism towards the power of the Eucharist. Although John Wyclif (d. 1384) was not connected to Jan Milič and his followers, he exploited the same grass roots approach to affective piety among the laity and his theology had a similarly strong impact on later proceedings at the councils of Constance and Basel; as has already been stated, the Hussites would later unite Bohemian reformist trends with those of Wyclif and his followers. Although the Wycliffites and early Bohemian reformists were independent movements, there were clear parallels between them. Wyclif stressed the ways in which the laity were healed through the pastoral duties of the preacher and advanced the *Christus medicus* tradition within a strictly reformist sphere to reach innovative conclusions about the nature of the laity and their relationship to Christ. Preaching and hearing sermons were, for Wyclif, penitential acts in which Christ the ‘summus medicus’ cured the wounds of sin.¹ Yet Wyclif argued that the clergy rejected this holy medicine, instead harming their congregations with tales ‘contra scripturam’ of no moral fortitude. The clergy resembled the incompetent surgeon who has wounded (leserit) those whom he has been entrusted to heal.² Wyclif relays such a fictitious tale that he heard from a preacher:

¹ John Wyclif, *Sermones*, ed. Johann Loserth, 4 vols. (London: Wyclif Society, 1886-89), vol. 1, p. 361; vol. 2, p. 181; vol. 3, p. 182; vol. 4, p. 468.

² Wyclif explains that the clergy knowingly make arguments contrary to Scripture, and thus they destroy the true catholic or universal sense. They thus do not spread forth Scripture as medicine to the people they have wounded. John Wyclif, *De veritate sacrae Scripturae*, ed. Rudolf Buddensieg (London, Wyclif Society, 1905-7), vol. 1, cap. xii, pp. 272-3: ‘ut omne argumentum, quod sciunt facere contra scripturam ipsimet obligati sunt dissolvere, fatentes quod scriptura non debet habere sensum illum fictum, sed sensum catholicum, quem exponit [...] verumptamen non est satis [...] ministrare persone, quam leserit, medicinam.’

audivi quendam fingere quomodo hostia de altari paulatim descendit ad ventrem ecclesie et ingressum est cor cuiusdam infirmi qui devote et publice professus est sic inquit: 'Tu Deus nosti quod reverenter subducta infirmitate te sumerem, sed non infirmitas mentis, ymmo infirmitas corporis me retardat.' Hostia vero fissio pectore cum corde infirmi surrepsit in cordis ventriculum, et sic infirmus constitutus est subito totus sanus.³

I have heard a certain person tell a tale of how a host descended gradually from the altar into the centre of the church, and entered the heart of a certain sick man, who devoutly and publicly professed, thus saying: 'You, God, have known that I reverently consume you to lift me from illness, not a mental illness, but a bodily illness that hinders me.' In truth the sacrament, having divided the chest with his ill heart, crept into the ventricle of the heart, and thus the sick man immediately recovered total health.⁴

Christus chirurgus, Christ the Divine Surgeon, performs open-heart surgery in this narrative, where the Eucharist enters the chest of the patient and cures his bodily illness. The emphasis the patient places on the fact that his infirmity is physical, accentuates the surgical element of the miracle. This was not an allegory in which the patient was spiritually cured of his sin, but an act of surgery in which the host physically entered his body. Wyclif's objection to the priest's exemplum did not pertain to its medical component, but rather to its use for deception. The priest boasted, 'the mouth fabricated that pretty little lie' ['Os finxit,' inquit, 'hoc pulchrum mendacium']. Wyclif endorsed using an exemplum as a 'preco vel ancilla' [herald or handmaiden] to Scripture that provoked devotion and helped the audience digest God's words, but he opposed the lie of the anecdote.⁵ By lying, the priest misled the audience and negated the potential spiritual value of preaching.

³ John Wyclif, *Iohannis Wyclif De eucharistia tractatus maior*, ed. Johann Loserth (London: Wyclif Society, 1892), cap. i, pp. 19-20.

⁴ References to this type of miracle involving the Eucharist were not uncommon. For instance, John Mirk draws on a similar example in his *Festial* sermon 'De solempnitate Corpus Christi,' in which he describes the illness of 'syr Auberke þat was erle of Venys'. Auberke could not swallow the host because he vomited anything that he ingested. Instead of eating the wafer, he instead placed it by his side and it miraculously entered his heart: 'And þerwyth, in syzt of al men, þe syde opened, and þe ost glode into þe body; and þen þe syde closet aȝen, hole as hit was before, and so sone aftir he ȝaf þe gost vp.' John Mirk, *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)*, ed. Theodor Erbe, EETS 96 (Oxford: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., 1905), p. 172.

⁵ Wyclif, *De veritate*, cap. i, p. 386 and p. 195. For more on Wyclif's preaching and use of exempla, see: Ian Christopher Levy, 'Wyclif and the Christian Life' in *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 302-316; Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy, Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 45 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Following Wyclif's death in 1384, his followers continued to admonish fictitious exempla that detracted from Christ's healing power.⁶ Still, the Wycliffites recognised the potential for spiritual surgery in sermon allegory and, in fact, evoked *Christus chirurgus* with greater frequency and intensity than Wyclif himself. *Christus chirurgus* imagery depicted Christ as both the Surgeon and Patient of his Passion. During the Crucifixion, Christ's body was operated upon when he received five wounds: through his hands, feet, and through his side into his heart. Yet he turned this torture into healing grace, and medieval Christians subsequently reflected on his five wounds as part of a devotional rhetoric that stressed the suffering of penance.⁷ *Christus chirurgus* imagery took on a new sense of relevancy at the turn of the fifteenth century, the formative period for the craft of surgery in England.⁸ Craft guilds and vernacular surgical texts (*chirurgia*) established surgery as a profession in English cities such as London and York. Wyclif's followers in the decades after his death drew on these developments in the craft of surgery in their sermons, depicting the act of preaching as a similar craft and the events of Christ's life as a series of surgical procedures.

This was not a one-way comparison, in which preachers only compared themselves to surgeons. Surgical authors, such as John Arderne (fl. 1307-1380), encouraged surgeons to behave like pious preachers: to dress modestly, act morally, and use stories that were remarkably

2002), pp. 26, 160; Armando Comi, *Verità e Anticristo: l'eresia di Jan Hus* (Bologna: Edizioni Pendragon, 2007), pp. 24-36.

⁶ On Wycliffite christocentrism, see Mary Raschko, 'Re-Forming the Life of Christ' in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 288-308. Katherine C. Little makes a similar argument about the christocentrism of Wycliffite exempla. She adds the corollary that the Wycliffites disconnected narratives of sin from their pastoral instruction. Katherine C. Little, 'Catechesis and Castigation: Sin in the Wycliffite Sermon Cycle,' *Traditio* 54 (1999), pp. 213-44; Katherine C. Little, *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 40-43.

⁷ Virginia Langum, "'The Wounded Surgeon': Devotion, Compassion and Metaphor in Medieval England,' in *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture*, ed. Larissa Tracy and Kelley Devries (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 269-90.

⁸ On the distinction between Wyclif's views on exempla and those of his followers, see Ghosh, *Wycliffite Heresy, Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, p. 118.

like sermon exempla to calm suffering patients. These parallels were strengthened by similarities in regulation imposed on the fields of surgery and preaching. In 1407 and 1409, Wycliffite preachers were disenfranchised from official preaching when Archbishop Thomas Arundel prohibited all preachers who were not licensed by the Church from preaching. At the turn of the fifteenth century, craft guilds in several key English cities similarly restricted the practice of surgery.⁹ In 1412, for instance, the London Worshipful Company of Barbers petitioned the king to impose punishments on inexperienced and unskilful surgeons who were causing a ‘scandal’ by operating without the guild’s authority and ‘maiming’ patients.¹⁰ The governing bodies of the Church and surgical guilds used the same rhetoric and language to condemn those who operated outside of their control.¹¹ They warned the public of the ‘peril’ to bodies and souls that was posed by unsanctioned and ‘unlearned’ preachers and surgeons, who were ignorant of the correct safety protocols.¹² In spite of these warnings, some patients and congregations desired an alternative to what they perceived to be greedy and corrupt medical and ecclesiastical practitioners. For certain patients, a surgical practitioner outside of the established governing bodies offered an opportunity to receive treatments that other, perhaps more conservative,

⁹ For the long tradition of preaching regulation, see: Ian Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005). The regulatory legislation of York is transcribed in Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), pp. 135-6; M. Sellers (ed.), *York Memorandum Book 1376-1419* (York: Surtees Society, 1911), pp. 207-10; Margaret C. Barnet, ‘The Barber-Surgeons of York,’ *Medical History* 12 (1968), pp. 20-2. For the legislation of London, see Sidney Young (ed.), *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London, Compiled from their records and Other Sources* (London: Blades, East & Blases, 1890).

¹⁰ Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, p. 40.

¹¹ This study is focused on practitioners that carried out surgical treatments, which includes, amongst others, surgeons, barbers, and *fratres medici*. I recognise the differences in the responsibilities of these roles and acknowledge that the regulatory measures affected only barbers and surgeons. I have not chosen to focus on one particular type of practitioner because the Wycliffites do not distinguish the type of practitioner, but merely refer to surgical treatments. For more, see: Michael R. McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon 1285-1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 38-40.

¹² Siegfried Wenzel (ed.), *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), pp. 18-23. For this danger in relation to Wycliffites specifically, see: Siegfried Wenzel (ed.), *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially pp. 9-10.

surgeons refused to perform. In a similar manner, a Wycliffite sermon was an alternative to the sanctioned preaching of the Church. Of course, a Wycliffite sermon may not be easily discerned from more orthodox sermons, unless the preacher makes it explicitly clear that he is aligned with a Wycliffite theology or pastoral programme. Nonetheless, there were often enough differences between Wycliffite sermons and those of more orthodox or conventional members of the clergy that, while not forming hard and fast rules of distinction, certainly provided clues about the religious position of the preacher.¹³ Wycliffite sermons often engaged with a trend in late-medieval theology towards a more direct and affective interaction with Christ and Scripture.¹⁴ As a result, Wycliffite preachers stood out from their contemporaries because they largely rejected the role of certain sacraments (particularly auricular confession) and earthly mediators (priests, confessors, and friars) in facilitating Christ's healing of the laity.

Wycliffite preachers compared themselves to a range of different professions and crafts in their sermons—as Mary Raschko has demonstrated in relation to labourers of God's vineyard¹⁵—but their comparisons with surgery were especially pronounced and rich. As I will demonstrate, the Wycliffites employ the rhetoric of the 'wounded surgeon,' to borrow Virginia Langum's phrase,¹⁶ to simultaneously depict themselves as disgruntled patients and surgeons of the soul. On the one hand, they identified as patients who were irritated by the ineffective, extortionate treatments provided by corrupt friars and priests who ostensibly exploited the vulnerable for profit. On the other hand, the Wycliffites also employed a mode of *imitatio*

¹³ Margaret Aston, 'Were the Lollards a Sect?,' *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 11 (1999), pp. 163-91; eadem, 'Wycliffe and the Vernacular,' in *From Ockham to Wycliffe: Studies in Church History*, ed. Anne Hudson and Michael Wilks (Oxford: The Ecclesiastical History Society, 1987), pp. 281-330.

¹⁴ Shannon Gayk, 'The Form of Christ's Passion: Preaching the *Imitatio Passionis* in Late Medieval England,' *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 31 (2017), pp. 231-56.

¹⁵ Mary Raschko, "'To þe Worschepe of God and Profite of of his Peple": Lollard Sermons on the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard,' in *Wycliffite Controversies*, ed. Mishtooni Bose and J. Patrick Hornbeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 175-92.

¹⁶ Langum, "The Wounded Surgeon," p. 269.

Christi, themselves becoming surgeons of the soul who operated outside of what they perceived to be the fraudulent Church hierarchy—offering the treatments of *Christus chirurgus*, the only treatments that truly worked towards salvation.¹⁷

The similarities in the discourses of Wycliffite preaching and disenfranchised surgeons provide a helpful comparison for understanding attitudes towards sermons and surgery in late-medieval England and the ways in which controversy surrounding regulation was received. The Wycliffite preachers were not the only ones to make a comparison between surgery and preaching, but they used this comparison in innovative ways to push their pastoral agenda. As we will see throughout this chapter, Wycliffite sermons depicted Christ as the patient and surgeon in treatments that centred on his Passion. There was nothing explicitly revolutionary in using Christ's Passion in this way, but the Wycliffites used the analogy to cater to those who desired an alternative to the sermons of the clergy, just as certain barbers and surgeons exploited a market that rejected the conservatism of master surgeons and *medici*. The development of surgery and its comparison with preaching turned *Christus chirurgus* from a relatively abstract rhetorical device to a figure with immediate relevance to contemporary pressures on popular religion and medicine.

Surgeons of the soul

Across this study, it has been demonstrated repeatedly that theology and medicine were compared in the Middle Ages because they both pertained to healing: medicine concerned bodily

¹⁷ This relates to ongoing debates on the nature of Wycliffite devotion and spirituality. Fiona Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints, Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 7; Fiona Somerset, 'Wycliffite Spirituality' in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 375-6; See also: Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion, Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 47-9, 62-70.

health, *cura corporum*, and theology dealt with the health of the soul, *cura animarum*. Stanisław of Skarbimierz's inaugural sermon as rector of the University of Kraków especially stressed that theological and medical faculties were involved in the same joint process of healing. Working in tandem, as Stanisław states like the wings of a seraphim, the faculties of medicine and theology lifted the students and practitioners, as well as those that they treated, closer to God.¹⁸ Equally, scholastic medical authors across Europe, such as Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1240-1311) and Teodorico Borgognoni (1205-1296/8), encouraged medicine and theology to intersect and inform each other by treating the material substrate of the flesh and the animating principle of the soul together.¹⁹ Even outside of universities, the comparison between theology and medicine was popular and widespread, from devotional works and confessional manuals written for the individual, to sermons intended for larger audiences.²⁰

The intersection of medicine and theology was particularly prevalent in a cycle of 294 Wycliffite *de tempore* sermons written in Middle English. These sermons (composed at the end of the fourteenth century and completed no later than 1405) were intended for lay preachers in the composition of their own sermons.²¹ Various sermons throughout the cycle, especially those relating to Christ's life and Passion, use surgical imagery to align the duty of care that preachers and medical healers provided.²² Nonetheless, these sermons favoured the spiritual over the

¹⁸ Juliusz Domański, 'Discours d'inauguration fait par Stanislas de Skarbimierz à l'occasion du renouveau de l'Université de Cracovie,' *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 24 (1979), p. 129, ll. 186-9; *Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, Mowy wybrane o mądrości*, ed. Mirosław Korolko (Kraków: Arcana, 2000), p. 248.

¹⁹ For more, see: Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion c. 1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 48-83; Michael McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages* (Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni Del Galluzzo, 2006), pp. 98-113.

²⁰ See: Langum, 'The Wounded Surgeon,' pp. 269-90; Virginia Langum, 'Discerning Skin: Complexion, Surgery, and Language in Medieval Confession' in *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. K.L. Walter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 141-60; Virginia Langum, *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins in Late Medieval Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

²¹ These sermons are reproduced in a critical edition: *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Pamela Gradon and Anne Hudson, vols. 1-5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989-1996).

²² I use 'author' or 'preacher' when referring to a specific sermon in the *English Wycliffite Sermons* and 'authors' or 'preachers' when referring to the entire corpus. For more on the issue of authorship, see: Jennifer Illig, 'Through a

physical, considering theology to be a superior science to medicine. The fifty-sixth sermon of the cycle, ‘In Die vnius Apostoli,’ places theology and medicine in direct comparison and competition. The author does not compare a science to an art—medicine to theology—but acknowledges that the two sciences intersected and addressed the same concerns. Not only was theology seen as a science, but it was ‘queen of the sciences’ because it pertained to heavenly salvation.²³ In healing, therefore, theology surpassed medicine:

as fysyc techep, þes schal þenkon on a man þat is fully hool wiþynne and wiþowte, and by mesure of such a man þei schulde mesure mennys helþe. And whonne men axson, where is he þat is on þis wyse hool, þei seyn þer is noon such, but such on þei ymagynon; and aftur mesure of þis helþe þey heelon hym þat þei delon wiþ. But blessyd be owre science, and auctour þerof, for we seyn þat þer is a loue in þe heed of þe chyrche, þat is most in dede of alle louys þat may be, and aftur þis loue schulden alle oþre be mesured. [...] blessyd be owre mesure, þat Crist putteþ in charyte; for þat is mooste real and grownd of alle oþre; and no mon may be saf but ȝif hee knowe þis mesure.²⁴

The sermon argues that the physician aspires to attain impeccable health for his patients, but his treatments involve a necessary compromise between his ideals and what is achievable. This differs from theologians, whose perfect model, Christ, was very real and ubiquitous in the love and charity of his followers. This meant that theology was more ‘real and grownd’ than medicine, because when the theologian practised his healing, he had a real subject of ideal spiritual health with which to compare patients. As with bodily health, spiritual health could never be flawless on earth, but the spiritual physician was ‘blessed’ because he prepared the soul for the salvific disposition granted in heaven. The preacher does not mean to dismiss medicine, but rather to make a statement on the place of scholastic medicine in relation to the worthier

Lens of Likeness: Reading English Wycliffite Sermons in Light of Contemporary Sermon Texts’ (unpubl. PhD diss.: Fordham University, 2014), pp. 44-7.

²³ Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. xv-xvii, 114.

²⁴ *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Sermon 56, pp. 6-7. This sermon, as Hudson and Gradon note, may be drawing from Avicenna, *A treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna incorporating a translation of the first book*, ed. O. Cameron Gruner (London: Luzac, 1930), Book i, part 1, thesis 3, cap. i.

study of theology.²⁵ ‘In Die vnus Apostoli’ then draws on Matthew 9: 35, explaining that a preacher must act like an apostle in ‘preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease, and every infirmity.’ Physically travelling from place to place, preaching and treating the diseased, is a concept that the Wycliffites frequently recite, and they came to conflate the acts of preaching and spiritual healing into one joint process. Just as surgery was the application of treatment directly to the patient’s body, so preaching was the application of theology that directly affected the spiritual health of the faithful. In fact, the notion of practical application became one means by which surgeons and preachers identified with each other.

Before analysing sermon literature in depth, it is necessary to view the progression of surgery as a profession in England, and the ways in which surgeons and preachers came to define their professional identities. Particularly significant was the emergence of a new genre of medical writing, the Latin *chirurgia* or ‘surgeries’: guides to surgical procedures, etiquette, and patient care.²⁶ Vernacular translations extended the reach of these texts across Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Much of the audience for these vernacular works consisted of surgeons who were either marginally affiliated with or excluded from Latinate university culture. Vernacular surgeries helped to enable a broader engagement with scholastic medicine that was previously closed off to those outside the academy.²⁷ Surgeries were particularly important in England, where there was no strong university medical faculty.²⁸ Around 1414 at Oxford, for instance, there was only one doctor that taught medicine. In fact, throughout the entirety of the

²⁵ *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Sermon 56, p. 9 ll. 84-93; see also Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp. 5-8.

²⁶ Peter Murray Jones, ‘The Surgeon as Story-Teller,’ *Poetica* 72 (2009), p. 78.

²⁷ Monica H. Green, ‘Integrative Medicine: Incorporating Medicine and Health into the Canon of Medieval European History,’ *History Compass* 7, 4 (2009), p. 1224.

²⁸ Michael T. Walton and Phyllis J. Walton, *Medical Practitioners and Law in Fifteenth Century London* (Morrisville, NC.: Lulu Publishing, 2007), pp. 39-40; Faye Marie Getz, ‘The Faculty of Medicine before 1500’ in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. Jeremy Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), especially p. 383; Damian Riehl Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, *The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), especially p. 203.

fourteenth century, the university only permitted three medical fellows (New College permitted two and Magdalen one). This meant that Oxford produced a physician approximately once every five years.²⁹ The fact that English universities were not concerned with developing a scholastic medical culture meant that many of England's leading medical practitioners were trained at institutions on the continent,³⁰ or through apprenticeship-style training.³¹ As Faith Wallis demonstrates, the lack of a clear scholastic medical culture complicates the study of surgery through texts because 'those who wrote about (and read about) surgery were not necessarily practitioners.'³² For example, Guy de Chauliac (c. 1300-1368) wrote an important surgical treatise based on the work of Henri de Mondeville, though he did not identify as a *chirurgus* but rather as a university-trained physician, a *medicus*. Indeed, while *medici* could practise *chirurgia*, not all *chirurgi* were *medici*, nor were they all capable enough to prescribe *medicina*. This makes it difficult to distinguish which practitioners were explicitly surgeons. Instead of looking at the terms used to describe the practitioner, it is more helpful to evaluate the treatments themselves to gain a sense of the field of surgery as a conceptual whole.³³

The lack of major university faculties of medicine in England meant that much of the surgeon's identity came not from the academy, but from aligning his skills with those of other

²⁹ Vern L. Bullough, 'The Medieval Medical School at Cambridge,' *Medieval Studies* 27 (1962), p. 164 states that by the second half of the fifteenth century, Cambridge granted 50 bachelors of medicine each year. However, Bullough has come under scrutiny for this claim, as the number seems too high when compared with the size of the Cambridge medical faculty. See C.H. Talbot and A.E. Hammond's *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1969); C.H. Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England* (London: Oldbourne, 1967), p. 68.

³⁰ Faye Marie Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 70.

³¹ Vern L. Bullough, 'Training of the Nonuniversity-Educated Medical Practitioners in the Later Middle Ages,' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 14, 4 (1959), pp. 446-58.

³² Faith Wallis, 'Pre-modern Surgery: Wounds, Words, and the Paradox of "Tradition,"' in *The Palgrave Handbook of the History of Surgery*, ed. Thomas Schlich (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 50; Ghislaine Lawrence, 'Surgery (Traditional),' in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, ed. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), vol. 2, p. 961.

³³ Wallis, 'Pre-modern Surgery,' p. 51.

craftsmen. Guy de Chauliac described surgery as a manual ‘craft’ in his *Cyrurgie* (composed in 1363 and translated into English in the early-fifteenth century):

Cirurgie is a partie of terapeucia by kuttinges and brennynges and couplynge of bones helynge men [...] and by oþer hande craftes. [...] So forsoþe as it is considered more largely as it is a science or connyng of helyng of sikenesses in þe whiche fallith manuel craft [...] suche a descripcioun is assignede of þe saying of alle men.³⁴

While the surgeon primarily distinguished himself from the physician by his focus on the exterior of the body and wound treatment, the skilful use of one’s hands was also a key component.³⁵ The surgeon administers treatments such as healing fractures and wounds in the flesh, whereas the physician has a less hands-on approach in treating the interior. Guy is careful to explain that the surgeon was scientific, rational, and almost philosophical in determining which treatment to use. Nonetheless, surgery was still a craft because of its manual aspect.³⁶ Even if the authors and readers of surgeries were not necessarily surgeons, descriptions of the craft in these texts solidified its definition and sources of authority. The *Fair Book of Surgery*, written in 1446 and commonly attributed to Thomas Morstede,³⁷ explains in its opening lines ‘that the word “surgery” (*chirurgia, chirurgiae*) comes from the Greek words “cheiri” [*ciros*], meaning “hand”, and “ergo” [*gyros*], meaning “work”, combining to mean skilful in “hand work.”’³⁸ Revisiting the Greek origins gave a certain authority and dignity to the craft. By

³⁴ Guy de Chauliac’s *Inventarium seu collectarium in parte cyrurgicali medicine* was written at Avignon and its Middle English translation was produced in the first half of the fifteenth century. *The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac*, ed. Margaret S. Ogden, EETS, Original Series 265 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 2.

³⁵ See Wallis, ‘Pre-modern Surgery,’ p. 55, which considers the encyclopaedic author Celsus’s definition of surgery by manual action rather than the disease or malady treated or the status of the practitioner.

³⁶ Guy de Chauliac refers to Galen, but it is important to note that for Galen medicine was not a craft in which money was exchanged for a service. Resolving Galen’s charitable belief and monetary gain was a difficult process for medical practitioners throughout the medieval period. See: Fridolf Kudlien, ‘Medicine as a “Liberal Art” and the Question of the Physician’s Income,’ *Journal of the History of Medicine* 31 (1976), pp. 448-59.

³⁷ There is some disagreement as to whether Morstede actually wrote this text, see: J.J. Kirkpatrick and I.L. Naylor, ‘The Qualities and Conduct of an English Surgeon in 1446: As Described in a Manuscript Attributed to Thomas Morstede,’ *Annals of The Royal College of Surgeons of England* 79, 3 (1997), p. 227.

³⁸ Kirkpatrick and Naylor, ‘The Qualities and Conduct of an English Surgeon in 1446,’ p. 227. The text is also edited in R. Theodore Beck, *The Cutting Edge: Early History of the Surgeons of London* (London and Bradford: Lund Humphries, 1974), p. 108. This etymology derived from Isidore of Seville, who differed slightly in stating that surgery was a compound of the Greek words *cyros* (hand) and *agia* (actions). *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi*

defining surgery as a craft with a long history and scholastic tradition, *chirurgia* were able to distinguish what Michael McVaugh describes as ‘rational-surgery’ from incompetent practitioners that lacked training and brought a bad name to the profession.³⁹

Based on such descriptions, *Christus chirurgus* took on a new specificity; Christ was no longer a nondescript *medicus* carrying out surgery as part of an eclectic mix of treatments, but unambiguously a surgeon. Henri de Mondeville (c. 1260-1316), a French surgeon who trained under Teodorico Borgognoni, provides a clear example that associates his profession with God and differentiates it from that of a physician:

Deus ipse fuit cyrurgicus practicus, quando de lima terrae condidit protoplastrum, quoniam de costis ejus fecit Evam, et quando fecit emplastrum de pulvere et saliva, cum quo liniendo visum reddidit, oculos coeco; haec enim mirabilia et multa alia consimila et maiora operando cum manibus fecit Deus, quae in divina pagina recitantur; nusquam tamen scribitur, quod ipse pulsus infirmorum tetigit sive quod egestionem inspexerit aut urinas.⁴⁰

God himself acted as a practising surgeon when he shaped the first man from the original dust of the earth, when he made Eve from his ribs, and when he made the paste of dust and spittle that he rubbed on the eyes of the blind man to restore his sight. God performed these marvels and many others like them related in the Scriptures, or greater still, by working with his hands; but it nowhere says there that he took the pulse of the sick, or looked at their faeces and urines.

For Henri, God’s manual skills of creation made him a surgeon, not a physician.⁴¹ This

comparison with the Divine Surgeon gave Henri’s craft a holy authority tied to the skilful use of one’s hands.

etymologiarum sive originum libri xx, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), iv. 9. 1; W.D. Sharpe, ‘Isidore of Seville: The Medical Writings,’ *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54, 2 (1964), pp. 1-75.

³⁹ McVaugh, *Rational Surgery*, pp. 50-4.

⁴⁰ Henri de Mondeville, *Chirurgia*, in *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville (Hermondaville)*, ed. J.L. Pagel (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1892), book 2, notandum 12, pp. 79-80; translation from McVaugh, *Rational Surgery*, p. 84.

⁴¹ Inspecting urine would not have been alien to the surgeon, but this was by no means his chief responsibility. One of the reasons why the surgeon is not directly linked to inspecting urine and faeces, is that surgical masters were unconfident that the average practitioner had the skill to ascertain a diagnosis in this manner. For more, see: Angela Montford, *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 115-7; S. Macdougall, ‘The Surgeon and the saints: Henri de Mondeville on divine healing,’ *Journal of Mediaeval History* 26, 3 (2000), pp. 253-67.

Alongside surgeries, the London Worshipful Company of Barbers (founded at the beginning of the fourteenth century) and the Guild of Surgeons Within the City of London (formed in 1368) shaped the societal perception of the validity of surgery as a craft.⁴² Of course, outside of London these guilds held little influence and the role of a medical practitioner was less clearly defined. In rural regions with low population density, those who practised medicine dealt with a mix of procedures based entirely on the needs of the populace.⁴³ In the cities of England, at least, surgery became a recognised craft by the mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁴ Even though there were relatively few surgeons and barbers in comparison to cities on the continent,⁴⁵ by the end of the fifteenth century the two companies had received royal charters that served to validate their existence as a fixture of the London craft body politic.⁴⁶ A sixteenth-century Tudor petition succinctly describes how surgeons became tied to other craftsmen in London by the end of the medieval period:

surgery ys in comparyson to phisik as the crafte of carpentar ys comparyd to geometrie: for lyke as the geometer consideryth causis of compasse, quadrangles, triangles and

⁴² The first mention of the company was in 1308 when Richard le Barbour was elected by a court of Aldermen to oversee his colleagues. London Metropolitan Archives, Letter Book C, [COL/AD/01/003], fol. 96b, trans. in H.T. Riley (ed.), *Memorials of London and London Life* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1868), p. 67; *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*; Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*, p. 83.

⁴³ Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 127-38; for similar developments in York, see: A. Auden, 'The Gild of Barber Surgeons of the City of York,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 21, 2 (1928), pp. 1400-6; Barnet, 'Barber-Surgeons of York,' pp. 19-30.

⁴⁴ This is not to say that sermons were tailoring their surgical exempla for an urban audience. Preachers would obviously find larger audiences in cities, but this did not mean that they exclusively preached in urban centres. This issue is discussed further in Andrew Cole, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2008), pp. 5-38.

⁴⁵ For estimates as to the numbers of surgeons and barbers in England, see: Sara M. Butler, 'Portrait of a Surgeon in Fifteenth-Century England,' in *Medicine and the Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy J. Turner and Sara M. Butler (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 246. Bryon Grigsby, 'The Social Position of the Surgeon in London, 1350-1450,' *Essays in Medieval Studies* 13 (1996), p. 72 claims that there were twelve surgeons and nine physicians working in London in the 1420s, and Robert S. Gottfried, *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340-1530* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 26 estimates that there were at least ten barbers for every surgeon in London.

⁴⁶ On the royal charters that were given to the companies, see Margaret Pelling, 'Politics, Medicine and Masculinity: Physicians and Office-Bearing in Early Modern England' in *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine and Science, 1500-2000: Essays for Charles Webster*, ed. Margaret Pelling and Scott Mandelbrote (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 98.

counterpeyses, and as his conyng servyth for buyldyng [...] the carpenter occupyeth hit manually [...] wherfor yt ys callyd *ars mechanica*.⁴⁷

In the same manner that carpentry is the manual component of geometry, surgery is the manual component, the ‘ars mechanica’, of medicine. By the end of the late-medieval period, then, surgery shifted from merely signifying one aspect in the practical application of medicine as performed by any practitioner to a profession in its own right, distinct from the responsibilities of the physician.

Surgery as a practical craft was a fitting analogy for Wycliffite preaching. The Wycliffite sermon ‘Euangelium plurimorum Martirum,’ draws on the same sense of craftsmanship in explaining that preaching is ‘not speculative, of gemetrie, ne of oþre sciensis, but practik, put in dede, how men schulden lyue bi Godus lawe.’⁴⁸ In John Wyclif’s equivalent Latin sermon, the practical, craft-based element is missing. Instead, Wyclif emphasises the supreme nature of theology explaining that the other sciences should serve as a handmaiden.⁴⁹ The Middle English preacher dealt with the practical dissemination of ideas and spiritual healing in much the same way that a surgeon handled the practical and manual application of medicine. Preachers envisioned themselves out in the field on preaching tours, curing souls with God’s Word. The Wycliffites latched on to the image of preaching as a practical application of theology because they advocated an apostolic focus on delivering sermons and healing their audiences. Wycliffite sermons often had a strong emphasis on pastoral responsibilities and interpreting Scripture directly, two points that were explicitly labelled as the practical application of theology.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 125-6, taken from London, National Archives, PRO, SP1/19, ff. 88-9.

⁴⁸ *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Sermon 74, p. 109.

⁴⁹ John Wyclif, *Sermones*, vol. 2, p. 350: ‘Ista autem clavis non est mathematica nec sciencia naturalis vel logica, quamvis omnes tales sciencie isti claves debeant ancillare, sed est sciencia theologica vel scripture, docens per quam viam homo debet breuius et Deo placencius ad patriam properare.’

Yet, as previously stated, there was not a one-way comparison where preachers styled themselves surgeons of the soul; surgeons extended the comparison, invoking the religious authority that was associated with preaching. John Arderne plays with the interrelation between spiritual and physical health in his *Treatises of Fistula in Ano* (composed c. 1370). Arderne uses the traditionally favoured tool of the physician in prescribing bitter oral medicines in advance of operations. He employs a sermon-like rhetoric in advising patients to humbly accept the unpleasant taste of bitter or sharp medicines.

ȝif pacientes pleyne that ther medicynes bene bitter or sharp or sich other, than shal the leche sey to the pacient thus; ‘It is redde in the last lesson of matyns of the natiuite of oure lord that oure lorde Ihesus criste come into this world for the helthe of mannes kynd to the maner of a gode leche and wise. And when he cometh to the seke man he sheweth hym medicynes, som lizt and som hard; and he seiþ to the seke man, ‘Ȝif þou wilt be made hole þise and þise shal thou tak.’ [...] ffor Boecius seiþ, *De disciplina scolarium*, ‘He is noȝt worþi of þe poynt of swetnes that kan noȝt be lymed with greuyng of bitternes. ffor why; a strong medicine answerith to a strong sekenes.’⁵⁰

Christ prescribes spiritual medicines, both gentle and sharp, to the penitent who must follow Christ’s instruction without question to attain salvation. Arderne believes that the same should be true of bodily health and that patients should faithfully obey the instruction of their surgeon. The moral of this passage—that strong medicines are required to heal severe sickness, just as Christ’s suffering healed humanity—and Arderne’s use of Scripture and Boethius, are more distinctive of a sermon than of a surgical manual.

Arderne continues that, like a good preacher, the surgeon should have entertaining moral stories, or exempla, on hand to distract a patient from his or her pain: ‘it spedeth þat a leche kunne talke of gode taleȝ and of honest that may make þe pacientes to laugh, as wele of the biblee as of other tragedieȝ; & any othir þingis of which it is noȝt to charge whileȝ þat þey make

⁵⁰ John Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Haemorrhoids, and Clysters*, ed. D’Arcy Power, EETS 139 (London: Oxford University Press, 1910; repr. 1968), pp. 7-8.

or induce a list hert to be pacient or be sike man.’⁵¹ The exempla distract from pain and provide pastoral care in the morals they present. Arderne’s quasi-pastoral code of conduct extends to all aspects of a surgeon’s behaviour: the surgeon must always dress and behave soberly and discreetly, avoiding boastful speech or dressing like a minstrel (that is, dressing in extravagant clothes), and should give the lady of the house or her daughters a wide berth, lest he anger the lord of the house.⁵² Arderne’s standards derive from Hippocratic deontological treatises addressed to physicians.⁵³ By adopting this moral code, he seeks to raise the reputation of surgeons, who were continually competing with learned physicians for patients. John Arderne’s description could easily apply to the ideal conduct of friars in the preaching orders. They too had to dress soberly and behave in a prudent manner. As we will see below, both surgeons and friars were accused of the opposite—of exploiting vulnerable people for money, which they in turn flaunted in their extravagant dress and behaviour. Still, both Arderne and the preaching orders shared the model of sober dress and practice.

Arderne’s rules of etiquette are echoed by the Wycliffite preaching resource the *Rosarium Theologie*, which survives in one Middle English manuscript version and many Latin copies. The text encourages preachers to go on a ‘spiritual pilgrimage,’ just as Christ did in order to visit the ill: ‘for þus went Criste pilgrimage in þis worlde in visitande seke men, & helyng als wele bodily as gostily be prechyng & charitatiue instruccio or informing.’⁵⁴ For compilers of the *Rosarium*, preaching is an act of spiritual pilgrimage taken to instruct audiences and

⁵¹ Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula*, p. 8.

⁵² Murray Jones, ‘Surgeon as Story-Teller,’ pp. 83-8.

⁵³ Mary Catherine Welborn, ‘The Long Tradition: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Medical Deontology,’ in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honour of James Westfall Thompson*, ed. James Lea Cate and Eugene Newton Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 344-60; Michael Leahy, “‘To speke of phisik’: medical discourse in late medieval English culture” (unpubl. PhD diss.: Birkbeck, University of London, 2015), pp. 72, 111-32.

⁵⁴ Christina Von Nolcken (ed.), *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie, A selection ed. From Cbr., Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 354/581* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), entry for ‘Pilgrimage,’ p. 80.

disseminate Scripture as a form of healing. When this healing is coupled with the Wycliffite rejection of traditional forms of pilgrimage and relics, the ‘spiritual pilgrimage’ of preaching becomes part of a communal spiritual engagement.⁵⁵ These preaching pilgrimages are indicative of the Wycliffite rejection of the mediation of objects and certain earthly sacraments. Instead, Wycliffites embrace a direct engagement with God through spiritual contemplation. As Gregory the Great explained, preaching was an important component of the ‘mixed life,’ in which the preacher physically travels to congregations in order to lead them to an ascetic knowledge of God.⁵⁶ Audiences were encouraged to consider attending sermons as devotional occasions linked to their spiritual health, and preachers felt the medicinal effects of God’s words by delivering them. The preacher was required to reject some aspects of the ascetic life because he had to actively engage the world by travelling and instructing congregations. Nonetheless, Gregory’s mixture of preaching and contemplation was modelled on the life of Christ, which gave it a holy authority that rivalled the contemplative life.⁵⁷ The Wycliffites chose the mixed life to present their priorities in pastoral instruction and criticise those who were either too heavily involved in worldly affairs, such as friars who begged for monetary gain, or those such as monks that lived

⁵⁵ For more on pilgrimage and Wycliffism, see Christina Von Nolcken, ‘Another Kind of Saint: A Lollard Perception of John Wyclif. Studies in Church History,’ *Subsidia* 5 (1987), pp. 429-43; William Kamowski, ‘Chaucer and Wyclif: God’s Miracles Against the Clergy’s Magic,’ *Chaucer Review* 37 (2002), pp. 5-25.

⁵⁶ Gregorius Magnus, *Moralium Libri sive expositio in librum beati Job*, Part 2, liber 28, caput xiii. in PL 76: 467; cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliarum in Ezechielem prophetam*, liber 2, homilia ii. in PL 76: 948-9, 954-7. For more, see: Francis Leneghan, ‘Teaching the Teachers: The Vercelli Book and the Mixed Life,’ *English Studies* 94, 6 (2013), p. 633.

⁵⁷ This rhetoric of spiritual pilgrimage superseding the physical is perhaps most notably displayed in the A and B texts of *Piers Plowman*. The differences between Patience the spiritual pilgrim and Hawkyn, the layman of the active life who wears a shoddy cloak, display the nuances of this debate. Patience views Hawkyn as a sinner, deriding his way of life and his focus on the physical above the contemplative. Nicholas Watson argues that by depicting Patience and Hawkyn as ‘look-alike mendicant-pilgrim-minstrel-hucksters,’ Langland passes judgement on the two extremes of the debate on spiritual versus physical pilgrimage, positioning himself as an adherent of the mixed life. Nicholas Watson, ‘*Piers Plowman*, Pastoral Theology, and Spiritual Perfectionism: Hawkyn’s Cloak and Patience’s *Pater Noster*,’ *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 21 (2007), pp. 83-118; David Aers, *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), ‘The Sacrament of the Altar in *Piers Plowman*,’ pp. 29-51.

cloistered away from the rest of society. As a result, friars and certain corrupt clergymen were not to be trusted as spiritual healthcare providers.

Preaching confession

Friars and certain corrupt priests were particularly criticised in Wycliffite sermons for their role in administering the sacrament of confession. The Wycliffites argued that these false healers extorted the ill for personal profit, leaving the vulnerable without the curing absolution that they required. Confession was one of the most important treatments that spiritual surgeons had at their disposal because it was the principal means by which sin was purged from the soul. In general, the *Christus chirurgus* tradition drew heavily on the process of contrition and penance that ultimately led to absolution and soothing convalescence in God's salvific forgiveness. Contrition and penance, which were often described as painful processes, mimicked the surgeon's role of purging, through 'kuttynges and brennynges', as a means of healing. Nevertheless, the Wycliffites did not trust earthly confessors or believe that the sacrament was required to gain absolution. Their critiques of the efficacy of the sacrament posed problems for the Wycliffites when they wanted to employ the rhetoric of *Christus chirurgus*; how could the Wycliffites act as surgeons of the soul if they rejected auricular confession, one of the primary means by which souls were purged of sin? Unpacking the nuances of the Wycliffite treatment of this problem is vital to understanding their conception of *Christus chirurgus*.

Christus chirurgus imagery throughout Europe typically depicted painful penance in terms of harsh medicines and surgical treatments. Much of this rhetoric of pain was derived from Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, in which Lady Philosophy prescribes a range of increasingly severe figurative medicines to cure the soul. After the application of pleasing

rhetoric and music, symbolised as a gentle poultice, she moves to stronger medicines of robust logical arguments.⁵⁸ The most effective medicines she uses are ‘ut degustata quidem mordeant, interius autem recepta dulcescant’ [those that sting on the tongue, but sweeten once taken within], that is, they are sharp or bitter when taken but ultimately have a healing effect.⁵⁹ Although Boethius was not writing about the sacrament of confession, he was writing about a process of recollection in the service of healing his illness, which was amnesia (according to Lady Philosophy’s diagnosis). Boethius discusses the investigation of the memory that would make it possible to ‘probe the wound’ and then diagnose the problem. Further, the process of taking strong purgative medication became a commonplace way to regard the sacrament of confession and particularly penance.

Still, there was some disparity between the role of *Christus chirurgus* and the use of purgatives because oral medicines typically fell under the domain of the physician. Physicians administer medicines for the interior of the body, and the figurative purgatives of Lady Philosophy adhere more closely to the role of the physician than to the surgeon. Yet several surgeons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sought to extend the range of what could be considered surgical treatments. Arderne, for example, took on the responsibilities of the physician when he insisted on purging patients prior to fistula operations and controlling their diet in post-operative care.⁶⁰ Authors of surgical treatises appended *antidotaria* to their works in an attempt to link specific drugs to surgical treatments.⁶¹ Not all surgical practitioners would

⁵⁸ Boethius, *Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), book 2, prosa 5, ll. 1-2: ‘Set quoniam rationum in te iam meorum fomenta descendunt, paulo validioribus utendum puto’.

⁵⁹ Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, book 3, prosa 1, ll. 13-14.

⁶⁰ Linda E. Voigts and Robert P. Hudson, ‘A drynke þat men callen dwale to make a man to slepe whyle me kerven hem: A Surgical Anesthetic from Late Medieval England,’ in *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall, and David Klausner (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), pp. 34-56.

⁶¹ Wallis, ‘Pre-modern Surgery,’ p. 59.

have considered oral medicines to be part of the surgeon's toolbox, but barbers and surgeons certainly used purgative drugs to prepare patients for further treatment. Whether purgatives were explicitly part of surgery or something borrowed from physicians, they were integral to the preparation and performance of surgery. Images of spiritual healers commonly depicted purgatives that were administered to invoke penitence among the faithful. This purging was entirely consistent with the role of *Christus chirurgus*, and there was not seen to be a divide between his other surgical treatments and the use of purgatives even if these oral medications were not exclusively linked to surgeons.

The link between purgatives and confession became especially pronounced after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which decreed that priests should hear confession from their congregations at least once a year. This decree borrows much of its language from Boethius, applying the discourse of spiritual medicine to the parable of the Good Samaritan:

Sacerdos autem sit discretus et cautus, ut more periti medici superinfundat vinum et oleum vulneribus sauciati, diligenter inquirens et peccatoris circumstantias et peccati, per quas prudenter intelligat quale illi debeat prebere consilium et cuiusmodi remedium adhibere, diversis experimentis utendo ad sanandum egrotum.

The priest should be discerning and prudent, so that like a skilled physician he may pour wine and oil over the wounds of the injured one. Let him carefully enquire about the circumstances of both the sinner and the sin, so that he may prudently discern what sort of advice he ought to give and what remedy to apply, using various means to heal the sick person.⁶²

A priest had to diagnose the severity of the penitent's sin and prescribe appropriate penance. The wine and oil of the passage are the same treatments used by the Good Samaritan when bandaging the wounds of the injured stranger, treatments that confessors were to re-enact during the sacrament. The priest is to follow Jesus's advice to '[g]o, and do in like manner' (Luke 10: 37),

⁶² Guiseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (ed.), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), vol. 1, 'Concilium Lateranense IV 1215,' decree 21, p. 178; translation from Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), vol. 1, decree 21, p. 245.

to act as the Good Samaritan and treat the wounds that are exposed in confession. Although the decree uses the term ‘medici,’ rather than ‘chirurgi,’ the treatment of wounds was explicitly in the domain of the surgeon.⁶³ The conciliar decree is significant because it takes the sacrament of confession, and pastoral care more generally, as its primary concern and couches it in the language of medicine. Following the Lateran Council, confession was treated as one of the most important practices for maintaining spiritual health. In administering the sacrament, priests were hence seen as surgeons of the soul.

Mirroring this discourse, medieval surgeons compared surgery with confession as a means of reassuring suffering patients. Guy de Chauliac wrote that the surgeon and patient should form a *pactum* that required the patient to follow the surgeon’s instruction:

The condiciouns þat beþ required in þe seke man beþ thre: þat he be obedient to þe leche as a seruant to his loorde (as it is saide, *primo therapeutice*), þat he triste wel on the leche (and in þe first *Pronosticorum*), þat he be pacient or suffrynge in hymself, for pacience ouercometh malice, as it is saide in anoþer scripture.⁶⁴

The patient is to be obedient, trusting, and patient, virtues explicitly linked to the ideal penitent in confession.⁶⁵ By establishing the confessor-penitent relationship, the surgeon is given a sense of authority akin to those who prescribe penance, the spiritual medicine of God that ultimately led to absolution. Surgical treatment itself was hence envisioned by some as an outward expression of penance that must be endured to ensure recovery.⁶⁶

⁶³ For the nuances of the term ‘medicus’ and its relation to other terms for medical healers in the late medieval period, see: McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague*, p. 40.

⁶⁴ Guy de Chauliac notes the full extent of this *pactum* in his *Cirurgie*, ed. Ogden, p. 13.

⁶⁵ Peter Murray Jones describes the obedience required from the patient to be ‘like that required of the penitent Christian by the confessor.’ Murray Jones, ‘Surgeon as Story-Teller,’ p. 86; see also Michael R. McVaugh, ‘Bedside Manners in the Middle Ages,’ *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 71 (1997), pp. 201-33; and Danielle Jacquart, *La Médecine médiévale dans le cadre Parisien XIVe-XVe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), pp. 50-82.

⁶⁶ Jessalynn Bird, ‘Medicine for Body and Soul: Jacques de Vitry’s Sermons to Hospitallers and their Charges’ in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 95-104.

With such a strong emphasis on penitence and confession, perhaps it was confessors, not preachers, who were surgeons of the soul. After all, confession is where the purging and subsequent absolution of sin occurs. Yet, surgical imagery is more prevalent and extensive in sermons than in confessional manuals. The main reason for this is what Richard and Mary Rouse have described as the ‘near- or quasi-sacramental status’ of the sermon. The Fourth Lateran Council decreed that confession was to be taken annually (at least), and gave credence to the view that sermons were penitential and could work towards healing those who suffered from sin. This confessional link was part of a more diffuse devotional culture and grass-roots approach to affective piety, to which the Fourth Lateran Council responded and in turn promoted through its encouragement of mendicant preaching orders.⁶⁷ As the Dominican Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) explains, the sacraments, in particular confession and the Eucharist, had limited power because they could only confer salvation on those already prepared to receive them. Preaching, on the other hand, acted as a spiritual preparative that bestowed a form of penitential purgation: ‘per sacramenta salus conferatur, tamen praedicatio quodammodo efficacior est ad hoc: ipsa enim movet corda et praeparat; sacramenta vero non conferunt salutem nisi praeparatis’ [*salus* is conferred by sacraments, yet preaching is more effective in one respect: that it moves and prepares the hearts of men; for sacraments cannot confer salvation except on those prepared to receive them].⁶⁸ Humbert is keen to portray preaching as a vehicle of penitence that moved and prepared the hearts of men for the salvific effects of the sacraments. Sacraments could only be applied once the spirit had received the preparation that penitence provides, just as reparative and

⁶⁷ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), pp. 60-4.

⁶⁸ Translation by Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, p. 63; Humbert of Romans, ‘Expositione super constitutiones fratrum praedicatorum,’ *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier (Paris: Typis A. Befani, 1889), vol. 2, p. 32.

preservative medicines could only be prescribed after preparatives and purgatives.⁶⁹ Humbert maintained that sermons were especially important for members of the laity who could not attend church services, such as those confined to hospital beds.⁷⁰ While the Wycliffites would have agreed with Humbert's penitential view of preaching, they treated earthly sacraments and those who administered them with scepticism, and they had a particularly uneasy relationship with auricular confession. Before I address Wycliffite surgical metaphors in relation to confession, I will first outline the Wycliffite attitude towards the sacrament, specifically represented in sermons.⁷¹

Wycliffites voice scepticism of auricular confession because they believed that confession into the ear of a priest was not required to receive God's forgiveness. Instead, faith was placed entirely at the feet of Christ. He was the only one that could grant absolution, not earthly confessors. Not all theologians agreed who provided absolution. Aquinas, for instance, believed that auricular confession was the sacrament through which the penitent became truly contrite through the mediation and guidance of a priest. For him, absolution could not be reached without auricular confession because the penitent could not attain the satisfactory level of contrition on their own without the mediation of a confessor.⁷² For other theologians, contrition

⁶⁹ Jean Gerson presents a similar image in which the preparative medicine is the pain of contrition, the purgative is the grace of remission, the reparative is the effect of good works, and the preservative is the temperateness of moral living. Jean Gerson, 'Oratio pro licentiandis in medicina' in *Opera omnia*, ed. Lud. Ellies du Pin, 5 vols. (Antwerp: sumptibus societatis, 1706), vol. 4, pp. 715d-716a: 'Item sicut quadruplex est medicina corporalis: praeparativa, purgativa, reparativa, praeservativa, sic in spiritualibus. Medicina praeparativa est dolor Contritionis; purgativa, gratia remissionis; reparativa, profectus bonae operationis; praeservativa, modestia bonae conversationis.'

⁷⁰ Adam J. Davis, 'Preaching in Thirteenth-Century Hospitals,' *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 78-81.

⁷¹ As Jennifer Illig has explained, the views of the Wycliffites towards particular sacraments, such as confession, could vary depending on the medium through which they were expressed. Sermons, for instance, are often moderate because they were delivered in public, as opposed to writing an anonymous tract where one could express their opinions with relative impunity. 'Through a Lens of Likeness,' pp. 11-23. Still, the sermons we have survive only in written form, of course, and most of them are anonymous.

⁷² Robert L. Fastiggi, *Sacrament of Reconciliation: An Anthropological and Scriptural Understanding* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2017), pp. 52-4; Henri Dondaine, *L'Attrition suffisante*, Bibliothèque thomiste vol. 25 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1943), p. 17; Artur Landgraf, 'Grundlagen für ein Verständnis der Busslehre der Früh- und Hochscholastik,' *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 51, 2 (1927), pp. 189-90. See particularly Thomas

could be reached on one's own without mediation. John Duns Scotus (d. 1308) insisted that contrition and in turn absolution were not granted by virtue of the sacrament of confession, but rather one became contrite after one had enacted penance. Although the priest was still integral to the process through which sin was remitted, as he prescribed the penance, the confessor took a lesser role in encouraging a state of contrition.⁷³

The Wycliffites took this idea to the extreme, arguing that if the process of moving one's soul to contrition was not directly conferred by auricular confession, but rather through penance during which one reflected on one's sins, one could be moved to contrition and ultimately absolution without the need to involve a priest. For those who were acutely anticlerical, the idea of confessing inwardly without the need for a priest was ideal. A Wycliffite sermon from the dominical cycle contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 95 (most likely written in the 1390s)⁷⁴ declares: 'confesse 3e to the lord and clepe 3e in his name þyne confessor withynne'.⁷⁵ As Fiona Somerset demonstrates, the author of this sermon cycle was associated with the early Wycliffites who devised the aforementioned, more comprehensive collection of Middle English Wycliffite sermons. Bodley 95 contains sermons that outline a 'distinctively lollard pastoral program'⁷⁶ and for this preacher Christ was the only true confessor, which made earthly confessors redundant. Opponents of Wycliffism mistook this rejection of earthly confessors to be

Aquinas, *Summae Theologiae*, in *Opera omnia iussu impensaue Leonis XIII PM edita* (Rome: Ex typographia Polyglotta, 1889), vol. 12, Pars tertia, Supplementum, q. 1, art. 3 and 4.

⁷³ P. De Letter, 'Two Concepts of Attrition and Contrition,' *Theological Studies* 11 (1950), pp. 7-9. See also, John Duns Scotus, *Reportatio Parisiensis* in *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctoris subtilis ordinis minorum, Opera omnia, editio nova* (Paris: Vivès, 1894), vol. 24, lib. 4, dist. 14, q. 4, scholium, 2, 223b.

⁷⁴ This cycle also survives in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 74, which is the more authoritative copy. A partial redaction of the cycle is copied in Bodley 95 and Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS 3. For more, see: Fiona Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 25-6 n. 1. This sermon collection is derivative of the larger *English Wycliffite Sermon* cycle, using the Wycliffite gospel commentaries as prothemata. However, the sermons also adapt exposition from more moderate reformist sources. Helen Spencer has studied the contents of the two manuscripts and the structure of the cycle in detail. Helen L. Spencer, 'The Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon-Cycle in the Later Fifteenth Century,' *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986), pp. 352-96.

⁷⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 95, f. 11v.

⁷⁶ Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, pp. 25-62, especially pp. 27-31.

a denunciation of the entire sacrament. A macaronic sermon from a Benedictine compilation of the early fifteenth century declares:

Despiciunt vocalem confessionem que est pars penitencie, odiunt audire de illa, vilipendunt illud sacramentum quod est necessarium remedium et securum contra actuale peccatum. Est necessarium remedium! Non sufficit ad salutem corde soli Deo confiteri, ut Lollardi asserunt, set oportet eciam ore confiteri sacerdoti in loco Dei. Ista vocalis confessio est adeo necessaria quod habita oportunitate sine ista nequis saluari.⁷⁷

They despise oral confession and they hate to hear that it is a part of penitence; they despise that sacrament which is the necessary and sure remedy against actual sin. It is the necessary remedy! It is not sufficient for salvation to confess only to God, as the Lollards assert, but he must also confess orally to a priest in the place of God. This vocal confession is so necessary that having had the opportunity for it, one cannot be saved without it.

As opposed to auricular confession, which depended on its oral and aural components, the Wycliffites endorsed confession directly to God, often through silent prayer and maintaining a contrite disposition. It was heresy to repudiate auricular confession because it was the primary means through which the Church granted absolution.⁷⁸ The Church treated the confessor as an intercessor for God, and so the confessor possessed a holy authority to administer the sacrament.

However, the reputed radicalism of the Wycliffite position on auricular confession was exaggerated. They did not all ‘despise’ it, but rather many recognised its limited benefit. A Wycliffite sermon for the third Sunday of Lent, preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud. Misc 200,⁷⁹ explains:

Sed illa confessio non est necessaria quin homo potest saluari sive illa in multis casibus. Sed sicut audicio sermonis a sacerdote est ualde utilis hominibus—quamuis homo posset saluari ad obseruandi mandata dei et fidem—sicut homo didicit domini a poenitentie. Sic est confessio facta sacerdoti habenti claues sciencie et potestatis ualde utilis homini; ut in

⁷⁷ J. Patrick Horner (ed.), *A macaronic sermon collection from late medieval England: Oxford, MS Bodley 649* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006), pp. 164-5. I have slightly altered Horner’s translation.

⁷⁸ Absolution was also granted by indulgences, attending certain sermons and sometimes by going on crusade. For more see Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, pp. 60-4.

⁷⁹ This Wycliffite collection consists of two sets of Latin sermons in the scholastic style, to which Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud. Misc 200 is the most complete witness. The first set is a *de tempore* cycle of forty-two sermons, featuring five *de sanctis* sermons, covering the first Sunday in Advent to the first Sunday after Trinity. The second set is shorter, featuring thirteen *de sanctis* sermons for St Andrew to the Nativity of John the Baptist. Christina Von Nolcken, ‘An Unremarked Group of Wycliffite Sermons in Latin,’ *Modern Philology* 83, 3 (1986), pp. 233-249.

confessione petat consilium declinandi a peccato et faciendi bonum quamuis homo non posset saluari per consilium aliorum hominum.⁸⁰

That type of confession [auricular] is not in fact necessary, but a man can be saved or [at least this is true] in many cases. But just as hearing sermons by a priest is extremely useful for men—however much a man is able to be saved for heeding God’s commandments and the faith—so has the man learned of the Lord by penitence. Thus confession made to a priest who has the keys of knowledge and power is very useful to man; for in confession he begs council, to be turned aside from sin and made good, although man is not able to be saved through the council of other men.

The interaction in auricular confession is praised if the advice offered by the confessor leads the penitent to a more contrite disposition and thus be more willing to confess directly to Christ.

Furthermore, if the author of the sermon were a parish priest, it would be one of his duties to hear confession from members of his congregation even if he theorised that the sacrament was unnecessary for salvation.

Wyclif himself preached that confession can be useful to the penitent (*quod talis confessio sit utilis quandoque viatori*) if it moves them to contrition of the heart, confession to God, and works of satisfaction.⁸¹ For Wyclif, there was little distinction between a preacher and confessor because both evoked contrition and prepared the Christian for true confession to God. Nevertheless, Wyclif believed that auricular confession could have a negative effect if the earthly confessor gave the penitent the impression that they had atoned for their sins when in reality they were still corrupted. Earthly confessors did not have the authority or power to grant absolution, meaning that they lied when they claimed that a sin had been absolved. Furthermore, as a Wycliffite Quinquagesima sermon explains, greedy friars kept the fact that one could confess directly to Christ a secret so that they could exploit the laity for profit. The preacher quotes the

⁸⁰ Laud misc. 200, ff. 85v-86r; British Library, Harley 1615, ff. 110v-111r. The passage in Laud misc. 200 is missing ‘hominum’.

⁸¹ John Wyclif, *Sermones*, vol. 4, p. 57, 7-10.

request in Psalm 79, ‘God show us your face and we will be saved,’ and contrasts God’s face with the valance that hides the faces of false preachers:⁸²

Hanc faciem abscondunt predicatores falsi et cupidi qui velant a populo quod Deus dimitti peccatum hominis per ueram contricionem sine confessione facta sacerdoti citra Christum. Et dicunt quod peccatum stat indissolutum quosque papa aut prelatus aut sacerdos dederit suam absolucionem.⁸³

False and greedy preachers hide their face, as they conceal from the people that God remits sins of man through true confession to Christ, and without making confession to a priest. And they say that sin remains indissoluble unless the pope or prelate or priest grants his absolution.

The sermon implies that friars and greedy preachers know the true means of absolution but keep it a secret so as not to weaken their position when begging. By maintaining that sin remains ‘indissoluble’ unless a Church official grants absolution, the friars divert glory away from God and lead Christians to error. Friars were accused of monetising spiritual healing when they promised absolution in exchange for a ‘donation.’ Friars were, therefore, not the ‘periti medici’ of the Fourth Lateran Council, but rather liars that exploited those that were wounded by sin for profit.

Distrust of earthly confessors meant that Wycliffite sermons were perhaps more direct in addressing *Christus chirurgus*. Instead of creating the comparison between priests, Christ’s surgeons on earth, and Christ, the most proficient surgeon, Wycliffite sermons skip the middleman and portray Christ performing the treatments himself. This dynamic between Christ and the laity feeds into a mode of *imitatio Christi* wherein the penitent engages with and re-enacts Christ’s Passion as a means of penance.⁸⁴ The *Rosarium Theologie* maintains that this re-enactment is essential for salvation: ‘we myȝt noȝt entre heuen wipout passion: 1. Pe. 4., “Criste

⁸² Vulgate, Psalm 79: 4, 8 and 20. ‘Ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus.’

⁸³ Harley 1615, f. 92v.

⁸⁴ Langum, “The Wounded Surgeon,” pp. 269-90.

ysuffered in flesch, and 3e be armed wiþ þe same þo3t".⁸⁵ This mode of imitation was a commonplace idea, and far from unique to the Wycliffites. Nevertheless, Wycliffite preachers were especially keen on the forms of affective devotion that encouraged the *imitatio Christi*. Numerous Wycliffite sermons encourage this imitation as a form of spiritual medicine. A Passiontide sermon in Bodley 95, for instance, portrays Christ performing purgative and prophylactic treatments based on his crucifixion: 'Ffor by iiij. purgacions mannus bodi is heled. & so mannus soule is clensed therou3 iiij. gostely. The furst is cristus blode that he lytche all vpp: mannus body is purged by swett & by vomyte. & by dyuerse blode letynge. & with bytter drynkes.'⁸⁶ Sweating, vomiting, bloodletting, and bitter drinks were all considered to be purgations for balancing the humours of the body in late-medieval England, but it is unclear who provided these treatments.⁸⁷ While one may perceive bitter drinks and inducing sweat and vomiting to be internal treatments fitting for the physician, bloodletting was associated with barbers because it involved making incisions to the exterior. In fact, none of these treatments would have been extraordinary for a barber to perform because their primary focus was on prophylactic and purgative treatments, often using surgical pharmacy.⁸⁸ Much as Humbert of

⁸⁵ *Rosarium Theologie*, entry 'Christus,' p.95.

⁸⁶ The sermon shares some of its content with a Trinity sermon from a dominical cycle in Bodleian Library, Musaeo e. 180. Nevertheless, the theological position differs between the two, as the Bodley 95 version indicates that these purgations are part of a scheme of confession made directly to God, whereas Musaeo e. 180 does not make the same contentious claims about confession. 'Dominica XIX^a Post Festum Sancte Trinitatis' in *A Late Fifteenth-Century Dominical Sermon Cycle, Edited from the Bodleian Library MS E Musaeo 180 and Other manuscripts*, ed. Stephen Morrison, EETS 337 and 338 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 362-4.

⁸⁷ Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion*, pp. 182-210; Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 37-8.

⁸⁸ Barbers would by no means have been as well versed or as quick to use oral medicines as physicians, but multiple scholars have demonstrated their use of simple medications. The chief focus of their pharmacy was complimentary to their bloodletting responsibilities. For more on the treatments offered by barbers and surgeons, see: J. Coomans and G. Geltner, 'On the Street and in the Bathhouse: Medieval Galenism in Action,' *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 43 (2013), pp. 53-82; McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague*, p. 40; Kira Robison, 'Making Right Practice? Regulating Surgery and Medicine in Fourteenth and fifteenth-century Bologna' in *Medicine and the Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy J. Turner (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 177. Although this study is focused on Bologna, Robison gives an example from England. In York, barbers used purgative medicine so frequently that the company

Romans portrayed preaching as preparative medicine, the Wycliffite Passiontide sermon explores the full potential of the comparison in its purgative imagery. Inducing sweat and vomit were preparative acts that enabled Christ to enact the third treatment, bloodletting:

The iij. purgacion bodely is lettyng of blode. for as euel blode distemperethe mannus body remenyng to & froo as wyndes in mannus body. So wicked thouȝtes with wyndes of pride distemperethe mannus soule & makeþe hym euer vnstabbell & out of rest tyll hit be lettout thorouȝ helpe of the heuenly leche with the blode y þrue out of penans þat is of prayer & of mekenes.

Bloodletting was vital for purging the body of bad blood and excess humours and was conducted on a regular basis for those who could afford it.⁸⁹ Distempered blood in this allegory was depicted as wicked thoughts and pride that left the heart through the bloodstream. When Christ the ‘heuenly leche’ conducts the bloodletting on the penitent, he at once acts as the Patient and Surgeon. After all, he is the one that is drained of all his blood, a process that the contrite Christian symbolically mimics in his or her penance.

Nevertheless, comparisons with Christ’s Passion and surgery went only so far. Authors acknowledged that Christ’s bleeding on the cross, a torture, was far more severe than bloodletting, a healing as well as prophylactic procedure. John Wyclif declared that the Jews purposefully drained Christ of his blood because they believed that the soul resided there. The procedure was, therefore, both a physical and spiritual torture.⁹⁰ Bloodletting was obviously slight in comparison to Christ’s torture, but it was still employed as a common reference point

had to set up specific rules for the use of oral medicines, see: Auden, ‘The Gild of Barber Surgeons of the City of York,’ pp. 1403-4.

⁸⁹ Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society*, p. 133; Beck, *Cutting Edge*, p. 121; Robison, ‘Making Right Practice?’, p. 177.

⁹⁰ Wyclif explains that according to the opinions of Jews, the soul resides in three places within the blood: in the spongy pores under the skin, in the veins, and in pools within the heart. According to Wyclif, the Jews wickedly searched in all of these places by purging Christ’s skin with scourges, draining his blood through four nails in his limbs, and emptying the heart through the lance. *Sermones*, vol. 4, p. 323, ll. 3-11: ‘patet cum anima secundum opinionem Judeorum sit in sanguine [...] et tria sunt loca in quibus est sanguis scilicet in spongiositatibus intercutaneis, in venis et in corde sanguis instagnatus, quod in omnibus istis locis quesierunt nimam impii Jesu, cum flagellis sanguinem intercutaneum evacuando, cum clavis sanguinem quatuor organorum effundendo et in corde sanguinem, cum spiritibus lance perforacione dissipando.’

for both the laity and clergy.⁹¹ For many Christians, bloodletting was as close as they would come to physically re-enacting the Passion. The *Ancrene Wisse*, a handbook for anchoresses, uses Christ's blood draining as a moral for humbly accepting both bloodletting and penance. Christ, as the anonymous author explains, was not afforded the luxuries that patients normally enjoyed: 'the ilke that he bledde fore ne brohten ha him to present ne win, ne ale, ne weater, yet tha he seide, *sicio*, ant meande as he bledde of thurst o the rode, ah duden bitter galle. [...] Ant tah ne gruchede he nawt, ah underveng hit eadmodliche for-te learen hise.'⁹² The anchoresses should keep Christ's thirst in mind when they have their blood let, because they have access to water when they are thirsty or feeling faint. This comparison extends to spiritual penance, where the anchoresses should follow the instruction of their superiors without complaint. The author does not necessarily imply that the anchoresses would have complained about their penance, but rather that they should welcome the pain or discomfort to achieve a closer affective engagement with Christ's Passion.

The *Ancrene Wisse* and Wycliffite Passiontide sermon in Bodley 95 both compare the luxury of humanity's situation in bloodletting with Christ's experience because, after all, he had only bitter gall to drink when he cried out for water. This bitter gall is transformed into purgative tonics in the final treatment of the Passiontide sermon. Medical practitioners commonly prescribed bitter drinks as a means of purging fevers and promoting wound repair,⁹³ and the

⁹¹ Wenzel, *Fasciculus morum*, p. 206.

⁹² *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Robert Hasenfratz (Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), book ii, ll. 779-92.

⁹³ These oral medicines for wound treatment were commonly referred to as 'saves' in Middle English. 'Saves' explicitly connoted tonics used for the interior to treat wounds, as opposed to 'salves,' which were for the exterior. See: MED, s.v. 'save.' Cf. the definition contained in George Henslow (ed.), *Medical works of the fourteenth century: together with a list of plants recorded in contemporary writings, with their identifications* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), p. 55: 'Saue ys a drynke þat wol hele al maner wounde with-out plaistere or ani ouþer selue'.

Bodley 95 sermon treats purgative and prophylactic tonics as if they were the gall that Christ drank. The author particularly stresses the foul taste of the medicine:

The iiij. purgacion þat clensiþe mannus bodi is bitter drynkes. for bytter drynkes comenly byn vn sauery to tast. but 3er it is full holesom when hit is dronke a doune. This purgacion of drynke dryueþe a wey sekenes, the whiche wold envenyme mannus hert, & destroy his myzt. This bitter drynke is mynde of dethe. the whiche may not a boyde. Bitter it is to thenke þer vpon but it dryuythe a wey synne. from mannus soule.

The heart was often said to be the place where the wounds of sin were located, and in this same place the sickness acts as a venom. Longinus's spear penetrated Christ's side and entered his heart, a process the penitent re-enacts when drinking the bitter drinks that purge deeply rooted sin. The bitter drinks are also prophylactic and keep the patient from committing further sin by acting as a *memento mori*, reminding the penitent of the pain that awaits those that face eternal damnation.

The Wycliffites were familiar with the themes of *memento mori* and in fact engaged in a popular affective trend in which vernacular treatises on the visitation of the sick in late medieval England gave lay people a role in spiritual ministry to the gravely ill. In a text known as *Visitation of the Sick Version E*, a portion of which was excerpted in the prologue of a Wycliffite commentary on the Ten Commandments, the lay reader is instructed how to prepare his or her soul for death and at the same time encouraged to visit the severely ill:

For euerych day a man neyzeþ to his deþ nere and nere; for þe more a man in his lyf wexeþ in dayes and 3eres, þe more he vnwexeþ, for, as seyntes seggeþ, þe furste day in the weke þat a man is ybore ys þe furste day of his deþ, for eueryche day he is deyng whyle he is in þis lyf. And þerfore seyþ þe Gospel [Matthew 24: 42], 'Awake, for þou wost neuere whiche oure God is to come, wheþer in þy zonge age, oþer in þy myddel age, oþer in þy laste dayes, or pryueliche, oþer openlyche.' And þerfore loke þou beo alwey bysy in his seruyse and þenne, what tyme euer he come, þou mayst beo to him redy.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Here I follow the designation of version E as indicated in Robert R. Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1500*, gen ed. Albert E. Hartung, 11 vols. (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), vol. 7, p. 2567. The copy from Oxford, University College 97 is printed in *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church and his followers*, ed. Carl Horstmann, 2 vols. (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1895-1896), vol. 2, pp. 449-53, though here I quote from Somerset, *Felling Like Saints*, p. 88, which takes into account the variants in the Ten

One of the key elements of this passage is an analogy between earthly and heavenly service. Increasingly, visitation texts encouraged the laity to engage with vernacular texts that would offer pastoral instruction that was traditionally delivered by a priest. This vernacular text, both in its original and Wycliffite contexts, provided instruction intended for the laity to prepare their souls for divine judgement, as one never knows when one's death may occur. While textual visitations for the sick were not intended to replace the mediation of a priest in leading their congregations to ruminate over their mortality, the text certainly demonstrates that members of the laity were encouraged to have an increased role in preparing themselves and others for death. Such an act of visitation would not only have consequences for hospitals for the sick poor, in which such texts could be read individually or communally by nurses and patients, but also for the attitudes of the laity towards the conventional role of the clergy in visiting the sick.

In the Wycliffite examples of this section, we have seen that the preachers sought to limit the role of the priest in mediating lay interaction with Christ. Much of the late-medieval priest's identity as a surgeon of the soul depended upon confession, which was one of his most widely recognised treatments. Confession was key for purging sin and preparing the soul to accept God's soothing words. Wycliffite sermons did not disregard this surgical narrative of confession, but adapted the rhetoric, pushing its earthly practitioners to the periphery of the discourse. Accordingly, the Divine Surgeon came to the fore, directly treating his patients with surgical procedures based on his Passion. Nonetheless, the convergence of surgical and preaching identities were not merely abstract theological comparisons but were encouraged by historical circumstances surrounding the regulation of the two fields.

Commandments Commentary from London, British Library, Harley 2398, ff. 73r-106r. Somerset also includes variants from Dublin, Trinity College, 245, though this version does not reproduce the passage in question taken from the *Visitation*.

Two parallel regulating crises

As previously mentioned, early fifteenth-century England witnessed two parallel regulating crises. The first was the preaching crisis, in which the English Church aimed to prohibit preachers that were not explicitly authorised. The English Church was particularly conservative at this time compared with its counterparts on the continent, and these regulatory measures were not typical.⁹⁵ In combatting what ecclesiastical elites saw as potential for heresy, contentious books were banned and burned, and preaching licences were imposed. The second crisis involved unsanctioned barbers and surgeons and the craft guilds that made membership mandatory for all surgical practitioners in cities such as London and York. While the Church had to contend with Wycliffites, and particularly those who preached without the authority of the Church, the company of barbers had to deal with untrained surgeons in their cities who treated patients without permission or the authority of guild membership. These parallel circumstances added a contextual importance to the surgical imagery of Wycliffite preachers, who in fact recognised that the fields of preaching and surgery faced the same problems of authorisation and remarkably similar regulatory measures. For both preaching and surgery in England, the turn of the fifteenth century presented a profound moment of change, and the significance of the dual regulating efforts was not lost on the Wycliffites. One result of these simultaneous efforts at regulation was an overlap in the language that was used to condemn Wycliffite preachers and untrained surgeons, both of whom were depicted as unlearned and, more importantly, unsanctioned.

⁹⁵ For more on the conservatism of the English Church at this time, see Jeremy Catto, 'After Arundel: The Closing or the Opening of the English Mind?', in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), pp. 43-54.

In 1407 and 1409, Archbishop Thomas Arundel issued his *Constitutions*, which restricted all public preaching to licensed representatives of the episcopal authority. Arundel was concerned about the ‘peril to souls’ (*animarum periculis*) caused by unlearned preachers who operated outside of the Church’s control. He was specifically referring to the Wycliffites, or ‘putrid members’ (*membra putrida*), as he labelled them, which had to be amputated (*abscindendi*) from the Church in order for it to return to health. Arundel here alludes to the *Regula Benedicti*, where erring brothers were to be treated with three levels of spiritual medication by the abbot, the third and most drastic being ‘amputation’ from the community.⁹⁶ This type of spiritual amputation was chiefly derived from Luke 22: 38, in which two swords are presented to the Lord, one physical and one spiritual. The secular arm wielded the physical sword, signifying its coercive power, whereas the ecclesiastical arm had the spiritual sword used for severing, or amputating, heretics from the body of the Church through excommunication.⁹⁷ Once the Church had amputated the heretics through excommunication, the secular arm was then charged with their execution. The excommunication or condemnation of heretics and their books was followed by their public burning, which signified a cauterisation of the wounds that remained.⁹⁸

Arundel’s *Constitutions* emphasise time and again that only those who were trained and authorised may preach. Arundel insists that the souls of the populace would be put in grave danger if preachers continued to deliver sermons without the consent of the Church.⁹⁹ While

⁹⁶ *Saint Benedict's Rule for Monasteries*, trans. Leonard J. Doyle (Collegeville, MN.: Liturgical Press, 1948; repr. 2001), Cap. 28.

⁹⁷ I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 296-7; Michael A. Sells, *Mystical Languages of Unsaying* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 140-5.

⁹⁸ For more on the imagery of amputation, see chapter 5 of this study.

⁹⁹ David Wilkins (ed.), *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab anno MCCCCL ad annum MDXLV. Volumen tertium* (London: R Gosling et al 1737; reprint: Brussels: Culture and Civilisation, 1964), pp. 314-19.

much of the legislation merely updated the precedent established by John Peckham at the Council of the Province of Canterbury in 1281, the introduction of formal licences was a new constriction.¹⁰⁰ To obtain a licence, priests had to demonstrate that they possessed the necessary skill to preach and that their theological views were in line with those of the Church. Furthermore, those who were given licences were only permitted to preach in certain locations, namely, within their own parishes. Secular priests grew frustrated with these measures, which seemed to contrast with the relative freedom of mendicant friars. A sense of competition emerged between secular priests, tied by their licences to particular pulpits, and friars, who faced no such geographical restrictions and could preach more broadly. Opponents of the mendicants argued that this greater freedom led to less accountability, because friars were not overseen by a particular congregation or supervisory bishop.¹⁰¹ Such complaints were similar to those levelled against certain Wycliffite preachers who, like friars, travelled from pulpit to pulpit and even dressed in a similar manner, in russet habits.¹⁰² Eventually, licences applied to certain English mendicants as well as to secular priests. For example, a note in the back of London, British Library, Royal 18 B ix (f. 196v) records the licence of a Dominican friar named Thomas Dekyn, licensed by one ‘frater Willelmus Lynne’ to preach in the Thetford area.¹⁰³ Still, Arundel’s legislation compounded tensions between mendicants and secular priests, a consequence of legislation that largely sought to quell Wycliffite activities.

¹⁰⁰ See: Helen L. Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, pp. 231-3, 347.

¹⁰¹ Robert N. Swanson, ‘The “Mendicant Problem” in the Later Middle Ages’ in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life; Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, ed. Peter Biller and Richard B. Dobson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 217-38; Arnold L. Williams, ‘Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Regular Clergy in England in the Later Fourteenth Century,’ *Annuaire Mediaevale* 1 (1960), pp. 22-95.

¹⁰² Cole, *Literature and Heresy*, pp. 35-6.

¹⁰³ London, British Library, Royal 18 B ix., f. 196v. This licensing note appears at the end of a codex that contains a set of English Wycliffite Sermons to which Dekyn has added a few annotations.

The effect of Arundel's *Constitutions* in taming the dissenting practices of Wycliffites is debatable; they continued to write, preach, and have a presence in England throughout the fifteenth century. In fact, Michael Wilks argues that there is little historical evidence to support the 'steady flow of horror stories about the tribulations of the faithful [Wycliffites] and the way that their numbers were being cut down'.¹⁰⁴ Most of the surviving accounts of persecution come from the Wycliffites themselves, who had a tendency to use hyperbole. For example, one Wycliffite sermon alleged: 'Reges & principes, episcopi & prelati, monachi & fratres & falsi sacerdotes, tanquam leones insidiantur nobis locis publicis & occultis. Et si predicauerimus veritatem sumus occidendi' [Kings and princes, bishops and prelates, monks and friars, and false priests lie in ambush for us in both public and hidden places, just as if they were lions. And if we preach the truth, they murder us].¹⁰⁵ While this seems extreme, there were Wycliffites who were executed for heretical preaching and defending their views obstinately after an initial trial. It was, nonetheless, more likely that a Wycliffite preacher would be detained for a time, questioned, and then released.¹⁰⁶ For instance, Richard Wyche was arrested and questioned by Bishop Skirlaw of Durham in 1402/03 for preaching without a licence in the north of England. Wyche's long imprisonment in the north did not deter him from reoffending, and he continued to preach after

¹⁰⁴ Michael Wilks, 'Wyclif and the Great Persecution,' *Studies in Church History, Subsidia* 10 (1994), p. 40. See the edited volume *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), especially: Jeremy Catto, 'After Arundel: The Closing or the Opening of the English Mind?,' pp. 43-54; Michael G. Sargent, 'Censorship or Cultural Change? Reformation and Renaissance in the Spirituality of Late Medieval England,' pp. 55-72; and Kantik Ghosh, 'Wyclif, Arundel, and the Long Fifteenth Century,' pp. 545-62. In relation to the *English Wycliffite Sermons*, see Little, 'Catechesis and Castigation,' p. 239.

¹⁰⁵ Laud. Misc 200, f. 149r.

¹⁰⁶ Hornbeck, Lahey, and Somerset explain that most heresy trials ended in 'the abjuration of the defendant or the appearance of enough compurgators to restore the defendant's *bona fama*.' If the defendant refused to reject their heretical beliefs or relapsed back into them, they would be relinquished to secular authorities for execution. J. Patrick Hornbeck, Stephen E. Lahey, and Fiona Somerset (ed.), *Wycliffite Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 2013), p. 48.

his release. He was, in fact, imprisoned and questioned again in November 1414.¹⁰⁷ Yet, his reputation was not ruined, and in 1437 he was appointed vicar of Harmondsworth, Middlesex. Wyche was finally executed in 1440 after multiple arrests and releases between 1402/03 and 1439.¹⁰⁸

The ecclesiastical authorities could not ignore Wyche's disobedience because a bad preacher—whether he lacked skill or expressed dissenting views—was considered to be as dangerous as an unskilled surgeon operating on a patient. Similes linking unskilled surgeons and preachers were well established by the fifteenth century, and the papacy had long drawn the association that the peril to souls caused by unauthorised preaching was akin to the peril of a botched surgical procedure. William Butler, Oxford scholar and opponent of the Wycliffite heresy, wrote a set of academic *determinationes* that warned of preaching and writing in the vernacular. His *Contra translationem Anglicanam* compared unlearned readers of Scripture to inexperienced surgeons who wounded people instead of healing them:

Nam, dato quod populus legeret ad alium sensum qui non est scripturae, de scriptura non haberet tunc sententiam; secundum Augustinum, epistola 69, *Ad Maximam*; esset de his sicut de illis qui ferramentis medicinalibus puniuntur, quae utique non ad vulnerandum sed ad sanandum sunt facta. [...] ferrum ergo scripturae sacrae non debet dari imperito chirurgico, ne propter artis imperitiam mors sequitur. Cavere ergo summe debent pontifices infulati, qui legere, qui praedicare debent scripturas; ne, unde perveniret utilitas, inde praeveniat mortis calamitas.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Record of the investigation survives in letters sent by Wyche to Wycliffite contacts. Anne Hudson (ed.), *The Works of a Lollard Preacher*, EETS 317 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. lviii–lix. The most heavily studied example is the case of William Thorpe, who gives an account of his interrogation by Archbishop Arundel. We do not know what happened to Thorpe after his interrogation. Anne Hudson (ed.), *Two Wycliffite Texts*, EETS, Original Series 301 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Elizabeth Schirmer, 'William Thorpe's Narrative Theology,' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 31 (2009), pp. 267–99; Maureen Jurkowski, 'The arrest of William Thorpe in Shrewsbury and the anti-Lollard Statue of 1406,' *Historical Research* 75, 189 (2002), pp. 273–95.

¹⁰⁸ John A.F. Thompson, 'Wyche, Richard (d. 1440), Lollard heretic,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004–).

¹⁰⁹ William Butler, *Contra translationem Anglicanam* in Margaret Deanesly (ed.), *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), Appendix II., pp. 403–4. The reference to Augustine comes from PL 33: 1085. This translation comes from Ghosh, *Wycliffite Heresy, Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, p. 94 (although I have made a few changes).

For, given that the people may read according to another sense which is not that of Scripture, they would not have in that case the sentence of Scripture. Following Augustine in epistola 69 *Ad Maximam*, it is concerning these men just as it is concerning those who inflict punishment with medical tools of iron, which were certainly not made to wound, but to cure. [...] Therefore, the iron tool of sacred Scripture ought not to be given to unskilled surgeons, lest their inexperience in the craft lead to death. The high priests who wear the mitre ought to exercise caution, being those who ought to read and preach the scriptures, lest from what usefulness should come, the calamity of death comes instead.

An unskilled surgical treatment could result in death or maiming, just as a poor or evil sermon could lead the audience to further sin rather than a cure. If a surgeon or barber unsuccessfully operated on a patient knowing that he lacked the necessary skill and training, he would be treated as if he had committed homicide. Like a murderer, if the body were maimed during the application of a treatment, the surgeon or barber faced possible criminal proceedings. An illustrative example is the case of Richard Cheyndut, who in 1377 almost caused a patient to lose a leg through what three master barbers described as a ‘lack of care and knowledge.’ Furthermore, the master barbers testified that ‘it would require great experience, care and expense if the leg were to be cured without permanent injury.’¹¹⁰ A jury found in favour of the plaintiff, ruling that Cheyndut was to pay 50s in damages and was to be imprisoned. The same care was used to nullify the pernicious influence of heretics and bring their followers back into the fold. A priest or even his supervising bishop could, in the same manner as an incompetent surgeon, face serious spiritual consequences if they allowed their flock to stray from orthodoxy.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society*, p. 138; *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381*, ed. A.H. Thomas (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), p. 236.

¹¹¹ The question of who would be culpable for failing to prevent or condemn heresy—was it those high up in the ecclesiastical authority who were responsible by virtue of their office, or was it those lower down who were directly responsible for their congregation?—had a long and complex tradition treated especially by twelfth-century canonists. Hornbeck, Lahey, and Somerset, *Wycliffite Spirituality*, p. 17; Ian Forrest, *Detection of Heresy*, pp. 34-8.

One of the main reasons why preaching had such high stakes was because it, like surgery, was an exposed act. A sermon provided an opportunity for heretical ideas to spread to more ears, many of them sympathetic and susceptible to populist appeals. Sermons were also exposed for ecclesiastical authorities to see and hear, and this increased the risk that the preacher would be apprehended. While surgery is more intimate than public speaking, it is an act for which the risk of exposure is significant. The nature of surgery, being largely concerned with wound treatment on the surface of the body, meant that mistakes were hard to cover up. Henri de Mondeville warns that a surgical mistake leaps to the attention of the patient:

quia opera cyrurgiae sunt visui manifesta, et medicinae opera sunt occulta, et in hoc medici plurimi sublevantur, quia, si super patientem erraverunt, eorum error non erit manifestus, et si ipsum interficiant, non fiet in aperto; sed error cyrurgici operantis, ut incisio manus et brachii apparet nothorice cuilibet intuenti nec potest ipsum naturae vel virtuti imponere nec se super hoc excusare nec alium accusare.¹¹²

since surgical procedures are exposed to sight, while medicinal works are hidden, many physicians are at an advantage, because if they make a mistake on the patient, their error will not be visible, and if they kill him they do not do it openly; but the mistake of the operating surgeon to the incision of the hand and of the arm will leap to the attention of an observer, and he will not be able to blame this on nature, or the character [of the patient], or excuse themselves or accuse another.

A physician's mistake is easier to hide because his treatments were usually less invasive, using tonics, pills, and suppositories. If the patient had a bad reaction to the medicine, the physician could attribute it to the patient's natural complexional disposition, which reacted poorly to the medication and sent the body into the wrong humoral state.¹¹³ Incisions to the flesh or the effects of strong chemical corrosives, by contrast, were easy to see and even a small mistake could threaten the patient's life. Arderne relays an anecdote from the beginning of his career as a warning to inexperienced practitioners:

¹¹² Mondeville, *Chirurgia*, book ii, notandum 11, p. 79.

¹¹³ McVaugh, *Rational Surgery*, pp. 84, 181; Joseph Ziegler, 'Medicine and Immortality in Terrestrial Paradise' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 237-8.

Onez in a tyme in the bigynnyng of my practizing, when I knew noght the violence of tham [arsenic and disulphide], I putte of the pulver of the tuo forsayd in the leggez of tuo men; [...] And their leggez war bolned [swollen] out of mesure [...] Therfor unexperte men be wele war fro the use of realgre and asenic sublimed.¹¹⁴

Arderne only applied a small amount of realgar powder (composed of disulphide and arsenic that has been sublimated) to the legs of his patient, ‘the quantite of a corne of senvey [mustard seed]’, and still the swelling was alarming. Realgar was particularly volatile, and while it was used in small quantities as a medicine, applying too much, as Arderne discovered, led to disastrous consequences for the patient. Such mishaps led Arderne to emphasise the importance of surgical instruction and regulation, because even a minor mistake could be calamitous.

In York, the city fathers heeded the warnings of master barbers and surgeons, decreeing that ‘no man or woman whatsoever’ was permitted to practise surgery, tooth-drawing, or any other treatment unless they were either working under the direction of a master barber or sanctioned by a medical guild.¹¹⁵ Membership to the guild of barbers was mandatory for all those practising in York, and barbers could be fined up to 3s 4d if they failed to attend meetings.¹¹⁶ This type of legislation was then implemented in London, where the anxiety of the craft guilds extended beyond Arderne’s warning of the harm that an inexperienced surgeon could cause.¹¹⁷ Members worried that the inadequacies of untrained practitioners would tarnish their name and devalue the profession as a whole. In 1415, the barbers’ company petitioned the London mayor about this concern: ‘some barbers of the said city, who are inexperienced in the art of surgery, do oftentimes take under their care many sick and maimed persons, [...] they are oftentimes made to be worse off at their departure than they were at their coming.’ The petition ends by explaining that such inexperienced barbers maim their patients much ‘to the scandal of such skilful and

¹¹⁴ Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula*, p. 83.

¹¹⁵ Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 135-6; *York Memorandum Book*, pp. 207-10.

¹¹⁶ The ordinances of the fifteenth century are quoted in Barnet, ‘Barber-Surgeons of York,’ pp. 20-2.

¹¹⁷ Michael R. McVaugh, ‘Surgical Education in the Middle Ages,’ *Dynamis* 20 (2000), pp. 283-304.

discreet men as practise the art of surgery.’¹¹⁸ In other words, the reputation of all surgeons suffered as a result of the poor practices of unskilled practitioners.¹¹⁹ Attempting to control this ‘scandal,’ the company elected master barbers to examine the skills of barbers operating within the city. This approach, while effective in judging individual cases, was ultimately unsuccessful on a grander scale. Practitioners who were found to be incompetent in a court may have been reprimanded, but, as Sara Butler demonstrates, in the majority of cases a conviction did not lead to the practitioner ceasing his or her activities.¹²⁰ Other propositions were put forward for regulating the profession, such as merging the barbers’ and surgeons’ guilds to create a more comprehensive regulating body. Furthermore, in 1421 a group of university physicians offered Henry V their help to license medical practitioners. They proposed that England’s sheriffs assemble medical practitioners at either Oxford or Cambridge for ‘trewe and streyte examinacion.’ However, the petition was unsuccessful and only one licence was ever written.¹²¹ In fact, it seemed that all forms of legislation were ineffective, and the company of barbers formally complained about unskilled practitioners at least once in every decade of the fifteenth century (see Fig. 4).¹²² The concerns of regulating preaching and surgery form clear parallels. The same regulatory measures and language was used to condemn unauthorised medical practitioners and preachers, and regulating authorities characterised preaching and surgery by the same problems and solutions. As a result, the connections drawn by surgeons and preachers

¹¹⁸ *Ordinacio facta scrutinio barbitonsorum* in Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, p. 40; *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: I, 1400-1422*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909), f. cxlix, p. 149.

¹¹⁹ Kudlien, ‘Medicine as a ‘Liberal Art,’ pp. 448-59.

¹²⁰ Sara M. Butler, ‘Medicine on Trial: Regulating the Health Professions in Later Medieval England,’ *Florilegium* 28 (2011), pp. 77-91, 88.

¹²¹ Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*, p. 70.

¹²² Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, especially: the 1376 complaint to the Mayor, pp. 35-6; confirmation of the 1376 ordinances in 1410, p. 39; 1415 and 1416 reports to the mayor about unskilled surgeons, pp. 39-40; 1449 petition concerning the appointment of the master barbers, p. 59; 1493 agreement between the barbers’ and surgeons’ companies to investigate unskilled practitioners, p. 66.

Figure 4

A short timeline of surgical craft regulation in London (1369-1451)

- 1369** The Guild of Surgeons gains a court ordinance to examine all surgeons and inspect their instruments.
- 1376** Ordinances of regulation by the Worshipful Company of Barbers. Barbers complain to the mayor and aldermen against unskilled practitioners and request that two masters be appointed yearly to inspect and regulate the craft. It is decided that none should be permitted to practise without due examination of their skill.
- 1387** Further ordinances by the Company of Barbers confirming that each barber makes his payments to the Company every year, lest he be charged with a penalty or be prohibited from practising.
- 1390** In connection with the Surgeon's Guild, four master surgeons of the city are sworn before the mayor to provide expert testimony in cases involving surgery.
- 1410** The ordinances of 1376 are confirmed, with the addition that only barbers, not surgeons, oversee the scrutiny of barbers.
- 1413** Archbishop Thomas Arundel successfully petitions the Company of Barbers to prohibit practice on the sabbath.
- 1415** A complaint is made to mayor and aldermen concerning the unskilful and fraudulent practice of certain barbers in matters of surgery.
- 1416** 'Certain untrustworthy and discreet' barbers are still operating outside of the Company's authority. As a result, a new ordinance is created with renewed emphasis on penalties for offenders.
- 1421** Master barbers petition the king to enable them to examine all barbers and surgeons operating in the country at Oxford or Cambridge, with the intention to grant surgical licences. The legislation ultimately fails, and only one licence is ever granted. Gilbert Kymer (university-trained physician who also practised surgery) makes his first (unsuccessful) attempt to merge the Guild of Surgeons and the Company of Barbers.
- 1423** Kymer successfully merges the Company of Barbers and the Guild of Surgeons in order to oversee regulation and scrutiny as a combined effort. The short-lived union likely lasted less than a year.
- 1451** The Company of barbers introduces new ordinances to impose further penalties on barbers operating without membership. The particular focus rests on 'foreigns' practising in London and those 'evil speakers' who questioned the legitimacy of the craft.

were strengthened. Perhaps most significantly, in both cases regulation was largely ineffective.

Disenfranchised patients and surgeons

The parallels between preaching and medical legislation were not lost on authors of late-medieval England, who found the similarities to be a useful tool in criticising both medical and religious authorities. In the B and C versions of the second passus of *Piers Plowman*, where Holy Church teaches Will how to distinguish falsehood from truth, we are introduced to Liar. Liar seeks shelter among pardoners, physicians, and then finally apothecaries when he is rejected elsewhere:

Lightlich lyer lepe away thanne,
Lorkynge thorw lanes, tolugged of manye:
He was nawhere welcome for his manye tales,
Over al y-howted and y-hote trusse,
Tyl pardoneres haved pité and pulled hym into house;
Wesshen hym and wiped hym and wonden hym in cloutes,
And sente hym on Sondayes [with seles] to [cherche],
And gaf pardoun for pens poundmel aboute.
Thanne loured leches and lettres thei sent
That he sholde wonye with hem wateres to loke.
Spiceres spoke with hym to spien here ware,
For he couth [on] here craft and knewe many gomme.¹²³

First, Liar goes to live with pardoners who provide him with a bishop's seal. This seal would have given him authority to preach and collect money for indulgences. His skills are useful because he is in fact required to lie in order to preach and gain some income. Next, he stays with physicians, who are 'loured' (indignant) at the prospect of losing profitable custom to Liar and the pardoners. Indeed, they were competing for the same customers, with each practitioner treating a different aspect of the overall health of their patients. The physicians give Liar a

¹²³ William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, trans. E. Talbot Donaldson, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Stephen H. A. Shepherd (London: Norton & Company, 2006), B text, Passus 2, ll. 218-29; For the C text, *Piers Plowman: An Annotated Edition of the C-text*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008), Passus 2, ll. 228-39.

licence to inspect urine for diagnosis. This licence is met with scepticism because it took a great deal of training to accurately diagnose a patient by their urine, and authorities were concerned throughout the Middle Ages that unskilled practitioners performed uroscopy without any formal training.¹²⁴ Finally Liar tries his hand at pharmacy. Liar had experience and knowledge of making ‘gommes,’ and so the apothecaries were eager to acquire his services. Much like those sceptical of urine diagnosis, apothecaries faced scrutiny when it came to the effectiveness of their drugs. Lying is again essential here because Liar did not possess the necessary skill to create effective medicines, yet he was required to sell them to physicians and patients.¹²⁵ The proximity of these references is intriguing because it suggests not only a parallel in regulating these professions, but also a comparable scepticism. They were all competing for the same market, that is, of physical and spiritual health, and each used lies to convince customers that theirs was the most effective treatment.

Nonetheless, Langland’s scepticism of medical legislation does not suggest that he prefers alternative healers to those authorised by a licence. In fact, he shows just as much scepticism towards those that reportedly offered healing charms, likening the charms to indulgences. Hawkyn the Active Man, the lay ‘wafrer’ who bakes and sells bread that subtends the Eucharist, has a preoccupation with his bodily health and ignores his spiritual health in pursuit of his active life. In passus 13 of the B and C versions, he imagines writing to the pope to ask for a blessing to protect him against ‘pestilence’ and ‘bocches.’ However, he flatly refuses the subtler ‘lechecraft’ of Christ as a form of protection. Christ’s medicine was entirely

¹²⁴ Licences for inspecting urine were also associated with taking pulses. In fact, one of the earliest restrictions on friars who practised medicine was a specific ban on inspecting urine and taking pulses. This was first mentioned at the Provincial Chapter at Palencia (1249) and repeated at the General Chapter held at Metz (1251). See Montford, *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars*, pp. 115-17.

¹²⁵ For more on Spicerers, apothecaries, and the scepticism shown towards their profession, see: T. Douglas Whittet, ‘Pepperers, Spicers and Grocers – Forerunners of the Apothecaries,’ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 61 (1968), pp. 801-06.

dependent on a spiritual piety and had no physical form such as an indulgence.¹²⁶ Hawkyn's distrust of the Divine Physician leaves him vulnerable to all sorts of spiritual and bodily illnesses. In discussing his own humoral complexion, Hawkyn explains that when he tells tales, imitating the exempla of preachers, no one believes they are truthful, a situation which in turn sends him into a melancholic rage. He exclaims:

There is no lyf that I lovye lastyng any while;
For tales that I telle no man trusteth to me.
And whan I may nought have the maistrye, with malencolye [y-take],
That I cacche the crompe, the cardiacle some tyme,
Or an ague in suche an angre, and some tyme a fevre
That taketh me al a twelfmoneth, tyl that I dispyse
Lechecrafte [of] owre Lorde and leve on a wicche,
And segge that no clerke ne can—ne Cryste, as I leve—
To the souter of Southwerke or of Shordyche Dame Emme.
[For] Goddes worde [ne grace] gaf me nevere bote,
But thorw a charme had I chaunce, and my chief hele.¹²⁷

Through the charms of the shoemaker of Southwark and Dame Emma, Hawkyn believes himself to recover from illness, but he quickly relapses into the same state of ill health. It is Hawkyn's reliance on the physical and distrust of the Divine Physician's treatments that are his undoing. Throughout *Piers Plowman*, Langland presents scepticism towards indulgences and medical charms. Often medical charms were written on slips of parchment or paper and were frequently attached to amulets. Medical charms thus combined the power of words with physical objects. Indulgences likewise invoked the power of the written word on parchment or paper with a bull attached.¹²⁸ It would perhaps go too far to suggest that the blessings of the pope and the charms of Dame Emma and the shoemaker of Southwark are alike—for one thing, the pope's blessings

¹²⁶ *Piers Plowman*, B, passus 13, ll. 248-9.

¹²⁷ *Piers Plowman*, B, passus 13, ll. 331-41.

¹²⁸ The similarities between indulgences and charms have been noted by: Robert N. Swanson, 'Praying for Pardon: Devotional Indulgences in Late Medieval England,' in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late-Medieval Europe*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 215-40; and Mary Agnes Edsall, 'Arma Christi Rolls or Textual Amulets? The Narrow Roll Format Manuscripts of "O Vernicle",' *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 9, 2 (2014), pp. 178-205.

are preventative against time spent in Purgatory rather than curative—but they are both presented as ineffective when compared with the treatments of the Divine Physician. Further, it would be inaccurate to suggest that all medical charms were spurious, and it was not simply wise women who used medical charms; even university-educated physicians that advocated for the strictest rational medicine used some charms, especially if they were associated with a particularly reputable authority. Langland does not present scepticism towards all medical charms, but rather those that were used by unconventional healers that relied mostly on received wisdom or what might be described as folklore, passed down from wise woman to wise woman.¹²⁹

Langland's portrayals of both recognised physicians and alternative healers were infused with an inherent scepticism, particularly towards the amount these practitioners charged for their services. Contemporary sources suggest that an analogous scepticism may have been widespread in late-medieval England. Patients seemed to be uneasy about paying for ineffective treatments, and could, if they desired, turn to multiple kinds of healers. Indeed, the main reason why fifteenth-century England failed to deal with its problem of unauthorised surgeons and preachers was because their services were in demand. If patients desired surgical treatments that expert surgeons refused to provide, they could take their business elsewhere. John Arderne explores such a case of a chaplain who had a tumour on his breast the size of a chicken egg. The chaplain went to several different practitioners in Norwich, but none of them could remove the tumour. He finally visited a well-respected surgeon who advised against the harsh surgeries prescribed by the other, less credible practitioners:

¹²⁹ Lea Olsan, 'The Marginality of Charms in Medieval England,' in *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. James Kapaló, Éva Pócs, and William Ryan (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 135-64; Kathleen Garay and Madeleine Jeay, 'Advice Concerning Pregnancy and Health in Late Medieval Europe: peasant Women's Wisdom in *The Distaff Gospels*,' *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History - Bulletin Canadien D'histoire de la Médecine* 24, 2 (2007), pp. 423-43.

In eadem villa vero fuit quidam chirurgicus [sic] expertus [...]. Medicus ille vero sibi inhibuit ne ullo modo predicto fimo corrosivas vel alias violentas medicinas apponeret seu inscidi permetteretur. Quod si faceret premisit se usque ad mortem ipsius langorem irrecuperabilem incurrere.¹³⁰

In the same town there was an experienced surgeon [...]. The physician warned him not to place corrosives or other violent medicines on the aforesaid sore at any cost, or to allow himself to be operated upon. He was warned that if he experienced any of these [treatments] he ran the risk of contracting an illness from which he would not recover but die.¹³¹

The moral of Arderne's story is that the chaplain only received good advice from the learned surgeon, while the other practitioners made the malady worse. But the story also reveals the conservative nature of some surgeons in carrying out harsh treatments for fear that they would do irreparable damage to the body. Lanfranc of Milan (d. 1306) presents a similar attitude that the tapping of dropsical patients should only be performed if a strong, youthful patient begs (petentem) for the procedure and the surgeon loses hope of curing the condition with other remedies (de cuius es salute per alia experta remedia desperatus).¹³² If the harsh procedure were carried out on one in a weaker state, the patient may not have been able to recover. Lanfranc makes a similar point with respect to hernias, where he urged treatment with bandages and a truss instead of invasive surgery. Although this cautious approach may not have cured the problem, at least the malady would not get any worse and the patient would not have to face a potentially dangerous procedure.¹³³ The Franciscan Servasanto da Faenza (d. c. 1300) likens this caution with that displayed by the confessor or preacher, condemning the ignorant (stultus) spiritual surgeon who applies unnecessarily harsh penance. He explains that the skilled surgeon,

¹³⁰ Peter Murray Jones, 'Surgical Narrative in Middle English,' *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Review* 18 (2005), p. 7.

¹³¹ Murray Jones, 'Surgeon as Story-Teller,' p. 83.

¹³² Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia Magna*, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci*, ed. Guido de Cauliaco (Venice: Octauiani Scoti ciuis Modoetiensis : cura et arte Boneti Locatelli Bergomensis, first printed c. 1498; repr. 1546), f. 246v Hb.

¹³³ Michael R. McVaugh, 'Treatment of Hernia in the Later Middle Ages: Surgical Correction and Social Construction,' in *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, ed. Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, Andrew Cunningham, and Luis García-Ballester (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 136.

like the skilled priest, refrains from violent remedies when emplanting will do.¹³⁴ Emplasters combined medicinal herbs with a resin to cover a wound. They were typically mild treatments that posed minimum risk to the patient, and, partly because of this, emplasters became one of the most common treatments offered by medieval surgeons.¹³⁵

These sources expose a culture in which patients had to beg for treatments that the surgeon deemed to be severe. This was a positive development for the safety of patients because it meant that university-trained surgeons did not cave to the pressure to perform dangerous treatments. Surgeons performed only those treatments that they deemed to be appropriate and safe. They were not expected to follow the demands of patients that lacked any medical knowledge or experience. However, as Michael McVaugh makes clear, patients repeatedly demanded direct treatment of their maladies even if the practitioners were anxious about the consequences. Patient preferences shaped surgical technique, and as a consequence Lanfranc complained about practitioners offering more than they could possibly deliver in order to poach patients from their competition. A patient might be more willing to approach a practitioner that offered a direct treatment of their malady than one that recommended a temporary solution such as emplanting.¹³⁶ It is clear that the caution of experts was beneficial for the safety of the public, but it did not stop patients from desiring invasive and dangerous treatments, and favouring those practitioners that offered them.

Various sermons of the turn of the fifteenth century portray the use of emplasters as evidence of a lack of compassion on the part of what they perceived to be lazy, greedy surgeons. The image of the greedy surgeon who used emplasters for all maladies was often used to target

¹³⁴ Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion* quoting from Servasanto da Faenza, *Liber de exemplis naturalibus* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3436, f. 82v.

¹³⁵ For more on the term ‘emplastering’ and its use in late-medieval England, see MED, sv. emplastren.

¹³⁶ McVaugh, ‘Hernia,’ pp. 136-9.

sinful priests that failed to heal their congregations. An anonymous anticlerical sermon from Cambridge University Library, MS li.3.8, exemplifies this attitude: ‘an unskilled physician thinks he can heal any disease of the body with a single emplaster, and *medici* of the soul think they can heal every spiritual sickness with a single remedy or a single kind of remedy.’ Instead of prescribing different penances for each individual case, these unskilled priests mindlessly offered the same instructions to their parishioners as cure-alls. The preacher argues that a single remedy could not possibly cure the multifarious sins of an entire congregation. Just as these priests do not truly care for the salvation of their congregations, certain bodily surgeons do not seek to rid patients of their maladies. They prescribe the easiest and most inoffensive treatment they can: the emplaster. In place of the ineffective emplaster, spiritual *medici* offer a treatment known in the vernacular as ‘pain money,’ or ‘a laxative of the purse than a remedy for souls.’¹³⁷ The surgeon’s fee is treated as ‘pain-money’ because the emplaster is ineffective and the patient must still pay for the treatment.

The friar Sire Penetrans Domos in passus 20 of the B and C texts of *Piers Plowman* similarly debases the healing power of penance by offering gentle, ineffective emplasters in exchange for money.¹³⁸ Penetrans Domos lacks the attentiveness of Boethius’s Lady Philosophy, who understands the need for severe medicines. He exploits those who are hesitant to suffer for their penance, and seeks to use indulgences as an alternative, though ineffective, means of purging sin. This passage in *Piers Plowman* reflects perhaps the biggest concern of patients in late-medieval England, that they were paying for ineffectual surgery. The Wycliffite revisions to Richard Rolle’s Psalter commentary present this anxiety most succinctly. Psalm 74: 4 abandons

¹³⁷ Wenzel, *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer*, p. 262.

¹³⁸ *Piers Plowman*, B text, Passus 20, pp. 360-2, ll. 356-72; Rosanne Gasse, ‘The Practice of Medicine in *Piers Plowman*,’ *Chaucer Review* 39, 2 (2004), pp. 181-2.

Rolle's original commentary to criticise certain 'Yuel men' and covetous 'leches' who were said to encourage sickness in their flock to gain increased opportunities to accumulate wealth:

And so coueytous leches coueyten þat þe puple were ful of woundes, and hoped noon helpe, ne coupe noon seke but of hem. And þus bi consent þe erpe, and alle þat du[e]llen þerinne þat is in coueytise and lustes, ben melted togyder bi confedrecye to destroye þe fredome of Cristes lawe.¹³⁹

Anne Hudson explains that this passage could refer to the sale of indulgences and other pecuniary penances, but it could also refer to priests' attempts to increase dependency and devotion among their congregations in an attempt to raise income from alms.¹⁴⁰ In a situation where priests deliberately infect the laity, one must instead seek solace in Christ as the only trustworthy physician. A Wycliffite sermon in Bodley 95 presents the same argument, claiming that the clergy exploited their congregations just as surgeons offered emplasters to prolong their patients' illnesses. The author explains that Christ should be one's only physician because he is better equipped and qualified than all 'bodely lechis'. In this sermon, surgeons are conflated with corrupt friars, both of whom had a reputation for exploiting the vulnerable for profit:

A syke man schuld rather chese hym þat woll ley his lif for hym, than a noþer þat woll nott butt ley a plastere to him, takynge largely ther of profyte what he may. he þat is þy curatt hathe vndertake thi soule, if þen woll wurkche as he biddeþe the, and thus by trewe confessor we clepe in goddus name. And if the thus contenewe, the schll be sauýd.¹⁴¹

While the heavenly 'leche' is willing to lay down his life for his patients, greedy surgeons and friars merely offer useless emplasters. The same issue of "pain-money" is emphasised by friars who look to make a profit from their patients. Christ, on the other hand, expects simple devotion and faith as payment. The issue of payment was always contentious for medieval surgeons. One of their most respected authorities, Galen, stated that medicine should be practised charitably and

¹³⁹ Anne Hudson (ed.), *Two Revisions of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*, EETS Original Series 340, 341, 343, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-14), p. 682, ll. 44-51.

¹⁴⁰ Hudson, *Two Revisions*, vol. 3, notes to Ps. 74, ll. 44-69.

¹⁴¹ Bodley 95, f. 11v.

not necessarily for monetary gain.¹⁴² The challenge of negotiating Galen's charitable belief against the demands of the late-medieval craft was shared, *mutatis mutandis*, by the mendicant orders in their own charitable preaching mission. Mendicants faced the same charges of corruption and greed as surgeons, and both struggled to navigate the path between charity and making money for subsistence from donations. The Wycliffite sermon explicitly plays with these tensions in comparing greedy surgeons and mendicant friars, claiming that friars monetised their spiritual healing by begging for money during and after sermons.

This Wycliffite antifraternel critique can be read as more than a mere comparison with surgeons, as some mendicant friars also practised medicine. Indeed, the issue of surgical regulation was complicated by the existence of Dominican and Franciscan 'infirmarers' and 'fratres medici.'¹⁴³ These friars were not strictly surgeons, but would perform certain surgical acts: regularly washing and bandaging wounds, and occasionally performing more complicated procedures such as cautery and the application of corrosives.¹⁴⁴ One of the most famous examples of a friar who practised medicine in England was Henry Danyel. His *Liber*

¹⁴² Galen, *Quod optimus medicus sit etiam philosophus* in *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, ed. Johann Marquardt, Iwan von Müller, and Georg Helmreich, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1884-1893), vol. 2, p. 3 l. 19-p. 4 l. 19; Kudlien, 'Medicine as a 'Liberal Art,' pp. 448-59.

¹⁴³ Infirmarers served in infirmaries and hospital wards. Their role depended on their level of medical knowledge and their seniority. Often an infirmarer acted as a nurse in carrying out basic sanitary and pastoral care. These infirmarers were referred to as 'servitor infirmorum'. More senior infirmarers undertook a supervisory role in overseeing secular physicians and surgeons. Nevertheless, infirmarers carried out some surgical responsibilities, such as bandaging wounds. For more, see: Montford, *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars*: Chapter 3 'In operibus pietatis: the Infirmarers, their Duties and Equipment'; and Peter Murray Jones 'Complexio and Experimentum: Tensions in Late Medieval English Practice' in *The Body in Balance: Humoral Medicines in Practice*, ed. Peregrine Horden and Elizabeth Hsu (New York and London: Berghahn, 2013), pp. 107-128. The 'infirmarers' and 'fratres medici' were always referred to as separate roles. Where the infirmarers' domain was the hospital ward, the *fratres medici* would act in a similar manner to a secular medical practitioner, performing their duties wherever they were required. L. Karl, 'Theodoric de l'ordre des precheurs et sa chirurgie,' *Bulletin de la Societe Francaise d'Histoire de la Medicine* 23 (1929), pp. 140-83; C. Albasini, 'Medici frati e frati medici,' *Bolletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano dell' Arte Sanitaria* 2 (1931), pp. 15-29.

¹⁴⁴ Dominicans such as the famed surgeon Theodoric of Bologna commended cautery and burning as safe procedures that should be regularly used. Angela Montford demonstrates that, despite a lack of detailed accounts from mendicant friars themselves, the orders left records of regular purchases of corrosive ointments and emplasters. Montford, *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars*, p. 126; Faye Marie Getz, 'Archives and sources: medical practitioners in mediaeval England,' *Social History of Medicine* 3, 2 (1990), p. 256.

uricrisiarum, or ‘Pe Boke of Demyng of Vryn,’ was written in the late 1370s and is commonly held to be the earliest known work of academic medicine written in Middle English. Danyel’s text laid bare how uroscopy could be used to diagnose patients. He was acutely aware of the dangers of writing a medical text of uroscopy in the vulgar tongue—namely, that it might lead unskilled practitioners to try their hand, unsuccessfully, at uroscopy—but he believed that enough of his colleagues and acquaintances required such a work.¹⁴⁵ *Fratres medici* occupy a grey area that was not addressed in the legislation that clamped down on secular surgeons and physicians. Still, the Dominicans made several attempts to impose their own internal regulations, such as in Edinburgh, where Dominicans practised surgery and medicine with the aim of adding emoluments to the income of the priory. In 1336, after a series of scandals arose from the ‘damnpnabilis temeritas’ of certain friars who possessed no medical training, the Chapter banned all medical undertakings unless certified with a licence.¹⁴⁶

When the mendicant orders permitted a friar to practise medicine, they were clear that he should receive no payment other than a donation to the order. *Fratres medici* were encouraged to treat medical responsibilities as an extension of the charitable preaching and confessional roles of the order. In 1398, for instance, the Dominican theologian and physician Geoffrey Launde was licensed to give both spiritual and medical services to the household of Edward, Duke of York. Launde became the confessor of Edward’s son, the Duke of Aumale, and was permitted to practise medicine in his household as well as on the Duke’s friends and subordinates.¹⁴⁷ While Launde was praised as a respectable practitioner by those he served and by the order, other friars

¹⁴⁵ Henry Daniel, *Liber uricrisiarum: A Reading Edition*, ed. E. Ruth Harvey, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Sarah Star (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), p. 35, ll. 1-5.

¹⁴⁶ William Moir Bryce, *The Black Friars of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1911), pp. 26-7.

¹⁴⁷ Benedikt Maria Reichert (ed.), *Registrum litterarum Raymundi de Capua, 1386-1399: [et] Leonardi di Mansuetis, 1474-1480* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1911), p. 200.

were accused of exploiting the infirm for money. Eryk de Vedica, a Dutch friar of the Greyfriars of London, for instance, found himself in trouble in 1477 when he received 20s from a patient who suffered ‘soo grete a disease in her lymmes that a grete part of the fflessh of her legges was rotyn away’. The patient’s husband claimed that Eryk had not cured his wife’s ailment but had still taken a payment. In fairness to Eryk, there is no indication that he had asked for the money, but rather that it was a donation given after five weeks of treatment. Nevertheless, the court ruled against Eryk because the patient’s husband had not authorised the payment.¹⁴⁸

Wycliffites distinguish themselves from friars such as Eryk de Vedica by stating that they expect no payment for their spiritual treatments. Certain Wycliffite preachers claimed that they provided free spiritual wound care through their sermons, which enabled their audiences to directly engage with Scripture in the vernacular. These preachers would not charge audiences because they saw themselves as simply disseminating the word of God. A Wycliffite sermon, entitled ‘Vnius Confessoris et Doctoris,’ uses salt as a theme and describes its use in an emplaster. The preacher, like *Christus chirurgus*, presented himself as both a patient and surgeon in this sermon. He represented a dissatisfied patient in deriding the ineffective emplasters of lying friars, and he presented himself as an alternative surgeon by offering a salvific emplaster created from the words of Scripture. The sermon begins by elucidating the allegorical symbolism of salt: ‘Clerkus seyn þat salt is maad of grauel and of watur, wiþ hete of sonne or of fuyr, and maad hard wiþ blast of þe wynd; and by Aristotle rewle it is dissolued by þe contrarye, and so cold þing and moyst dissolueþ salt, siþ hoot þing and druye makuþ it hard.’ This salt would be

¹⁴⁸ *Additional Material For the History of the Grey Friars, London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1922), pp. 147-9.

used in a resin to make emplasters for covering wounds and protecting broken bones.¹⁴⁹ The difference between this emplaster and those of greedy surgeons is that the Wycliffite preacher's emplaster heals the audience. This emplaster was not simply a protective covering for a wound, but a healing treatment itself.

The salt also relates to Christ's true disciples, the 'salt of the earth' (Matt. 5: 13) of the Sermon on the Mount:

Þes disciplus ben maade salt þat som tyme weron vnstable as grauel, by þe watur of baptem, and heete of charyte, and wynd of þe Hooly Gost, to sauere men as salt doþ; and þese ben maade whizter þan snow fro þe blacnesse of þer synne. And kynde of watur saddud [solidifies] in hem bytookneþ þe stable wyt of God. [...] And þus schuldon doctoures teche þe puple hou3 þei schuldon lyue to God, and how þei schildon do þer almys; for 3if coueytous men robbe, to hem þei be not salt but cold watur.

Those doctors who feign to teach charity are merely water, lacking the salt of wisdom, and consequently they are equally to blame for the theft of alms by their covetous pupils. The water was a vital component of the resin mixture, but the salt was the chief ingredient that made it a healing treatment. Living according to God's law and maintaining religious devotion are fundamental in preserving this salt, lest one be left merely with cold water.

Throughout the entire cycle, the Wycliffite preachers are vehemently antifraternial, differentiating the correct types of almsgiving from the improper. Wycliffites wanted to ensure that offerings went to the deserving poor as opposed to greedy and corrupt friars. Friars who accepted alms were said to love possessions and wealth, abandoning the apostolic poverty of St Francis of Assisi. The author of 'Vnius Confessoris et Doctoris' borrows from Ambrose in arguing that preaching is impeded by worldly goods and the ecclesiastical administrators who love them. For Ambrose, true preachers are given the 'eyes of faith' to see through the vanity of

¹⁴⁹ Anne Russcher and Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, "'For a Broken Limb': Fracture Treatment in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. László Sándor Chardonnens and Bryan Carella, Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik 69 (Turnhout: Brill, 2012), p. 155.

worldly goods to what is spiritual. Hence mendicants did not preach Christ's truth, because according to the Wycliffites they were tainted by worldly possessions and hamstrung by the corrupt administration of the preaching orders.¹⁵⁰ The sermon continues:

O propurte of salt is þat it makuþ flesch druye, and kepuþ it fro rotyng, fro stynkyng and fro wormes. So preestus, by Godus wordus, schulde haue hem to fleschly men. Þei schuldon druyen hem from lecherye, and kepe hem from yuel conscience, and fro stynkyng of synne.

Here the author diverges from his theme of wound treatment to discuss another use of salt, in preserving meat, specifically in drying the flesh and keeping it from rotting. Lechery, an evil conscience, and sin are used to parallel rotting, noisome meat and the maggots that inhabit it. The salt is used as a prophylactic to preserve a spiritually healthy life and to avoid the rotting of sin. Then the author describes how this salt is used to treat wounds in the same manner that it preserves meat:

And þus dupe wowndus in a man þat were growndid in oold synne schulde ben helud by vertew of God; and þanne men kepton þe kynde of salt, and faylyng in ony of þes wolde make faylyng in owre salt. And þus may men wyte wher bischopus, or oþre prechowrus to þe puple, faylon in þis kynde of salt.

These deep wounds represent sin that a certain type of salt is used to dry and purge.¹⁵¹ Bishops and certain preachers were seen to languish in their wounds and to encourage others to fall into sin with their love of the worldly. For the wounds to be cured, one must use the virtues of the salvific emplaster that is composed of the salt of the earth.

The Wycliffite preacher concludes: 'þes prelatuþ þat schulden be salt, and make Godus lawe sauery (for as seyn Poule techeth us owre word schulde be sauerud wiþ salt), þei be now fresch, brutul and stynkyng, and turnede al fro þe kynde of salt; and wiþ stynkyng wordus and

¹⁵⁰ Craig Alan Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002), p. 247.

¹⁵¹ This salt is most likely salt ammoniac or gem-salt. Juhani Norri, *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary in English, 1375-1550: Body Parts, Sicknesses, Instruments, and Medicinal Preparations, Parts I & II* (London: Routledge, 2016), sv. salt.

lawe þei maken Godus lawe vnsauery.¹⁵² Here another type of salt, table salt, enables the digestion of Scripture. The metaphors become entangled as table salt is mixed with the coarse salt used in wound treatment. As a result, the rotting meat is purged and in turn God's Law becomes savoury for the contrite. Distinguished from softer emplasters, such as those offered by Sire Penetrans Domos in *Piers Plowman*, the salt-based emplaster is a relatively harsh treatment that dries and purges the infected wounds of sin. Like disillusioned patients, unhappy with gentle, but ineffectual, emplasters, the Wycliffites vilified friars who greedily begged for money in exchange for spiritual healing. Preachers also identified with disenfranchised surgeons who, unlike ecclesiastically sanctioned priests and friars, offered the truly salvific emplaster in the virtue of Scripture and God's Law. This scriptural emplaster enabled the Wycliffites to heal those crying out for God's medicine in a language that the laity understood: Middle English.

Christus chirurgus is one image among many that preachers used in late-medieval England, but it held a topical, cultural significance that was entangled with the development of surgery and the Wycliffite pastoral program. Wycliffite sermons drew on contemporary events, providing an alternative voice in the history of medicine. These dissident preachers, to a greater extent than their contemporaries, expounded a rhetoric of marginalised patients and disenfranchised surgeons in their sermons. Many Wycliffites—though not all of them, as some were themselves priests and may even have been members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in England—delivered sermons without authorisation, much like unsanctioned barbers and surgeons. They turned *Christus chirurgus* from an abstract theological image to the central actor in exempla that offered social criticism alongside pastoral instruction. Their sermons invoked Christ and his healing as a contrast to corrupt friars, confessors, and priests. The ineffective

¹⁵² *English Wycliffite Sermons*, Sermon 80, pp. 142-5.

spiritual surgery of corrupt members of the clergy paralleled uncompassionate bodily surgeons who extorted money from the vulnerable by laying down impotent emplaisters and ignoring the requests of patients for more severe and effective treatments. Whether these opinions were reflected in society at large cannot be ascertained with certainty. Even if these were minority opinions, the Wycliffites drew upon such discontent with a critical eye towards the development of spiritual and bodily surgery. But Wycliffite sermons had a practical application for their pastoral mission. Instead of relying on priests to mediate between the human and the divine, Wycliffite preachers encouraged the laity to directly engage with Christ the Divine Surgeon. Through confession directly to Christ and sermons that stuck faithfully to Scripture, the Wycliffites sought to open channels of communication, interaction, and healing between Christ and the laity.

CHAPTER 4

The Diseased *Ecclesia* from Jan Hus's Exile to the Council of Basel

In the high and late Middle Ages the structure of the Church was theorised according to an organological model in which it was depicted as a living human body.¹ While the clergy served as its members, which ensured that the body functioned as intended, the pope directed and controlled the Church as its head.² However, the body became monstrously deformed during the Papal Schism, where there were two, and at one point three competing popes. Dissidents and Church officials alike treated the Schism as a crisis that had broad implications for every Christian. On one hand, dissident preachers among the Wycliffites and Hussites argued that the competing popes led to a lack of accountability among the clergy, who exploited the situation for their own benefit. The exploitative priests and friars that they described caused spiritual wounds and illnesses in the body of the Church that only Christ's faithful preachers could treat. On the other hand, Church officials felt that dissident groups sought to spread their pernicious heresies at a time when the Church and its congregations were most vulnerable. Issues of direction and control were addressed at the Councils of Constance and Basel, which attempted to end the schism and stop the Wycliffite and Hussite heresies.

¹ The organological model originally applied to the structure and function of secular rule in the twelfth century, most famously in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. The model was quickly adopted in discussions of ecclesiology, perhaps most notably by Thomas Aquinas who set the standard for future discussions of the Church as a living body. See: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1957; 2nd edn. 1997), pp. 194-206; and Klaus Schatz, *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present*, trans. John A. Otto and Linda M. Maloney (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), p. 94.

² This corporate understanding of the Church was a Western development. The Orthodox Church differed from the West because their ecumenical councils had the authority to depose any patriarch if they drifted into heresy. This Orthodox position, as we will see, was adopted by many reformists in England and Bohemia. Martin Anton Schmidt, 'The Problem of Papal Primacy at the Council of Florence,' *Church History* 30 (1961), pp. 36-7.

At these councils, the Church faced significant opposition from Hussite preachers and theologians who questioned the authority and legitimacy of the papacy, particularly during the Schism. In fact, certain Hussites, especially after Hus's death, believed the papacy to be the seat of the Antichrist. This heretical suggestion went far beyond the anticlerical criticisms of other theologians and pushed the council fathers to act against the Hussites. The philosophical realist theology of John Wyclif was crucial in the formation of Hussite ideas about the place of the papacy within the Church and the coming of the Antichrist. Philosophical realism that emerged from universities such as Oxford and the English-German *natio* at the University of Paris served to influence scholars in Prague. For example, Matěj of Janov (d. 1393) studied at Paris and was greatly influenced by theologians of the English-German *natio*.³ Realist, or extreme realist, theologians, most notably John Wyclif, challenged the widely accepted views of Aquinas. Aquinas's moderate realism claimed that there were two forms of sovereignty within the Church, a lesser and superior form.⁴ The superior form was given by Christ to the papacy, but the lesser form was not directly given by Christ. Instead the papacy gave the lesser form of authority to the members of the Church, and thus the papacy was the sole source of power insofar as the members were concerned. Wyclif, on the other hand, placed supreme authority in Christ alone. This meant that Christ was the sole head of the Church, and that the papacy shared the exact same form of authority as the other members. It would go too far to suggest that Wyclif considered the pope to be equal to the lower clergy as just another member; rather, he drew a distinction between the Church on earth and the eternal Church that Christ ruled. The earthly

³ Stanisław Bylina, *Hussitica Studia* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2007), p. 19.

⁴ See: Margaret M. Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes 1378 to 1409*, Kirchengeschichtliche Quellen und Studien 12 (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag der Erzabtei, 1983); and Robert N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism*, Cambridge studies in Medieval Life and Thought, third series, 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Church that the pope ruled was inferior to the eternal Church and it was also susceptible to the folly of humanity and sin. Therefore, if the papacy proved to act against the wishes of Christ, who was the only real and eternal sovereign, the pope could be deposed.⁵

Wyclif's supreme devotion to Christ as the sole head of the eternal Church challenged the structure of the body of the Church and the ability of the clergy to administer Christ's *salus*.⁶ Similar issues had been raised during the early Bohemian reform movement by Konrad Waldhauser, Jan Milič of Kroměříž, and Matěj of Janov, who preached about the moral corruption of the clergy and especially of mendicant friars. Wycliffite influences later combined with native Bohemian reformist ideas to create a particularly vehement antimendicant discourse in Bohemia.⁷ Many objected to itinerant mendicant friars and the competition they posed to local parish priests. As a result, the image of the humble parish priest was valorised and the friar became a symbol of foreignness—both in their unfamiliarity to congregations and their differing practices from the established secular clergy.

Antimendicantism created a mood of opposition to centralised Church government and an openness to grass-roots religiosity inside Bohemia that Hussite preachers were able to exploit.⁸ The disdain created by the antimendicant mood of the early reform movement quickly transformed into a broader anticlerical rhetoric that was led and inspired by Jan Hus and Jakoubek of Stříbro. These preachers attacked the structure of the Church, characterising the

⁵ For the most comprehensive discussion of Wyclif's conception of the universals, see: Stephen E. Lahey, *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 68-107; and Ian Christopher Levy, *John Wyclif: Scriptural Logic, Real Presence, and the Parameters of Orthodoxy*, Marquette studies in theology 36 (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2003), pp. 47-62.

⁶ Stephen E. Lahey, 'Stanislaus of Znojmo and Prague Realism: First Principles of Theological Reasoning,' *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28, special edition *Jan Hus in History and Legacy 1415-2015*, ed. Thomas A. Fudge (2015), pp. 9-26; and Stephen E. Lahey, 'Wyclif in Bohemia,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 63-98; Josef Trška, *Literární činnost předhusitské university* (Prague: Charles University, 1967), pp. 96-101.

⁷ Olivier Marin, *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí, 1360-1419* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2017), pp. 48-9.

⁸ Marin, *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí*, p. 158.

once healthy body of the *ecclesia* as rife with disease and in urgent need of dietic purgation to bring it back to health. Hussite preachers repeatedly used medical metaphors to expose the Church's flaws and the ways in which it could be made healthy again. Their treatments sought to turn the Church from its present state, a multi-headed beast that was full of corruption, back into a body that had Christ as its singular head.⁹

One of the most pervasive images of the Hussite organological conception of the Church was that corrupt clergymen were waste or excess humours that threw off the balanced complexion of the body. Drawing on the apocalyptic theology of Wyclif, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, and Matěj of Janov, Hussite theologians argued that the papacy had been infiltrated (or would soon be infiltrated) by the Antichrist. The Antichrist's entry into the Church hierarchy would signal the beginning of a long reign that would eventually be ended by Christ. When the Antichrist controlled the Church at its head, corruption would spread down through the members and throw off the humoral complexion of the entire body. This corruption would turn the body of the Church into the Church or Synagogue of the Antichrist. The Church of the Antichrist would exist in parallel to Christ's Church, which was composed of Christ's true followers who would preach and administer the sacraments as he intended.

Jan Hus argued that corrupt clergymen were not legitimate members of Christ's mystical body, but rather foul humours, or superfluous matter, that had to be expelled to return to health:

sicut aliquid est in humano corpore quod non est pars ipsius corporis, ut sputum, flegma, stercus, apostema vel urina, et illud non est de corpore, cum non sit pars corporis, aliud vero est in humano corpore tamquam pars eius ut omne membrum eius, sic aliud est in corpore Christi mistico, quod est ecclesia, et tamen non est de ecclesia, cum non sit pars

⁹ In order to prove the decline in the sovereignty of the papacy, Hus references the female Pope Joan, the supposedly illiterate layman antipope Constantine II, the layman antipope Gregory VI, and Pope Liberius who was a sympathiser of Arianism. Hus finally traces papal supremacy over all ecclesiastical dignitaries to the endowments granted to Pope Sylvester by Emperor Constantine. Each of these popes acted contrary to Christ and St Peter, either by their actions or by virtue of who they were. *M. Jana Husi Korespondence a dokumenty*, ed. Václav Novotný, (Prague: Nákladem Komise pro Vydávání Pramenů Náboženského Hnutí Českého, 1920), document 60: 'M. Jan Hus M. Křišť'anovi z Prachatic, rektoru univerzity,' p. 167.

eius; quomodo est omnis christianus prescitus de ipso corpore tamquam stercus finaliter egerendus. Et sic aliud est esse de ecclesia, aliud esse in ecclesia.¹⁰

just as there is an element *in* the human body that is foreign to it, such as spittle, phlegm, excrement, an abscess, or urine, and that is not *of* the body, since it is not a part of it; yet it is different to be *in* the human body than to be part *of* it, as each of its members, so there is in Christ's mystical body, which is the Church, something that is not a part of it. In this way, every foreknown Christian (i.e. member of the Church of Antichrist) is *in* that body, just as excrement is in the body, eventually to be discharged. It is one thing to be *of* the Church, and another to be *in* the Church.

The notion that corrupt members of the Church were to be compared with waste material that was not properly part of the body had its direct counterpart in humoral theory. Medieval physicians would regularly prescribe medicines in order to expel such humours.¹¹ For instance, a physician would prescribe laxatives as a means of cleansing, because constipation could cause dysfunction that could spread harmful humours to other parts of the body.¹² Similarly, too much phlegm could corrupt the head, rendering the body cold and moist and leaving the body vulnerable to further illness.¹³ In order to return the Church to health, therefore, the corrupt members of the Church had to be removed and medicine had to be applied to those that had been led astray by the Antichrist. Accordingly, Hus and the Hussites depicted their roles as akin to that of physicians regulating the body to ensure that the complexion was balanced. They sought to

¹⁰ In this passage, Hus draws on Wyclif, who wrote in a similar manner about excess and the clergy. Nevertheless, Hus expands on Wyclif's rhetoric, applying it alongside an organological model that sought to differentiate the true members of Christ's Church from those who were superfluous. Jan Hus, *Magistri Johannis Hus Tractatus de ecclesia*, ed. S. Harrison Thomson (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1956), cap. 3E, pp. 14-15.

¹¹ Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 101-6. Siraisi does not address organological concepts of the Church, but does maintain that outside factors corrupt the body, which is the point of Hus's analogy; see also Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Food and the Body: Some Peculiar Questions in High Medieval Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 107-8.

¹² Susan Signe Morrison describes excrement as having a 'disruptive' potential both in medieval literature and humoral medicine. *Excrement in the Late Middle Ages: Sacred Filth and Chaucer's Fecopoetics* (New York: MacMillan, 2008), pp. 1-10. The *Articella* describes the virtues of laxatives in creating the ideal disposition for the patient. See: Faith Wallis, 'The Ghost in the *Articella*: A Twelfth-Century Commentary on the Constantinian *Liber Graduum*,' in *Herbs and Healers from the Ancient Mediterranean through the Medieval West: Essays in Honor of John M. Riddle*, ed. Anne Van Arsdall and Timothy Graham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 125, 141.

¹³ This would in some cases make the patient lethargic, see: Faith Wallis, 'Signs and Senses: Diagnosis and Prognosis in Early Medieval Pulse and Urine Texts,' *Social History of Medicine* 13, 2 (2000), pp. 265-78. For further examples, see: Faye M. Getz, *Healing in Medieval England: A Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), pp. xxxiv, xli.

achieve a balance of humours through a renewed emphasis on the *cura animarum*, with its associated duties as defined by Hus: ‘homines baptizare, infirmos curare, demones eicere, sacrificium corporis Christi offerre’ [baptizing men, healing the sick, casting out devils, and offering up the sacrifice of Christ’s body].¹⁴ Hussite preachers treated these pastoral concerns as if they were a dietary regimen imposed by *Christus medicus* to heal the diseased Church and expel that which was *in* the body but not *of* it.

There was remarkable consistency in the Hussite discourse of disease and humoral imagery from the time of Hus’s exile from Prague in 1412 through to the build-up to the Council of Basel.¹⁵ The rhetoric of disease and the Antichrist was initially directed towards the papacy alone, but after the Taborites emerged around 1419, the designation of the term ‘Antichrist’ shifted. I argue that disease and humoral imagery came to be applied on two fronts; it continued to be applied to the papacy, but was also used by Utraquists and radical Hussites against each other in their disputes over the correct methods of glossing Scripture.¹⁶ Although the two wings of the Hussite movement diverged on a number of positions and began to direct the invective about the Antichrist toward one another, the imagery that linked the Antichrist with medical

¹⁴ Vlastimil Kybal, *M. Jan Hus: život a učení*, 3 vols. (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1923-1931), vol. 2, p. 193; Jan Hus, *De Ecclesia: The Church by John Huss*, trans. David D. Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1915), p. 149. For more on the *cura animarum* and the pastoral duties of the clergy, see: Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 12-20.

¹⁵ For an introduction to the history of the split between the Utraquists and Taborites, see: Pavlína Cermanová, ‘Husitský radikalismus,’ in *Husitské století*, ed. Pavlína Cermanová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2014) pp. 84-107. In this current chapter, I take the works outlined by Josef Macek in ‘Táborské chiliastické články,’ *Sborník historický* 1 (1953), pp. 53-64; and Pavel Soukup, ‘The Masters and the End of the World: Exegesis in the Polemics with Chiliasm,’ *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 7 (2009), p. 93, as representative of the Taborite movement as a whole, but there is some debate as to what constitutes the Taborite theology.

¹⁶ The Taborites emerged from the movement that the university Utraquists, such as Jakoubek of Stříbro, set in motion and quickly spread out from the intellectual milieu in Prague to rural communities across Bohemia. There is a large amount of scholarship devoted to establishing the extent to which Jakoubek was an influence on the Taborite movement. This has recently been summarised by Jindřich Marek in *Jakoubek ze Stříbra a počátky utrakvistického kazatelství v českých zemích: studie o Jakoubkově postile z let 1413-1414* (Prague: Národní knihovna České republiky, 2011), pp. 44-8. See also: Jiří Kejř, *Mistři pražské univerzity a kněží táborští* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1981), pp. 71-3.

terminology remained consistent. This medical imagery was significant in associating practical ideas of reform with the drive to remove corrupt clergymen from the Church. Nevertheless, the imagery of the diseased *ecclesia* was not merely reserved for the Taborites and Utraquists. Other radical factions of the Hussite movement—such as the east Bohemian Orebites or Orphans, who were followers of Jan Žižka, and the Pikarts, a sect of the Taborite movement that split off in the 1420s—presented positions on the Antichrist that similarly drew on humoral theory.¹⁷ After these splintered Hussite groups used the disease rhetoric against each other in the 1420s, the radical and moderate sides of the movement reunited to fight off the crusading forces of the Church led by Sigismund of Luxembourg. During these anti-Hussite Crusades, the invective returned to its original designation of the papal Antichrist.

The first two sections of this chapter consider Hussite depictions of the diseased *ecclesia* and proposals for its cure. Once corruption had been identified, the tools at the disposal of the Church, particularly excommunication, were to be used as medicine to remove the corrupt members and reintroduce those that had been led astray by the false preaching of the Antichrist and his satellites.¹⁸ Excommunication and condemnation (as it was defined in canon law: judgement on those found guilty of breaking Church law) became pressing concerns for the Hussites and orthodox churchmen alike, especially after Jan Hus and then Jerome of Prague were excommunicated and executed at the Council of Constance in 1415 and 1416, respectively. The Hussites perceived the actions at Constance to be an abuse of power, which in turn compelled

¹⁷ There is not space here to cover all the differences between the various factions of the Hussite movement. For more on this issue and nomenclature, see: Phillip Haberkern, 'What's in a Name, or What's at Stake When We Talk about "Hussites"?', *History Compass* 9 (2011), pp. 791-801; and Petra Mutlová, 'Major Hussite Theologians before the *Compacta*,' in *Companion to the Hussite Movement*, ed. Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 101-41.

¹⁸ Vlastimil Kybal, 'M. Matěj z Janova a M. Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Srovnávací kapitola o Antikristu,' *Český Časopis Historický* 11 (1905), pp. 22-37; Karel Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách a umění středověku a husitské obrazné antithese* (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1918); Pavlína Cermanová, *Čechy na konci věků. Apokalyptické myšlení a vize husitské doby* (Prague: Argo, 2013), pp. 55-67.

them to consider how the tools of excommunication and condemnation could legitimately be used to heal the body of the Church.

After the executions at Constance, Utraquists and later Taborites focused on regulating the health of the ecclesiastical body through preaching and exegesis. The second two sections analyse these emphases of the post-Constance Hussite movement, in which preaching came to be associated with medicine through the rhetoric of the *verbi medicina*. According to this discourse, the words of Scripture, whether heard in a sermon or read in a biblical commentary, served to heal the soul. Healing was nevertheless dependent on whether the preacher or author faithfully interpreted Scripture. Interpretation was a major concern for the Hussites because they worried that clergymen used extra-biblical material too liberally and, as a result, morphed the true meaning of God's words. Preaching and glossing became a source of contention among the Hussites themselves, in fact, as the radical Hussites and the moderate Utraquists disagreed on the legitimacy of certain glosses and readings of Scripture. Above all, both sides agreed that if the purity of the Word was ingested properly, the souls of the faithful would assimilate the salvific humours of Christ into the body of the Church. Ideas of assimilating Scripture and digestion created a rift in the Hussite movement that was settled in extraordinary circumstances, by rallying against the forces of Sigismund prior to the Council of Basel.

Identifying and curing disease

The connected Hussite concerns of identifying the Antichrist and depicting the organological construction of the Church, derives chiefly from the Bohemian reform movement of the late fourteenth century.¹⁹ Possibly the most influential figure in these discussions was Matěj of

¹⁹ These Bohemian reformist thinkers were not the first to address the Antichrist in relation to the organological model of the Church. These ideas turn up, though in a largely separate discourse, in the apocalyptic writings of

Janov,²⁰ a Paris-trained theologian who returned to Bohemia as a key voice in the reform movement that was initiated by Konrad Waldhauser and particularly, as we have already seen, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž.²¹ Milíč was perhaps the first in the Bohemian reform movement to discuss the disease caused by the corrupt practices of the clergy, declaring, '[s]erpit hodie putrida tabes per omne corpus ecclesie, et quo lacius, eo desperacius eoque periculosius, quo interius' [today a putrid wasting disease spreads slowly through the whole body of the Church, and the wider it spreads, the more desperate and dangerous it is, and thus the more penetrating].²² Matěj took Milíč's discourse of disease and expanded upon it in the third book of his *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamentum*, which describes an organological Church of the Antichrist. Crucially, Matěj

Joachim of Fiore and Peter John Olivi among others. See: Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1994); idem, 'Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist,' in his *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 430 (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 1994), pp. 155-73.

²⁰ Matěj took his inspiration from Jan Milíč and his apocalyptic writings and warnings, even incorporating Milíč's *Libellus de anticristo* in his *Regulae*. See: Pavel Soukup, 'Die Predigt als Mittel religiöser Erneuerung: Böhmen um 1400,' in *Böhmen und das Deutsche Reich. Ideen- und Kulturtransfer im Vergleich (13.-16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Eva Schlotheuber and Hubertus Seibert, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 116 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), pp. 235-64; Daniel S. Larangé, *La Parole de Dieu en Bohême et Moravie: La tradition de la prédication dans l'Unité des Frères de Jan Hus à Jan Amos Comenius* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 177-87, 273-75.

²¹ Matěj of Janov was greatly influenced by the English-German *natio* at the University of Paris, and he favoured the realist philosophies of those such as John Wyclif. While Wyclif clearly was not part of the *natio* in Paris, those that were members were influenced by English masters such as himself. Matěj does not explicitly refer to Wyclif as an influence, and the details of whether he would have read Wyclif are hazy. Nonetheless, there is a similarity in their ideas even if they did not directly influence one another. Stephen E. Lahey, 'Matěj of Janov: Corpus Mysticum, Communionem, and the Lost Treatise of His Regulae,' *Religions* 9, 16 (2018), pp. 1-3. The influence of Wyclif and Matěj of Janov on subsequent Bohemian dissidents has been explored extensively, see: Vlastimil Kybal, *Mistr Matěj z Janova, jeho život, spisy a učení* (Prague: L. Marek, 1905); Howard Kaminsky, 'Nicholas of Pelhřimov's Tábor: an Adventure into the Eschaton,' in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky and František Šmahel, Historica Series nova Supplementum 1 (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1996), pp. 144-67; Jan Sedlák, 'Počátkové kalicha,' *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* 52 (1911), especially p. 788; Kybal, 'M. Matěj z Janova a M. Jakoubek ze Stríbra,' pp. 22-37; Bernhard Töpfer, 'Chiliasmatische Elemente in der Eschatologie des Mathias von Janov,' in *Ost und West in der Geschichte des Denkens und der kulturellen Beziehungen. Festschrift für E. Winter zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Steinitz and E. Winter (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), pp. 59-79; Jana Nechutová, 'Filosofické zdroje díla M. Matěje z Janova,' *Filosofický časopis* 18 (1970), pp. 1010-18; Jana Nechutová, 'Eschatologie in Böhmen vor Hus,' in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, ed. František Šmahel and Antonín Hrubý (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1996), pp. 61-72; Pavlína Cermanová, *Čechy na konci věků. Apokalyptické myšlení a vize husitské doby* (Prague: Argo, 2013), pp. 55-67; and Pavlína Cermanová, 'The Apocalyptic background of Hussite radicalism,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 187-218.

²² From his synodal sermon 'Audite reges' in *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir Tres Sermones Synodales*, ed. Vilém Herold and Milan Mráz (Prague: Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovaca, 1974), p. 113, 280-1.

argued that the head of the Church, the papacy, would become the seat of the Antichrist in the End Times before the Second Coming of Christ.²³ Matěj saw the Papal Schism as an obvious sign that his predictions were unfolding, and that the papal Antichrist would be exposed imminently. This was, in fact, so obvious that he declared that ‘notum potest esse illi, qui non dormit’ [it must be clear to everyone who is not asleep].²⁴

Consequently, Matěj viewed the Schism as an event that exposed the head of the Church along with Antichrist’s satellites on every level, from the bottom up:

Et quia hodie ecclesia christianorum est maxime divisa et scissa a summo usque ad deorsum, et in capite et in membris, et omne caput languidum et omne cor merens a planta pedis usque ad verticem, non est in eo sanitas, ideo hodie maxime manifesta est plenitudo corporis simul et capitis bestialis Antichristi.²⁵

And because today the Christian Church is wholly divided and split from top to bottom, in both head and members, and every head is languid and every heart mournful, from sole to crown there is no health, therefore, today the full form of the body and bestial head of the Antichrist is altogether evident.

The separation caused by schism is equated with a split from God’s unifying love. For Matěj, the schisms throughout the entire body of the Church were caused by clergymen who acted against the best interests of Christ. The clergy spread the pernicious influence of the Antichrist throughout the Church, in much the same way that an illness can corrupt the rest of the body if

²³ This was a key source that informed almost all of the major Hussite works on the Antichrist. See: Pavlína Cermanová, *Čechy na konci věků*, pp. 55-67; Cermanová, ‘Apocalyptic background of Hussite radicalism,’ pp. 188-96; Helena Krmíčková, *Studie a texty k počátkům kalicha v Čechách* (Brno: Masaryk University, 1997), pp. 86-119; Helena Krmíčková, ‘Vliv Matěje z Janova na utrakvismus Jakoubka ze Stříbra a Mikuláše z Drážďan,’ in *Mistr Matěj z Janova ve své a v naší době*, ed. Jan B. Lášek and Karel Skalický (Brno: L. Marek, 2002), pp. 78-81.

²⁴ Matěj of Janov, *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamentum*, vols. 1-4, ed. Vlastimil Kybal (Prague: Innsbruck, 1908-1913); vol. 5, ed. Vlastimil Kybal and Otakar Odložilík (Prague: Innsbruck, 1913); vol. 6, ed. Jana Nechutová and Helena Krmíčková, *Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 69* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993), vol. 3, lib. 3, tr. 5, dist. 5, cap. 8, p. 30: ‘Quod vero est ille in hoc tempore, qui est mendax et venit per mendacium in papatum, notum potest esse illi, qui non dormit.’ Matěj largely draws from Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, *Libellus de Antichristo*, cap. 3 in his *Regulae*, vol. 3, p. 377: ‘Novissima hora est et dies instat iudicii ex eo, quia discessio predicta ab apostolo venit, que in Danielis oracione describitur’. Here Milíč is particularly referring to Dan. 9: 4 and to the types of predictions made in 2 Thess. 2: 3.

²⁵ *Regulae*, vol. 3, lib. 3, tr. 5, dist. 6, cap. 6, p. 74.

left untreated. Matěj describes this sickness gnawing at the insides of the body of the Church before eventually spreading to the head:

in corpore fuisse multam et variam scissuram et corrosionem intestinam, et per singula membra mortis diffusionem; dehinc spiritus vertiginis eciam capiti est inmissus et ipsum caput divisit et infatuavit. Docet namque hoc *Natura Rerum*, quod humores pessimi gravati in corpore et ex corpore et maxime ex stomacho viciato ascendant ad ipsum caput et corumpunt ipsum, et ita dehinc prociunt facile totum corpus et membra simul ipsius perfecte dissipando.

in the body there are many diverse schisms and corrosions on the inside, and death can spread through singular members; thereafter the spirit and the head are sent into dizziness and the head itself is divided and made a fool. *On the Nature of Things* teaches that the worst kinds of humours in the body ascend from the stomach to corrupt it, like a cud from the gut to the head, and so [the head] is thrown forth easily, befouling the whole body and its members.²⁶

Cud is formed in the stomach of the ecclesiastical body when clergymen act in a selfish manner that does not serve the betterment of the Church. Throughout the *Regulae*, Matěj states that simony was particularly bad for the health of the Church. He explains that the sin of simony lingered and in turn corrupted other parts of the *ecclesia*. As a result of the Church tolerating simony on an institutional level, such selfish acts became normalised and more and more clergymen were corrupted. The notoriety of such corruption reflected poorly on the papal head, as, after all, it represented and guided the body. Matěj goes on to imply that the antipope Clement VII was corrupted because of systemic simony that spread upwards to the top of the Church hierarchy, just as cud, when it is not broken down, creates vapours from the stomach that rise to the head and cause dizziness.²⁷ Matěj takes the traditional usage of cud in a spiritual

²⁶ *Regulae*, vol. 2, lib. 3, tr. 4, dist. 4, cap. 14, p. 187. Translation based on Lahey, 'Matěj of Janov,' p. 7. The text *Natura rerum* mentioned here could possibly be a reference to Alexander Neckam's text, rather than the more commonly cited Isidore of Seville.

²⁷ The failure of the stomach to break down cud, which led to vapours rising to the brain, was a key concern of regimental medical texts of the period. A prime example is shown by Thomas of Wrocław (d. c. 1378), a preeminent Silesian physician and humoral theorist, who claimed that cud remaining in the stomach caused excess humours to rise to the brain. Vapours in the brain in turn caused vomiting and disorientation. This is not to suggest that Matěj of Janov draws from specialist medical texts in his association of the Church and cud, but rather his metaphors had some consistency with contemporary medical theories in Central Europe. Thomas of Wrocław, *Practica Medicinalis: A Critical Edition of the Practica Medicinalis of Thomas of Wrocław, Prémontré Bishop of Sarepta*

context, where it relates to rumination and meditation on Scripture, and characterises it as indigestible material that causes illness. The inversion of the traditional associations of cud suits simony, in which the worldly is exchanged for the spiritual, money in exchange for indulgences, pardons, and, as the Hussites would later argue, the sacraments. For instance, if one purchases an indulgence, one has not done the spiritual work necessary in penance to be forgiven for sin, thus the spiritual material remains undigested.²⁸ Exchanging the worldly for the spiritual reflects the change in cud from that which is spiritually nourishing to that which causes physical illness.

The idea of corruption on every level of the Church was key to the Bohemian discourse of spiritual disease. Throughout Hus's Latin sermons and vernacular Czech *Postilla*, he parallels Matěj's organological model of the Church and condemnation of simony.²⁹ Jan Hus argued in his *Adversus indulgentias papales* that Pope John XXIII's *Alia bulla commissariis* of 2 December 1411—which declared Gregory XII to be a heretic and schismatic and appointed two commissioners of indulgences in Bohemia³⁰—served to condone and institutionalise simony among the clergy. By allowing the subletting of archdeaconries and parishes, clergymen were able to gain a share in the profits of the sale of indulgences.³¹ For Hus, then, Matěj's model of corruption, in which he argued that the Church normalised and legitimated simony, was essential for understanding the diseased *ecclesia*. Nevertheless, Hus modified Matěj's conception of the

(1297-c. 1378), ed. Theodore James Antry, *Studia Copernicana* 27 (Wrocław: Polish Academy of Sciences Press, 1989), Cap. 44 'De debilitate stomachi,' p. 142.

²⁸ Matěj's treatment of indulgences was not, in fact, very contentious. More conventional theologians had discussed the potential for indulgences to be used for sin. See for example, Thomas Gascoigne's discussion of indulgences: *Loci et libro veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary*, ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), pp. 48 and 123. Gascoigne shows that it was not particularly controversial to criticise indulgences in this period and in fact his scepticism on indulgences was shared by many.

²⁹ For more on the influence of Matěj on Hus, see: Töpfer, 'Chiliasische Elemente in der Eschatologie des Mathias von Janov,' pp. 59-79; Nechutová, 'Eschatologie in Böhmen vor Hus,' pp. 61-72.

³⁰ 'Alia bulla commissariis,' in *Historia et monumenta Joannis Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis, confessorum Christi*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg: Joannis Montani et Eulrici Neuberi, 1715), vol. 1, pp. 213-15.

³¹ 'Disputatio Joannis Hus adversus indulgentias papales,' and 'Contra bullam Papae Joannis XXIII,' in *Historia et monumenta*, vol. 1, pp. 215-37.

diseased Church in two significant ways. First, Matěj distinguished between the earthly and mystical elements that made up the body of the Church. The earthly is united by the design of man, whereas the mystical body is made up of Christ's true followers who are bound by divine providence.³² This meant that in the man-made institution there was room for error because of the fallibility of humanity, and hence the Pope could fall prey to the influence of the Antichrist. In the model of the Church theorised by Matěj, those who followed the Antichrist in the man-made institution and those who were divinely tied to Christ were composite inside one body. There were not two separate Churches, that of Christ and that of the Antichrist, but rather one that contained both good and evil. To prove this, he likens the pope to Judas, who was undoubtedly an apostle before he proved himself to be evil.³³ Church reform was thus needed to purge the members who followed the Antichrist because they sought to bring the composite body of the Church to ruin.

Hus, by contrast, followed John Wyclif's trifold division of the Church into the Militant (those on earth before the Final Judgement), the Dormant (those who were in Purgatory, waiting to be saved), and the Triumphant (those who were already dead and in heaven).³⁴ The Church Militant was further broken down into those predestined for heaven, the 'congregation of the

³² In the first eight capitula of liber 3, tr. 5, Matěj explores his distinctions between the man-made and divinely linked institutional structures of the Church. The Antichrist and his followers are always joined by man-made unions, whereas Christ's true disciples are linked by their devotion to Christ's divine love. See: *Regulae*, vol. 2, pp. 1-22; Lahey, 'Matěj of Janov,' pp. 6-7.

³³ The example of Judas being an apostle was often used by reformers and anti-Hussite authors alike. For instance, Stephen Pálec wrote in his *Antihus* that the pope is chosen with the help of divine providence, meaning that no one of a weak moral character would be allowed to be chosen. Christ accepted Judas as an apostle, but this did not mean that he did not know that he was evil. After all, in John 6: 71 Jesus acknowledges that 'one of you is a devil.' Pavel Soukup, 'Die böhmischen Konzilsteilnehmer zwischen Häresiebekämpfung und Kirchenreform. Die Konstanzer Predigten von Mauritius Rvačka, Stephan von Pálec und Matthäus von Königsaal,' *Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis. Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale*, ed. Gabriela Signori and Birgit Studt Vorträge und Forschungen 79 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014), p. 199; Pavel Soukup, *Jan Hus: Prediger - Reformator - Märtyrer* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2014), pp. 164-5.

³⁴ Robert Doyle, 'The Death of Christ and the Doctrine of Grace in John Wycliffe,' *Churchman* 99, 4 (1985), p. 319.

elect,' and those foreknown (praesciti) to be damned.³⁵ These foreknown members tainted the body of the Church from the inside, but they were not truly part of the body. Hus repeatedly compares these foreknown members with excrement or ulcers inside the human body. No physician would say that these excess materials and growths are fundamentally a part of the body; on the contrary, they are temporarily held within the body before being expelled or removed: 'Similiter sicut non sequitur: stercus vel ulcus est in corpore hominis, ergo est pars eius, sic non sequitur: prescitus est in corpore mistico ecclesie, ergo est pars eius' [Just as it does not follow that, because excrement or an ulcer is in the body of a man, therefore it is a part of his body, so it does not follow that the foreknown (i.e., a member of the Church of Antichrist) is in the mystical body of the Church, therefore he is part of it'].³⁶ These elements, *stercus* or *ulcus*, are not necessarily the cause of illness, but if left to accumulate or grow, they can cause serious problems for one's health. The satellites of the Antichrist formed waste inside the Church, waiting to be removed by the Divine Physician to restore health.³⁷

Nevertheless, the discourse of treatment was not as neat as the analogy suggests. Unlike *stercus* or *ulcus*, followers of the Antichrist often acted in a manner that seemed beneficial to Christ and his followers, only later to reveal their malicious intentions.³⁸ Hus, following Wyclif,

³⁵ Hus explains this most succinctly in *Spisy M. Jana Husi: Super IV Sententiarum*, ed. Václav Flajšhans (Prague: Nákladem Jaroslava Bursíka, 1904), p. 188, where he explains that the future is indeterminable, and so each Christian should base their conduct and behaviour on what is pleasing to God (Deo placuerit), instead on what might lead them to a bad death. He continues that often it is confusing as to who is truly good in serving God, as opposed to those who serve their own needs or wants. It seems that frequently a Christian might wish for contradicting things, at once salvation and damnation. This is displayed most explicitly in the conduct of the foreknown: 'nam prescitus existens in gracia secundum presentem iusticiam meritorie vult beatitudinem suam et vult suam dampnationem; Deum enim ubique vult oppositum.' Much of this passage was taken from Wyclif's *De dominio divino libri tres*, ed. Reginald Land Poole (London: Wyclif Society by Trübner & co., 1890), lib. 1, cap. 17, pp. 152-3.

³⁶ *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 5E, p. 35.

³⁷ Vilém Herold, 'Wyclif's Ecclesiology and its Prague Context,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2001), pp. 15-30; Amedeo Molnár, 'Pohled do Husovy literární dílny,' *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 82, 2 (1959), pp. 239-46.

³⁸ This argument is stated by Matěj of Janov, see: *Regulae*, vol. 3, lib. 3, tr. 5, dist. 5, cap. 1, pp. 3-6; Jakoubek of Stříbro in *Jakoubek ze Stříbra, Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana*, ed. František Šimek, 2 vols. (Prague: Nákladem Komise

believed that only Christ could reveal those who were true members of his Church in the Final Judgement; knowing beforehand was almost impossible.³⁹ In order to distinguish the corrupt members of the Church from the pure, Hus invokes a maxim that was often quoted by the Wycliffites from Matthew 7: 16: ‘by their fruits you shall know them.’⁴⁰ As an example, Hus explicitly names the Prague masters Stanislaus of Znojmo and Stephan Pálež as satellites of the Antichrist who started out as members of the true Church of Christ. Pálež and Stanislaus were early adherents of Wyclif’s thought at the university,⁴¹ but after the Council of Pisa (1409) and the preaching regulation of Zbyněk Zajíc of Hazmburk, Archbishop of Prague (1409/10; more on which below), they turned on Hus. For Hus, then, it became clear that Pálež and Stanislaus, whom he once held in high esteem, had proven themselves to be ‘satellites of the Antichrist.’⁴²

The second difference between Hus’s and Matěj’s organological conceptions of the Church is in the scope of illness that they claimed infected it. Where Matěj describes vapours

pro Vydávání Pramenů Náboženského Hnutí Českého, 1932-1933), vol. 1, cap. 6, pp. 268-9; and also by Nicholas of Pelhřimov in his Exposition on the Apocalypse in ÖNB, 4520, ff. 65v-66r. The term was also used by Wycliffites, such as in the anonymous *Opus Arduum*, see: Curtis V. Bostick, *The Antichrist and the Lollards: Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 70 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 97-108.

³⁹ Stephen E. Lahey, *John Wyclif*, Great Medieval Thinkers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 193. Wyclif declared that Christ hid three things from humans: the hour of one’s death, whether one is destined for salvation or damnation, and the exact time of the Apocalypse. Jakoubek draws the same conclusion in an Ash Wednesday sermon of 1416 delivered at Bethlehem Chapel. Jakoubek of Stribro, *Betlemská kázání z roku 1416*, ed. Karel Sita (Prague: Blahoslav, 1951), p. 23. See also Amedeo Molnár, ‘Die eschatologische Hoffnung der böhmischen Reformation,’ in *Von der Reformation zum Morgen*, ed. Josef L. Hromádka (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1959), p. 77. This being said, Wyclif himself seems to suggest multiple times throughout his oeuvre that he is confident in his ability to tell if one is foreknown for damnation. For more, see: Beryl Smalley, ‘The Bible and Eternity: John Wyclif’s Dilemma,’ *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), pp. 73-89; Thomas Renna, ‘Wyclif’s Attacks on the Monks,’ *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 5 (1987), pp. 267-80.

⁴⁰ Marcela K. Perett, *Preachers, Partisans, and Rebellious Religion: Vernacular Writing and the Hussite Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), p. 132.

⁴¹ The position of Stanislaus in relation to Wycliffism has been explored by a number of scholars, see: Gabriel Nuchelmans, ‘Stanislaus of Znaim d. 1414 On Truth and Falsity,’ in *Mediaeval Semantics and Metaphysics: Studies dedicated to L.M. de Rijk*, Professor of Ancient and Mediaeval Philosophy at the University of Leiden on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday, ed. Egbert Peter Bos (Nijmegen: Ingenium, 1985), pp. 313-38; Stanislav Sousedík, ‘Pojem distinctio formalis u českých realistů v době Husově,’ *Filosofický Časopis* 18 (1970), pp. 1024-9. The issue has been most recently treated by Stephen E. Lahey, ‘Stanislaus of Znojmo and Prague Realism,’ pp. 9-26; and Stephen E. Lahey, ‘Wyclif in Bohemia,’ pp. 63-98.

⁴² *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 5I, p. 39.

from the stomach leading to dizziness in the head, an illness inside a single collective body, Hus imagines the Church to be a locus of contagion affecting multiple bodies. In effect, Hus shifts the imagery from illness in a single body to an epidemic. Hus depicted the papacy as the seat of pestilence, the point of origin from which disease spread to the rest of the body. In *De ecclesia*, Hus explains:

Unde et curiam romanam vocant magistram ecclesiam.⁴³ Et datis illis per possibile ipsi sunt sedes non Christi sed Sathane sedentes, secundum vitam propriam in kathedra pestilencie. De qua Psalmista loquens de Christo Ihesu dixit (Ps. 1: 1): Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in kathedra pestilencie non sedit. Ubi Agustinus [*Enarrationes in psalmos*, 8: 1]: ‘De domino nostro Ihesu Christo homine dominico accipiendum est, “Qui in kathedra pestilencie non sedit.”’ Noluit regnum terrenum cum superbia, que kathedra pestilencie ideo recte intelligitur, quia non fere quisquam est, qui careat amore dominandi et humanam non appetat gloriam. Pestilencia enim est morbus late pervagatus et omnes aut pene omnes involvens. Infra. Quamquam acomodacius accipiat kathedra pernicioza doctrina, *cuius sermo ut cancer serpit* [2 Tim. 2: 17].⁴⁴

They call the Roman curia the master church. And with these things granted according to what is possible, they [Church officials] sit not on the seats of Christ but of Satan, in accordance with their own lives in the chair of pestilence. Concerning which, the Psalmist, speaking of Jesus Christ, said [Psalms 1: 1]: ‘Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stands in the way of sinners, nor sits in the seat of pestilence.’ Here Augustine says [*Enarrationes in psalmos*, 8: 1]: ‘This is to be understood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord as man, “Who does not sit in the seat of pestilence.”’ He did not desire an earthly kingdom with its pride, which is rightly understood to be the seat of pestilence, because there is hardly a single one [in this wordly kingdom] who is wanting in the love of domination and does not hanker after human glory. For a pestilence is a disease that is spread widely, involving all or nearly all people. More suitably, however, the seat is to be understood as pernicious doctrine, *whose teaching spreads like a cancer* [2 Tim. 2: 17].

The seat of pestilence is derived from the Psalms and the Epistle of St Paul to Timothy, but Hus applies it to his contemporary Roman Curia, which spreads disease to all limbs of the Church through its proclamations. This is not to suggest that Hus abandons the singular organological description of the Church as one, collective body, but rather that the metaphor has a dual sense:

⁴³ Here certainly referring to the fact that the pope is Bishop of Rome and the other dioceses are ‘churches.’

⁴⁴ *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 18F, p. 161.

the seat is at once the locus of a disease, a patient zero, that infects ‘nearly all people’, and a canker or cancer inside a single body. In Hus’s conception of the ecclesiastical body, each Christian is at once a part of the collective Church body and a ‘totality’ (*universitas*) in himself. In other words, the congregation acts together as part of a collective body, but each individual also acts independantly, just as each body part or organ has a different function that contributes to the overall health and functioning of the body.⁴⁵ Aligning the imagery of epidemic and individual illness, Hus alludes to each singular member of the mystical body and the collective institution of the Church that they together form. Each individual can develop a canker inside the body, which could either grow if untreated or else be removed. Hus likens cankers in a single member to a clergyman living in sin who could be ejected from his position or be made to reform. However, if the sinful clergyman is allowed to sin, unhindered by the institution that is supposed to regulate and check him, his ‘canker’ could corrupt others as they follow suit, and an epidemic of sin ensues.

The different metaphors of individual and collective bodies that Matěj and Hus depict signal a distinction in approach. Hus points to the practical application of humoral imagery by addressing the ways in which the Church could be reformed by removing corrupt members. Matěj did not state that the humoral illness of the Church could be purged, but rather uses humoral imagery to emphasise the chaos caused by the Papal Schism, which would remain until the Second Coming of Christ.⁴⁶ For Hus, purgation of excess humours, namely, the followers of the Antichrist, was not only possible but an important part of the process through which the health of the ecclesiastical body could be regulated. The difference between the individual and

⁴⁵ *De Ecclesia*, trans. Schaff, p. 20. Jan Milíč presents many of the same conclusions about the seat of pestilence as Hus in his sermon ‘De katherdra sancti Petrus’ from his *abortivus* collection. PNK XXIII D 201, ff. 101rb-104va, especially f. 101rb.

⁴⁶ Lahey, ‘Matěj of Janov,’ p. 7.

the collective organisation of the Church reaches the crux of Hus's and the Hussites' discourse on the Church. That is, since the Church was becoming more corrupt over time, those most vulnerable to the Antichrist and the tyranny of the Church hierarchy—the laity and lower clergy—needed to be saved by the true followers of Christ.

The Hussites maintained that Church reform would lead the body back into its primitive form as envisioned by the apostles. Throughout his writings, Hus makes a distinction between the practices of the members of the Primitive Church and the corruption of his present day. He does not go as far as to condemn all of the Church, but maintains that there were legitimately honest members of the clergy who fulfilled their duties in an apostolic fashion. Nevertheless, these honest members were in the minority, as corruption dominated. In his *Contra octo doctores*, Hus contends that the clergy were given the same powers of curing souls as the apostles, but they had long since neglected the *cura animarum*. If the corrupt clergy still had the power to heal the sick, Hus proclaims, they would surely exploit it for personal gain:⁴⁷

Christus dedit potestatem ministerialem primis Episcopis, scilicet Apostolis, nedum curandi subito Paralyticos in nomine suo, sed & mortuos suscitandi [...]. Sed videtur mihi, quod si moderni Papae, Episcopi, & alii Clerici haberent potestatem, quam habuerunt Christi Apostoli, ipsi mercarentur carius, quam mercantur cum indulgentiis.⁴⁸

Christ gave ministerial power to his first bishops, namely his apostles, not to mention [the powers of] suddenly curing paralytics in his name [Matthew 9: 2-7], and resuscitating the dead [...]. But it seems to me that if modern-day popes, bishops, and other clergymen had the power that Christ's apostles had, they would charge a high price for it, just as they trade in indulgences.

⁴⁷ The same accusation is presented in the *Opus Arduum*, see Bostick, *Antichrist and the Lollards*, p. 77: 'Id est, principes seculi et precio obtinendo ab eo promociones clericis suis indignis, procurando eciam ab eo falsa divorcia et indulgencies inutiles pro pecuniis.'

⁴⁸ Jan Hus, *Contra octo doctores* in *Historia et monumenta Joannis Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis confessorum christi* (Prague: Joannis Montani et Eulrici Neuberi, 1715), pp. 381-2.

The morally bankrupt clergy and popes of the fifteenth century thus had no hope of healing the body of the Church; their own abuses plagued it.⁴⁹ Corruption was such a serious concern because the clergy were tasked with the *cura animarum* as one of their chief responsibilities, yet they exploited it for personal gain.

The tract continues with a reference to Acts 5: 15, where ‘people brought the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and mats so that when Peter came, his shadow at the least might overshadow any of them, and they might be delivered from their infirmities.’⁵⁰ Hus inverted the image of Peter’s shadow to expose the inadequacies of the popes of his present day. Instead of providing relief to the infirm with his shadow, the pope is but a shadow of Peter:

Sed hodie umbra Patris, vocati sanctissimi equitantis in alto equo, induto Phaleris, & in vestitu Caesareo, & corona deauratis, quamvis sit major quam sancti Petri, non tamen ab infirmitate multos liberat, quamvis sic equitantem genua flectentes solertissime adorant. Nec tamen Pater ille se venerari prohibet, prout prohibebant Apostoli se ab hominibus adorari. [...] Sed istam sanctam humilitatem nesciunt moderni Papae & Cardinales, qui se dicunt tenere & gerere Apostolorum vices.⁵¹

But today a shadow of the Father, the one called the most sacred, rides on a high horse, clothed in ornamental armour, and in imperial vestments and a gilded crown. He may seem to be greater than St Peter, yet he does not liberate many from sickness. Even so, the people honour the one who rides, dextrously bending the knee. Nevertheless, the Father forbids that he be venerated, just as the apostles forbade men to adore them. [...] But the modern-day popes and cardinals, who say that they esteem and carry themselves as the apostles’ successors, know nothing of that sacred humility.

Hus presents a rhetoric very similar to that of Nicholas of Dresden, master of Prague University, and his *Tabule veteris et novi coloris seu cortina de Anticristo* (c. 1412), in which Nicholas compares the Primitive Church with his modern-day corrupt Church and papacy.⁵² Nicholas

⁴⁹ Indulgences became an increasingly relevant and timely issue in Prague because of the crusading indulgences issued by John XXIII and the indulgence riots. For more on the early associations of these critiques in Prague, see Pavel Soukup, ‘Z prvních polemik o odpustky v roce 1412,’ *Studia Mediaevalia Bohemica* 2 (2016), pp. 259-89.

⁵⁰ Acts 5: 15: ‘plateas ejicerent infirmos, et ponerent in lectulis et grabatis, ut veniente Petro, saltem umbra illius obumbraret quemquam illorum, et liberarentur ab infirmitatibus suis.’

⁵¹ *Contra octo doctores*, p. 383.

⁵² The text was composed in Latin and there was an Old Czech translation accompanied with illustrations that became increasingly popular in the fourteenth century. The Old Czech versions are preserved in two late-fifteenth

Prokop, a scribe of Prague's Nové Město, wrote that during the indulgence controversy of 1412, masters associated with Nicholas of Dresden paraded in the streets of Prague with texts and illustrations. Prokop employs the same image that Hus describes, of the pope riding on a lavishly dressed horse as a contrast to St Peter and Christ humbly riding on a donkey.⁵³ The image of the pope riding above the infirm in both Hus's text and the indulgence riots proved effective because reformist preachers dating back to Jan Milíč of Kroměříž had successfully created a public perception of a corrupt clergy that failed to fulfil their role as spiritual healers.⁵⁴ As a consequence, audiences across Bohemia were receptive to comparisons of the papacy to corrupt physicians who exploited their patients.

The issue of who was worthy to deliver the sacraments became particularly important after Hus's execution and the wholesale adoption of utraquism among the Hussites. Jan Čapek's *Knížky o večeři Páně* (Little Books on the Lord's Supper) from 1417 addresses the question of who could administer Christ's sacramental medicine. He argued that communion was only valid if it was delivered *ex integro*, namely, complete in body and blood. For Čapek and the radical Hussites that followed him, those who claimed that the wafer alone contained all parts of Christ's body (the doctrine of concomitance) sought to deprive the laity of God's healing and to restrict

century illustrated manuscripts: Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 182 and PKMK, IV B 24 (Jenský kodex). There are significant changes between the Latin and Old Czech recensions; for example, the Old Czech version explicitly associates the pope with the Antichrist. For an edition of the texts and reproductions of the illuminations, see: *Tabule staré a nové barvy Mikuláše z Drážd'an ve staročeském překladu*, ed. Milada Homolková and Michal Dragoun (Prague: Scriptorium, 2016).

⁵³ Petra Mutlová, 'Communicating Texts through Images: Nicholas of Dresden's Tabule,' in *Public Communication in European Reformation: Artistic and other Media in Central Europe 1380-1620*, ed. Milena Bartlová and Michal Šroněk (Prague: Artefactum, AV ČR, 2007), p. 29; Nicholas Prokop, 'Chronicon Procopii notarii Pragensis,' in *Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen*, ed. Konstantin Höfler, *Fontes rerum austriacarum* 1, *Scriptores* 2/1, (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdr, 1856), pp. 67-76.

⁵⁴ For instance, David C. Mengel has used evidence from contemporaries of Milíč and a visitation record from 1379-80 to show that there was a concern that priests were associating with prostitutes and women of ill-repute in Prague. To what extent the records are representative of the truth is not important for our present purpose, as Mengel exposes what were high-profile cases of clerical fornication that influenced public perception. 'From Venice to Jerusalem and beyond: Milíč of Kroměříž and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague,' *Speculum* 79, 2 (2004), pp. 407-42.

the sacrament to members of the clergy.⁵⁵ Čapek uses the Church Fathers and traditional authorities to argue for communion to be received *ex integro* and also to insist on its regular reception in order to remain in a state of spiritual health:

Sv. Augustyn ponieważ wždyckny hřešíme, wzdickny mame přigímati lékařství. Swaty Jan zlatousty welebnat gest krew pana Jezu Krísta, když s dobru woli přigimana bywa, wešken neduh muož vhasyti. Protož přistupugi k tomu lakařství k oltáři a řka, Nebo nezdraw sem vzdraw mie pane, gdu k tobie lékaři a lékařství, a spasytedlnému obmyti vzdraw mie iakož umíš a chceš a možeš. Swaty Bernhard že lékař gsy a ia nemocny, molsrdny gsy a ia biedny gsem, pročez vzdraw a smilug sie.⁵⁶

St Augustine explains that we are always sinning, thus we should always take medicine. St John the Evangelist glorifies the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, when with good will it is accepted, to eradicate all types of sickness. Therefore, I approach this medicine at the altar and say: Whether unhealthy or healthy for me, Lord, I come to you, Physician and medicine, as salvation renews me to health as much as you can, wish, and are able to. St Bernard said that you are the Physician and I am the patient, you are merciful and I am miserable, therefore heal me and have mercy.

Frequent access to the blood as well as the body of Christ are vital for the spiritual health of faithful Christians. In his insistence on the frequency of taking communion, Josef Dobiáš claims that Čapek draws on the theology of Vojtěch Rankův, the vocal proponent of frequent communion at the University of Prague in the 1380s.⁵⁷ Čapek could well draw from Rankův. As demonstrated in chapter two, Rankův argued that communion should be taken whether one is explicitly ill from sin or not, because the sacrament is beneficial to all who take it in good faith. However, Čapek quickly turns to the radical notion that any communion that is not *ex integro* is invalid. He explicitly invokes the power of Christ as the Physician and medicine to minimise the place of sinful priests in the sacrament. The priests were the ones who gave the physical

⁵⁵ Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu za válek husitských* (Prague: Nákladem jubilejního fondu Kral. české společnosti nauk, 1913), pp. 116-22; František Michálek Bartoš, 'Z politické literatury doby husitské,' *Sborník historický* 5 (1957), pp. 32-4; David R. Holton, Pavel Kolář, and Eliška Bařová, 'Liturgy, Sacramental Theology, and Music,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 331-68; Tříška, *Literární činnost předhusitské university*, p. 349.

⁵⁶ Josef Dobiáš, 'Dva rukopisy z počátku 15. Století,' *Časopis historický* 1 (1881), p. 60.

⁵⁷ Dobiáš, 'Dva rukopisy z počátku 15. Století,' p. 52.

accidents of the wafers to their congregations, but this was the limit of their involvement. Christ directly healed his faithful through his most holy sacrament of the altar.

Čapek's ideas explicitly went against the preaching of Jean Gerson, a particularly influential Church authority who condemned several Hussite tenets at the Council of Constance. Gerson was angered by what he saw to be irreverence on the part of the laity who received the Eucharist. As a result, he recommended fewer feast days on which communion was to be taken and more stringent examination of the penitent's sins before the sacrament. Especially after the Council of Constance, Gerson stressed a sacramental theology in which one had to prove one's worthiness to receive communion, rather than treating it as a medicine to cure sin.⁵⁸ For Čapek, the deadly sins of certain priests who mediated the sacraments caused them to take and administer communion in a manner that invalidated its medicinal benefits for the entire Church community. The clergy deliberately withheld communion wine to keep the body of the Church diseased, and therefore they could not be trusted to mediate interactions between the laity and the Divine Physician.

The Hussites maintained that the clergy could not be trusted with Christ's holy medicine because certain members of the clergy monetised their healing mission and consequently undermined the authority of God. Instead of offering medicine to heal the soul, the corrupt clergy provide indulgences that trade Christ's authority for that of the pope. Hus stated that indulgences were only effective if they conformed to God's wishes in forgiving sin. Nevertheless, Hus does not deny that priests had the potential to legitimately help the souls of their congregations. He laments that if only the corrupt clergymen truly turned to God, they could help to heal the laity:

⁵⁸ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 349; D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 56, 70, 78, 87.

Et utinam clerici et specialiter religiosi, appreciantes consilia hominum, et omnes alii innitentes humano consilio, ad ista consilia medici celestis attenderent, quia indubie sunt a peccatis possibilibus preservativa, a commissis purgativa et adepte sanitatis conservativa.⁵⁹

And if only the clergy and especially the holy orders, who value the counsel of men, and all others who depend on human counsel, might instead attend to those counsels of the heavenly Physician. For undoubtedly they are preservatives against possible sins, purgatives for sins already committed, and conservatives of health already attained.

Only Christ, the *medicus celestis*, can completely heal the wounds of the soul that are caused by sin, but Hus acknowledges that the clergy can aid the Physician by acting as preservative, purgative, and conservative medicines against the sickness of sin. That is, the clergy are supposed to prevent the laity from committing sin by preaching, purging sins through sacraments such as confession and communion, and offering convalescence in their instruction to avoid further sin. This scheme of spiritual medicine draws on the use of preservatives, purgatives, and conservatives in medieval medicine, which were intended to care for the day-to-day health of a patient after a physician or surgeon had treated them.⁶⁰ Preservatives were used as prophylactics to prevent further illness, purgatives removed harmful humours, and conservatives were essential after surgery to ensure convalescence. The clergy are supposed to assist spiritual healing with this medical scheme, but in reality they place themselves above the Physician himself through the sale of ineffective indulgences. As a result of such impotent measures, the disease compounds because clerical preservative, purgative, and conservative medicines cannot heal the root of pestilence.

Only treatment from the Divine Physician is enough to heal one's soul, yet the laity have little choice but to rely on the human counsel of the clergy. Priests and friars are the mediators of

⁵⁹ *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 17G, p. 155.

⁶⁰ For more on the analogy, see: Joseph Ziegler, 'Medical Similes in Religious Discourse: The Case of Giovanni di San Gimignano OP (ca. 1260-ca. 1333),' *Science in Context* 8 (1995), pp. 110-12. For discussion on how these medicines were used in treating disease, see: Christiane Nockels Fabbri, 'Treating Medieval Plague: The Wonderful Virtues of Theriac,' *Early Science and Medicine* 12, 3 (2007), pp. 247-52, 260-68, 275-6.

all interactions between God and the laity, and so the clergy have the ability to restrict access to the Physician. When the body of the Church was so thoroughly corrupted by sin and the clergymen that were supposed to heal souls were instead harming them, followers of Christ were in a particularly difficult spot. Reform was desperately needed, but to achieve it the corrupted members had to be removed. Much like the human body, which in the medieval conception needed to be regularly purged of excess humours, the Church had to purge harmful members and remove corrupting influences.

Condemnation and excommunication

Whenever Hus discusses the antichristian waste humours of the Church, he insists that purging them from the ecclesiastical body is the only solution. For Hus, corrupt members of the Church had to be removed from the body and then later reintroduced once they had been cleansed of sin. This is not to suggest that the Antichrist and his followers could be converted to the side of Christ; these members could never reform. Nonetheless, Hus is adamant that condemnation—in its canon law definition, namely as a form of judgement on those found guilty of breaking Church law—and excommunication could be used as a medicine for those who could be brought back to Christ's side. By treating individuals that had been led astray by the false teaching of the Antichrist, disease in the collective body would be contained, and one by one the members of the body would be purified. This conception of excommunication as a medicine of purgation differs fundamentally from the way that it was viewed by the Council of Constance. For men like Giacomo Balardi Arrigoni (d. 1435), the Bishop of Lodi, excommunication was more like amputation. Prior to Hus's execution, Arrigoni delivered a sermon on the nature of heresy and excommunication based on Romans 6: 6, which said that the 'body of sin may be destroyed.'

This led him to the conclusion that one should ‘[r]esecande sunt putride carnes a corpore, ne totum corpus intereat, vel putrefiat’ [sever the rotten flesh from the body, lest the whole body perish or be made rotten].⁶¹ For Arrigoni, then, to stop the spread of heresy, its source had to be removed, ‘precipue hunc hereticum obstinatum, cuius malignitate plura mundi loca peste heretica sunt infecta’ [especially this obstinate heretic (Hus), through whose malice many regions of the world have been infected with the heretical pestilence].⁶² Put simply, when a member of the Church had spread heresy, he or she had to be physically removed from the other members of the body.⁶³ While Hus similarly wanted to remove corrupted members from the Church, he maintained that there was a chance for those who had been led astray to re-join the body. The possibility of reforming an excommunicant turned excommunication from a permanent amputation to a medicine of purgation. I argue that the difference between amputation and purgative medicine was a key point of diversion between the official and reformist responses to schism. The Hussite discourse focused on conserving and protecting an intact body against the trauma caused by the governing institutions of the Church, which sought to spiritually and physically remove members through excommunication and execution.

The imagery of amputation as violence enacted upon a body, fragmenting it, was something that Hus found ample opportunity to manipulate. In *O Šesti Bludiech* [On Six Errors], for example, Hus explicitly suggests that excommunication and condemnation should not be used as weapons to sever individuals from the body of the Church:

Neb to kletie a vyobcovanie jest jako lékarstvie, jímž bližní má býti ne umořen, ale uzdraven na duši, jakož die svatý Augustýn. A tak jest svatý Pavel vyobcovati kázal ú [1

⁶¹ Giacomo Balardi Arrigoni, ‘Sermo ... in condemnatione M. Iohannis Hus ...’ (6th July 1415), in FRB, vol. 8, p. 489. See also Hubert Herkommer, ‘Die Geschichte vom Leiden und Sterben des Jan Hus als Ereignis und Erzählung,’ in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1984), pp.120-1; František M. Bartoš, *Čechy v době husově, 1378-1415* (Prague: Laichter, 1947), p. 446.

⁶² Arrigoni, ‘Sermo,’ p. 493.

⁶³ This imagery of amputation is addressed in greater detail in chapter five.

Cor. 5: 5] zjevného smilníka, jenž jest s macechú hřešil, a kázal ho dáti v moc d'áblovu, aby ho na těle trápil, aby, poznaje se v hříše, toho želel, a tak aby duch jeho byl spasen.⁶⁴

Condemnation and excommunication are like a medicine with which one's fellow man should not be destroyed, but their soul healed, as St Augustine said. And so St Paul preached [to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 5: 5)] on excommunication against an apparent fornicator who sinned with his father's wife, and he preached that he [the sinner] was given into the power of the devil so that he may be afflicted in his body, that he may know he is in a state of sin, that he may be sorry for that, and so that his soul might be saved.

Just as Paul reprimanded the Corinthians in order to bring them back to the faith, so Hus believed that corrupt members of the clergy should be condemned for their sinful behaviour and shown the correct manner in which to carry out their duties. The medicine of this condemnation may make the body of the Church sore at first, but by accepting the criticism and reforming themselves, the members would be cleansed of their sin. Excommunication could be used to remove individuals while they corrected their faults, after which they could be reintroduced into the Church when their spiritual health had stabilised. As Hus acknowledges in his *Postilla*, such a procedure would undoubtedly be painful, but once the body of the Church had returned to health, every member would be grateful: 'bývá nelibé, kdy jemu lékař ránu šije neb úd který řeže, ale když bude zdrav, tehdy bude jemu to velmě vděčné' [it is unpleasant for a doctor to stitch a wound or cut into a limb, but if the patient becomes healthy, then he will be very grateful to him].⁶⁵ Although Hus uses the surgical imagery of cutting into a limb, he never suggests that the limb would be entirely severed for the betterment of the rest of the body.

Using excommunication and condemnation as purgative medicines was a key component of Hus's organological model of the Church. It was only by restoring the spiritual health of individual members that the disease of the Antichrist in the mystical body of the Church could be

⁶⁴ Hus, "O Šesti Bludiech," in *Betlémské texty*, cap. 5, p. 85.

⁶⁵ Jan Hus, 'Neděle Druha Po Svatě Trojici,' in *Postilla: Vyloženie Svatých Čtení Nedělních*, ed. František M. Bartoš (Prague: Komenského Evangelická Fakulta Bohoslovecká, 1952), p. 284.

cured. However, the concept of reintroducing members to the ecclesiastical body causes a logical problem for the Hussite humoral metaphor because the excess fluids and materials that the purged members formed, such as phlegm and urine, would never have been reintroduced into a human body. If the Church operates like a human body, therefore, how could excess humours be taken back in, and why would that be desirable in the first place? Hus resolves this problem by distinguishing between ‘radical’ (radicale) and ‘flowing’ (fluens) moistures inside the body,⁶⁶ which he equates to two different forms of grace.⁶⁷ Radical moisture originated from the sperm of one’s father and thus made up a fundamental element of one’s body. These moistures formed part of the substance of the body and were also used to absorb nutrients from food and drink for the body to grow and function effectively. Some natural philosophers and medical theorists even maintained that radical moisture was a part of one’s soul.⁶⁸ Flowing moistures, on the other hand, are taken from food and drink, and are temporarily held inside the body. Although flowing moistures create by-products that are purged from the body, such as urine, sweat, and excrement, they also serve an important purpose in providing the body with energy and nutrients. The two moistures combined to stimulate growth and wound repair. Hus uses these moistures metaphorically to complement his eschatology of predestination that he derived from John Wyclif.⁶⁹ He explains that the nutritive part of flowing moistures are like ‘fluent grace,’ that is

⁶⁶ Hus’s conception of radical and flowing moistures is relatively accurate to the ways in which they were portrayed in contemporary medical theory. For more on the medical conceptions of these moistures, see: Karine van’t Land, ‘The Solution of Continuous Things: Wounds in Late Medieval Medicine and Surgery,’ in *Wounds in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anne Kirkham and Cordelia Warr (London: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 100-01; Chiara Crisciani and Giovanna Ferrari, ‘Introduzione,’ in *Arnaldi de Villanova, Opera medica omnia, Vol. 2: Tractatus de Humido Radicali*, ed. Michael R. McVaugh (Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2010); Joseph Ziegler, “‘Ut dicunt Medici’: Medical Knowledge and Theological Debate in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 73 (1999), pp. 208-37; and Michael R. McVaugh, ‘The “humidum radicale” in Thirteenth-Century Medicine,’ *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 259-83.

⁶⁷ *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 5H, pp. 27-8.

⁶⁸ Reynolds, *Food and the Body*, p. 116.

⁶⁹ Vilém Herold, ‘Master Jan Hus and St Augustine,’ *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 8 (2011), pp. 42-51. This subject is treated in greater depth throughout Ernst Wener, *Jan Hus: Welt und Umwelt Eines Prager*

one's position in relation to God based on 'present righteousness.' This meant that one could be temporarily in a state of grace, but could fall out of it if one acted in a manner that was contrary to Christ's Law. Fluid moistures contrast with radical moistures that are akin to 'radical grace.' Radical grace was continually held by those who were predestined for salvation, because grace was a fundamental element of their soul. Even if those who held radical grace temporarily lost fluent grace, they still maintained a form of grace that was unshifting and eternal, namely, the radical.

To sum up this complicated analogy, a Church member who is living in sin can be excommunicated, at which point they are deprived of fluent grace, but if they are predestined for salvation, they could be reintroduced to the Church because they form the radical moisture that is vital for the health of the mystical body. When excommunicants are reincorporated as radical moisture, their present righteousness or flowing moisture is restored, and they are back on course for salvation. After all, Christians often sin and are ultimately forgiven by God. But if an excommunicant does not hold radical grace, and is in fact a member of the Church of the Antichrist, they could not be reincorporated back with the Church because they were never part of it to begin with; they were merely held temporarily within the Church as urine is temporarily held within the body before it is expelled. Hus explains that: 'Unde sicut apostema per humidum fluens sunt adnata, non continuata, propter disparitatem nature, sic est de membris dyaboli, licet pro tempore secundum presentem iusticiam sunt adnati' [Hence as apostemes are connected by flowing moisture, but continuous since they differ in nature, so also (are) the limbs of the Devil, although they are connected for the time being under the present dispensation],⁷⁰ that is, satellites

Frühreformatoren, Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 34 (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Bohlhaus Nachfolger, 1991).

⁷⁰ *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 5H, pp. 27.

of the Antichrist can be temporarily hidden by what appears to be fluent grace inside the body of the Church. When antichristians are purged from the body, since they are not a fundamental part of it, they do not hold radical grace and cannot be reincorporated. The analogy of humoral fluid is important for Hus's conception of excommunication because he maintains that Christians often stray from the path of righteousness and are harmful to the rest of the Church body. For instance, Hus explains, Paul committed many sins, but there is no question as to whether he was accepted into the Church when he became an apostle.⁷¹ By the same token, a faithful Christian can reform and return to the Church even if they had been excommunicated because they represent the nutritive parts of flowing moistures.

Although Jan Hus's model for excommunication and condemnation had a clear foundation in the writings of Augustine and the Synoptic Gospels, it was out of step with how the Church operated during the Papal Schism. Hus declared that the Antichrist did not use excommunication and condemnation medicinally, as the tools were intended. Instead of separating the excommunicant from the Church and then reintroducing them when they were healthy, the papacy simply exiled those in need of medication. Hus had first-hand experience of this:

Et ista excommucacione me nunc in processibus et in denunciacionibus notant, ab omni humana participacione secludentes. Sed benefictus sit deus, qui non dedit tantam vim illi excomunicacioni, quod posset homini iusto virtutem vel iusticiam auferre, dum humiliter patitur, nec peccatum potest sibi inferre.⁷²

And now they brand me with this excommunication in trials and denunciations, shutting me out from all human communion. But blessed be God, who did not give such force to this excommunication that it may take virtue or righteousness away from a just man, so long as he endures in humility, nor that it may impose sin upon him.

⁷¹ *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 5H, p. 28.

⁷² *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 22E, p. 214; *De Ecclesia*, trans. Schaff, p. 270.

Hus's conception of excommunication relates to the true members of Christ's Church, who cannot be separated from the body because they are joined by divine providence and radical grace. This was proven by the fact that the Antichrist did everything in his power to remove Hus from the Church, but God did not allow Hus's virtue or righteousness to be taken away. The failure to remove a member of the Church through excommunication was not a new concept with Hus. Canon law acknowledged the limitations of human perception by stating that churchmen could misjudge a situation and wrongly excommunicate someone, in which case the excommunication would be overturned by God.⁷³ Hus drew on this tradition, asserting that the head of the Church can exclude those whom he deems to be heretics from the earthly Church, but the wrongly accused would not be removed from the congregation of the elect.

Following his condemnation and exile, Hus believed himself still to be a member of Christ's Church and in fact suggested that he became even more virtuous because of his suffering. The pain of condemnation and excommunication was, for Hus and his followers, further proof of their status as members of Christ's Church, as the Hussites re-enacted parts of Christ's Passion through suffering and persecution.⁷⁴ Even though relatively few Hussites were

⁷³ François Bougard, 'Jugement Divin, Excommunication, Anathème et Malédiction: La Sanction Spirituelle dans les Sources Diplomatiques,' in *Exclure de la Communauté Chrétienne Sens et Pratiques Sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication, IV^e-XII^e s.*, ed. Geneviève Bühner-Thierry and Stéphane Gioanni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 215-38.

⁷⁴ The *imitatio Christi* was, in fact, a key tenet of Hussite theology, but it was also something that had long been a feature of Bohemian reformist spirituality. Tomáš Štítný of Štítné, for instance, in the fourth book of the *Knížky šestery o obecných věcech křest'anských* [Six Little Books on General Christian Matters], proclaims that the laity could supersede the spirituality of the corrupt clergy if they read devotional works and imitated Christ. See: Pavlína Rychterová, 'Kirchen- und Klerikalkritik im Böhmen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts zwischen Latein und Volkssprachen,' in *Clero contro clero. Retoriche anticlericali fra medioevo e prima età moderna*, ed. G.L. Potestà and R. Rusconi, (Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo) 12, 2 (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2015), pp. 291-308. See also Marin, *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí*, pp. 64 for how Tomáš developed this rhetoric of suffering from the early Bohemian reform movement. The Hussites also derived their concept of the *imitatio Christi* from Wycliffite authors such as Richard Wyche, who wrote to Hus from London in 1410. In his letter, he lays out what he believes to be the foundations of the reformist movements: returning to the primitive church, following the examples of biblical saints, *imitatio Christi*, maintaining the Word of God in the face of martyrdom, and rejecting wealth to embrace a *vita apostolica*. Pavlína Cermanová, 'Constructing the Apocalypse: Connections Between English and Bohemian Apocalyptic Thinking,' in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New

excommunicated or executed, they still faced constant opposition. Suffering was vital to the *imitatio Christi* tradition that was so popular across late-medieval Europe, and the pain of suffering was repeatedly referenced in relation to preparing the body for healing.⁷⁵ Jan Příbram, the leading voice of the Utraquists at the University of Prague during the 1420s, echoed Hus's *imitatio Christi* in his *Knížky o zamúceniech velikých cirkve svaté* [Little Books on the Great Tribulations of Holy Church].⁷⁶ For Příbram, suffering was to be expected if one decided to stand against the Church of the Antichrist: 'Kazdy tedy dobry krziestian ktoz scatecznie diabla drazdi neczekay gyneho koncze nez pana gezisse krzizowaneho anes Joba shnileho abolesti naplnieného' [Therefore every good Christian who bravely provokes the devil may not expect any other end than the Lord Jesus on the cross or putrid Job, full of pain].⁷⁷ The more radical preachers of the Taborite movement used the same imagery. Jan Čapek's *Knížky o večeri Páně* [Little Books on the Lord's Supper] explains that taking medicine can often exacerbate the pain of one's maladies, which is why '[n]eb iako nedužiwy, když přigima lékařství statečné neobracuge geho w swoy neduh ale lékařství sie w zdrowie obratí' [when one is sick, one must receive medicine bravely, not turning away from his ailments, because the medicine returns him to health].⁷⁸ Similarly, Nicholas (Mikuláš) Biskupec of Pelhřimov held that 'cruciari per carnis afflictionem' [to be crucified through bodily suffering] was a mark of a true preacher of Christ.⁷⁹

In other words, a true preacher should expect to be tormented by the Antichrist, facing a

York: Fordham University Press, 2016), p. 68; Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 78-9.

⁷⁵ Andreas Hinz, *Zeit als Bildungsaufgabe in theologischer Perspektive* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003), pp. 203-05.

⁷⁶ Příbram wrote this before he was exiled from Prague, after he split with Peter Payne and declared the writings of John Wyclif to be heretical in 1426. Pavel Spunar, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum provecum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, Studia Copernicana 35, 2 vols. (Wrocław: Inst. Ossolinianum, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 153-4.

⁷⁷ Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, MK 97, f. 52r.

⁷⁸ Dobiáš, 'Dva rukopisy z počátku 15. Století,' p. 61.

⁷⁹ ÖNB MS 4250, fol. 156v; Cermanová, 'Constructing the Apocalypse,' p. 81.

figurative crucifixion. Příbram, Nicholas, and Čapek consciously draw on the Pauline tradition of the ‘stimulus carnis,’ or the sting of the flesh (2 Cor. 12: 7). Paul proclaims that he experienced euphoria in his spiritual revelations from the Holy Spirit, but to ensure that he was not prideful he received the sting of the flesh by an angel of Satan. Enduring this sting, Paul realised that ‘when I am weak, then am I strong.’⁸⁰ The *stimulus carnis* enabled Paul, and in turn Příbram, Nicholas, and Čapek to experience a portion of Christ’s suffering without physically being crucified.⁸¹ Augustine drew upon this Pauline concept in his *Enarratio in Psalmos*, to expose the compassion of *Christus medicus* when providing the ultimate healing after one has endured the suffering of illness.⁸² For Augustine, there is an inherent virtue in suffering as a patient of Christ. Patients were supposed deal with their suffering with a humble disposition and accept that the Divine Physician’s medicines sometimes caused pain before they healed.⁸³

In the tradition of suffering in a Christ-like manner, it did not matter that Nicholas and Příbram were on opposing sides in the 1420s—Nicholas Biskupec a Taborite and Jan Příbram a Utraquist. The rhetoric of *imitatio Christi* was remarkably similar in their respective struggles against the Church of the Antichrist. The split between the Utraquists and Taborites in Bohemia was also explained through organological language, with each side using the imagery of disease and healing as a means of hereticating the other. This phenomenon was part of a trend that others have noted in similar contexts, namely, that dissident groups adopted and advanced a discourse of heretication that was originally used against them by Church and secular authorities.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Vulgate, 2 Cor. 12: 10.

⁸¹ Daniel McCann, *Soul-Health: Therapeutic Reading in Later Medieval England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018), p. 86.

⁸² Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmos*, in PL 36, col. 708-10, Psalm 58, 5.

⁸³ Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmos*, in PL 36, col. 709: ‘Nam hoc vitio ne ipse tentaretur, quale sibi medicamentum dicit appositum contra tumorem, a medico qui sciret quid curaret? “Ne magnitudine,” inquit, “revelationum extollar, datus est mihi stimulus carnis meae, angelus satanae, qui me colaphizet.”’

⁸⁴ Andrew E. Larsen, ‘Are All Lollards Lollards?’, in *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England*, ed. Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, and Derrick G. Pitard (Cambridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 59-72; J. Patrick

Taborites and Utraquists used imagery of disease when accusing each other of heresy and to turn their struggles into a Christ-like suffering that legitimated their status as true preachers. This is exceptional because the two groups developed a mode of criticism that was originally applied in an antifraternel context. The targets changed but the imagery itself remained remarkably consistent.

Still, there was not a clear consensus among the dissident Hussite groups regarding excommunication and condemnation. Hus's compassion in relation to excommunication and the reformation of members of the Church was not shared by all theologians of the dissident movement. Certain preachers took a harsher line on whether a corrupted member could be healed and returned to Christ's body. Hussite preachers never adopted a rhetoric of amputation, but after Hus's execution and during the anti-Hussite crusades of the 1420s, there was a marked shift to imagery of wounds sustained in battle that had certain parallels to amputation.⁸⁵ The *Anatomia de antichristi*, an anonymous apocalyptic preaching florilegium likely composed in the 1420s,⁸⁶ adapted source material from Matěj of Janov to depict the monstrous anatomy of the diseased Church from head to toe in the manner of a medical anatomy book. The author declares: 'plagas

Hornbeck, *What is a Lollard? Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 'Introduction: Family Resemblances'; Marcela K. Perett, 'Jan Hus and Faction Formation: The Evidence of Hus's Post-1412 Writings,' *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28, special edition *Jan Hus in History and Legacy 1415-2015*, ed. Thomas A. Fudge (2015), pp. 45-66.

⁸⁵ The most comprehensive article on the subject is Pavel Soukup, 'Religion and Violence in the Hussite Wars,' in *The European Wars of Religion: An Interdisciplinary Reassessment of Sources, Interpretations, and Myths*, ed. Wolfgang Palaver (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 19-44; see also Thomas A. Fudge (ed.), *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, Crusade Texts in Translation Book 9 (London: Routledge, 2002) for translations of a number of documents related to the Hussite crusades.

⁸⁶ There is no surviving manuscript of this work. It was printed as the first part of a series of three volumes printed by Otto Brunfels: *De anatomia Antichristi, liber unus* (Strasbourg: 1524); *Locorum aliquot ex Osee et Ezechiele prophetis, cap. v. et viii.* (Strasbourg: 1524); and *Sermonum Ioannis Huss ad populum, tomus tertius* (Strasbourg: 1525). These volumes have been printed in a facsimile as *Matthias Janov, Opera*, ed. Erich Beyreuther and Werner-Friedrich-Aloys Jakobsmeier, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf Materialien und Dokumente, band 1 (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975) (hereafter *Anatomia*). The majority of the content of these volumes are taken from Matěj, as proven by Kybal, *Mistr Matěj z Janova: Jeho Život*, pp. 77-81, who identified the sources in the first volume. Jaroslav Prokeš, 'Brunfelsova edice domněle Husových spisů z r. 1524 a autorství antikristovských traktátů Sermones de Antichristo a *Anatomia Antichristi*,' *Časopis českého muzea* 93 (1919), pp. 149-64, identified the sources in the second and some of the sermons of the third.

cordis Antichristi, dum ueri dei serui curare attentauerint, nihil proficient' [while true servants of God may try to heal the wounds of the heart of the Antichrist, they will have no success].⁸⁷ By referring to wounds that could not be cured, the *Anatomia* signals the anticipation of the End Times and the imminent reign of the Antichrist. Only Christ could heal these wounds because during the Antichrist's reign he would come to earth to battle the Antichrist and remove disease from his mystical body.

The anti-Hussite Crusades were decisive turning points in the Hussite conception of the body of the Church. Metaphors of pestilence and humoral medicine were less widely invoked, and a harsher approach was believed to be required to correct corruption. Instead of humoral purging, Hussite preachers employed martial images that cast Christ's Word as a form of armour and his blood as a treatment for injuries sustained in battle.⁸⁸ Jakoubek of Stříbro, for instance, described the blood of Christ as a medicinal tonic to treat those wounded in battle: 'A že v boji ranění bývají někdy, mají lékařství v krvi Kristově' [And they (the true followers of Christ) are sometimes wounded in battle, but they have medicine in the blood of Christ].⁸⁹ Jakoubek here describes those that feared retribution from the authorities for following the truth of Christ's Word, yet his words reflect the struggles of the Hussites against the armies of Sigismund of Luxembourg.⁹⁰ Even before the violence of the crusades, however, Jakoubek acknowledged that

⁸⁷ *Anatomia*, p. 26v.

⁸⁸ Soukup, 'Metaphors of the Spiritual Struggle Early in the Bohemian Reformation,' pp. 87-109.

⁸⁹ Pavel Soukup, 'Dobývání hradu Skály v roce 1413 a husitská teorie války. Ke spisku Jakoubka ze Stříbra o duchovním boji,' *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 9 (2003), p. 206; Jan Sedlák, 'Husův pomocník v evangeliu II,' *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým* 2 (1914-1915), p. 446-77. This imagery again parallels but does not replicate the rhetoric used by Church authorities towards heresy. Throughout the anti-Hussite crusades, the papacy treated the battles against the Hussites as a 'continuous war against the heretics, which would last unremittingly until the extermination of this plague.' *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, ed. Jaroslav Eršil, vol. 7. 1 (Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 1996), no. 1010, p. 414; Soukup, 'Religion and Violence in the Hussite Wars,' p. 25.

⁹⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the connection between the Eucharist and the Church, both representing Christ's body in different senses, was a commonly developed comparison for the Hussites. For Jakoubek, drinking Christ's blood would act as a spiritual medicine for those wounded by castigation. This was, in fact, the same medication prescribed by Matěj of Janov, although he would not necessarily agree with all facets of utraquism as presented by Jakoubek. Lahey, 'Matěj of Janov,' pp. 12-17; Helena Krmičková, 'Vliv Matěje z Janova na utrakvismus Jakoubka

God purged in many different ways, from medication to death and illness. In a sermon from his 1414 cycle, Jakoubek explains: ‘dominus deus nos multipliciter purgat, tum per mortem, tum per pestilenciam, tum etiam per salutarem; sui corporis exhibiti nobis medicinam et nos nomine curamus’ [the Lord God purges us in many different ways, not only through death, but also through pestilence, and even through health; his body presents us medicine and we are cured in his name].⁹¹ Purification and purgation were fundamental to Jakoubek’s preaching rhetoric. Jakoubek established a dichotomy between those corrupted by devils who needed purging from the body of the Church, and those who were faithful to Christ who required his curative purification. The acknowledgment that God purifies through different methods helps to explain the way that purging can be both harmful and curative. After all, death and pestilence can remove evil members from the body of the Church, just as medicine can remove the sources of pestilence from a body. Nevertheless, this was not a call for Hussites to enact violence upon their enemies, because it was God, not his followers, who used death and pestilence as his tools. Jakoubek’s followers would not, therefore, be encouraged to use God’s tools of purgation as a justification for war, but rather his rhetoric explained the treatments of the Divine Physician that seemed especially cruel, namely death and pestilence.⁹²

Despite the Divine Physician’s painful and purgative forms of treatment, the Hussites maintained that Christ’s goal was never to cause irreparable damage to the body of his Church, but to keep it intact. Amputation and medicine apply on different allegorical registers, giving us an insight into two different conceptions of the health of the Church. For the discourse of

ze Stříbra a Mikuláše z Drážďan,’ in *Mistr Matěj z Janova ve Svě a v Naši Době*, ed. Jan B. Lášek and Karel Skalický (Brno: L. Marek, 2002), pp. 119-31.

⁹¹ PKMK, XII F 25, f. 78v.

⁹² For more on this sermon cycle and its theories of violence in particular, see the forthcoming dissertation of Martin Pjecha, ‘Changing discourses of Violence in the Hussite Movement (early 15th c.)’ (unpubl. PhD diss.: Central European University, Forthcoming).

amputation, a body that had a severed limb could be healthy, but for the Hussites, a deformed body would forever be unhealthy. Jakoubek describes armour to prevent wounds and medicine that was applied to martial wounds as a means of keeping the body of the Church whole and healthy during the battles with papal armies. Perhaps the split with Tábor could be seen as a form of severing or amputation, but the Hussites themselves did not present it as such. There were, in fact, sincere and concerted efforts on the part of those in Prague to bring the Taborites back on side, both during the battles against Sigismund of Luxembourg and at the Council of Basel. The Taborites were central to the defeat of the crusading armies in Bohemia, especially under the command of John Žižka of Trocnov (d. 1424) and Prokop the Great (d. 1434).⁹³ With this in mind, the discourse of heretication that the Utraquists and radical wing of the Hussite movement used against each other was part of a continued lexicon of purgation. Both sides continued to debate and communicate with each other with a view to reconciliation and strengthening the reformist movement, but they also recognised the ways in which the Antichrist could corrupt the other side.

Preaching *verbi medicina*

While Hus and his followers treated excommunication as a means of purging individuals from the body of the Church, they preached to heal audiences en masse, a soothing convalescence to be conducted after the pain of purgation. The Hussites claimed that the Church was flooded with papal pronouncements that reinforced corruption on an institutional level. As a result, the role of preachers became increasingly important in correcting error and in delivering pastoral instruction for the spiritual health of the laity and lower clergy. Jakoubek of Stříbro maintained that his

⁹³ This subject has been covered in detail in Soukup, 'Religion and Violence in the Hussite Wars,' pp. 19-44.

sermons, and more broadly those preached at Bethlehem Chapel, were the only alternative to the impotent instruction of the clergy. He declared that ‘multi enim audierunt tediose uerbum dei sine affectione cordiali’ [many tediously hear the word of God without feeling the cordial feeling] that one experiences when properly digesting Scripture.⁹⁴ But it was not merely the ineffective preaching of the clergy that posed a problem for the health of the Church; the Antichrist did everything in his power to impede those who could preach Christ’s medicine. Specifically, the Hussites objected to the measures put in place by Zbyněk Zajíc of Hazmburk, Archbishop of Prague, in 1409/10.⁹⁵ Under pressure from the clergy and Alexander V, Zbyněk ordered all Wycliffite works to be burned and banned all unsanctioned preaching. Hus makes multiple references to the preaching ban, arguing that it was an unjust, antichristian act designed to stop Christ’s true preachers exposing the pestiferous clergy:⁹⁶

Quia enim contra cleri pestiferi crimina sacerdotes Christi predicarunt, ideo orta est dissencio ex eo quod clerus pestem scandalii inferens populo, nolens pati predicacionem sue pesti contrariam; contra ewangelium predicantes, et pestem eorum sanare volentes per uerbum domini, maliciose volens predicacionem extingwere consurrexit.⁹⁷

This disagreement [between the Hussites and those like Stephen Pálec, Stanislaus of Znojmo and Archbishop Zbyněk] has arisen because Christ’s priests preach against the offenses of pestiferous clergymen who inflict the plague of scandal on the people, refusing to tolerate preaching that is contrary to their plague; against preachers of the Gospels—those who desire to cure their plague through the Word of the Lord—he [the pestiferous clergyman] maliciously conspires, desiring to suppress the preaching.

⁹⁴ Jakoubek of Stříbro, *Postilla super Epistolam ad Ephesios ‘De cetero fratres’* in ÖNB, 4937, f. 25v: ‘Multa enim sunt in lege dei misteria, et ad plenum non possessus intelligere, sed quantum deus dederit, multi enim audierunt tediose uerbum dei sine affectione cordiali.’ For more on this manuscript and the texts therein, see: Pavel Soukup, ‘Metaphors of the Spiritual Struggle Early in the Bohemian Reformation: The Exegesis of *Arma Spiritualia* in Hus, Jakoubek, and Chelčický,’ *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 6 (2007), pp. 94-101; Jindřich Marek, *Jakoubek ze Stříbra a počátky utrakvistického kazatelství v českých zemích: studie o Jakoubkově postile z let 1413-1414* (Prague: Národní knihovna České Republiky, 2011), p. 105; František M. Bartoš, *M. Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Husův spolubojovník a obnovitel kalicha*, Jihočeský sborník historický, 12 (Prague: Církev československá, 1939), p. 19; idem, ‘Betlemská kázání Jakoubka ze Stříbra z let 1415-6,’ *Theologická příloha Křesťanské revue* 20 (1953), p. 54; idem, ‘Dvě studie o husitských postilách,’ *Rozprawy československé akademie věd* 65, řada 65, 4 (1955), pp. 12-13.

⁹⁵ Alexander V issued the bull in December 1409, but it was not until 1410 that it was enforced.

⁹⁶ Vidmanová, ‘Hus als Prediger,’ pp. 65-81.

⁹⁷ *De ecclesia*, Thomson, cap. 11F, p. 95.

Hus would not allow himself to stop preaching—or at least to stop producing pastoral texts—because he openly condemned clergy who failed to maintain the duties of the *cura animarum*.⁹⁸ During his exile, Hus produced his *Postilla*, a collection of pastoral works written in Czech that were intended to be read in lieu of sermons delivered in person.⁹⁹ For Hus, his pastoral mission was imperative because his sermons were the only thing keeping the laity from the pestilence that had its source in the sins of the clergy. Further, if Hus ceased preaching, he would be a hypocrite, which was for both the Hussites and the Wycliffites a particularly grave sin and a continual anxiety.¹⁰⁰

Above all, the true preachers of Christ, whether explicitly Hussite or members of the clergy, were those who healed the souls of the laity. The responsibilities of resuscitating the spirit and curing plague were, for Jan Hus, ordained by Christ through the apostles, and were to be upheld as a matter of prime importance.¹⁰¹ Any preacher who failed to carry out these responsibilities was almost certainly a satellite of the Antichrist. The Hussite concern for preaching the Word of Christ was chiefly derived from Augustine's assertion that the Divine Physician cures through Scripture, the *verbi medicina*.¹⁰² Hus invokes this healing tradition in his *Postilla*: 'Dáti měl pán lidem ducha svatého, a od toho ducha svatého aby jeho věrným byli odpúštieváni hrieši. Neb co jsi, člověče! jedné neduživý, jenž zdravie potřebuješ? chceš mně býti lékařem? ba se mnú hledaj lékařství!' [Our Lord gave the people the Holy Spirit, and so

⁹⁸ Soukup, 'Jan Hus as a Preacher,' p. 127.

⁹⁹ Antonín Váhala, 'Jan Hus in Exile: The Nature and Development of Spirituality,' *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28, special edition *Jan Hus in History and Legacy 1415-2015*, ed. Thomas A. Fudge (2015), pp. 67-88.

¹⁰⁰ See: Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 45 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 116-20.

¹⁰¹ As early as 1405 Hus was emphasising the need to heal the laity of sin, and the lack of proficient preachers to carry it out. Anežka Vidmanová, 'Hus als Prediger,' *Communio viatorum* 19 (1976), p. 68.

¹⁰² See for example Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmos*, 66.7 PL 36: 809, where he states that the Divine Physician applies the fomentations of words to purge the evil humours gathered up in one's conscience.

that his faithful might be forgiven of their sins by that Holy Spirit. For what are you, man! Are you one who is sick, who is in need of health? Do you want me to be a physician? Indeed, look to me for medicine!]¹⁰³ The Lord's healing passed from the Holy Spirit into Scripture and was transferred to those who sought it out. Nevertheless, certain clergymen were content in their illness and purposely avoided healing, which is why Hus adds the proviso that one must look for medicine. If one is content to sin and ignore the Divine Physician, then one will remain in sin. Ultimately, one must be open and willing to accept the *verbi medicina*. According to Hus, Church officials in Bohemia were not open to receiving this spiritual medicine and instead looked to nullify it through the preaching ban that affected Hus and his followers.

The spiritual healing of Hus's pastoral instruction directly contrasts the preaching of the Antichrist, who spreads his pernicious doctrine like noxious fumes.¹⁰⁴ While sermons enabled Hus and his followers to disseminate spiritual medicine to audiences, the Antichrist used preaching to spread disease. This conception of the plagued papacy developed into a markedly harsher rhetoric after Hus's death. The Hussites went further in condemning the papacy as the seat of the Antichrist after Constance. Those that were unsure about the association between the pope and the Antichrist before 1415 now had definitive proof of the evil of the papacy in the execution of Jan Hus.¹⁰⁵ One text that directly condemns the papacy as the diseased Antichrist is

¹⁰³ Hus, *Postilla*, cap. 20, p. 182D. For more on Hus's sources of authority for this particular postil, see: Bohumil Ryba, 'Latina a Kritická Interpretace Staročeských Textů,' *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 87, 2 (1964), p. 347. For more on the *Postilla*, which Anežka Vidmanová describes as representing the lion's share of Hus's surviving preaching material, see: Anežka Vidmanová, 'Autoritäten und Wiclif in Hussens homiletischen Schriften,' in *Antiqui und moderni. Traditionsbewußtsein und Fortschrittsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1974), pp. 384-6.

¹⁰⁴ The Hussites conformed to and drew from the English Wycliffite text the *Opus Arduum*, which stated that the clergy would not work to cure the body of the Church through *verbi medicina*, but would instead act as murderers in worsening its disease. Bostick, *Antichrist and the Lollards*, pp. 87-8, 107.

¹⁰⁵ Jakoubek, for instance, described his own time as corresponding to both the fifth and sixth ages, indicating that the last seventh age was still to come at an undetermined time. Jakoubek relied heavily on Jan Milíč and Matěj of Janov in these claims, quoting large sections from both authors. He in fact states that he bases his apocalyptic thought on Milíč because his saintly life verified his claims to prophecy. In Jakoubek's 1413 *Posicio de Antichristo*, he in fact quotes a large section from the *Libellus de Antichristo* where Milíč describes his spiritual struggle and his

the anonymous *Anatomia de antichristi*. Throughout the text, the word *pestilencie* is used alongside *pestifer* (defined as both ‘noxious’ and ‘destructive’).¹⁰⁶ With these terms and their signification, the author looks to widen the meaning and context of the biblical use of the word *pestifer*, which was traditionally interpreted as ‘destructive,’ to incorporate a rhetoric of disease and contagion.

The first part of the *Anatomia* attempts to list all of the names given to the Antichrist and to gloss their meaning. One name is the *mons pestifer*: ‘dicitur Mons pestifer Hiere. li. [25] & dabo te in montem combustionis. Ibidem. Ecce ego ad te mons pestifer, qui corrumpis uniuersam terram, quia est mons per potentiam, & superbiam, & pestifer per fumum crudelem & occisionem’ [he is called the mountain of destruction, Jeremiah 51: 25, and (the Lord said) ‘I will make you into a burning mountain. In that very place. Behold, I come against you, mountain of destruction, which corrupts the whole earth,’ because it is the mountain of power, pride, and destruction through its cruel and killing fumes].¹⁰⁷ As the term is used in Jeremiah, ‘pestifer’ is taken to mean destruction, but here the author of the *Anatomia* draws on an exegetical tradition of linking the Antichrist with pestilence. The text explains that the Antichrist spreads his plague through the preaching of his satellites and uses his authority to legitimise corrupt practices, ranging from blasphemy to murder. The foul fumes that the papal Antichrist emits originate from his mouth as he and his satellites preach. In describing the inhalation of the stench emitted from the mouth,¹⁰⁸ the author of the *Anatomia* joins imagery of noxious fumes with destruction and

prophecies of the End Times. PNK XI D 5, ff. 175v-176r and PNK X E 24, f. 238r. For more on the manuscripts, see František Michálek Bartoš, *Literární činnost M. Jakoubka ze Stříbra* (Prague: České akademie věd a umění, 1925), p. 29.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Pestifer’ and ‘pestis’ are terms that have had a long association with the devil and had often been used in Latin texts because of the potential for word play. For more, see: Mattias Tveitane, ‘Noctifer, a medieval Latin word-play,’ *Symbolae Osloenses* 44 (1969), pp. 160-5.

¹⁰⁷ *Anatomia*, p. 4r.

¹⁰⁸ On the mouth of the Antichrist and the foul odours it emits, see: *Anatomia*, pp. 11v-12r.

contemporary theories of miasma, which stated that disease could be spread through foul smells.¹⁰⁹ The *Anatomia* accuses the Antichrist of advancing the spread of disease by willingly breathing in the noxious fumes of pestilence.¹¹⁰ That is, the papal Antichrist emits foul smelling fumes through his own mouth and then purposefully takes in the contagion through his nose in order to corrupt the rest of the body. This metaphor sought to establish that the papacy encouraged corruption, simony, and the preaching of deceitful sermons that had no scriptural basis. In sum, the head of the Church had little concern for the spiritual wellbeing of Christ's faithful.

The *Anatomia* continues to explain that the forces of the Antichrist entered the Church and looked to stop the proper functioning of the body, just as harmful excess humours led to illness. According to medieval physicians, the spleen was the seat of melancholy and therefore it was made cold and dry. It was fundamental in filtering harmful humours out of the body and in making sure that only nutritional humours were assimilated. The faithful members of the ecclesiastical body needed to perform the same function as the spleen, filtering out the harmful members and accepting God's scriptural medicine. One way in which this could be accomplished

¹⁰⁹ For more, see: David Tomiček, 'Water, Environment, and Dietetic Rules in Bohemian Sources of the Early Modern Times,' in *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), p. 455. The *Anatomia* falls in line with medical authorities, who likewise emphasised miasma in pestilence and in 'pestifer'. For instance, in a plague sermon of the late fifteenth-century, Franciscan Bernardino de Busti explains that a pestilence is the universal transformation of the air into the putrid, or the worst quality: 'Epidemia sive pestilentia est mutatio aeris in putredinem vel pessimam qualitatem universaliter et multis pestiferam.' Quoted in Ottó Gecser, 'Doctors and Preachers against the Plague: Attitudes toward Disease in late medieval Plague Tracts and Plague Sermons,' in *The Sacred and the Secular in Medieval Healing Sites, Objects, and Texts*, ed. Linda Migl Keyser (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 95; Bernardino de' Busti (d. 1513), 'Sabbato post quartam dominicam in quadragesima de pestilentie signis, causis, et remediis,' in *Rosarium sermonum predicabilium ad faciliorem predicantium commoditatem novissime compilatum* (Venice, 1498), f. 256va. For more on the general concerns that were expressed in medieval texts about the possible spread of disease through smells, see: Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, 'Les eaux noires: Essai sur le miasme et la salubrité dans la ville médiévale,' in *Ad libros! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Joseph-Claude Poulin*, ed. Jean-François Cottier, Martin Gravel, and Sébastien Rossignol (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), pp. 265-80.

¹⁰⁹ Vidmanová, "Hus als Prediger," pp. 65-81.

¹¹⁰ *Anatomia*, p. 10v: 'Ideo oportet ostium uoluntatis aperire, emittere fumum pestiferum, de naribus Antichristi progressum'.

was through God's love, which took the form of heat in the heart of the Church. The *Anatomia* is especially concerned with controlling the heat of the body of the Church, explaining that the spleen of the Church had ceased to function as a means of evacuating harmful sins and controlling the body's overall temperature. In medieval medicine the spleen was believed to have been on the left side of the body, the side that was dominated by colder humours and was thus naturally cooler than the right side. The spleen was associated with hot humours and the element of fire, hence on the left side of the body the heat within the spleen would be balanced and moderated by the coolness. However, when the spleen malfunctioned, it no longer retained the heat of the element of fire, because the moist humours filled it up and tempered the heat.¹¹¹ Instead of filtering out harmful humours, the unhealthy spleen spread cool humours from the naturally colder left part of the body to the warmer right side. This meant that the heat of God's love contained in the heart was at risk of becoming cold, 'quia splen est intra costas & stomachum positus, propter sinistrae partis infrigidationem, ut per quandam temperantiam factam, conseruet stomachi calefactionem. Sic Antichristi uictoria in Dei dilectione homines facit frigescere' [because the spleen is placed under the ribcage and the stomach, on account of the coolness of the left side, so that through a certain moderation that is brought about it maintains the warmth of the stomach. In such a way Antichrist's victory causes men to grow cold in the love of God].¹¹² The celestial heat of God's love was dulled by the sinful material building up in the spleen, as the heart, located above the spleen and towards the middle of the chest, became ill when its heat was cooled.¹¹³

¹¹¹ For a representative example from a medical master on the filtering potential of the spleen, see: Thomas of Wroclaw's *Practica Medicinalis*, Cap. 57 'De debilitate splenis,' p. 231.

¹¹² *Anatomia*, p. 28r.

¹¹³ For more on the position of the spleen and its effect on the rest of the body, see: Galen, *Liber tertius*, 'On Pleurisy,' and *Salernitan Anatomy: The Second Salernitan Demonstration*, 'The Spleen,' in *Medieval Medicine: A Reader*, ed. Faith Wallis, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 15 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 28, 121, 169.

There is also an inherent distinction between coldness and heat in the left and right sides of the body in an eschatological sense. Last Judgment scenes in medieval art and literature presented the damned at Christ's left side and the saved on his right. The predestined would always remain on the right side of Christ, even if they were temporarily removed from God's warming love, due to their inherent radical grace. Those foreknown, on the other hand, would always remain on the left, removed from Christ's salvific influence. The author of the *Anatomia* underscores this point with reference to Matthew 25: 33 that the sheep are placed on God's right hand and goats are placed on the left. Matthew goes on to explain in 25: 41 that those on Christ's left side are condemned to face the eternal fires prepared by the devil.¹¹⁴ By tempering the heat of the spleen, turning it cold, the body of the Church was not able to properly filter the harmful humours taken in from antichristian sermons. Consequently, the entire body of the Church had become ill and its heart was dulled by the cold. Driving the cold from one's heart is, then, an important point in humoral medicine and its associated spiritual imagery. After all, the heart is the vessel through which one accepts the heat of God's love, and without this celestial heat the body of the Church is left in ruin.

Yet the neat distinction between the left and right sides of the mystical body was complicated by divisions within the Hussite movement. Preaching became a source of contention in the split between the Utraquists at the University of Prague and the Priests of Tábor. Each side used a discourse of heretication to suggest that the other had been corrupted by the Antichrist, and each maintained a different approach to delivering scriptural medicine. As early as the 1419 St Wenceslas Synod, conducted before the Taborite movement had fully developed, those who rejected conventional sources of scriptural interpretation were condemned. Those at the synod

¹¹⁴ *Anatomia*, p. 28r; Vulgate, Matthew 25: 33: 'et statuēt oves quidem a dextris suis, haedos autem a sinistris.'

agreed that not all of the tenets of faith were explicitly contained in Scripture. Consequently, it was agreed that many of the extra-biblical works of the doctors of the Primitive Church were based in the truths of the Bible, albeit in an indirect manner, and thus were useful tools in exposing all facets of the faith. Jakoubek went further than this, suggesting that no one, no matter how skilled and learned they may be, could completely understand all the nuances and enigmatic parts of Scripture without the aid of certain holy glossators and exegetes.¹¹⁵ Both the Utraquists and the clergy condemned those who took apocalyptic scriptural passages and manipulated them to fit their narrative of the impending Apocalypse.¹¹⁶ Nicholas of Pelhřimov, leader of the early Taborite movement, suggested that the Utraquist masters of Prague had joined with the Antichrist when they reached a consensus with Church officials:

Nam qui [magistri Pragenses] nobiscum fortiter prius caput bestie predicantes vulneraverunt contra traditiones pape, iam conversi in aliam qualitatem iterum promovent eos, conversi sicut canes ad vomitum [Prov. 26: 11; 2 Peter 2: 22] ad magnam ruinam populi ceci—qui populus sibi appreciat ritum pape quem [sic] ritum ecclesie sanctem primitivem, qui circa missam observatur.¹¹⁷

For those [masters of Prague] who were formerly with us wounded the head of the beast, preaching boldly against papal traditions. Now they have been converted into another character and again promote them [the papal traditions], just as a dog returns to its vomit [Prov. 26: 11; 2 Peter 2: 22] to the great ruin of the blind people—the people who prize for themselves the papal rite over the holy primitive rite of the Church, which is observed through the mass.

¹¹⁵ Jakoubek explains that no prophecy of Scripture is a matter of one's own interpretation. In order to avoid a twisted meaning that relied solely on one's interpretation, exegetes must diligently read the books of saints who were filled with the Holy Spirit. Those who ignore this exegetical tradition and rely simply on their own intellect, are bound to fall into heresy. *Výklad na Zjevení*, vol. 2, p. 634: 'Item přidává, kdož smysly nové nalézá and rozum Písma a Ducha svatého. Petr v kanonice své die [2 Pet. 1: 20-21]: "Toto věděti máme, že všeliké Písmo a prorocství nenie duchem lidským přineseno, aniž vykládáno má býti z smysla porušeného," ale s pilností máme nahlédati v knihy svatých, kteříž sau plní Ducha svatého, kterak vykládají, mravně, duchovně a svrchovaně neb bohobojně etc. Protož pád bývá v kacieřstva v království tomto, kteříž na své zpoléhají duchy.' For more on Jakoubek's attitude towards exegesis and glossae, see: Ferdinand Seibt, 'Die *revelatio* des Jacobellus von Mies über die Kelchkommunion,' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 22, 2 (1966), pp. 621-4.

¹¹⁶ Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 259-64; Blanka Zilynská, *Husitské synody v Čechách 1418-1440* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1985), pp. 31-9.

¹¹⁷ ÖNB, MS. 4520, f. 185v.

By originally inflicting wounds on the beast of the Antichrist, the masters of Prague helped to throw off the yoke of long-held papal traditions that were contrary to the ideal Primitive Church. But Nicholas laments that they had returned to preach on the side of the Antichrist, serving to harm the laity that they originally sought to protect. Here Nicholas invokes a common simile derived from the book of Proverbs to describe heretics, that of a dog returning to its vomit. By returning to their vomit, the moderate party resuscitated and fostered the sins that they had worked to cure (*peccata resuscitata fovet*). Nicholas laments that in the time of Peter many divine clergymen cured the plague (*plagam curavit*) with their rejection of worldly sins and wealth, whereas now the avaricious clergy failed to cure sins and resuscitate the spirit (*spiritum resuscitatum*) of the wounded Church. The result was that the papacy and Prague masters placed themselves above the divine, which served only to worsen the spiritual disease of the body of the Church.¹¹⁸ The only method of curing this disease was to preach the Word of Christ, the *verbi medicina*, in its purest form.

Scriptural interpretation

The divisions between the radical wing of the Hussite movement and the Utraquists largely rested on the question of whether one needed glosses to decode enigmatic passages of Scripture. These debates were couched in medical imagery, with the two sides disagreeing on how the *verbi medicina* was to be administered. The Utraquists were selective in their use of sources and accused certain clergymen and other university masters of using extra-biblical material to corrupt the purity of Scripture. Taborite preachers, as well as those belonging to the Pikart and Orphan movements,

¹¹⁸ ÖNB MS. 4520, f. 185r: 'Caput auaricione Petrus cum ceteris occidit, stantimus vero illam plagam curavit cum clericus diuinius multas subleuat Petrus symoniam quod prouat clericus auaricius curavit et sic omnia peccata in mundarum spiritum resuscitata sunt per clericorum auarius et superbia auaricia luxuria quare etc.'

took this argument to the extreme, rejecting glosses wholesale and interpreting Scripture without input from other sources.¹¹⁹ They maintained that with the passage of time humanity was losing a sense of direct divine inspiration that university masters sought to replace with the study of hermeneutic tradition.¹²⁰ For the Taborites, the glosses of the doctors, even those of commentators from the Primitive Church, were not necessary for salvation, but served only to dilute the purity of Scripture and lessen its salvific effects.¹²¹ This difference in approach was a key issue at the 1419 St Wenceslaus Synod, where one of the most significant outcomes was that the Utraquists and clergy agreed that not all of the components of faith were explicitly contained in Scripture and that many of the extra-biblical works of the doctors of the Primitive Church were needed to expose all facets of the faith.¹²² This did not convince the Taborites. As the Taborite, and later Pikart, leader Martin Húska explains in his *Vyznání o chlebu živém a věčném* [Confession about the Living and Eternal Bread], the Taborites believed that the glosses of university masters were often taken ‘proti svatému evanjelium’ [against the Holy Gospel].¹²³ To suggest that extra-biblical writings contained some elements of the faith that were not contained in Scripture was, for the Taborites, a

¹¹⁹ Soukup, ‘Masters and the End of the World,’ pp. 91-114.

¹²⁰ Franco Morenzoni, ‘Parole du prédicateur et inspiration divine d’après les artes praedicandi,’ in *La parole du prédicateur (Ve-XVe siècle)*, ed. Rosa Maria Dessì and Michel Lauwers (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 271-90.

¹²¹ A. Frinta (ed.), ‘Vyznání o chlebu živém a věčném (Martina Húsky),’ *Jihočeský sborník historický* 1 (1928), p. 10; Jan Příbram, *Život kněží tábořských*, ed. Jaroslav Boubín (Příbram: Státní Okresní Archiv, 2000), pp. 93-9 item 52. See also: Bylina, *Hussitica: studia*, pp. 119-20; Pavlína Cermanová, ‘V zajetí pojmu: definice husitského chiliasmu,’ in *Heresis seminaria: pojmy a koncepty v bádání o husitství*, ed. Pavlína Rychterová and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Centrum mediévistických studií: Filosofia, 2013), p. 159.

¹²² Kaminsky, *History*, pp. 259-64; Zilyská, *Husitské synody*, pp. 31-9.

¹²³ Húska states that all that is needed for correct interpretation is to follow the life of Jesus, and since the Gospels were the most definitive source of information on his life, no other authorities were needed. He ultimately concludes that doctors’ writings, which they invent, are called glosses. The masters that invent these glosses are often taken as the truth instead of the Holy Gospel. Frinta, ‘Vyznání o chlebu živém a věčném (Martina Húsky),’ p. 8: ‘Dále vyznávám že dosti jest k spasení každému věrnému, když bude živ samým životem Pána Jezu Krista, kterýžto řadně jest popsán v evanjelium a v epištolách, ale ne v doktorských, kteréžto vymyslili mistři a nazývají to glosou; a přijali jsou je lidé na mnohých místech proti svatému evanjelium.’ See also Vavřinec of Březová’s articles from the dispute at Zmrzlík’s house in FRB, vol. 5, p. 460, item 56 explains that the decisions of the universal Church and holy fathers, no matter how legitimate, are not to be taken over Scripture: ‘Item quod decreta universalis ecclesie et sanctorum patrum a spiritu sancto constituciones, quomodocunque legitime, non sunt observande, quia in observacionibus evangelii expressis est contentandum.’

blasphemy that could not be tolerated. The Bible needed no mediation in glosses but was to be read in the purest form possible. Certain Taborites in fact went further, claiming that in their renewed kingdom in the Final Days, there would be no need for physical Bibles because each person would be directly moved by the Holy Spirit and would not require any mediation from the written word.¹²⁴

The Utraquists of the University of Prague found the Taborite position to be dangerous and anti-intellectual. Jakoubek of Stříbro accused the Priests of Tábor of taking prophetic passages *in esse*, as if they were directly applicable to fifteenth-century Bohemia, ignoring glosses that contextualised the passages.¹²⁵ For Jakoubek, a more moderate allegorical reading that was based on a long tradition of authoritative glosses led to spiritual healing, as he argued that his authorities were Church Fathers and saints. Instead of taking passages as if they were directly applicable to his time, in his *Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana* [Exposition of the Revelation of St John] Jakoubek gave various apocalyptic passages a moral interpretation that was based largely on the readings of Augustine. With special reference to the Taborites, Jakoubek explained that Matthew's intention in the Little Apocalypse was to lead Christians to reject worldly temptations and trust in God to cure the hearts of the sinful. This contrasted with the Taborite interpretation, which led them to the mountains quite literally, where they formed their own communities away from the Babylonian city of Prague.¹²⁶ Jakoubek explains the ways in

¹²⁴ Vavřinec of Březová's articles, FRB, vol. 5, 458, item 27: 'Item quod lex dei scripta in regno reparato ecclesie militantis cessabit et biblie scripte destruentur, quia lex Christi omnibus superscribetur in cordibus eorum, et non opus erit doctore.'

¹²⁵ Soukup, 'The Masters and the End of the World,' pp. 91-114.

¹²⁶ As Pavel Soukup maintains, the Taborites did employ an allegorical interpretation of the passages in Matthew's Little Apocalypse, because a literal interpretation would have forced them to seek out mountains in Egypt, not in Bohemia. Indeed, both the Utraquists and the Taborites took the notion of fleeing to the mountains to be a call to flee the sinful, but the Taborites took the flight to be a literal distancing rather than a metaphorical distancing as Jakoubek understood it. Soukup, 'The Masters and the End of the World,' p. 101. Still, almost all of the major Prague masters active in the early Hussite movement attempted to discredit the Taborites by suggesting that they stuck too closely to their physical enactments in chiliastic prophecies. František Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften 43, 3 vols. (Hannover: De Gruyter, 2002), vol. 2, p. 1049; František

which his moral interpretation healed the hearts of the faithful without them having to physically flee Prague:

‘Tehdy kteří sou v Židovstvu, utiekajte k horám’ [Matt. 24:16], totiž varujte se od zlosti šatanovy, uzavierajte se od bluduov a navyklostí zlých. ‘A modlte se, aby utiekanie vaše nebylo v zimě.’ [Matt. 24:20] Srdce studené, od lásky božie uhašené, nemuož utiekati; ale kdež zahřievá Kristus, slunce spravedlnosti, a osvěcuje skrze vieru, tent’ utieká od přátel a časných věcí, ano i od vlastnieho těla, jediné aby toliko zuostati mohlo vnitř to, což se Bohu líbí.¹²⁷

‘Then those in Judea must flee to the mountains’ [Matt. 24:16]: that is, avoid the angers of Satan, shield yourselves from errors and evil habits. ‘Pray that your flight may not be in winter.’ [Matt. 24:20] A cold heart, with the love of God doused, cannot flee; but when Christ, the sun of righteousness, warms and illumines it through faith, it is carried away from friends and worldly things, yes, even from its own body, so that inside it there remains only that which is pleasing to God.

God is the only one who can purge the heart of the Church of its coldness, and by treating the soul with greater reverence than the body, one can be cured of the sin in one’s heart. Retreating to the mountains and battling one’s enemy was, therefore, ill-advised, because it took the forewarnings from Matthew out of the allegorical context in which he wrote them and divorced them from the long tradition of exegesis from which biblical commentators drew. This was indeed the problem with avoiding glosses, as one could easily misinterpret Scripture and miss the nourishing parts.

This is not to suggest that Jakoubek did not foresee signs of the coming Apocalypse, but rather that his exegesis demanded faithful Christians to undertake a spiritual cleansing rather than physically fleeing Prague as the Taborites preached.¹²⁸ Throughout his commentary,

Šmahel, *Husitské Čechy: Struktury, procesy, ideje* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny [NLN], 2001), 285; Kaminsky, *History*, p. 315; Petr Čornej, et al., *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, 15 vols. (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2000-2015), vol. 5, p. 224; Amedeo Molnár, ‘K otázce reformační iniciativy lidu. Svědectví husitského kázání,’ in *Acta reformationem bohemicam illustrantia. Příspěvky k dějinám utrakvismu*, ed. Amedeo Molnár (Prague: Kalich, 1978), vol. 1, p. 21; Robert Kalivoda, *Husitské myšlení* (Prague: Filosofia, 1997), p. 185 n. 39; Soukup, ‘Masters and the End of the World,’ p. 98.

¹²⁷ Jakoubek of Stříbro, *Výklad*, vol. 1, cap. 12, p. 490.

¹²⁸ Kybal, ‘M. Matěj z Janova a M. Jakoubek ze Stříbra,’ pp. 22-40; Pavel Soukup, *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stříbra*, pp. 241-2. On the differences in interpretation between Jakoubek and his adversaries, see: Pavlína Cermanová, ‘Jakoubkův a Biskupcův Výklad na Apokalypsu. Porovnání s důrazem na interpretaci antikristovského

Jakoubek describes the moderate Utraquists as those that had been harassed for their beliefs and brought into the light, thus ‘k stánku-Kristu utiekali a lékařství nalezli’ [to the tent of Christ they fled and found medicine].¹²⁹ Jakoubek implicitly plays with the Czech noun ‘tábor’ (camp) and the verb ‘tábořit’ (to camp). In these camps, from which Tábor partly took its name—the biblical mountain is also part of what informed the naming—tents (stany) would be erected to house members of the Taborite community and to serve as chapels in which communion could be conducted. Jakoubek compares these physical tents and the Taborite camp to that of Apocalypse 20: 8, in which saints enclosed themselves when surrounded by Satan’s forces. The tent of the *Výklad* represented, then, the community of the faithful cloistered away from the evils of the world, a place, much like a hospital, where Christ may heal his chosen elect without the corruption of outside forces. Nonetheless, this tent was metaphorical and did not physically exist. The Priests of Tábor, according to Jakoubek’s text, left this spiritual tent that enclosed those predestined for salvation, and felt the coldness of being away from God’s love in their camp, which privileged the physical over the spiritual.

In opposition to the type of exegesis conducted by Jakoubek, which explicitly drew from the Church Fathers, Taborite authors looked to expose the limitations of glosses. The author of the Taborite *Cum eadem est Via*—a text which was recorded by Vavřinec of Březová (d. 1437) in his *Husitská kronika*—held that glosses were useless because they were based upon fallible worldly knowledge as opposed to the direct intervention of the Holy Spirit. *Cum eadem est Via*

mýtu,’ in *Jakoubek ze Stříbra: Texty a jejich působení*, ed. Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Filosofia, 2006), pp. 209-28.

¹²⁹ Jakoubek of Stříbro, *Výklad*, vol. 1, cap. 12, p. 490: ‘Tak ti stajskali sobě světi a obtěžovali pro tvrdost; protož k stánku-Kristu utiekali a lékařství nalezli.’ The reference to camps and tents has been linked to the Taborite custom of celebrating masses out in the open air. Pavlína Cermanová, ‘Gog and Magog: Using Concepts of Apocalyptic Enemies in the Hussite era,’ in *Peoples of the Apocalypse: Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios*, ed. Felicitas Schmieder, Wolfram Brandes, and Rebekka Voß, *Millenium Studies* 63 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), p. 253.

claimed that using extra-biblical material in interpretation served to elevate worldly authors to the level of divinely inspired Scripture. As a means of describing the correct method of interpretation, the author uses a bodily metaphor that mirrors the organological model of the Church. This model combined the Gospels of Christ with Mosaic Law:

Recordemur Mosayce legis [Mal. 4: 4], ubi hac via scripta continetur. Sed ne videamur in 'religione angelorum' Christi fideles decipere, ambulantes frustra inflati carnis sensu [Col. 2: 18], teneamus super omnia capud, i.e. evangelium Jesu Christi, et totum corpus predicationis per nexus coniunctionesque legis et prophetas subministremus, ut possit crescere in augmentum divine coniunctionis [Col. 2: 19].¹³⁰

Let us keep in mind the law of Moses [Mal. 4: 4], where the path of Scripture is contained. But lest we appear to deceive Christ's faithful with the 'worship of angels,' going about in vain, puffed up with the understanding of the flesh, let us hold fast to the head above all [Col. 2: 18], namely, the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And let us attend to the whole body of preaching by means of the joints and sinews of the law and the prophets, so that it [the body] may grow in the sustenance of the divine union [Col. 2: 19].

The Gospel of Christ is held to be the head in the position of prime importance, but it is connected via the joints and sinews of the body with the laws and writings of the Old Testament prophets. Since all these parts are connected in one body, one can rely on Scripture to expose all facets of the faith. The author of the *Cum eadem est Via* draws on Paul's warning that one should not be taken in by deceptive arguments and worship anything other than God. Paul stated that one should not be misled by those who claim to see angels as proof of the validity of their arguments, but rather one owes reverence to God alone. Just as worshiping angels took away one's devotion to God, so those who trusted glossators were distracted from the true object to which all reverence should be directed, namely, Scripture. The author argued that Scripture contained every element of faith and every book pointed to the same prophetic End Times. For the Taborites, then, every passage could be seen to contain some apocalyptic or chiliastic

¹³⁰ 'Cum eadem est via' in František M. Bartoš, 'Do čtyř pražských artykulů. Zmyšlenkových i ústavních zápasů let 1415-1420,' *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám města Prahy* 5 (1932), p. 582; also treated in Soukup, *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stríbra*, p. 338. Soukup quite rightly maintains that this passage is an attempt to defend chiliasts from accusations that they preferred prophecies over the Law of Mercy.

element that applied to their present. All other writings were considered to be outside of the divine bodily structure and thus unnecessary for salvation. Glosses and theological tracts had no place in the body of Taborite exegesis and were unhelpful additives of earthly authors that looked to supersede scriptural authority.

In the Taborite discourse, interpreting Scripture with glosses was an improper method of administering Christ's medicine. Those who relied on such glosses in their sermons, therefore, were unable to help cure souls. The *Anatomia de Antichristi*, while not necessarily a Taborite text, does certainly present the issue of glossing in a fashion akin to the more radical, apocalyptic wing of the Hussite movement.¹³¹ The anonymous author explained that since the Church was corrupted by the Antichrist, any attempts made by the clergy to heal the body were bound to be unsuccessful or even harmful. Drawing on Nicholas of Dresden's comparison between the Primitive Church and the corrupt Church of his own time,¹³² the *Anatomia* explains that the Primitive Church used the power of the apostles to heal the souls of the faithful. The modern Church, however, is full of impotent clergymen who do not preach the Word of God: 'etiam patitur & patietur ex deficientis regiminis causa, dum medici Antichristi penetrabilia animae non applicant remedia, sed tanquam imperiti medici, superficialiter ad extra uidentur plagas curare, anima letaliter uulnerata semper permanente' [now too it (the Church) suffers and will suffer as a result of deficient leadership, as the physicians of the Antichrist do not apply penetrating remedies to the soul, but like unskilled physicians, they only seem to cure wounds on the outside, superficially, while the soul ever remains mortally wounded].¹³³ The preaching physicians of the

¹³¹ Werner-Friedrich-Aloys Jakobsmeier has shown that the text conforms to certain ideas expressed in the *Confessio taboritarum* of 1431. Janov, *Opera*, p. 23.

¹³² For Nicholas of Dresden and the sources of the *Anatomia*, see: Kybal, *Mistr Matěj z Janova: Jeho Život*, pp. 77-81; Prokeš, 'Brunfelsova edice domněle Husových,' pp. 149-64.

¹³³ *Anatomia*, p. 26v.

Antichrist do not penetrate the body to reach the wounds of the soul, and they make no attempt to bring the body back to health.¹³⁴ Antichristian physicians instead heal superficial wounds to give the impression that they carry out their duties.

The image of the unskilled physician relates to surgical manuals of the period that warned against fraudulent surgeons who charged extortionate prices for ineffective procedures. These practitioners would, according to such texts, attend to breaks in the skin because these were easier to treat, but they would disguise the root of illness beneath the flesh, which would require invasive procedures or knowledge of pharmacy. Unskilled surgeons allegedly feigned competence and ignored any maladies that were difficult to treat, thus avoiding the consequences of penetrating flesh and potentially causing further injury.¹³⁵ Anticlerical critics maintained that the same was true of the clergy, who provided basic, surface readings of Scripture that neglected the salvific allegorical and anagogical significance. Different readings of Scripture can be specifically linked to the depth of wounds and healing. The literal reading operates on the surface, interpreting the historical context of the passage and the intention of the author. Allegorical and anagogical exegeses could penetrate deeper into the text, going beyond the literal words to their hidden meaning. Further, anagogy directly relates to the soul and salvation.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Galvano da Levanto (d. 1340), physician to Benedict XII and priest, condemned unskilled priests and incompetent physicians as murderers. He states that according to Galen the unskilled *medicus* is an enemy and should be judged as the worst murderer of all; so it is the same for the unskilled spiritual physician, for they do not attend to wounds, but inflict them: ‘Nam secundum Galenum imperitus medicus est inimicus et non adiutor infirmi. Quin ymo homicidiis speculatoribus deterior iudicatur. Sic medicus spiritualis imperitus non curat imo sauciat.’ Although Hus does not accuse the clergy of being murderers, Galvano’s comparison shows that there is a precedent, at the very heart of the papacy, in comparing unskilled priests and unskilled physicians. Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion c. 1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 83.

¹³⁵ Michael McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages* (Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni Del Galluzzo, 2006), especially p. 181.

¹³⁶ Most of the apocalyptic interpretations of the *Anatomia* are derived from these senses and the literal context of particular passages are left without glosses. After all, interpretations aimed at the health of the soul were particularly important for the diseased body of the Church, which could not be healed by exterior treatments. This follows established trends of exegesis of this period as outlined by Beryl Smalley in *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 281-308. A focus on affective theology and allegory is a phenomenon that was particularly appealing to Wycliffite and Hussite theologians. Hussites and Wycliffites who

Hussite authors often complained that contemporary exegetes neglected the allegorical and anagogical readings of Scripture. These levels of interpretation were accentuated by the Hussites, who saw them to be essential to their conception of the *cura animarum*.¹³⁷ The *Anatomia* particularly objected to treatments that gave prominence to the literal or surface register above other senses. The author considered such an approach to be for scholars who were trying to compensate for a lack of divine inspiration.

For the Taborites, then, preachers who stuck to scriptural material in their sermons offered the faithful *verbi medicina* that would be assimilated into the body, whereas the satellites of the Antichrist gave superficial treatments that failed to do anything beneficial for the health of the soul. Taborites levelled this accusation against university masters whom they found to be overly academic and pedantic in their sermons. The *Anatomia* presents an extended metaphor of preparation, mastication, digestion, and assimilation of the ‘spiritual food of Scripture’ (quoted below). Not only does the description of the text accurately reflect contemporary medical

often drew on sources such as Richard Rolle who focused explicitly on allegorical and anagogical readings. Rolle’s Psalter commentary, which was in fact adapted and revised by the Wycliffites, focuses on the moral and allegorical significance of the Psalms, with very little space devoted to the literal. Anne Hudson (ed.), *Two Revisions of Rolle’s English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*, EETS Original Series 340, 341, 343 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-2014). Michael Van Dussen has shown that Rolle was enthusiastically received by reformers and more orthodox readers in Bohemia in the fifteenth century. ‘Richard Rolle’s Latin Psalter in Central European Manuscripts,’ *Medium Aevum* 87 (2018), pp. 41-71; see also: See also *Richard Rolle: On Lamentations. A Critical Edition with Translation and Commentary*, ed. Michael Van Dussen, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020).

¹³⁷ This is not to say that the Hussites rejected the literal, but rather that they followed the likes of Nicholas Lyra, Richard Fitzralph, and John Wyclif in interpreting Scripture with the *duplex sensus litteralis*, which placed metaphor into the realm of the literal. Essentially, they thought that it was necessary to know the details of the metaphors and their allegorical significance in order to fully understand what the author’s intention was. John Wyclif further broadened the literal sense so that it included all of the four classical modes of interpretation. For Wyclif, Scripture was not so much a text but an idea of a single Divine Truth. To comprehend what this Truth was, one had to sometimes prefer the allegorical over the traditional literal sense. In this sense, the allegorical becomes a reality more than the historical, literal context. Due to this way of interpreting Scripture, the literal often did not need to be glossed as extensively as the allegorical and anagogical. See: Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy*, pp. 11-14; A. J. Minnis, “‘Authorial Intention’ and ‘Literal Sense’ in the Exegetical Theories of Richard Fitzralph and John Wyclif: An Essay in the Medieval History of Biblical Hermeneutics,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy C* 75 (1975), pp. 4-5; Pavel Soukup, ‘Metaphors of the Spiritual Struggle Early in the Bohemian Reformation,’ pp. 88-9. For direct borrowings of Hus from Lyra, see: Zuzana Lukšová, ‘Exegeze Žalmů Mikuláše z Lyry v *Postille litteralis* a její odraz v Husově *Enarratio Psalmorum*,’ in *Středověká Univerzitní vzdělanost*, ed. Martin Nodl, *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia* 18 (Prague: Filosofia, 2017), pp. 199-207.

theories of digestion and assimilation, but the rhetoric engaged with the tradition of the *lectio divina*, whereby one follows a process of *lectio*, *meditatio*, *oratio*, and *contemplatio* before finally comprehending all aspects of a scriptural passage. The first two stages of this process were referred to collectively as *ruminatio*, or rumination conducted after one has masticated and ingested the words to fully comprehend the meaning. To rush the process or to skip over rumination would mean that one's reading was incomplete.¹³⁸

The concept of eating and digesting the book also had apocalyptic connotations. In Revelations 10: 9, an angel appears to John and tells him to 'Take the book, and eat it up: and it shall make your stomach bitter, but in your mouth it shall be sweet as honey.'¹³⁹ This is to say that Scripture will be sweet on one's lips when one says the words, but once the words are fully digested, they leave a bitter feeling in one's stomach. The implications of Scripture for the Final Judgement and the health of one's soul can often be unpalatable, but they are nonetheless incredibly important. The angel goes on to say in Revelations 10: 11 that after John has ingested the book, '[y]ou must prophesy again to many nations, and peoples, and tongues, and kings.'¹⁴⁰ The author of the *Anatomia* employs a similar rhetoric in urging his readers to properly ingest Scripture with all its bitterness, rather than to keep the sweet taste in one's mouth:

Praeparatio, masticatio, in loco digestionis receptio, eius in liquorem mutatio, liquoris in humorem conuersio, ipsius per membra distributio, & ipsius cum membris assimilatio, & incorporatio, siue in naturam corporis conuersio: sic est de cibo sumpto a Christicolis ueris, qui aequaliter in omnibus uerbo Dei diriguntur.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Vincent Gillespie, 'The Senses in Literature: The Textures of Perception,' in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard G. Newhauser (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 154; cf. Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), pp. 15, 72-3.

¹³⁹ Vulgate, Revelations 10: 9: 'Accipe librum, et devora illum: et faciet amaricari ventrem tuum, sed in ore tuo erit dulce tamquam mel.'

¹⁴⁰ Vulgate, Revelations 10: 11: 'Oportet te iterum prophetare gentibus, et populis, et linguis, et regibus multis.'

¹⁴¹ *Anatomia*, pp. 29r-v. Robert Grosseteste makes a similar claim about religious devotion and its 'digestion,' though he does not go on to draw on the same association with poor digestion that the *Anatomia* makes below. Siegfried Wenzel, 'Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, "Deus Est",' *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970), pp. 222-3.

Preparation, mastication, reception in the place of digestion, its alteration into liquid, conversion of the liquid into humours, the distribution of the same through the members, and its assimilation and incorporation with the members, or conversion to the natural constitution of the body: thus it is concerning the food taken by the true Christians, who are all guided equally by the Word of God.

The process of digesting Scripture is vital to ensure one's spiritual health and for absorbing the meaning. To understand the words fully, one must ruminate and assimilate them. Therefore, proper digestion will allow the reader to go forth and prophesy in his own sermons. Within this rhetoric, the author explicitly draws from medieval theories on digestion and assimilation.

According to Albertus Magnus, that which is 'pabulum conveniens' [fitting nourishment] is turned into nutrimental humours in the stomach, liver, spleen, and veins, whereas the 'pabulum aliquantulum inconveniens et dissimile' [somewhat unfitting and discordant nourishment] is turned into moistures such as phlegm, spittle, and urine. The solid matter provides energy for the body, and the excess is passed out in the privy.¹⁴² In the same manner, that which is spiritually nourishing in sermons remains inside the body and all else becomes waste. When one digests Scripture, all of its words are nourishing and no excess is produced that needs to be excreted. Glosses, on the other hand, offer something nourishing in the words of Scripture, but also produce excess in the writings of extra-biblical authors. The most efficient manner of assimilation of the *verbi medicina* is thus through Scripture alone, the text most directly inspired by the Holy Spirit.

Scholastic glosses, even those produced by the Church Fathers, are treated by radical members of the Hussite movement as harmful additives to the pure *verbi medicina*. These

¹⁴² Albertus Magnus, *Parva naturalia. De morte et de vita* in *Opera omnia*, ed. Auguste Borgnet, 38 vols (Paris: Vives, 1890-1899), vol. 9, Tractatus 2, cap. 6, pp. 359b-60a. See also: Joan Cadden, 'A Matter of Life and Death: Water in the Natural Philosophy of Albertus Magnus,' *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 2, 2 (1980), pp. 241-52; Odon Lottin (ed.), 'Pour une édition critique du "Liber Pancrisis,"' *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 13 (1946), pp. 185-201.

additives convert God's Word into the food of the Antichrist. The *Anatomia* depicts glosses as indigestible and detrimental to one's health. Indigestible materials lack the warm moisture that fuels digestion and they cannot be dissolved by the complexional heat of the body—the means by which the beneficial humours are assimilated.¹⁴³ The *Anatomia* explains that while the indigestible glosses of the Antichrist may seem to be an appealing option to simplify complicated scriptural passages, they in fact offer an inferior mode of interpretation that is easy for the Antichrist to exploit:

Antichristiani autem homines imitantur fideles, tanquam symia hominum opera: speciem quidem pietatis habent, uirtutem tamen eius abnegant. Nam cibi Antichristi tunc praeparantur, dum eius doctrina uarijs & multis codicibus sigillata, in diuersis gloriose [sic for 'glosis'] legitur Vniuersitatibus. Masticatur uero, dum lege Euangelica postergata, statutio Antichristi suos satians cultores, seculi honore & lucro, ab eis secernitur intellectu ad id sibi abunde proficere. Sed in loco digestionis suscipitur, dum in memoria reconditur. In liquorem, siue humorem conuertitur, dum diuersis glosis diligenter exponitur. Distribuitur per membra, dum secundum indigentiam siue decentiam status cuiuslibet publicatur. Assimilatur, dum attente & affectuose ab auditorio recipitur. Incorporatur & conuertitur, dum opere perficitur. Et sic Antichristi doctrina cibus est quo suum corroboratur collegium.¹⁴⁴

Antichristians mimic true men, just as apes copy what men do: they indeed have the appearance of piety, but deny its virtue. For accordingly the food of Antichrist is prepared, while his doctrine is confirmed by all kinds of books, collected in diverse glosses by the universities. It is indeed masticated, while the evangelical law is left behind, nourishing his supporters with worldly honour and gain for the establishment of the Antichrist; by these things [worldly honour and gain] it [the food] is separated from the understanding in order to profit them abundantly. But in the place of digestion it is taken in, while in the memory it is concealed. It is converted into liquid or humours, while by diverse glosses it is diligently expounded. It is distributed through the members, as it is spread abroad according to what suits the situation at hand. It is assimilated, while it is attentively and affectively received by the audience. It is incorporated and converted, while the work is brought to completion. And thus the doctrine of the Antichrist is the food by which his college is fortified.

¹⁴³ Albertus Magnus wrote a relatively large amount on these concepts, see his *Alberti Magni Opera omnia: De nutrimento et nutritio, De sensu et sensate, cuius secundus liber est De memoria et reminiscencia* vol. 7. pars 2A, ed. Silvia Donati (Munich: Aschendorff, 2017); Reynolds, *Food and the Body*, pp. 220-6.

¹⁴⁴ *Anatomia*, pp. 29r-v.

At first, it seems as if the interpretation offered by glosses is helpful in breaking down difficult readings, but the Antichrist is an ape-like imitator of Christ, the *simius Christi*, who deceptively mimics Christ's life in order to trick people into following him.¹⁴⁵ The Antichrist desires the university masters to dilute the salvific power of Scripture with diverse glosses before it is consumed by the public. University masters deliver their altered text as if it were purely the Word of God, but they know that glosses are not able to offer the same *verbi medicina* as pure Scripture. It is as if the Scripture is masticated and broken down for the audience in the exegesis of scholars, a process that serves only to deprive the faithful of the full benefits of ruminating on Scripture themselves. Masters who are corrupted by the Antichrist use their pre-digested interpretations to manipulate Scripture into saying what is beneficial for them.

By rejecting scholastic glosses and the teachings of university masters, the radical wing of the Hussite movement looked to preserve the purity of Scripture, untainted by superfluous material. This position contrasted sharply with the moderate Utraquists, but concerted efforts were made at the Cheb Judge in 1432—the meeting that took place before the Council of Basel between the various Hussite factions and members of the council to ensure free theological discussion—to reach a consensus between the Hussite factions on the issue of interpretation and glossing. An agreement was reached, as both sides settled on a small number of authorities that were representative of the Primitive Church and thus could be relied on in interpretation.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Assertions about the Antichrist imitating Christ, draw on the tradition of the *simius Christi*. For instance, Adso of Montier-en-Der's widely popular *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi* explains that the Antichrist fakes his death only to remerge three days later as if miraculously resurrected. Bostick, *Antichrist and the Lollards*, p. 96. The Antichrist is sometimes also associated with Simon Magnus from Acts 8: 9-24, who offered to trick people with illusions that seemed like miracles in order to increase devotion to Christ.

¹⁴⁶ The debate over who was an acceptable authority became the basis of the Judge of Cheb, see: Adam Pálka, 'Papoušek versus Lupáč. Polemika o výklad basilejských kompaktát z poloviny 15. století,' *Studia mediaevalia Bohemica* 8 (2016), pp. 41-87; and Amedeo Molnár, 'Chebský soudce,' in *Soudce smluvený v Chebu: sborník příspěvků přednesených na sympoziu k 550. Výročí*, ed. Jindřich Jirka (Prague: Okresní archiv v nakl. Panorama, 1982), pp. 9-37, especially pp. 27-8.

Above all, both sides maintained that Scriptural medicine was the most important healing instrument at the disposal of Christ's true followers; thus, the means by which it could be assimilated into the body became of primary importance in the debates between the moderate and radical factions of the movement in Bohemia. Of course, the anti-Hussite crusades of the 1420s were the real impetus for the Taborites, Orphans, and Utraquists to reunite. To combat the forces of King Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Hussites needed to present a united front. The united Bohemian groups were ultimately successful in defending against the crusades and forced the Church into negotiation at the Council of Basel. However, the Utraquists ultimately allied with the Church to defeat a military coalition between the Taborites and Orphans in 1434 at the battle of Lipany. This came after the Taborites and Orphans refused to accept the *Compacta* as they were negotiated at Basel. For the Utraquists, therefore, practical resolution with the Roman Church became a priority, especially after the Church had made concessions for the *Compacta*. The Taborites and Orphans that stuck to their dogmatic theology, by contrast, faced almost total eradication.

Still, from Hus's exile up until the Council of Basel, the various strands of the Hussite movement developed a complex and nuanced humoral theory to define the Church of the Antichrist. Condemnation of perceived corruption, excommunication, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture were all framed through the medical imagery that was so central to the Hussite model of the diseased *ecclesia*. Through disease in the members and heads of the Church, Hus and his followers treated the Church as a patient in need of purging and humoral balancing to restore it to a superior primitive state. The preachers that have been explored in this chapter believed they had a duty to reform the Church through a strict regimen of health that would purge excess humours from the body. Ultimately, Hussite rhetoric modified the traditional

organological model of the Church with all of its members working harmoniously to control it, to a diseased patient overrun with harmful humours. This imagery was adopted across the disparate factions of the Hussite reform movement after the Council of Constance. Further, the Hussite humoral imagery had a strong correlation to the practical elements of Church reform. Efforts to allow free preaching, communion in both kinds, a moral reform of the clergy, and a change in approach to scriptural interpretation were all presented through medical imagery connected to healing the body of the Church. Humoral imagery in the body of the Church was not an abstract concept used infrequently when a preacher could manipulate it into a form he wanted, but part of a systematic approach to Church reform and pastoral concerns.¹⁴⁷ The reform measures proposed by the Hussites were explained through medical imagery and the medical rhetoric of *Christus medicus*. In fact the organological conception of the Church moved beyond a convenient device through which to explain their reform programme, with many Hussites arguing that their practices served to heal the souls of their followers and expose the pestilence throughout the Church. From Jan Hus's exile into the Utraquist-Taborite debates of the late 1410s and 20s, the Hussites kept returning to the image of the diseased *ecclesia* in relation to issues of cleansing the Church and preaching the *verbi medicina*. The ways in which this imagery mapped on to the various Hussite reform programmes—of Hus, Jakoubek, and more broadly the Utraquists, Orphans, and Taborites—was not mere coincidence, but part of a sustained reformist engagement with medical allegory.

¹⁴⁷ David R. Holeton, for instance, argues that Tomáš Štítný manipulated medical imagery and produced an ill-fitting association with his conception of marriage. 'The Sacramental Theology of Tomáš Štítný of Štítné,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2000), p. 71.

CHAPTER 5

Responses to Heresy at the Councils of Constance and Basel

To Augustine, the term ‘cura’ signified both medical treatment and administration.¹ He intended these dual but connected definitions to be the underlying principles of all the clergy’s responsibilities, from overseeing the spiritual welfare of individuals and leading liturgical rites, to the highest forms of Church governance. The ecumenical councils looked to uphold these values of *cura* in the later Middle Ages, in which the Church faced not only the discord caused by the Papal Schism, but also threats posed by Wycliffite and Hussite heretics. However, the ecumenical councils did not wholly preserve the guiding principles that Augustine established. Where Augustine was adamant that the Church ‘[n]ihil egit ui, sed omnia suadendo et monendo’ [imposes nothing by force, but everything by persuasion and admonition],² the Council of Constance (1414-18) was concerned with concepts of contamination, purgation, and amputation in dealing with multiple popes and heresies. Augustine had, in fact, addressed ideas of contamination and pestilence in his writings on the Manichaeans, yet he insisted that the role of the Church was not to sever its infirm members but to heal them and keep the body intact.³ Equally important for Augustine in his discussions of heresy was the imagery of the lost sheep returning to the flock. When the sheep returns, it is not chastised but healed:

¹ Hans Armin Gärtner, ‘Cura,’ *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. Cornelius Petrus Mayer, Erich Feldmann, et al., 4 vols. (Basel: Schwabe, 1986-2018), vol. 2, pp. 171-5; Paul R. Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls: Revising a Classical Ideal*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 17 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), p. 10.

² Augustine, *De uera religione liber unus*, in *De Doctrina Christiana; De Vera Religione. Aurelii Augustini Opera, Pars IV, I*, ed. Joseph Martin and K.D. Daur, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 16. 31, p. 206. l. 17; Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls*, p. 114.

³ Augustine, *De haeresibus ad Quoduultdeum liber unus*, in *De fide rerum invisibilium Enchiridion ad Laurentium, de fide et spe et caritate. De catechizandis rudibus. Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo. Sermo de disciplina christiana. Sermo de utilitate ieiunii. Sermo de excidio urbis Romae. De haeresibus*, ed. R. Vander Plaetse and C. Beukers, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 46 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 41. 19, p. 319 ll. 191-7; Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls*, p. 135.

etiam ovem, quae foris errabat, et dominicum characterem a fallacibus deprædatoribus suis foris acceperat, venientem ad christianae unitatis salutem, ab errore corrigi, a captivitate liberari, a vulnere sanari, characterem tamen in ea dominicum agnosci potius quam improbari.⁴

for even the sheep that was wandering astray and had received the brand of a lord from dishonest rustlers, if it comes to the security of Christian unity, it is restored from error, freed from captivity, and healed of its wound, for the brand of the Lord is recognised above the impropriety.

For Augustine, whether one received the brand, in this context baptism, within the Church or from those considered to be heretics, it did not matter. The Lord recognised his own brand even when the sheep has been branded by another lord. This is not to say that heretics could rejoin the flock without consequence. Augustine recognised that often the medicines that were used to correct heresy were painful, but ultimately the pain was endured to keep the body of the Church united. For Augustine, *salus* signified wholeness and keeping the body intact.

The negotiations at the Council of Basel between the Church and the Bohemian delegation in 1433 aimed to return to this Augustinian ideal of reconciliation through persuasion and healing. Basel attempted to deal with the issues of dissidence and authority that had been building in England, Bohemia, and Poland. When the Hussites presented and debated the Four Articles at Basel,⁵ it was clear that this was a markedly different council than Constance, at which Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague were excommunicated and handed over to secular authorities for execution. The Church representatives at Basel were still reluctant to make great concessions, but they were intent on (what they viewed as) restoring the separated Utraquist members to the body of the Church. Christ the Physician was central in these discussions of

⁴ Augustine, *De baptismo libri septem*, in *Scriptorum contra Donatistas pars I: Psalmus Contra Partem Donati, Contra epistolam Parmeniani, De baptismo*, ed. Michael Petschenig, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 51, (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1963), 6. 1, p. 298, also in PL 43: 197; Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls*, pp. 134-5.

⁵ In brief, the Four Articles demanded: (1) free preaching of the Word of God, (2) utraquist communion, (3) removal of civil ownership or dominion from the clergy, (4) the punishment of all public mortal sins. For more, see: František Michálek Bartoš, *Do čtyř pražských artikulů: z myšlenkových a ústavních zápasů let 1415-1420* (Prague: Nákladem Blahoslavovy společnost, 1940), pp. 70-3.

amputation and reunion at both Constance and Basel. The ecumenical councils saw themselves operating upon Christ's mystical body of the Church, and simultaneously invoked his authority in severing and reattaching members. This chapter will serve as a coda that takes stock of the medical imagery employed by English and Central European preachers to this point. I will also demonstrate the ways in which the ecumenical councils both condemned the dissident approaches and responded in kind with their own medical rhetoric.

The reformers and dissidents investigated in this study presented an Augustinian conception of healing in relation to heresy and opposed more invasive treatments. For instance, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž explained that Christ the Physician would not resort to amputation or cauterisation because the integrity of the body was paramount. Even if the illness of the body continued for an extended period before it was cured, Christ would not enact violence on the Church:

Noscis enim medicos non semper dulcia sed amara frequenter egrotantibus porrigere, et non numquam ferramentis aliqua membra secare cauteriis exurere, propter totius corporis sanitatem. Et nos qualicet indigni, tamen qualescumque animarum sumus medici; oportet non semper blanda et mollia, sed aliquando aspera egrotanti anime propinare. Quomodo enim per amaram potionem humores mali purgantur.⁶

For you recognise that physicians do not always offer pleasant but often bitter things to those who are sick, and that they never sever any members with iron tools or burn with cauteries, for the sake of the health of the entire body. And although we are unworthy, nevertheless we are without exception physicians of souls; it is not always fitting to administer pleasant and gentle things, but sometimes bitter ones, to the languishing soul. In the same manner as through a bitter drink evil humours are purged.

Using tonics to expel harmful material from the body would be bitter for the patient and they would indeed take longer to purge the infection from the body than amputation, but tonics would ultimately keep the body intact. For Milíč, and for many others across Europe, the lasting deformity caused by amputation was to be avoided at all costs. Christ the Divine Physician was

⁶ Dominica 21 Trinity XII in Milíč's *Abortivus* cycle, PNK I D 37, f. 235rb; 358vb.

not violent in treating his patients with the most extreme forms of surgery. On the contrary, as seen in the hospital context of chapter one, Christ used purgatives and procedures associated with penance to heal those that had spiritual as well as physical ailments. While these procedures were painful, Mary assisted by providing soothing convalescence. Even in contexts where surgical or purging imagery was used more explicitly, such as in the Wycliffite context of chapter two, Christ's surgery was used to ligature wounds and soothe them with emplasters. *Christus chirurgus* did not use his surgery to remove infected members, but rather to secure the integrity of the body through closing wounds. In the Hussite context of chapter four, where the dissidents explicitly stated that the clergy were infecting the body of the Church with disease, they still did not advocate severing members. Rather, certain among the clergy were not seen to be members of Christ's body at all, but harmful humours that could be purged.

The dissident that addressed amputation most directly was Jan Hus, who faced excommunication himself and was burned at the stake in 1415. He maintained that even the tools of condemnation and excommunication could be employed restoratively if there was a chance for the offending member to return to the Church once they were healed. His attitude fundamentally differed from those of the representatives of the Council of Constance, whose members believed that to deal with heresy, they had to use the most severe surgeries. These differences between the responses to heresy and reform demonstrate how similarity in organological imagery can be deceptive. Dissidents and Church councils alike used medical imagery to justify their approach towards *cura*, but the Council of Constance used violent imagery of amputation and cauterisation. Even at Basel, where reconciliation was the order of the day, the violent imagery of severing was still used and at times the Hussites were treated with hostility. The council considered the Bohemian delegation to be separated from the body of the

Church in 1433, and thus their practices of utraquism and preaching were conducted in error. The process of reattaching the severed Hussite limb proved to be arduous and did not end the struggles between the Roman and Bohemian Churches. Nonetheless, Basel represented an unparalleled attempt at diplomacy, with both the representatives of the council and the Hussites recognising the need for unity. The resulting *Compacta* (devised in 1433 and ratified in 1436) legitimised the Four Articles and proved that the Utraquists and the Roman Church were committed to reunification. Although the *Compacta* brought about the end for the Taborites and Orphans, who were defeated at the battle of Lipany in 1434, for the moderate Utraquists it signalled the beginning of the Bohemian Church's cooperation with Rome. From amputation to reunion, medical imagery was central in the proceedings of the ecumenical councils, informing the council fathers' decrees and principles of governance. The lexicon of amputation and reunion had real implications for the structure of the Church and the way heresy was treated. In fact, it was not clear that this medical rhetoric was metaphorical at all; it became a practical means of reforming the Church that had real consequences for humanity's relationship with Christ.

Invasive surgery at the Council of Constance

The most important decree for the councils of Constance and Basel was *Haec sancta synodus* of 6 April 1415, which gave the councils authority over the Roman pontiff in order to seek an end to the Papal Schism.⁷ Jean Gerson (d. 1429) explained in a sermon from 21 July 1415 that God gave the Council of Constance power 'sufficiens ad schismatum sedationem, ad heresum extirpationem et ad morum reformationem' [sufficient to settle schisms, extirpate heresies and

⁷ *Acta concilii Constantiensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke and Johannes Hollnsteiner, 4 vols. (Münster: Regensbergische Buchhandlung, 1896-1928), vol. 2, pp. 403-10; Guiseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (ed.), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), vol. 1, pp. 137-60.

reform morals].⁸ Through these powers, the council looked to purge the Church of the disease of heresy by violent means if necessary.

Even before *Haec sancta* was introduced at Constance, the schedule for 14 November 1414 made it clear that controlling ‘pestilence’—here indicating forms of corruption within the Church, including clerical abuses as well as heresy—would be a key aim of the council. Those who refused to rescind their obedience to the antipope John XXIII were to be addressed as if they were diseased: ‘Qui si ipsorum suasionibus acquiescere noluerint, ex nunc prout ex tunc decernendi sunt tamquam destructores ecclesie et acriter coercendi. Quia in morbo pestilentico est etiam cum cauterio providendum’ [If any of them are unwilling to acquiesce to the recommendations, from now just as before (previous councils) they are determined to be destroyers of the Church, and are to be severely punished. Because it (the Church) is in a pestilential sickness, it will now be provided with cauterisation].⁹ Cauterisation obviously differs from amputation since it does not sever a part of the body. Acting as an alternative to ligaturing, cauterising a wound would inevitably be painful and destroy part of the flesh, but it was used to close wounds and stop excessive bleeding. Cautery was also used as an alternative to bloodletting as a form of purgation, which would in fact better suit the need for it to be a cure for ‘morbus pestilens.’ For the council, those who remained obedient to John XXIII deserved harsh castigation, but not complete separation from the proceedings. Those who supported John XXIII could be overruled if they absolutely refused to change their position. The representatives of the council explained that they had to serve the greater needs of the health of the Church and elect one true pope to lead the body out of schism. Most members of the council recognised that harsh

⁸ Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris: Desclée, 1960-1973), vol. 5, p. 473.

⁹ *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence and Venice: H. Welter, 1759-1798), vol. 27, col. 535D.

measures that resembled cauterisation were to be imposed to help the Church return to health, and in fact they explicitly labelled their decrees as salubrious (salubres) options even if they did mimic invasive surgeries.¹⁰

Certain council fathers maintained that harsh medicines were to be used as a last resort in treating those who refused to conform to their decrees. Many of the theologians of the ecumenical council held that the body of the Church had suffered considerably, and thus extreme measures had to be imposed. In a sermon from 26 July 1416, Mařík Rvačka of Prague prescribed a range of medicines, from the gentle to the severe, to treat simoniacs:

En morbus symoniacus continuatus per annos XXXVIII perniciosi scismatis, eget non solum levibus medicorum syrupis et emplastris et glysteriis, set acerrimis insuper cyrurgicorum incissuris et cauteriis, qualem expertissimi medici in hoc sacro concilio spiritu sancto congregate curam conantur apponere.¹¹

Behold, the simoniac disease that has continued through thirty-eight years of pernicious schism requires not only the thin syrups, poultices, and ointments of physicians, but also the sharp incisions and cauterisations of surgeons. The most expert physicians in this holy council, gathered by the Holy Spirit, endeavour to apply the appropriate cure.

Although Mařík presents a range of medicines, he gestures towards the more serious treatments as those that are most appropriate for simoniacs. Surely, Mařík claims, if the gentler medicines could cure the Church of simony, the disease would not have persisted for thirty-eight years. The scheme of medicine in which one moves from the gentler to the more severe treatments is a theme that is often applied in the *Christus medicus* tradition, especially, as we have seen, in terms of penitence. For instance, medieval theologians were influenced by the imagery of Lady Philosophy in Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, a figure who offered a range of increasingly severe treatments to cure the soul, from poultices of pleasant rhetoric and music, to bitter tonics

¹⁰ Phillip H. Stump explains that this medical imagery was coupled with agricultural images of weeding and cultivating God's fields. Much like cauterisation would damage the body to ensure its health, so removing weeds would disturb the field before cultivating it for crops. Both images emphasised removal before health and cultivation. Phillip H. Stump, *The Reforms of The Council of Constance (1414-1418)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 221.

¹¹ *Acta concilii Constanciensis*, vol. 2, p. 455.

of rigorously logical argument.¹² For Mařík, the Boethian concept of advancing from gentle to severe medicine was as much about castigating those who committed simony as it was about healing. Simony was held to be one of the key consequences of the Papal Schism. Both dissident and more conservative theologians believed that the competing heads of the Church and their deficient leadership had led to a lack of accountability that certain corrupt clergymen exploited to make a profit.¹³ Since the Council of Constance was intent on ending the Schism, it was now time to use extreme measures, even if they resulted in pain. For Mařík, then, the more extreme medical treatments were justified.

The pain caused by surgery was a common theme in speeches and sermons at Constance. Beyond cauterisation, the most extreme treatment was amputation, a measure reserved for those who scandalise (*scandalizat*) or lead the Church into sin, namely heretics and the antipope.¹⁴ This imagery was chiefly derived from Matthew 18: 8: ‘*Si autem manus tua, vel pes tuus scandalizat te, abscide eum, et projice abs te*’ [If your hand or your foot offends you, cut it off, and cast it from you].¹⁵ Jean Gerson extended this metaphor in his *Tractatus de unitate ecclesie* to include amputating an offending head, namely, the antipope John XXIII: ‘*Si pes tuus, aut manus, et ita de capite scandalizat te, projice abs te*’ [If your foot, your hand, or even of your head tempts you to evil, cast it away from you].¹⁶ Gerson followed the logic of the *Regula Benedicti*, where Benedictine brothers who resisted amendment were eventually amputated (*amputetur*) from the

¹² Boethius, *Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), especially book 2, prosa 5- book 3, prosa 1.

¹³ Stump, *Reforms of The Council of Constance*, pp. 223-5.

¹⁴ The significance of the verb *scandalizare* is discussed in depth in Stump, *Reforms of The Council of Constance*, pp. 223-4.

¹⁵ Vulgate.

¹⁶ Jean Gerson, *Tractatus de unitate ecclesie* in *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 6, p. 144. Gerson continues that either the rest of the members drove the head to madness or he exercises tyrannical madness: ‘*si in membra cetera furore niteretur seu tyrannicam rabiem exerceret.*’

community.¹⁷ Of course, the issue with amputating the head, more accurately described as decapitation, is that the body obviously cannot survive without it and thus the metaphor breaks down. This left the theologians at Constance with a serious dilemma; if they removed a pope, would the Church as they know it collapse? As Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1420) explained in a tract he circulated at the council: 'Secundum dictamen iuris naturalis in quolibet corpore ligandum est capud et modis omnibus cohercendum' [Following the precept of natural law in which the head is bound to the body and by all manners preserved by it].¹⁸ According to this logic, removing a pope would cause the body of the Church to die. Theologians such as Gerson and d'Ailly recognised that Christ was the true head of the Church, but the pope was his representative on earth and thus represented a part of the Church's head. This authority was passed down from Christ to St Peter and then to every subsequent pope. The head thus had multiple parts that linked the Church on earth to Christ in heaven. Consequently, removing a pope could disrupt the balance between the divine and earthly.¹⁹

The quandary of how to remove a head without destroying the body prompted the council to consider the best modes of treatment. An anonymous mendicant sermon from 16 December 1416 asked the council to regard the problem as follows: 'Quomodo autem distinguatur morbus a subiectis? [...] Tollatur, queso, infirmitas et cuique maneat sua potestas' [In what way is sickness distinguished from the patient? (...) I question how the sickness may be lifted and any strength may remain with him].²⁰ This was an important question because the extreme treatments

¹⁷ *Saint Benedict's Rule for Monasteries*, trans. Leonard J. Doyle (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1948; repr. 2001), Cap. 55.

¹⁸ *Acta concilii Constanciensis*, vol. 3, p. 58.

¹⁹ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; 2nd edn. 1997), pp. 194-206; Klaus Schatz, *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present*, trans. John A. Otto and Linda M. Maloney (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), p. 94.

²⁰ *Acta concilii Constanciensis*, vol 2, p. 477. This author is discussed by Stump, *Reforms of The Council of Constance*, pp. 224-5.

proposed by the council ran the risk of damaging and destroying the body together with the sickness. In amputating the head, one had to be certain that one was working for the betterment of the body. Dietrich of Niem (d. 1418) addressed these concerns, explaining that:

in corpore mystica universalis ecclesie membrum, quod amplius nocet, occasionaliter sive effectualiter, est cicius dirimendum et amputandum. Ergo Papa malus cicius deponitur, quia est membrum validius, quam quicumque alius prelatus [...]. Non enim, si pes dolet, cetera membra dolent, secus si caput doleat. Quod si per imaginacionem amputari posset, homine manente, amputari cicius deberet, ne totus homo perdatur.²¹

in the mystical body of the universal Church, the member that does the most harm should be more quickly separated and amputated. Therefore, an evil pope is more quickly deposed because he is a stronger member than any other prelate [...]. For if the foot hurts, the other members do not, but it is otherwise if the head hurts. If, theoretically, it were possible to amputate [a man's head] while leaving the man [alive], it ought to be amputated the more quickly, lest the whole man be destroyed.

As Dietrich makes clear, the corruption of the head requires particularly serious measures because it controls the members and directs all forms of movement and action. When the foot is injured, the pain is localised in one area, the extremity at the base of the body. The head, in comparison, spreads pain down through the body and every member feels the effects of its ill health. Although this was not necessarily how pain was believed to be felt—a medieval physician understood that a pain in the foot could affect the entire body just as much as a pain in the head—the assertion that the head influenced the rest of the body, whether positively or negatively, sustained the organological model in which the pope was held above all other clergymen on earth. Yet by asking if one could imagine amputating the head and keeping the body alive, Dietrich requires the reader to suspend the logic of organological metaphor. The bottom line was that the antipope had to be deposed quickly in order to end schism. Dietrich

²¹ Dietrich of Niem, *De modis uniendiae reformandi ecclesiam*, in *Dialog über Union und Reform der Kirche 1410: mit einer zweiten Fassung aus dem Jahre 1415* [*De modis uniendi et reformandi ecclesiam in concilio universali*], ed. Hermann Heimpel, *Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 3 (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1933; reprint 1969), pp. 17-18; Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1350-1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. 439. Leff explains that Dietrich was actually doctrinally similar to Hus and Wyclif, though of course Dietrich himself would never admit to this.

maintains that the ecumenical council had to act on the part of the head to restore the Church to health, and thus the head would be temporarily replaced with the council *universalis* rather than simply removed.

It is no coincidence that the removal of the antipope and the excommunication of Jan Hus were addressed at the same time, and with the same imagery. According to the council, both Hus and John XXIII caused similar discord within the body of the Church, and thus could be treated in the same manner.²² Of course, Hus was not the head of the Church, but as a heresiarch he might have been regarded as the head of a rogue movement. Hus's alleged heresy was treated as equally damaging as a second or third papal head because of the contagious nature of heresy. Amputation was, then, the required medical treatment to remove the offending member as quickly as possible. Prior to Hus's execution, Giacomo Balardi Arrigoni delivered a sermon on the nature of heresy and excommunication. His *thema* was Romans 6: 6, that the 'body of sin may be destroyed' [*destruatur corpus peccati*], which Arrigoni used as a justification for Hus's public execution:

Unde quam comprimendi sunt heretici ac hereses et errores in suis primordiis estirpandi, nos docet inclitus doctor Ieronymus in libro *de Expositione catholice fidei*, ita dicens: Resecande sunt putride carnes a corpore, ne totum corpus intereat, vel putrefiat. Scabiosa ovis repellenda est a caulis, ne totus grex pereat. Parvus removendus ignis a domo, ne tota ardeat.²³

On the manner in which heretics must be suppressed and heresies and errors are to be rooted out in their early stages, the renowned doctor Jerome teaches us in the book *on the Exposition of the Catholic faith*, thus saying: Rotten flesh is to be cut from the body, lest the whole body perish or putrefy. The mangy sheep ought to be driven away from the fold, lest the whole flock perish. The small fire must be removed from the house, lest the entire house burn.

²² Stump, *Reforms of The Council of Constance*, pp. 225-6.

²³ Giacomo Balardi Arrigoni, 'Sermo ... in condemnatione M. Iohannis Hus ...' (6th July 1415), in FRB, vol. 8, p. 489. See also Hubert Herkommer, 'Die Geschichte vom Leiden und Sterben des Jan Hus als Ereignis und Erzählung,' in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1984), pp.120-1; František M. Bartoš, *Čechy v době husovské, 1378-1415* (Prague: Laichter, 1947), p. 446.

Arrigoni used the language of amputation and contagion to justify the excommunication of one sheep in the service of the greater needs of the flock. In order to stop the disease of heresy from spreading, its source had to be removed, ‘precipue hunc hereticum obstinatum, cuius malignitate plura mundi loca peste heretica sunt infecta’ [especially this obstinate heretic (Hus), through whose malice many regions of the world have been infected with the heretical pestilence].²⁴ In treating Hus as a putrid member, Arrigoni echoed the 1407 and 1409 *Constitutions* of Archbishop Thomas Arundel against the Wycliffites, which used the same lexicon of amputation.

Arrigoni used the same themes the next year in his sermon before the execution of Jerome of Prague. He further justified amputation when he assured the Council of Constance that even if they wanted to correct Jerome and bring him back to the fold, he would not listen:

Quoniam, teste Aurelio Augustino, perversis et obstinatis hominibus non levia verba, sed magis aspera obicienda sunt, quoniam sepius contingit, ut ubi lenis correccio spernitur, acris aut acerba plaga maiori attencione suscipiatur: ideo ‘qui blando verbo non corripitur, necesse est, ut acrius arguatur. Cum dolore quidem abscidenda sunt vulnera, que leniter sanari non possunt,’ inquit Ysidorus *de summo bono*.²⁵ [...] Ubi namque fuerit pestilencior morbus, oportet medelam apponere forciolem, et maius vulnus cauciori est ligamine constringendum.²⁶

Since, as attested by Aurelius Augustine, not polished but rather coarse words are to be cast before perverse and obstinate men, for it often happens that where gentle amendment is scorned, a sharp or harsh blow is received with greater attention: therefore Isidore in his *De summo bono* says, ‘when one is not swayed by a smooth word, it is necessary to use a harsh argument. Indeed, wounds must be cut away with pain when it is not possible to cure them gently.’ [...] Whereby, in fact, the more pestilential sickness requires the application of a stronger cure, and the larger wound is carefully to be bound in a bandage.

Although Jerome of Prague was not strictly a Hussite and in fact his ideas reflected more the influence of Wyclif alone, Arrigoni seeks to justify his excommunication as part of the same

²⁴ Arrigoni, ‘Sermo,’ p. 493.

²⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Sententiarum, libri tres* (also known as the *Summo bono* because of the incipit), PL 83, col. 716A, cap. 46: 11.

²⁶ Arrigoni, ‘Collacio Facta Per Magistrum Iacobum,’ p. 494.

process of rooting out Hussite heresy. After all, for many of the council fathers, there was little distinction between the Hussites and Wycliffites. In fact, several commentators, such as Thomas Gascoigne for instance, (writing between 1434 and 1457) referred to John Wyclif, Jan Hus, and Jerome of Prague forming a heretical trinity.²⁷ For Arrigoni, and indeed for later commentators such as Gascoigne, the execution of Jerome of Prague was very much part of the same process of healing the wound of heresy.

Following Hus's execution, theologians from across Europe looked to show support for the council, especially in places that were threatened by the spreading influence of the Hussites. Perhaps nowhere was this threat felt more keenly than in neighbouring Poland, where it was feared that Hus would be revered as a martyr. Andrew Łaskarz, the Bishop of Poznań, was a member of the conciliar commission that judged Hus in 1415, and he showed an anxiety about Poles defending the heretic and criticising the decrees of Constance. His fears seemed well founded, as various Polish priests and noblemen were drawn to Hus's anticlerical position. For instance, in April 1415 a parish priest named Jan of Trląg defended Hus as both a good Catholic and a saint in a debate with a priest from Strzelce.²⁸ In order to prevent further contention, Andrzej Łaskarz imposed a diocesan statute that threatened excommunication to those who contested the decrees of Constance.²⁹ These measures were backed by King Władysław Jagiełło, who stated in 1416 that Poland would help the Council of Constance fight the Bohemian heresy.

²⁷ Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci et libro veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary*, ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), pp. 115-16.

²⁸ *Acta capitulorum necnon iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, ed. Bolesław Ulanowski, 3 vols. (Kraków: Academiae Litterarum, 1894-1918) vol. 2, pp. 15-6; Paweł Kras, *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce* (Lublin: Towarzystwo naukowe katolickiego uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1998), p. 48.

²⁹ *Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia historyczne*, ed. Jakub Sawicki, 12 vols. (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1945-1963), vol. 7, p. 157.

Furthermore, in 1424, Jagiełło ordered all Poles in Bohemia to return to their homeland immediately, or they would be declared heretics and their estates would be seized.³⁰

In the years immediately following Hus's execution, Stanisław of Skarbimierz, first rector of the University of Kraków, was particularly influential in propagating anti-Hussite sentiment in Kraków. In a sermon from 1416, he accused Hus and Wyclif of spreading a spiritual disease that created schism at a time when the Council of Constance was specifically trying to restore unity. Unlike Arrigoni, Stanisław acknowledges Augustine's position that a heretic could be returned to the Church after excommunication once they had been purged of sin. Nonetheless, Stanisław explains that the Hussites are delusional and are thus not able to recognise their spiritual disease or of the need to reform. Stanisław thus uses the same disease imagery as Arrigoni, but he claims that Hus unknowingly contaminated the Church through heretical ideas that he believed would be helpful in reforming the Church. In referring to the *affectio* of heretics, Stanisław explains:

Haec [affectio apud se sapiens] putat se stare, dum cadit; vulneratur et non sentit; moritur et vivere se credit; [...] Haec est affectio, quae mundas mentes inficit, infectas obturat, obturatas quanto magis teruntur, tanto amplius ea rigescere facit, pusillos seducit, magnos contristat, protractos debilitat, humectatos rore Spiritus Sancti exsiccat aut ad nihilum reddit.³¹

It [the affection, wise in its own presence] thinks it stands firm, while it falls; it is wounded and does not feel it; it is dead and it believes itself to be alive; [...] This is the affect by which it [the heresy] corrupts clean minds, obstructs the infected, having been obstructed it is as greatly worn down as much as it is made more numb, it seduces the young, it discourages many, it debilitates the elderly, having been moistened by the dew of the Holy Spirit it dries up or else returns to nothingness.

³⁰ Paweł Kras, 'Polish-Czech Relations in the Hussite Period – Religious Aspects,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), p. 183; idem, 'Edykt wieluński z 1424 i udział brachium saeculare w walce z husytyzmem w XV-wiecznej Polsce,' *Summarium* 26-27 (1997-1998), pp. 63-77.

³¹ Stanisław of Skarbimierz, *Sermones de Sapientia Selecti*, ed. Bożena Chmielowska (Warsaw: Corpus Philosophorum Polonorum Series Medievalis, 2016), p. 159, ll. 42-9.

Arrigoni created the impression that heretics had to be severed from the Church because they wilfully spread their heresy like an infection throughout the body. Stanisław, on the other hand, claimed that Hus spread disease and corrupted many through an affectation that the heretic believed would be healing. Hus's good intentions did not exculpate him, however; Stanisław accused him of 'pacem turbans, quietem inficiens et unitatem damnose dispergens' [disturbing the peace, corrupting calm and harmfully dispersing unity].³² This was especially the case in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland, where the threat of the Hussites continued to loom large beyond Hus's death.

Stanisław's response to the suppression of heresy is altogether more considered and comprehensive than Arrigoni's flat condemnation of Hus as a willing perverter of the Church. Nonetheless, Stanisław approved of Arrigoni's imagery of amputation as the only course of action in stopping the spread of disease. In his official capacity at the University of Kraków, Stanisław wrote the *Determinatio contra sectatores Wycklif et Ioannis Hus*, which presented the dangers of the Hussites and those who sympathised with them. The Hussites were imagined to be a gangrenous limb that emitted the odour of heresy, which in turn threw off the complexion of the entire body:

odor pessimus haeresum, quo multitudo pro dolor hominum est corrupta fugiendus est a catholicis. Dicunt enim naturales, quod foetor corporalis substantiae corruptionem ostendit, defectum caloris praetendit, aerem inficit, vomitum et nauseam inducit et totam complexionem distemperat. Sic suo modo et plus nocet odor foetidus haeresum et dogmatum damnatorum aut merito damnandorum.³³

the worst odour of heresies, by which (alas!) the multitude of men has been corrupted, must be shunned by catholics. For natural philosophies say that a bad odour of a bodily substance reveals corruption, a defective heat expands, corrupts air, inducing vomit and nausea, and distempers the entire complexion. Thus, in this way and many others, the

³² Skarbimierz, *Sermones de Sapientia Selecti*, p. 159, ll. 40-1.

³³ Stanisław of Skarbimierz, 'Stanisłai de Scarbimiria, *Determinatio contra sectatores Wycklif et Ioannis Hus*' in *Scripta Manet: Textus ad Theologiam Spectantes in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculo XV conscripti*, ed. Zofia Włodek, *Studia do dziejów wydziału teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 12 (Kraków: Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Krakowie, 2000), p. 110, ll. 200-05.

fetid odour of heresies and of damned doctrines (or else deserving to be damned) cause harm.

By distempering the complexion, the Hussite heresy corrupted the humours of Christ's mystical body. According to Stanisław, Hus and his followers harmed themselves by fleeing from orthodoxy and damaged the entire body of the Church. The foul smell of the Hussites contrasts the 'odour of sanctity' that emanates from the bodies of saints even after their deaths, preventing the foul smell of decomposition. Churches across Europe invoked the odour of sanctity and preserved the bodies of saints as holy relics that were kept on display and used in processions.³⁴ Stanisław explicitly draws on this concept as a means of distinguishing heretics from legitimate canonised saints, following Andrzej Łaskarz in quashing any suggestion that Hus might be a martyred saint. Hus's and Jerome's ashes were thrown into the Rhine after they were burned so that no part of their bodies could be preserved, but the foul smell described by Stanisław further separated the heretics from legitimate saints.

The humoral image of heresy that Stanisław invoked was similar to that of the Hussite dissidents, who looked to cure the Church through purgative medicine. Nevertheless, Stanisław's humoral theory differed from Hus because instead of purging the foul humours with castigation, he explained that offending members had to be severed through excommunication. Stanisław's model of excommunication is a capacious one, condemning those who were explicitly Hussites alongside those who defended or sympathised with them: 'Fugiamus nedum haeresiarchas et haereticos, sed etiam fautores, receptatores, defensores ipsorum et credentes; tamquam membra diaboli, excommunicatos et eiectos persequamur eos si se non correxerint, nec redire voluerint ad catholicam unionem' [We should flee much more heresiarchs and heretics, but also their

³⁴ C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 118-32; Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (London: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 138-9, 201-06.

protectors, receivers, defenders, and believers; just like the members of the devil, having been excommunicated and ejected, we should persecute them if they should not correct themselves, or they do not wish to return to the catholic union].³⁵ Polish priests such as Jan of Trląg would certainly have fit into this group because although he was not a Hussite, he defended Hus and thus challenged the authority of Constance. Ideas of amputation, then, continued even after the condemnations and excommunications at Constance, as members of the clergy and those who ruled the areas surrounding Bohemia looked to clamp down on any emerging dissidence or Hussite sympathies.

Across his works, Stanisław repeatedly refers to excommunication as a method of purging. He most explicitly defines the relationship between excommunication and purging in a text entitled ‘*Opinio de excommunicatione*,’ contained in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 404, f. 228r. This informal set of notes, possibly recorded during one of Stanisław’s sermons at the University of Kraków, explains that excommunication is the most severe purgative, which can be applied either to an individual or to a collective that caused damage to the Church. Nonetheless, excommunication had to be reserved as a last resort for when other purgatives had been deficient because of the trauma it would cause to the body. He considers that Christ would ultimately like to preserve the integrity of the body, but in the case of excommunication, the medicine is not necessarily used to conserve, but rather to expunge the heretic (*conservet sed ut conterat*).³⁶ Despite this expunging, Stanisław still maintains that excommunication is a ‘*medicinam salutari*,’ a medicine for salvation.

³⁵ Stanisław of Skarbimierz, ‘*Determinatio*,’ p. 128, ll. 803, 811-14.

³⁶ Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 404, f. 228r.

Similarity in imagery can be deceptive. Clearly the interpretive mode employed in the Hussite depiction of disease differed from that of the Council of Constance.³⁷ Jan Hus objected to the idea of severing members from the Church with no prospect of return. Excommunication was to be used not as a weapon or tool for amputation, but as a purgative that would inflict pain in order to bring the excommunicant back to the Church with a healthier soul. Official responses to heresy, the problem of the antipope, and clerical abuses, on the other hand, were concerned with invasive surgeries such as cauterisation and amputation. Hussite rhetoric was more concerned with purging corruption and clerical abuses as if they were excess humours, a process which would not enact such violence on the body. For the theologians of Constance, heresy was a disease that risked contaminating the rest of the body, and so separation was the only means of purifying the Church. Yet excommunicating and executing Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague did not have the desired effect. For the representatives of Constance, the amputation failed to stop the spread of the disease of heresy because Hussites in Bohemia and Wycliffites in England persisted.

Reconciliation at the Council of Basel

The Hussites were not deterred by the executions at Constance, which if anything drove them into further resistance against the Church. Matters were made worse when Pope Martin V and the council sent King Václav IV a list of twenty-four actions that had to be taken to bring Bohemia back in line with the Church. One particularly contentious demand was that Hus's followers publicly approve of his excommunication and execution along with the other decrees

³⁷ Several scholars have examined these sermons, but few have paid attention to the disparity between Arrigoni's position on excommunication and that of Hus. See: Bartoš, *Čechy v době husově*, p. 446; Thomas A. Fudge, 'Preaching against heretics at the Council of Constance,' in his *Jan Hus between Time and Eternity: Reconsidering a Medieval Heretic* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), pp. 99-116.

of Constance.³⁸ The Hussites continued to resist the Church, and on 22 April 1418 the pope gave Sigismund of Luxembourg the power to rally a crusade against them. After ten years, the Hussite threat had still not been eradicated. In order to spark further action against the heretics, Martin V explained in a letter dated 9 October 1428 that the entirety of England and Bohemia was at risk of infection by the Hussite heresy:

quod valde dubitandum est ne Anglia (quod Deus per suam misericordiam avertat) adveniat quemadmodum & Bohemia: quod & si superiori tempore nonnulla indicia apparuerunt, a paucis citra diebus evidentius detectum est; cum in diversis Angliae partibus multi reperti sunt & capti haeretici, quos & fama refert, & valde verisimile est, multos habere participes & magnum sociorum numerum, qui, ut quotidie fieri solet, inficientes & seducentes alios in perniciem totius regni crescent & abundabunt magis, quamdiu vigeat in Bohemia haec haeresis.

there is great doubt whether England (may God in his mercy prevent it) may not come to the same fate as Bohemia. Even if no indications appeared in former times, it has been detected more evidently in recent days, when in different parts of England, many heretics have been detected and captured. A rumour reports, and it is very likely, that they have many associates and a great number of allies who (as daily it comes to pass), infecting and seducing others to the destruction of the entire realm, will increase and become more abundant, until this heresy thrives in Bohemia.³⁹

Martin wrote this letter at a point when the Hussites had already consolidated their power by forming an alliance between the Taborites, Orphan, and Utraquist factions. Furthermore, they had successfully captured the most important cities of Bohemia, including Prague and Kutná Hora. The pope felt that the Wycliffites and Hussites were conspiring against the Church, and he urged the English authorities to take a stronger stance against the Wycliffites. The Lancastrians had already established a harsh line against the Wycliffite heresy, and in fact, as Michael Van Dussen has demonstrated, communication between the Wycliffites and Hussites had ceased by

³⁸ Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 266.

³⁹ Gratius Ortwinus, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, ed. Edward Brown, 2 vols. (London, 1690; reprint, Tucson, AZ: Audax, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 616-17; translation from Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 114-19. As Van Dussen shows, other theologians of the period, including Thomas Netter and Thomas Gascoigne, placed an equal emphasis on the cross-fertilisation of heretical ideas between England and Bohemia, using the same language of pollution and infection.

around 1414.⁴⁰ While the Wycliffites continued to operate past 1414, producing vernacular texts and sermons,⁴¹ they ceased to have contact with Central European dissidents. Of course, the theology of John Wyclif and his followers was notwithstanding fresh on the minds of Church authorities, who looked to deal with the so-called *Wycleffistae* threat that the Hussites posed into the 1430s. For Martin V it seemed as if the Hussites were beyond the control of the Church. A final crusade against the Hussites was led by Frederick I, the Duke of Brandenburg, and the papal legate Giuliano Cesarini the Elder in the summer of 1431. The expedition crumbled at Domažlice, where the crusading forces fled after being surprised by the Hussite army. As a result, the Church sought a reconciliation with the Hussites at the Council of Basel.⁴²

Despite leading a failed crusade against them, Giuliano Cesarini was relatively tolerant of the Hussites. He recognised that the Council of Basel would have to make concessions, and that the declarations against utraquism made at Constance and subsequently by Martin V (who died early in 1431) would have to be forgotten. Treating the Hussites as if they were criminals on trial would not lead to a resolution. Cesarini's measured approach translated into his medical imagery, which softened the harsh language of amputation and cauterisation that came out of Constance, replacing it with images of reconciliation that were not strictly medical. On 5 June 1432, in anticipation of the Council of Basel, Cesarini sent a letter to Pope Eugenius IV, exclaiming: 'Ecce iam ostium aperiri incipit, per quod oues perditae ad proprium ouile regressure sunt; ecce iam spes est in ianuis reconciliacionis Bohemorum' [Behold now the gate has begun

⁴⁰ Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia*, p. 117.

⁴¹ For more, see: John F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414-1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), while this study has some out of date information, it remains one of the most comprehensive studies of later lollard communities, going right up to the English Reformation.

⁴² For more, see: Mark Whelan, 'Walter of Schwarzenberg and the Fifth Hussite Crusade reconsidered (1431),' *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 122, 2 (2014), pp. 322-35; František Šmahel, *Die hussitische Revolution*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky, trans. Thomas Krzenck, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften* 43, 3 vols. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002), vol. 3, p. 1518.

to open through which the sheep desperately are seeking to return to their own flock; behold now the hope of reconciliation of the Bohemians in the entrance].⁴³ This approach to the council was in line with Augustine's conception of heresy, in which the wandering sheep 'is restored from error, freed from captivity, and healed of its wound.'⁴⁴ When the Council of Basel began, Cesarini welcomed the Hussites on 10 January 1433, and it was reported that 'extra sermonem dixit, quod filius a patre non est tanto desiderio expectatus, sicut ego, denotans se ecclesiam seu concilium Basiliense, vos expectavit' [outside of a sermon he said that the father did not await his son with such desire as I, denoting the Church or the Council of Basel, have awaited you].⁴⁵

Yet Cesarini's intentions were not entirely set on reconciliation. At the end of the first round of speeches, Cesarini confronted the Hussites with a list of Wycliffite doctrines that were taken from the forty-five articles condemned at the Council of Constance. Supposedly for the sake of clarity, Cesarini asked the Hussites to either abjure or acknowledge all these doctrines. The Hussites saw through this thinly veiled attempt at condemning them wholesale, and as a result evaded a response by postponing and protracting. The fact of the matter was that there were some doctrines with which they agreed and others that they rejected.⁴⁶

From the start, the Hussites were uneasy about travelling to Basel, but they agreed to attend after the Cheb Judge on the basis that they would have an intellectual debate on the finer points of the Four Articles of Prague. Nonetheless, several members of the council were hostile towards the Bohemian delegation and stuck to the imagery of amputation. Nicholas of Cusa began his reply to the Bohemians by using the harshest language possible:

⁴³ *Monumenta conciliorum generalium seculi secimi quinti. Concilium Basiliense. Scriptores*, ed. František Palacký, 4 vols. (Vienna and Basel: Aemilius Birkhaeuser et Soc., 1873-1935), vol. 2, pp. 203-09.

⁴⁴ Augustine, *De baptismo libri septem*, 6. 1, p. 298.

⁴⁵ *Monumenta conciliorum*, vol. 1, p. 291.

⁴⁶ *Monumenta conciliorum*, vol. 2, pp. 320-2.

Vos vero Bohemi, qui quadam singularitate sub religionis specie quoad usum divissimae eucharistiae a reliquo corpore ecclesiae cum pacis et unitatis ruptura abscisi estis. [...] Non rectam fidem sacramenti tenetis, si separati a corpore Christi vivere per ipsum putatis. Christus quidem, caput ecclesiae, vita est, quae non vivificat nisi unita membra. Quare, cum extra pacem et unitatem ecclesiae sitis, non vitam sed mortis iudicium exspectatis. Revertimini igitur ad ecclesiam a qua existis citius, ne id vobis contingat.

You Bohemians, however, are cut off from the rest of the Church's body, rupturing its peace and unity, owing to a certain peculiarity, masquerading as religious scruple, in the use of the most divine Eucharist. [...] You do not hold the right belief about the sacrament if you think to live through it apart from the body of Christ. Christ, the head of the Church, is the Life who only gives life to members united to him. Wherefore, when you are outside the peace and unity of the Church, you do not await life but the judgement of death. Return quickly therefore, to the Church that you have left.⁴⁷

This opening address presents a fitting transition from Constance to Basel, in which the imagery of separation and amputation gave way to reconciliation. While Nicholas of Cusa undoubtedly uses a severe tone with the Hussite delegation, he ends the passage with a call for the dissidents to return to the Church. Before Nicholas even gets into the specifics of utraquism, then, he establishes that the Hussites could not possibly celebrate communion for their salvation if they were separated from the body of the Church.

Nicholas of Cusa and his colleagues in attendance at Basel were unlikely to be convinced by the Hussites. Yet the mere fact that these discussions were taking place, and that the council were framing their responses in terms of reconciliation, speaks to the diplomatic nature of the council. The dissidents were in a strong negotiating position because of the dismal crusading efforts of Sigismund and the Church, but also because the Hussites had a firm sense of what they wanted to get out of the council. There were, of course, internal disagreements among the Hussite factions, but the Four Articles of Prague established a clear set of expectations over which the Church authorities and the Bohemian delegation could debate. Where the Church's

⁴⁷ Nicholas of Cusa, *De usu communionis 'ad Bohemos,'* in *Nicholas of Cusa: Writings on Church Reform*, ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 4-5, 2.

arguments against Hus and Jerome of Prague were framed in terms of violent amputation, at Basel the Hussites were able to make demands of their own.

Jan Rokycana (d. 1471) began the Bohemian defence of the Four Articles on 16 January. He spoke in defence of communion in both kinds, explaining that the mystical body of the Church was continually renewed and healed by sacrifice and oblation.⁴⁸ For Rokycana, eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ served different but complementary effects. While the spiritual food of the host offers nourishment to the soul, the blood of Christ ‘lavat, calefacit, laetificat’ [washes, warms and makes glad]. That is, Christ’s blood serves to cleanse the root of sin in the heart by washing it clean of guilt, warming it to charity when one turns away from God’s warming love, and converting it from bitterness to spiritual sweetness.⁴⁹ Rokycana then implores the council not to suspend the practice of utraquism, for which the Hussites had fought and suffered so much: ‘Ideo universi fideles considerantes tam pretiosos effectus dari sibi in sacramento altaris, propter mille mortes et pestes et ignes non deberent quidem, nec paterentur se abduci a communione sacratissimi calicis’ [Therefore, considering that such precious effects are granted to all of the faithful in the sacrament of the altar, on account of a thousand deaths, pestilences, and fires, they ought not, nor indeed may they suffer themselves to be withdrawn from communion of the most sacred chalice].⁵⁰ Here Rokycana may possibly allude to the deaths caused by the Hussite crusades and the fires of the executions of Hus and Jerome. The deaths, pestilences, and fires also have metaphorical significance, relating to spiritual suffering of those

⁴⁸ Cf. *Postilla Jana Rokycany*, ed. František Šimek, Sbirka pramenů Českého hnutí náboženského ve stol. XVI, XV, XVI a XVII, 2 vols. (Prague: České Akademie Věd a Umění Bursík, 1928-9), vol. 1, pp. 253, 427, 672; vol. 2, pp. 225, 242, 412, 495, 703, 775. For more on Rokycana and his invocation of the practices of the Primitive Church in relation to utraquism, see: Erhard Peschke, *Die Theologie der Böhmisches Brüder in ihrer Frühzeit*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 5, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935), vol. 1, p. 67.

⁴⁹ Jan Rokycana, ‘Sermo trigesimus: De effectu sanguinis Christi sacramentaliter sumti,’ in *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, ed. Edmundi Martene and Ursini Durand (Paris: apud Montalant, 1733), vol. 8, col. 273.

⁵⁰ *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum*, vol. 8, col. 274-5.

who were denied communion and the pestilence of the diseased Church of the Antichrist. Having faced these physical and spiritual torments, Rokycana argues that the Bohemians should not face even more hardship in having the chalice taken away from them.

The Dominican John (Ivan) Stojković of Ragusa (d. 1443) responded to Rokycana by claiming that ‘etiamsi oporteret perferre mille mortes, pestes, et ignes, non permittant se abduci a consuetudine sacra Romanae Ecclesiae Catholicae’ [even if it is necessary to endure a thousand deaths, pestilences, and fires, they are not permitted to separate themselves from the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church].⁵¹ Ragusa emphasises the same issue of separation as Nicholas of Cusa, that no matter what the circumstances, the Bohemian delegation could not attend to the *cura animarum* if they continued to worship outside of the Church. While the council was bothered by the practice of utraquism, they allowed the Bohemian delegation to take communion in both kinds during the proceedings of Basel, which speaks to the prevailing importance of reconciliation and diplomacy. That the council agreed to allow utraquism as one of the articles of the 1433 *Compacta* further demonstrates their commitment to reunifying the body of the Church above all else.

Despite the focus on reconciliation, images of infection and contagion in the body of the Church were still commonly invoked at Basel on both sides of the debates. Nicholas of Pelhřimov drew on a long tradition of viewing the church as a body, quoting Origen’s *Omelia VII. Super Josue* at length in his initial statement in defence of the fourth article—namely, the punishment of all public mortal sins including those committed by the clergy. Using images of

⁵¹ John of Ragusa, ‘Respondit per octo dies ad Articulum primum Bohemorum. De communione sub utraque specie,’ in *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum*, ed. Henricus Canisius (Amsterdam: apud Rudolphum & Gerhardum Wetstenios, 1725), vol. 4, p. 528.

amputation as well as of an infected sheep in the flock, which, as we have seen, was invoked by Arrigoni, Nicholas explains:

Polluitur enim ex uno peccato omnis populus, sicut ex una ove morbida grex universus inficitur. Sic etiam uno fornicatore vel aliud scelus commitente plebs universa polluitur. Et ideo observemus nos invicem et uniuscuiusque conversatio nota sit maxime sacerdotibus et ministris nec putent se recte dicere: 'Quid hoc ad me spectat, si alius male agit?' Hoc est dicere caput ad pedes: 'quid ad me pertinent, si dolent, si male habent pedes mei? non mea interest, dum caput in sanitate perduret.' Aut si dicat oculus manui: 'non indigeo opere tuo, quid ad me pertinet, si doles, si vulnerata es? numquid ego, oculus, conturbabor ex egritudine manus?' Ergo tale est, quod agunt hii, qui in ecclesiis presunt, non cogitantes, quia unum corpus sumus omnes, qui credimus, unum dominum habentes, qui nos in unitate constringit et continet, Christum, cuius corpus sumus. Qui ecclesie presides, oculus es. Propterea utique, ut tu omnia circumspicias et ventura provideas.

For the whole populous is polluted by the sin of one, just as one sick sheep infects the whole flock. So also one fornicator, or anyone committing another sin, pollutes the whole. And thus we should observe one another, and everyone's conversations should be noted. Most of all this concerns priests and ministers, lest they should think they can rightly say, 'who is watching me, if another acts wrongly?' It is as if the head said to the feet 'why does it matter to me, if they are unhappy, if my feet are not well? It is not my concern, while the head remains healthy.' Or if the eye were to say to the hand, 'I do not need the work you do, why does it matter to me if you are in pain, if you are injured? Surely I, the eye, will not be disturbed by the hand's weakness.' That is just what those who are in authority in the Church do, not thinking that we are all one body, who believe, and have one lord, Christ, who contains and constrains us in unity, in whose body we are. You who preside in the Church, you are the eye. And rightly so, that you may survey everything and foresee what is to come.

Nicholas, through Origen, succinctly sums up the danger that the corrupt clergy posed to the body of the Church, especially when they are not held to account. Even if only one member of the clergy was corrupted, then the others had to work to make sure that the entire community of the clergy was amended. It was not simply the responsibility of the individual, but of all members of Christ's body.

Still, Nicholas, and through him Origen, would not simply suggest excommunication or amputation for corrupted members; these tools were to be used only when all other forms of amendment had failed:

Hoc non ideo dicimus, ut pro levi culpa aliquis abscidatur, sed si forte commonitus quis et correctus pro delicto semel et iterum ac tercio nichil emendacionis ostendit, utamur medici disciplina. Si oleo perunximus, si emplastis mitigamus, si malagmate mellivimus [sic for ‘mollivimus’] nec tamen medicamentis conditur timoris [sic for ‘tumoris’] duricia, solum superest remedium dissecandi. Sic enim dominus dixit [Matthew 18: 8]: ‘Si dextra manus tua scandalizaverit te, abscide eam et proice abs te.’ Et inquit: ‘Nam manus corporis nostra aliquando scandalizat nos, ut de hac manu evangelium dicat: “abscide eam et proice abs te.” Sed hoc est, quod dicit: “ego videor tibi manus esse dextra et presbiter nominor, verbum dei videor predicare. Si aliquid contra ecclesiasticam disciplinam et evangelii regulam gesserō ita, ut scandalum tibi, ecclesie, faciam, in hoc uno consensu ecclesia universis excidat me, dexteram suam, per excommunicationis sententiam et proiciat a se. Expedit enim tibi, ecclesie, absque me, manu tua, que malum agendo scandalum feci, introire in regnum celorum quam mecum ire in Iehennam.”’⁵²

Therefore, we do not say that to alleviate guilt one should cut it away, only if he is warned and corrected for his fault once and again, and yet if a third time he shows no emendation, then we may make use of the discipline of the physician. If we anoint with oil, if we alleviate with an emplaster, if we soften with a poultice, and yet by the harsh medicines he is not preserved from the tumour, then the only remedy that remains to be performed is dissection. For thus says the lord [Matthew 18: 8]: ‘If your right hand offends you, cut it off and throw it away from you.’ And he [Origen] says, ‘for the hand of our body sometimes offends us, in just the way that the Gospel means when it says, “cut it off and throw it away from you.” But this is what such a hand is saying: “I am like a right hand for you, and I am named “priest”: I seem to preach the word of God. But if I do anything against ecclesiastical discipline and the rule of the Gospel, in this respect the whole Church should cut me off, its own right hand, by the sentence of excommunication, and throw me away from itself. For it will be better for you, the Church, without me, your hand, who by acting wrongly introduces scandal, rather than to enter into the kingdom of heaven than to go with me into hell.”’

Nicholas does not alter the tone or message of Origen and in fact faithfully reproduces large portions of his original text across his *oratio*. This was a conscious effort on the part of Nicholas and the entire Bohemian delegation to prove that their ideas had a sound basis in the words of the Church Fathers, aligning with the agreement made at the Cheb Judge.⁵³ Throughout his *oratio*,

⁵² ‘Nicolai de Pelhřimov, episcopi Taboritarum, oratio pro Bohemorum articulo de peccatis publicis puniendis, habita in concilio Basiliensi die 20. et 21. m. Januarii a. 1433,’ in *Orationes quibus Nicolaus de Pelhřimov, Taboritarum episcopus, et Ulricus de Znojmo, Orphanorum sacerdos, articulos de peccatis publicis puniendis et libertate verbi Dei in concilio Basiliensi anno 1433 ineunte defenderunt*, ed. František Michálek Bartoš, Archivum Taboriense (Tábor: Jihočeská společnost, 1934), pp. 16-17; see also *Origenes Werke, Siebenter band: Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung. Teil 2: Die Homilien zu Numeri, Josua und Judges*, ed. Wilhelm Adolf Baehrens, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 30 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1921), p. 334.

⁵³ While the four articles were being debated, each side stuck fairly faithfully to the agreed list of sources proclaimed at the Cheb Judge. However, Henrich Kalteisen in his *oratio* uses, among those agreed upon at the Cheb Judge,

Nicholas quotes Origen, Jerome and Augustine in large sections so that none of his detractors could accuse him of manipulating sources. The image created by Origen is particularly potent given the context of the Council and the language of amputation that was directed at the allegedly heretical Bohemian delegation. Ultimately, Nicholas asserts that no one should be excluded from the work of amending the body of the Church, but also that the clergy should not be exempt from the harsher tools of condemnation and punishment that the Church has at its disposal, the very same tools that were repeatedly used to threaten the Bohemian delegation.

The orations at Basel at various points gave way to hereticating accusations, and in numerous instances the imagery of amputation was used. The Orphan Hussite Ulrich (Oldřich) of Znojmo, who was tasked with debating the issue of preaching God's word, similarly drew on the long tradition of the organological description of the Church. He presented the clergy as the infirm stomach of the body of the Church and explained that these corrupt members should not judge others when they themselves were proven to be the source of illness. In reforming the Church, a clergyman '[d]ebet esse misericors aliis, sibi autem austerus, ut sibi quidem grave pondus iusticie ponat, aliis autem leve' [should be merciful to others but severe with himself, such that he imposes a heavy obligation of justice on himself, but a light (obligation) on others].⁵⁴ The reason why clergy should chastise themselves more harshly than others is because '[p]ro reformatione ecclesie, in membris heu multum infecte, a sacerdocio principalius est incipiendum' [a reformation of the Church needs to begin chiefly with the priesthood, as alas in

sources of authority such as Augustine of Ancona, Thomas Walden, Jean Gerson, Nicholas Gorran, Peter Paludanus, Henry de Hassia (of Langenstein), Martinus of Opava, Wilhelmum de monte Lauduno and Wilhelmus Duranti/Durandi among others. These more contemporary sources of authority would not have fallen under the agreed upon authorities, but they are each used only once or twice and are thus not as prevalent as the Church Fathers in his *oratio*.

⁵⁴ Ulrich of Znojmo, 'Posicio fratris Ulrici de Znoyma in materia tercii articuli de predicacione libera verbi dei,' in *Orationes quibus Nicolaus de Pelhřimov, Taboritarum episcopus, et Ulricus de Znojmo*, ed. Bartoš, p. 93.

the members there are many who are infected].⁵⁵ By chastising those outside of the clergy, the priests cause pain to the body of the Church without treating the source of the disease. Ulrich, like Hus before him, suggested a humoral treatment to cure those infected members. Quoting pseudo-Chrysostom, he explains:

medicus, quando primum ingreditur ad infirmum, statim de stomacho eius interrogat et eum componere festinat, quia si stomachus sanus fuerit, totum corpus validum est, si autem dissipatus fuerit, totum corpus infirmum est; ita si sacerdocium integrum fuerit, tota ecclesia floret, si autem corruptum fuerit, omnis fides marcida est. [...] quoniam sicut in corpore, si aliquod infirmatum fuerit membrum, non omnino languet [...] si autem stomachus languet, omnia membra inveniuntur infirma: sic si aliquis christianorum peccaverit, non omnino peccant [...] si autem sacerdotes fuerint in peccatis, totus populus convertitur ad peccandum.

the physician, when he first approaches the patient, immediately inquires about his stomach and hastens to settle it, because if the stomach is made healthy, then the whole body is [also healthy], if, however, it has become disturbed, then the whole body is infirm; thus, if the priest has been untouched, the entire Church flourishes, but if he has been corrupted, all men of faith become withered [...] because as in the body, if any one member is sickened, not all languish [...] but if the stomach languishes, all members come upon sickness: so it follows, if any one Christian sins, they do not all sin [...] but if priests happen to sin, the whole populous is converted to sin.

Here Ulrich invokes the same argument as Dietrich of Niem at Constance; that is, when the head sins, the rest of the body becomes ill, but if a foot is in pain it does not affect the other members. Of course, the clergy were not part of the head, but were squarely in the middle of the body, in the stomach. If the stomach was ill, it could send fumes up to the head, which would in turn corrupt the rest of the body.⁵⁶ Therefore, when the stomach became ill, the rest of the body would eventually suffer from an excess of harmful humours that distempered the complexion.

⁵⁵ Ulrich of Znojmo, 'Posicio,' p. 98.

⁵⁶ The image of harmful vapours rising from the stomach to infect the head was a common Hussite image that was particularly used by Matěj of Janov. See, for example, his *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamentum*, vols. 1-4, ed. Vlastimil Kybal (Prague: Innsbruck, 1908-1913); vol. 5, ed. Vlastimil Kybal and Otakar Odložilík (Prague: Innsbruck, 1913); vol. 6, ed. Jana Nechutová and Helena Krmíčková, *Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum* 69 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993), vol. 2, lib. 3, tr. 4, dist. 4, cap. 14, p. 187. Here Matěj explains, citing Isidore of Seville, that the humours of the stomach can derive from undigested food, namely the Eucharist if it is taken with an incorrect disposition. For more, see chapter 4 of this study.

Ulrich applies the imagery of ill health in the stomach to a series of questions quoted from Gregory the Great: ‘Vulnerato namque pastore quis curandis ovibus adhibet medicamenta? Aut quomodo populum oracionis clipeo tueatur, qui iaculis hostium sese feriendum exponit? Aut qualem de se fructum producturus est, cuius gravi peste radix infecta est?’ [For if the shepherd is injured, who would care for the sheep and use medicine? Or who would protect the prayers of the people with a shield, who would expose himself to the spears of the enemy? What quality of fruit would be produced from [the tree] that is infected at its root with such a serious plague?].⁵⁷ The answer to these questions was simple for Ulrich: when the clergy were corrupt and could not spread the word of God, Christ’s true preachers were tasked with reforming the stomach and healing the Church. Ulrich did not think that all members of the clergy were corrupt, but acknowledged that there were true preachers in the Church that worked to cure its body. Nonetheless, for Ulrich, the Hussites represented a large source of true preachers who sought only to spread the word of God as a medicine for schism and corruption. He concluded that at a time when the Church suffered from such diseases caused by clerical abuse, allowing the Hussites to preach was of paramount importance.

Henrich Kalteisen provided the reply to Ulrich of Znojmo. His central thesis was that only those who were tasked with the responsibilities of the *cura animarum* were entitled to preach. Consequently, those who did not possess a preaching licence from a bishop were prohibited from preaching and it was their duty to cease delivering sermons at once.⁵⁸ Since the Hussites did not have permission from the Church to preach and were treated as severed members, Kalteisen maintained that they were not tasked with the responsibilities of the *cura*

⁵⁷ Ulrich of Znojmo, ‘Posicio,’ pp. 98-9.

⁵⁸ Ernest F. Jacob, ‘The Bohemians at the Council of Basel, 1433,’ in *Prague Essays*, ed. R.W. Seton-Watson (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1949; reprint Freeport, NY.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 106-08.

animarum and hence did more harm than good.⁵⁹ Ulrich, in reply, explained that Kalteisen was making a modern distinction between those who possessed licences and those who did not. In the Primitive Church there was no hierarchical difference between bishop and priest, thus there were no licences, and all were tasked with the care of souls. The Hussites held that a priest's primary role was to preach in the same manner that the apostles did, that is to say frequently and for the benefit of curing souls. For Ulrich, preaching licences were introduced by immoral members of the Church hierarchy that looked to disenfranchise certain preachers who upheld their responsibilities in a more effective manner than their antagonists. Ulrich maintained that the *cura animarum* was a responsibility that was not bestowed by a bishop, but rather Christ granted the role to those who were guided by the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰

Kalteisen fundamentally disagreed about the nature of preaching. For him, the preaching licence not only permitted someone to preach, but was a sign that the priest had been educated, trained, and possessed the authority to care for the souls of his congregation. The licence also provided a sense of collective authority that tied the individual to the body of the Church and its authority dating back to St Peter. Even if particular members of the council or the Church as a whole did not live an exemplary life, the collective infallibility of the Church was ensured by the Holy Spirit.⁶¹ The Hussites were particularly perturbed by Kalteisen's claims about infallibility, claiming that they were not at the council to discuss the universal definition of the Church, but rather to achieve the specific demands of the Four Articles. Again, the debate between Heinrich

⁵⁹ Kalteisen also argued that Ulrich unfairly accused the clergy of neglecting preaching. Just because priests inherited the right to preach from the apostles, it did not mean that they were continually required to exercise it as proof. Indeed, preaching had to be conducted at the correct time under the correct conditions in order for it to be effective. 'Henrici Kalteisen Ordinis Praedicatorum,' in Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol. 29, col. 1024D.

⁶⁰ Jacobs, 'Bohemians at the Council of Basel, 1433,' p. 108.

⁶¹ Hermann Josef Sieben, *Traktate und Theorien zum Konzil. Vom Beginn des Großen Schismas bis zum Vorabend der Reformation (1378-1521)*, Frankfurter Theologische Studien 30 (Frankfurt: Verlag Josef Knecht, 1983), pp. 173-5.

Kalteisen and Ulrich of Znojmo came down to the question of the body of the Church and the ways in which its health affected the health of every member.

It would be naive to suggest that anyone radically changed their position because of the proceedings of the Council of Basel. In fact, after the Hussites left the council, John of Ragusa wrote his *Tractatus de ecclesia*, which provided a definition of the Church that had occurred to him during his discussions with Jan Rokycana. While Ragusa's work was not as polemical as many other anti-Hussite works produced and circulated at Basel, it showed that his discussions with Rokycana had failed to convince him that the Hussites could legitimately be reintegrated into the *ecclesia universalis* while they so heavily objected to the Roman Church and its governing principles.⁶² Still, according to Cesarini, the main aim of the council was to reconcile with the Bohemian delegation and secure its return to the body of the Church. The resulting *Compacta* of 1433 were not simply agreements between the Church and Utraquists, but, as the term itself denotes, a reunion or re-joining.

Nevertheless, the *Compacta* did not win over all factions of the Hussites. The Taborites and Orphans refused to accept the *Compacta* in 1433. It was to a large extent the refusal of the *Compactata* by the Taborites and Orphans that sparked the armed conflict of Lipany in 1434. The Taborite and Orphan coalition was defeated at the battle of Lipany and the radical Hussites lost any influence over subsequent negotiations with Church authorities. As Petr Čornej has argued, this battle did not mark the end of the Hussite movement, but signalled a change in direction in which the moderate Utraquists sought to rejoin the Church.⁶³ An assembly at Jihlava

⁶² Thomas Prügl, 'Dissidence and Renewal: Developments in late medieval ecclesiology,' *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 7 (2013), pp. 8-9; *Magistri Johannes de Ragusa, Tractatus de ecclesia*, ed. Franjo Šanjek, *Croatia christiana, Fontes 1* (Zagreb: Hrvatska Dominikanska Provincija et Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1983), pp. 13-15.

⁶³ See his extended treatment throughout: Petr Čornej, *Lipanská křižovatka. Příčiny, průběh a historický význam jedné bitvy* (Prague: Panorama, 1992).

in 1436 ratified the *Compacta*, which completed the reconciliation that the Roman Church and the moderate Hussites had been seeking.⁶⁴ This did not mark the end of the tension between the Church and the Utraquists in Bohemia, and the *Compacta* did not last. They were eventually repealed by Pope Pius II in 1462, who claimed that Cesarini had regretted the proceedings of Basel because he felt that it was a mistake to give heretics an international platform on an equal footing with the Church. According to Pius, Cesarini referred to the council as a ‘synod of Satan and his ministers.’⁶⁵ Despite such a strong condemnation, the practice of utraquism was secured in the Diet of Kutná Hora of 1485, and at the Bohemian Diet of 1512 the decree permitting utraquism was extended indefinitely.⁶⁶ This agreement brought about its own controversy, but it seemed as if the issues surrounding toleration of the various religious groups of the Bohemian Church that Basel had raised were finally settled.⁶⁷

Despite the continued friction between the Roman Church and the Bohemian Hussites into the sixteenth century, the Council of Basel represented an unprecedented attempt to engage with religious dissidents on an international stage. From the institutional and localised contexts from which these dissident movements sprang, to the centre of a Church-wide dispute, the rhetoric of *Christus medicus* informed and spurred calls for Church reform. At Basel, Hussite

⁶⁴ This is not to suggest that there was peace throughout Bohemia. As Laura Lisa Elizabeth Stith Scott has recently shown, conflict over land and political power remained a key source of contention throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. ‘Assembly, Dissent, and Political Cohesion: Bohemian Institutional Development in the Fifteenth Century’ (unpubl. PhD diss.: University of Chicago, 2018), for the agreements of Jihlava specifically, see: pp. 74-5. For more details on the *Compacta*, see: František Šmahel, *Die Basler Kompaktaten mit den Hussiten (1436), Untersuchung und Edition*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte 65 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz verlag, 2019); Petr Čornej and Milena Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, 15 vols. (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2000-2015), vol. 6, pp. 11-19.

⁶⁵ Thomas A. Fudge, ‘The Hussites and the Council,’ in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. Michiel Decaluwe, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 277; ‘In minoribus agentes,’ in *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanum pontificum*, ed. Sebastian Franco and Henry Dalmazzo, 25 vols. (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860), vol. 5, p. 177.

⁶⁶ Nelson H. Minnich, *The Decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17): Their Legitimacy, Origins, Contents, and Implementation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), especially chapter 9.

⁶⁷ Jaroslav Čechura, *České země v letech 1437-1526: díl II. Jagellonské Čechy (1471-1526)* (Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 2012), p. 344.

and Wycliffite ideas were debated, not simply condemned, and reconciliation was the aim, not separation. From the amputation at Constance to the re-joining at Basel, the medical imagery of the ecumenical councils represented a clear progression from division to reunion. The medical rhetoric employed by the ecumenical councils may have differed from that presented in the reformist and dissident contexts that this study has explored, but the sermons, decrees, and tracts that circulated at the councils continued to develop notions of the *cura animarum*, sacramental medicine, and the organological model of the Church. All the negotiations between the Bohemian delegations and the council fathers had *Christus medicus* in the foreground; Christ either treated the patient or was himself operated upon as the patient.

Afterword

Aegrotat humanum genus, non morbis corporis, sed peccatis. Iacet toto orbe terrarum ab oriente usque in occidentem grandis aegrotus. Ad sanandum grandem aegrotum descendit omnipotens medicus. Humiliavit se usque ad mortalem carnem, tamquam usque ad lectum aegrotantis. Dat salutis praecepta, contemnitur: qui audiunt, liberantur.¹

The human race is afflicted not by bodily illness, but by sin. The giant patient lies stretched out over the whole world from east to west. The Almighty Physician came down to cure the giant patient. He humbled himself to mortal flesh, even to the bed of the patient. He gives wholesome prescriptions and is disdained, but those who listen are freed.

This study began with Augustine's image of a giant patient lying across the entire world and waiting for *Christus medicus* to attend to him. During the Papal Schism, a time when multiple dissident movements emerged, the image must have seemed more fitting than ever. Not only did the Church have to deal with an unprecedented crisis at its head with multiple popes competing for control, but dissidents from England and Bohemia were threatening the principles upon which the laity engaged with Scripture and the sacraments. By the time that the council of Constance met, the disease and injuries caused to the body of the Church were especially overbearing for those that sought a resolution to the schism. The invocations of *Christus medicus* were intensified at this council and later at Basel, where Christ's healing *salus* was invoked both to condemn and sever heretics and to return the body of the Church to health.

But it is important to remember that the story did not begin with dissidence and controversy. We began with nun- and canoness-nurses and the role of Mary in devotional texts. Hospitals for the sick poor provided a spiritual environment like no other in the later Middle Ages, where members of the laity that were ill, poor, or who simply had nowhere else to go

¹ Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis* 87, 11, 13, in PL 38: 537-8; R. Arbesmann, 'The Concept of "*Christus Medicus*" in St Augustine,' *Traditio*, 10 (1954), pp. 23-4.

could stay with sisters who carried out a charitable mission to heal bodies and souls. Within hospitals for the sick poor, Mary the divine nurse was a model of care and protection for nun- and canoness-nurses to emulate, and her portrayal in devotional texts encouraged new ways for the sisters to treat their patients' physical and spiritual health. The charitable mission of the nursing sisters in Leicester and Paris were just two examples among many throughout Europe, as a new attitude to hospital care and devotion was widely adopted. These nurses and the devotional texts written for hospital audiences were not intentionally reformist; they were not looking to align themselves with grass-roots religious movements or to open up new ways of engaging with religious practices. Yet these devotional texts emerged from and contributed to wider lay devotional trends throughout Europe, and in this respect, they shared common ground with reformist and dissident groups in England and Bohemia.

Jan Milíč of Kroměříž developed a theology that paralleled the spiritual environment created in a hospital setting. He looked to ensure that his followers at Jerusalem were continually engaged with *Christus medicus* and his medicines of confession and communion. Further, he invoked an organological model of disease and humoral purging of the Church that informed later discourses. Milíč's ideas were eventually adapted by masters at the University of Prague and then later in Kraków, where certain masters campaigned to use frequent communion as an alternative to the Hussite practice of communion in both kinds. Not only did these masters at Kraków apply Milíč's sacramental theology in a new context, but they used it to heal the division caused by heresy and schism. In other words, they took a contentious theology for which Milíč himself was condemned and turned it into a tool for combating dissident practices.

From the first half of this study, then, it is clear that modes of engaging with *Christus medicus* and his nurse mother were repeatedly adapted and refined in different contexts. Nurses

and authors of devotional texts that were largely intended for hospital audiences contributed to an affective religious discourse that was developing in numerous contexts across Europe. This affective spirituality would be adapted outside of hospitals and find its fullest application in reformist and dissident sermons and texts. Jan Milíč contributed to the same diffuse affective discourse, and his activities at Jerusalem formed significant parallels with hospitals for the sick poor. Milíč's approach to sacramental theology was similarly appropriated by scholars in Prague and by a handful of masters from the University of Kraków. In each case, a mode of engaging with Christ and healing souls was adapted, whether consciously or not, in a new context and applied on fronts that were quite distinct from their origin.

The second half of this study turned to more radical contexts, in which the key players were explicitly labelled as heretics. Chapters three and four were concerned with the health of the Church and of purging those members who caused it harm. Wycliffite preachers in England used their rhetoric of *Christus chirurgus* to push for increased lay access to Scripture while also criticising the implementation of new laws that required preachers to hold a licence. It was no coincidence that Wycliffite sermons drew on contemporary developments in surgical regulation, which was facing similar licensing issues as the Church. Presenting themselves as both disenfranchised surgeons and discontent patients, Wycliffite preachers criticised what they viewed to be a corrupt clergy. We then saw how Hussite preachers in Bohemia developed a medical rhetoric of disease and humoral purgation in their organological model of the Church of the Antichrist. Just like the Wycliffites, the Hussites engaged with contemporary medical debates surrounding who had the authority and skill to operate on patients, and they purposefully drew on contemporary procedures of humoral balancing taken from medical contexts. Defining the Hussite organological conception of the Church as mere metaphor would be a gross

simplification. The medical discourse they preached became part of a practical mode of reform that ensured a widening participation in the sacrament of the altar and increased access to Scripture for the laity.

The Hussites overtly drew from early Bohemian reformist and Wycliffite discourses, yet these English and Bohemian theologies were not always connected. When Jan Milič and those who adopted his theology of frequent communion were preaching in Prague, there was no meaningful connection between English and Central European reformers. In fact, Milič died before the theology of John Wyclif and his followers had fully developed into a dissident cause. Still, the Bohemian reformers that emerged from the movement that Milič set in motion would have a profound impact on the Hussites and the direction of Church politics in the first third of the fifteenth century. Jan Milič's theology undoubtedly influenced the Hussites, but he was more than just a precursor to them. His ideas were not conditioned by future developments in Bohemia and his theology had a broader cultural impact. Crucially, each movement that this study addressed developed the *Christus medicus* rhetoric that shaped the proceedings at the councils of Constance and Basel. The issues that were addressed at the councils emerged from a diffuse discourse of dissent and reform with which Wycliffite and Bohemian reformers equally engaged. The Hussite reform programme drew on these English and Bohemian sources and forced issues of lay access to the sacraments and religious practice to the largest stage of pan-European Church politics.

While officials at Constance treated the Bohemian dissidents in the most severe manner possible, through excommunication and execution, at Basel the aim was genuine reconciliation with the Hussites. These councils both emphasise the pan-European significance of English and Bohemian pastoral programmes and the importance of *Christus medicus* imagery. Dealing with

heretics had long been linked to medical metaphors of amputation and the councils resolved that harsh procedures had to be used to bring the body of the Church back to health and stop the spread of infectious heresy. The council fathers agreed that infected limbs had to be severed, much to the horror of the dissidents who preferred a gentler spiritual purgation that kept the body of the Church intact. The end of this study thus emphasised the ways in which similarities in medical imagery could be deceiving. It is significant that *Christus medicus* was not solely a reformist figure. The Divine Physician was malleable and he was deployed in a variety of different contexts for what seemed entirely contrasting aims. The Bohemians and Church authorities had different theories on how to cure the giant patient of the Church, and each felt that their spiritual medicines were superior.

While this study ends with the proceedings of Basel and the attempts to unite the Utraquists and the Roman Church, this was not the end for *Christus medicus* or the revolutionary ideas of the Wycliffites and Hussites. The dissident theologies were to some extent revitalised during the Reformation of the sixteenth century, as those that sought to split with the Catholic Church looked for precedents of dissent thought throughout European history.² Here again, *Christus medicus*, along with several subsets of the tradition, were frequently invoked in tracts, sermons, and devotional texts. The most notable subset was the tradition of Christ the Apothecary, which, as Wolfgang-Hagen Hein and Fitz Krafft have demonstrated, formed an iconography that symbolised healing the ills of the Catholic Church through a range of medicines that were created and administered by the Divine Apothecary.³ While Christ the Apothecary was

² See: Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), especially pp. 112-25; Phillip Haberkern, 'The Bohemian Reformation and "the" Reformation: Hussites and Protestants in Early Modern Europe,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 90 (Brill: Leiden, 2020), pp. 403-31.

³ Wolfgang-Hagen Hein, *Christus als Apotheker*, Monographien zur pharmazeutischen Kulturgeschichte 3 (Frankfurt: Govi, 1974); idem, *Christus als Apotheker. Ausstellung Focke-Museum – Buch gebraucht kaufen*

a separate rhetoric, it presented a number of parallels with the motifs of the *Christus medicus* tradition explored in this study. The similarities between the two professions of Christ were obviously tied in their focus on healing, but the images were also rooted in ideas of Church reform and anticlericalism. Christ the Physician and Christ the Apothecary were figures evoked to expose the laity to religion, often through vernacular language, with an increased emphasis on piety in one's everyday life and a removal of the priesthood as an intermediary in Christ's healing. Still, too much focus on the ways in which the figures were similar would diminish the differences between the medieval movements of the early Bohemian reformists, Wycliffites, and Hussites and the groups that emerged during the Reformation. Nonetheless, the parallels were informed by similar modes of argumentation, theology, and medicine.

During the Papal Schism, a time when certain theologians and reformist groups were increasingly concerned with facilitating a direct interaction with Christ through the words of Scripture and the sacraments, Christ the Divine Physician was an adaptable figure that appealed in numerous contexts. Throughout this project, *Christus medicus* featured in texts that addressed different audiences, cultures, genres, and languages, but in one respect, at least, the tradition remained remarkably consistent: its calls for greater access to Christ's healing *salus*. This study has presented a narrative in which the players were sometimes in direct communication, while at others they were less immediately involved with each other. Yet each individual participated in the same sustained plea for Christ to treat his patients in body and soul. Moreover, Christ's medicines and surgical treatments were not simply metaphor, but important aspects of medieval

(Frankfurt: Govi 1975); Fritz Krafft, *Christus als Apotheker: Ursprung, Aussage und Geschichte eines christlichen Sinnbildes* (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, 2001). Krafft's study prompted a number of other contributions to the history of Christ the Apothecary. See especially Johann Anselm Steiger, 'Christus als Apotheker bei Martin Luther. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Gespräch mit Fritz Krafft,' *Berichte zur Wissenschafts-Geschichte* 26, 2 (2003), pp. 137-9; and Szilárdy Zoltán, 'Krisztus a lélek patikusa és orvossága,' *Művészettörténeti Értésítő* 62, 2 (2012), pp. 317-20.

medicine and theology. To treat Christ the Divine Physician solely as an abstract figure would serve to minimise the important interplay between religion and medicine in the medieval period. In characterising *Christus medicus*, a rhetorical figure that had such diverse applications across the Middle Ages in both theological and medical contexts, we are faced with an onerous task. It would be futile to attempt a profile of *Christus medicus* over the *long durée*, from Augustine to the Papal Schism, with any hope of doing justice to the local and historical particularities that emerged throughout the medieval period. This study has investigated Christ's medical role in a specific context that had a profound impact on the trajectory of the Church and trends of grass-roots spirituality. Within such a context—where Central European and English dissidents drew from and contributed to a diffuse devotional atmosphere in which the laity looked to be increasingly involved in aspects of religion that were previously off limits—*Christus medicus* became a central figure of healing and devotion in a series of religious controversies that converged at the centre of Church politics.

Index of Manuscripts

Brno		Oxford	
	Moravská zemská knihovna		Bodleian Library
	MK 97.		Bodley 95.
Cambridge			Laud misc. 200.
	Corpus Christi College		Musaeo e. 180.
	218.		University College 97
	Sidney Sussex College	Paris	
	74.		Bibliothèque nationale de France
	University Library		lat. 3436
	Ii. 3.8.	Prague	
Dublin			Archiv Pražského hradu, Knihovna
	Trinity College 245		metropolitní kapituly (PKMK)
Göttingen			IV B 24 (Jenský kodex).
	Niedersächsische Staats- und		XII F 25.
	Universitätsbibliothek		Národní knihovna (PNK)
	2 ^o Cod. Ms. Theol. 182.		I D 37.
Kraków			Osek 33.
	Biblioteka Jagiellońska		X E 24
	404.		XI D 5.
	1354.		XII D 1.
	1440.		XV D 7.
	2244.		XXIII D 201.
Lancashire		Shrewsbury	
	Stonyhurst College		Shrewsbury School
	MS. 24.		MS 3.
London		Třeboň	
	British Library		Státní oblastní archiv
	Harley 1615.		A 7
	Harley 2398.	Vatican	
	Harley 3235.		Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
	Royal 18 B. ix.		Lat. 1122.
	Metropolitan Archives	Vienna	
	Letter Book C -		Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)
	[COL/AD/01/003].		4520.
	National Archives		4937.
	PRO, SP1/19.		

Bibliography

Printed Primary Sources

- Acta capitulorum necnon iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, ed. Bolesław Ulanowski, 3 vols. (Kraków: Academiae Litterarum, 1894-1918).
- Acta concilii Constanciensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke and Johannes Hollnsteiner, 4 vols. (Münster: Regensbergische Buchhandlung, 1896-1928).
- Aelred of Rievaulx, 'De Institutione Inclusarum' in *Aelredi Rievallensis, Opera omnia, Volume I Opera Ascetica*, ed. A. Hoste and C.H. Talbot (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971).
- , *The Works of Aelred of Rievaulx Volume I: Treatises and Pastoral Prayer*, ed. M.P. McPherson (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Fathers, 1971).
- Alberigo, Guiseppe, and Melloni, Alberto, (ed.), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
- Albertus Magnus, *Parva naturalia. De morte et de vita* in *Opera omnia*, ed. Auguste Borgnet, 38 vols (Paris: Vives, 1890-1899), vol. 9, pp. 345-71.
- , *Alberti Magni Opera omnia: De nutrimento et nutritio, De sensu et sensate, cuius secundus liber est De memoria et reminiscencia* vol. 7. pars 2A, ed. Silvia Donati (Munich: Aschendorff, 2017).
- Ambrose, *Explanatio symboli, De sacramentis, De mysteriis, De paenitentia, De excessu fratris Satyri, De obitu Valentiniani, De obitu Theodosii*, ed. Otto Faller, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 73 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1955).
- , *Ambroise de Milan, Des Sacrements. Des Mystères. Explication du Symbole*, ed. Dom Bernard Botte, *Sources Chrétiennes* 25 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961).
- Ancrene Riwe: The Corpus MS.: Ancrene Wisse*, ed. M.B. Salu (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990).
- Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Robert Hasenfratz (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000).
- Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 402, Drawing on the Uncompleted Edition by E.J. Dobson*, ed. Bella Millett and Richard Dance, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005-2006).
- Aquinas, Thomas, *Summae Theologiae*, in *Opera omnia iussu impensaue Leonis XIII PM edita* (Rome: Ex typographia Polyglotta, 1888-1906), vols. 4-12.
- Arderne, John, *Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Haemorrhoids, and Clysters*, ed. D'Arcy Power, *Early English Text Society* 139 (London: Oxford University Press, 1910; repr. 1968).
- , *The Lesser Writings of John Arderne*, ed. D'Arcy Power (London: Seventeenth International Congress of Medicine, 1913).
- Arnaldus de Villa Nova, *I. Arnaldi de Villanova Expositio super aphorismo Hippocratis «In morbis minus», II. Arnaldi de Villanova Repetitio super aphorismo Hippocratis «Vita brevis»*, ed. Michael R. McVaugh, *Arnaldi de Villanova, Opera medica omnia* 14, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera/Universitat de Barcelona, 2010-2014).
- Arrigoni, Giacomo Balardi, 'Sermo ... in condemnatione M. Iohannis Hus,' in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, 8 vols. (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1873-1932), vol. 8, pp. 489-93.
- , 'Collacio Facta Per Magistrum Iacobum,' in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, 8 vols. (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1873-1932), vol. 8, pp. 494-500.

- Augustine, *De Sermone Domini in monte Secundum Matthaeum*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 34, col. 1229-1308.
- , *Enarratio in Psalmos*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 36, col. 67-1028.
- , *Sermones de Scripturis*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 38, col. 23-993
- , *De doctrina Christiana; De vera religionis. Aurelii Augustini Opera, Pars IV, I*, ed. Joseph Martin and K.D. Daur, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962).
- , *De baptismo libri septem*, in *Scriptorum contra Donatistas pars I: Psalmus Contra Partem Donati, Contra epistulam Parmeniani, De baptismo*, ed. Michael Petschenig, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 51 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1963).
- , *De haeresibus ad quoduultdeum liber unus*, in *De fide rerum invisibilium Enchiridion ad Laurentium, de fide et spe et caritate. De catechizandis rudibus. Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo. Sermo de disciplina christiana. Sermo de utilitate ieiunii. Sermo de excidio urbis Romae. De haeresibus*, ed. R. Vander Plaetse and C. Beukers, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 46 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969).
- Aungier, George James, (ed.), *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1840).
- Avicenna, *A treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna incorporating a translation of the first book*, ed. O. Cameron Gruner (London: Luzac, 1930).
- Bartoš, František Michálek, (ed.), 'Do čtyř pražských artykulů. Zmyšlenkových i ústavních zápasů let 1415-1420,' *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám města Prahy* 5 (1932), pp. 481-591.
- Bernardino de' Busti, 'Sabbato post quartam dominicam in quadragesima de pestilentie signis, causis, et remediis,' in *Rosarium sermonum predicabilium ad faciliorem predicantium commoditatem novissime compilatum* (Venice, 1498) USTC: 996472.
- Biblia sacra vulgata, editio quinta*, ed. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).
- Bitterfeld, Henry, 'Determinatio de audientia confessionum' in Waclaw Bucichowski (ed.), 'Henryka Bitterfelda z Brzegu Determinatio de audientia confessionum,' *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 5 (1992), pp. 83-119.
- Boethius, *Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).
- Bonenfant, Paul, (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'hôpital St. Jean de Bruxelles (Actes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles)* (Brussels: Palais de Académies, 1953).
- Brîele, Léon, and Coyecque, Ernest, *Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (1157-1300)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894).
- Brunfels, Otto, (ed.), *De anatomia Antichristi, liber unus* (Strasbourg: 1524) USTC: 667424 (all three tomes share the same USTC number).
- , *Locorum aliquot ex Osee et Ezechiele prophetis, cap. v. et viii.* (Strasbourg: 1524).
- , *Sermonum Ioannis Huss ad populum, tomus tertius* (Strasbourg: 1525).
- , reprinted as: *Matthias Janov, Opera*, ed. Erich Beyreuther and Werner-Friedrich-Aloys Jakobsmeier, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf Materialien und Dokumente, band 1 (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975).
- Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanum pontificum*, ed. Sebastian Franco and Henry Dalmazzo, 25 vols. (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum, 1860).

- Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 140, col. 537-1058.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Riverside Chaucer*, general ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia historyczne*, ed. Jakub Sawicki, 12 vols. (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1945-1963).
- Daniel, Henry, *Liber uricrisiarum: A Reading Edition*, ed. E. Ruth Harvey, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Sarah Star (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020).
- Dante Alighieri, *Dante's De Monarchia: Translated with a commentary*, ed. Richard Kay, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Toronto: Studies and texts 131 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of medieval Studies, 1998).
- Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R.E. Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1975-; published online by Brepols, 2015-).
- Dietrich of Niem, *De modis uniendae reformandi ecclesiam*, in *Dialog über Union und Reform der Kirche 1410: mit einer zweiten Fassung aus dem Jahre 1415 [De modis uniendi et reformandi ecclesiam in concilio universali]*, ed. Hermann Heimpel, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 3 (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1933; reprint 1969).
- Długosz, John, 'Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae,' in *Opera omnia*, ed. Alexandri Przewdziecki, et al., 14 vols. (Kraków: Kirchmayeriana, 1863-78).
- Duns Scotus, John, *Reportatio Parisiensis*, liber 4, distinction 7-49 in *Joannis Duns Scoti doctoris subtilis ordinis minorum, Opera omnia, editio nova*, vol. 24 (Paris: Vivès, 1894).
- Durand, Guillaume, *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinatorum officiorum I-IV*, ed. Anselme Davril and Timothy M. Thibodeau, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).
- L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378-1449)*, ed. Étienne Delaruelle, Edmond-René Labande, and Paul Ourliac, Histoire de l'Eglise Depuis les Origines Jusqu'à Nos Jours 14 (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1962).
- English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. Pamela Gradon and Anne Hudson, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989-1996).
- Falkenberg, Jan, *Krakowska redakcja J. Falkenberga "De monarchia mundi,"* ed. Władysław Seńko, Textus et studia historiam theologiae in Polonia excultae spectantia 20 (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1986).
- Fudge, Thomas A., (ed.), *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418–1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, Crusade Texts in Translation Book 9 (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Galen, *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, ed. Johann Marquardt, Iwan von Müller, and Georg Helmreich, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1884-1893).
- Gascoigne, Thomas, *Loci et libro veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary*, ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881).
- Gerson, Jean, 'Oratio pro licentiandis in medicina' in *Opera omnia*, ed. Lud. Ellies du Pin, 5 vols. (Antwerp: sumptibus societatis, 1706), vol. 4, col. 712-17.
- , *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris: Desclée, 1960-1973).
- Gower, John, *Mirour de l'Omme* in *The Complete Works*, ed. G.C. Macaulay, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899-1902).

- , *Mirrouir de l'Omme*, ed. and trans. William Burton and Nancy Wilson Van Baak (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1992).
- Gratian, *Corpus Juris Canonici: Decretum Gratiani emendatum et notationibus illustratum Gregorii XIII*, ed. Justus Henning Böhmer and Aemilius Ludwig Richter (Leipzig: Sumptibus Bernh. Tauchnitz Jun., 1839).
- Gregorius Magnus, *Moralium, Libri sive expositio in librum beati Job in Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 76, col. 9-781.
- , *Homiliarum XL in Ezechielem prophetam in Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 76, col. 785-1072.
- , *Regula pastoralis in in Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 77, col. 13-125.
- Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode translated anonymously into prose from Guillaume de Deguileville's Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, ed. Avril Henry, Early English Text Society 288 (London: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- Guy de Chauliac, *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci*, ed. Guido de Cauliaco (Venice: impressarum mandato et expensis ... Octauiani Scoti ciuis Modoetiensis: cura et arte Boneti Locatelli Bergomensis, first printed c. 1498; reprint 1546) USTC 803161.
- , *The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac*, ed. Margaret S. Ogden, Early English Text Society, Original Series 265 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).
- , *The Middle English Translation of Guy de Chauliac's Grande Chirurgie, Sectio I*, ed. Björn Wallner (Lund and Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Lundensis, 1976).
- Henri de Mondeville, *Chirurgia*, in *Die Chirurgie des Heinrich von Mondeville (Hermondaville)*, ed. J.L. Pagel (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1892).
- Henri, Johann, *Etude du Livre de Vie Active de l'Hotel Dieu de Paris de Jehan Henry XVe siècle*, ed. Marcel Candille (Paris: S.P.E.I., 1964).
- Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. E.J. Arnould, Anglo-Norman Texts 2 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940).
- , *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Book of Holy Medicines*, trans. Catherine Batt (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014).
- Henslow, George, (ed.), *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century: Together with a List of Plants Recorded in Contemporary Writings, with their Identifications* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899).
- Historia et monumenta Joannis Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis, confessorum Christi*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg: Joannis Montani et Eulrici Neuberi, 1715).
- Horner, J. Patrick, (ed.), *A Macaronic Sermon Collection from Late-Medieval England: Oxford, MS Bodley 649* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006).
- Hudson, Anne, (ed.), *Two Wycliffite Texts*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 301 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- , *The Works of a Lollard Preacher*, Early English Text Society 317 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier, 2 vols. (Paris: Typis A. Befani, 1888-1889).
- , 'De eruditione praedicatorum,' in *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, ed. M. de la Bigne, 27 vols. (Lyon: 1677), vol. 25, col. 424-567.

- Hunt, Tony, (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Medicine I: Roger Frugard's Chirurgia and the Practica Brevis of Platearius* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994).
- Hus, Jan, *Contra octo doctores in Historia et monumenta Joannis Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis confessorum christi* (Prague: Joannis Montani et Eulrici Neuberi, 1715).
- , *Documenta Magistri Ioannis Hus*, ed. František Palacký (Prague: F. Tempsky, 1869).
- , *Spisy M. Jana Husi: Super IV Sententiarum*, ed. Václav Flajšhans (Prague: Nákladem Jaroslava Bursíka, 1904).
- , *De Ecclesia: The Church by John Huss*, trans. David D. Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).
- , *M. Jana Husi Korespondence a dokumenty*, ed. Václav Novotný (Prague: Nákladem Komise pro Vydávání Pramenů Náboženského Hnutí Českého, 1920).
- , *Postilla: Vyloženie Svatých Čtení Nedělních*, ed. František M. Bartoš (Prague: Komenského Evangelická Fakulta Bohoslovecká, 1952).
- , *Magistri Johannis Hus, Tractatus de ecclesia*, ed. S. Harrison Thomson (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1956).
- Húska, Martin, in A. Frinta (ed.), 'Vyznání o chlebu živém a věčném (Martina Húska),' *Jihočeský sborník historický* 1 (1928), pp. 6-12.
- Innocent III, *Die register sive epistolae*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 214, col. 319-20.
- Isidore of Seville, *Sententiarum, libri tres*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 83, col. 537-738.
- , *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911).
- Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1844-1864), vol. 161, col. 47-1022.
- Jakoubek of Stříbro, *Mistra Jakoubka ze Stříbra překlad Viklefova Dialogu*, ed. Milan Svoboda (Prague: České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1909).
- , *Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana*, ed. František Šimek, 2 vols. (Prague: Nákladem Komise pro Vydávání Pramenů Náboženského Hnutí Českého, 1932-1933).
- , *Betlemská kázání z roku 1416*, ed. Karel Sita (Prague: Blahoslav, 1951).
- Johnson, John, (ed.), *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England, from Its First Foundation to the Conquest, and from the Conquest to the Reign of King Henry VIII, Translated into English with Explanatory Notes, in Two Volumes* (Oxford: Parker, 1851).
- Kalteisen, Henrich, 'Henrici Kalteisen Ordinis Praedicatorum,' in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence and Venice: H. Welter, 1759-1798), vol. 29, col. 971-1104.
- Kingsford, C. L., (ed.), *Additional Material for the History of the Grey Friars, London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1922).
- Krupa, Paweł, (ed.), 'La communion quotidienne à Prague au XIV^e siècle. *Malogranatum* III, 1, 26 : ses précurseurs et ses continuateurs,' *Crisi "mendicante" e crisi della chiesa. "Encomia sancti Thomae" e riforma savonaroliana, Memorie domenicane* 30 (1999), pp. 219-258.
- Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia Magna*, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci*, ed. Guido de Cauliaco (Venice: impressarum mandato et expensis ... Octauiani Scoti ciuis

- Modoetiensis: cura et arte Boneti Locatelli Bergomensis, first printed c. 1498; reprint 1546) USTC 803161.
- Langland, William, *Piers Plowman*, trans. E. Talbot Donaldson, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Stephen H. A. Shepherd (London: Norton & Company, 2006).
- , *Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-Text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (London: Everyman, 1978; repr. 2003).
- Le Grand, Léon, (ed.), *Statuts d'Hôtels-Dieu et de Léproseries; Recueil de textes du XII^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1901).
- Libri erectionum archidioecesis Pragensis saeculo XIV. et XV.*, ed. Clemens Borový, vol. 1: (1358-1376) (Prague: J.G. Calve, 1875).
- Lottin, Odon, (ed.), 'Pour une édition critique du "Liber Pancrisis,"' *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 13 (1946), pp. 185-201.
- Love, Nicholas, *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Critical Edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSs 6578 and 6686*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (New York: Garland, 1992).
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico, (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence and Venice: H. Welter, 1759-1798).
- Matěj of Janov, *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, vols. 1-4, ed. Vlastimil Kybal (Prague: Innsbruck, 1908-1913); vol. 5, ed. Vlastimil Kybal and Otakar Odložilík (Prague: Innsbruck, 1913); vol. 6, ed. Jana Nechutová and Helena Krmíčková, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 69 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993).
- Matthew of Kraków, *Mateusza z Krakowa „De Praxi Romanae Curiae,”* ed. Władysław Seńko (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Kraków: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1969).
- , *Mateusza z Krakowa Opuscula Theologica dotyczące spowiedzi i komunii*, ed. Władysław Seńko and Adam Ludwik Szafrński (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1974).
- Le Ménagier De Paris, Traité De morale et D'économie Domestique Composé Vers 1393 ... Publié Pour La Première Fois Par La Société Des Bibliophiles François*, ed. Jérôme Pichon, 2 vols. (Paris: De L'imprimerie de Crapelet, 1846).
- Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis, 21 vols. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954-2001).
- Milíč of Kroměříž, Jan, *Vita in Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, ed. Josef Emler, vol. 1 (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1873).
- , Ferdinand Menčík (ed.), 'Milíč a dva jeho spisy z roku 1367,' *Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk* 8 (1890), pp. 309-36.
- , *Tres sermones synodales*, ed. Vilem Herold and Milan Mráz (Prague: Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1974).
- Mirk, John, *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)*, ed. Theodor Erbe, Early English Text Society 96 (Oxford: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., 1905).
- Monumenta conciliorum generalium seculi secimi quinti. Concilium Basiliense. Scriptores*, ed. František Palacký, 4 vols. (Vienna and Basel: Aemilius Birkhaeuser et Soc., 1873-1935).
- Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, ed. Jaroslav Eršil, vol. 7. 1 (Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 1996).

- Morrison, Stephen, (ed.), *A Late Fifteenth-Century Dominical Sermon Cycle, Edited from the Bodleian Library MS E Musaeo 180 and Other manuscripts*, Early English Text Society 337 and 338, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Netter, Thomas, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae*, ed. B. Blanciotti, 3 vols. (Venice: 1757-9; reprinted, Farnborough: Gregg International, 1967).
- Nicholas of Cusa, *De usu communionis 'ad Bohemos,'* in *Nicolas of Cusa: Writings on Church Reform*, ed. and trans. Thomas M. Izbicki (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008).
- Nicholas of Dresden, *Tabule staré a nové barvy Mikuláše z Drážd'an ve staročeském překladu*, ed. Milada Homolková and Michal Dragoun (Prague: Scriptorium, 2016).
- Nicolas of Błonie, *Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis*, ed. Johann Prüss (Strassburg: 1486) USTC 747418.
- Nicolas Pelhřimov, 'Nicolai de Pelhřimov, episcopi Taboritarum, oratio pro Bohemorum articulo de peccatis publicis puniendis, habita in concilio Basiliensi die 20. et 21. m. Januarii a. 1433,' in *Orationes quibus Nicolaus de Pelhřimov, Taboritarum episcopus, et Ulricus de Znojmo, Orphanorum sacerdos, articulos de peccatis publicis puniendis et libertate verbi Dei in concilio Basiliensi anno 1433 ineunte defenderunt*, ed. František Michálek Bartoš, Archivum Taboriense (Tábor: Jihočeská společnost, 1934), pp. 3-32.
- Orcherd of Syon*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, Early English Text Society 258 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).
- Origen, *Origenes Werke, Siebenter band: Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung. Teil 2: Die Homilien zu Numeri, Josua und Judges*, ed. Wilhelm Adolf Baehrens, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 30 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1921).
- Ortwinus, Gratius, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, ed. Edward Brown, 2 vols. (London, 1690; reprint, Tucson, AZ: Audax, 1967).
- Palackého, Nadání, Emler, Josef, et al. (ed.), *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, 8 vols. (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1873-1932).
- Palacký, František, (ed.), *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě*, 6 vols. (Prague: Kvasnička a Hampl, 1848-1872).
- , *Über Formelbücher, zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte. Nebst Beilagen. Ein Quellenbeitrag zur Geschichte Böhmens und der Nachbarländer im 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Prague: Kronberger und Řiwnač, 1873).
- , *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges*, ed. František Palacký, 2 vols. (Prague: B.F. Temský, 1873).
- Pecham, John, *Quodlibeta quatuor*, ed. G. Etzkorn and F. Delorme, Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica XXV (Grottaferrata: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1989).
- Petr of Roudnice, *Vita domini Iohannis, Pragensis archiepiscopi tercii in Querite primum regnum Dei. Sborník příspěvků k poctě J. Nechutové*, ed. Helena Krmíčková (Brno: Maticе moravská, 2006).
- Příbram, Jan, *Život kněží tábořských*, ed. Jaroslav Boubín (Příbram: Státní Okresní Archiv, 2000).
- Prokop, Nicholas, 'Chronicon Procopii notarii Pragensis,' in *Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen*, ed. Konstantin Höfler, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Scriptorum* 2, 3 vols. (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdr, 1856), vol. 1, pp. 67-76.

- Raymo, Robert R., (ed.), "Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1500*, gen ed. Albert E. Hartung, 11 vols. (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986), vol. 7, pp. 2255-378.
- Regino of Prüm, *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, ed. F.W.H. Wasserschleben and Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004).
- Reichert, Benedikt Maria, (ed.), *Registrum litterarum Raymundi de Capua, 1386-1399: [et] Leonardi di Mansuetis, 1474-1480* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1911).
- Riley, H.T., (ed.), *Memorials of London and London Life* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1868).
- Rokycana, Jan, 'Sermo trigesimus: De effectu sanguinis Christi sacramentaliter sumti,' in *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, ed. Edmundi Martene and Ursini Durand (Paris: apud Montalant, 1733), vol. 8, col. 262-305.
- , *Postilla Jana Rokycany*, ed. František Šimek, *Sbirka pramenů Českého hnutí náboženského ve stol. XVI, XV, XVI a XVII*, 2 vols. (Prague: České Akademie Věd a Umění Bursík, 1928-9).
- Rolle, Richard, *On Lamentations. A Critical Edition with Translation and Commentary*, ed. Michael Van Dussen, *Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020).
- Saint Benedict's Rule for Monasteries*, trans. Leonard J. Doyle (Collegeville, MN.: Liturgical Press, 1948; repr. 2001).
- Sellers, M., (ed.), *York Memorandum Book 1376-1419* (York: Surtees Society, 1911).
- Sharpe, Reginald R., *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: I, 1400-1422* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909).
- Soudní akta konsistoře Pražské (Acta judiciaria consistorii Pragensis)*, ed. Ferdinand Tadra, *Historický archiv 1 (1373-1379)* (Prague: Česká akademie císaře, 1893).
- Stanisław of Skarbimierz, 'Recommendatio universitatis de novo fundatae,' in Juliusz Domański, (ed.), 'Discours d'inauguration fait par Stanislas de Skarbimierz à l'occasion du renouveau de l'Université de Cracovie,' *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 24 (1979), pp. 113-32.
- , *Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, Sermones sapientiales*, ed. Bożena Chmielowska, 3 vols. (Warsaw: Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 1979)
- , *Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, Mowy wybrane o mądrości*, ed. Mirosław Korolko (Kraków: Arcana, 2000).
- , *Scripta manent: textus ad theologiam spectantes in Universitate Cracoviensi saeculo XV conscripti*, ed. Zofia Włodek, *Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 12* (Kraków: Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 2000).
- , *Stanisława ze Skarbimierza, Sermones de Sapientia Selecti*, ed. Bożena Chmielowska (Warsaw: Corpus Philosophorum Polonorum Series Medievalis, 2016).
- Stojković of Ragusa, John, 'Respondit per octo dies ad Articulum primum Bohemorum. De communione sub utraque specie,' in *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum*, ed. Henricus Canisius (Amsterdam: apud Rudolphum & Gerhardum Wetstenios, 1725), vol. 4, pp. 467-565.
- , *Magistri Johannes de Ragusa, Tractatus de ecclesia*, ed. Franjo Šanjek, *Croatia christiana, Fontes 1* (Zagreb: Hrvatska Dominikanska Provincija et Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1983).

- Synody a statuta Olomoucké diecéze období středověku*, ed. Pavel Krafl (Prague: The Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2003).
- Tanner, Norman P., (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990).
- Teodorico de Borgognoni, *The surgery of Theodoric, ca. A.D. 1267.*, ed. and trans. Eldridge Campbell and James Colton, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1955).
- Thomas, A.H., (ed.), *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Volume 2, 1364-1381* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929).
- Thomas, Alfred, (ed.), *A blessed shore: England and Bohemia from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).
- Thomas of Wrocław, *Thomae de Wratislavia Practica medicinalis: a critical edition of the "Practica medicinalis" of Thomas of Wrocław, Prémontré Bishop of Sarepta (1297-c. 1378)*, ed. Theodore James Antry, *Studia Copernicana* vol. 27 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1989).
- Trevisa, John, *On the Properties of Things, John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum, a Critical Text*, ed. M. C. Seymour, et al., 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975-1988).
- Ulrich of Znojmo, 'Posicio fratris Ulrici de Znoyma in materia tercii articuli de predicacione libera verbi dei,' in *Orationes quibus Nicolaus de Pelhřimov, Taboritarum episcopus, et Ulricus de Znojmo, Orphanorum sacerdos, articulos de peccatis publicis puniendis et libertate verbi Dei in concilio Basiliensi anno 1433 ineunte defenderunt*, ed. František Michálek Bartoš, *Archivum Taboriense* (Tábor: Jihočeská společnost, 1934), pp. 86-113.
- Vavřinec of Březová, 'Chronicon Laurentii de Brzyezowa,' in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, 8 vols. (Prague: Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1873-1932), vol. 5, pp. 327-534.
- Visitační protokol Pražského arcijáhna pavla z janovic z let 1379–1382*, ed. Iavan Hlaváček and Zdeňka Hledíková (Prague: Nakladatelství Česklovenské akademie věd, 1973).
- Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježova, 'De frequenti communione ad plebanum Martinum,' in *Leben und Schriften des Prager Magisters Adalbert Rankonis de Ericinio*, ed. Jaroslav Kadlec, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* 4 (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1971).
- Voluntate Dei leprosus. Les Lépreux entre conversion et exclusion aux XIIème et XIIIème siècles*, ed. Nicole Bériou and François-Olivier Touati, *Testi, studi, strumenti* 4 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi Sull'altro Medioevo, 1991).
- Von Nolcken, Christina, (ed.), *The Middle English Translation of the Rosarium Theologie, A selection ed. From Cbr., Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 354/581* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979).
- Wallis, Faith, (ed.), *Medieval Medicine: A Reader, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures* 15 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
- Wenzel, Siegfried, (ed.), *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- , (ed.), *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).
- Wilkins, David, (ed.), *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ab anno MCCCL ad annum MDXLV. Volumen tertium* (London: R Gosling et al 1737; reprint: Brussels: Culture and Civilisation, 1964).

- Wyclif, John, *Sermones*, ed. Johann Loserth, 4 vols. (London: Wyclif Society, 1886-89).
- , *De dominio divino libri tres*, ed. Reginald Land Poole (London: Wyclif Society, 1890).
- , *De eucharistia tractatus maior*, ed. Johann Loserth (London: Wyclif Society, 1892).
- , *De veritate sacrae Scripturae*, ed. Rudolf Buddensieg, 3 vols. (London, Wyclif Society, 1905-7).
- Wysz, Peter, *Piotr Wysz z Radolina (ok. 1354 - †1414), i Jego Dzieło "Speculum Aureum,"* ed. Władysław Seńko, *Studia Przeglądu Tomistycznego* 2 (Warsaw: Instytut Tomistyczny, 1995).
- Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English father of the church and his followers*, ed. Carl Horstmann, 2 vols. (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1895-1896).
- Young, Sidney, (ed.), *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London, Compiled from their records and Other Sources* (London: Blades, East & Blases, 1890).

Secondary Sources

- Aers, David, *Sanctifying Signs: Making Christian Tradition in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).
- Agresta, Abigail, 'From Purification to Protection: Plague Response in Late Medieval Valencia,' *Speculum* 95, 2 (2020), pp. 371-95.
- Albasini, C., 'Medici frati e frati medici,' *Bolletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano dell' Arte Sanitaria* 2 (1931), pp. 15-29.
- Amundsen, Darrel W., 'Medicine and Surgery as Craft: the Role of Schematic Literature in the Separation of Medicine and Surgery in the Late Middle Ages,' *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 5 (1979), pp. 43-57.
- Arbesmann, R., 'The Concept of "Christus Medicus" in St Augustine,' *Traditio* 10 (1954), pp. 1-28.
- Archambeau, Nicole, 'Healing Options during the Plague: Survivor Stories from a Fourteenth-Century Canonization Inquest,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85, 4 (2011), pp. 531-59.
- Ashbrook Harvey, Susan, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (London: University of California Press, 2006).
- Aston, Margaret, 'Wycliffe and the Vernacular,' in *From Ockham to Wycliffe: Studies in Church History*, ed. Anne Hudson and Michael Wilks (Oxford: The Ecclesiastical History Society, 1987), pp. 281-330.
- , 'Were the Lollards a Sect?,' *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 11 (1999), pp. 163-91.
- Auden, A., 'The Gild of Barber Surgeons of the City of York,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 21, 2 (1928), pp. 1400-06.
- Ballew Wood, Huanita, *Wooden Images: Misericords and Medieval England* (London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999).
- Barnet, Margaret C., 'The Barber-Surgeons of York,' *Medical History* 12 (1968), pp. 19-30.
- Barr, Helen, and Hutchinson, Ann M., (ed.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, *Medieval Church Studies* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).
- Bartlová, Milena, 'Hussite Iconoclasm,' in *From Hus to Luther: Visual Culture in the Bohemian Reformation (1380-1620)*, ed. Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk, *Medieval Church Studies* 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 57-70.
- Bartoš, František Michálek, *Literární činnost M. Jakoubka ze Stříbra* (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1925).
- , *Literární činnost M. Jana Rokycany, M. Jana Příbama, M. Petra Payna* (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1928).
- , 'Do čtyř pražských artykulů. Z myšlenkových i ústavních zápasů let 1415-1420,' *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hlavního města Prahy* 5 (1932), pp. 481-591; reprinted as *Do čtyř pražských artikulů: z myšlenkových a ústavních zápasů let 1415-1420* (Prague: Nákladem Blahoslavovy společnost, 1940).
- , 'Ze studií husitských,' *Časopis matice moravské* 61 (1937), pp. 213-14.
- , 'Španělský biskup proti Táboru a Praze,' *Jihočeský sborník historický* 11 (1938), pp. 67-70.
- , *M. Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Husův spolubojovník a obnovitel kalicha*, *Jihočeský sborník historický* 12 (Prague: Církev československá, 1939).
- , *Čechy v době husově, 1378-1415* (Prague: Laichter, 1947).

- , 'Betlemská kázání Jakoubka ze Stříbra z let 1415-6,' *Theologická příloha Křesťanské revue* 20 (1953), pp. 53-65, and 114-22.
- , 'Dvě studie o husitských postilách,' in *Rozpravy československé akademie věd* 65, řada 65, 4 (1955), pp. 1-56.
- , 'Z politické literatury doby husitské,' *Sborník historický* 5 (1957), pp. 21-70.
- Batt, Catherine, "'De celle mordure vient la mort dure": Perspectives on Puns and their Translation in Henry, Duke of Lancaster's *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*,' in *The Medieval Translator, Traduire au Moyen Age*, ed. J. Jenkins and O. Bertrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 405-17.
- , Renevey, Denis, and Whitehead, Christiana, 'Domesticity and Medieval Devotional Literature,' *Leeds Studies in English, n.s.* 36 (2005), pp.195-250.
- Beck, R. Theodore, *The Cutting Edge: Early History of the Surgeons of London* (London and Bradford: Lund Humphries, 1974).
- Bériac, Françoise, *Histoire des lépreux au Moyen-Âge, une société d'exclus* (Paris: Imago, 1988).
- Bériou, Nicole, 'La Reportation des sermons Parisiens à la fin du XIIIe siècle,' *Medioevo e rinascimento* 3 (1989), pp. 87-103.
- Berlioz, Jacques, 'La lactation de saint Bernard dans un exemplum et une miniature du Ci nous dit (début du XIVe siècle),' *Cîteaux commentarii cistercienses* 39, 3-4 (1988), pp. 270-84.
- Bird, Jessalyn, 'Medicine for Body and Soul: Jacques de Vitry's Sermons to Hospitallers and their Charges' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 91-108.
- , 'Texts on hospitals: translation of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia occidentalis* 29, and edition of Jacques de Vitry's sermons to hospitallers,' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 109-34.
- Black, Christopher F., *Italian confraternities in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Black, Winston, *Medicine and Healing in the Premodern West: A History in Documents* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2020).
- Blidstein, Moshe, 'Purity and Defilement,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Abrahamic Religions*, ed. Adam J. Silverstein and Guy G. Stroumsa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 448-65.
- Boeckl, Christine M., *Images of Leprosy: disease, religion, and politics in European art* (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2011).
- Boockmann, Hartmut, *Johannes Falkenberg, der Deutsche Orden und die polnische Politik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975).
- Boon, Jessica, 'Medical Bodies, Mystical Bodies: Medieval Physiological Theory in the Recollection Mysticism of Bernardino de Laredo,' *Viator* 39, 2 (2008), pp. 245-68.
- Borový, Klement, *Libri erectionum Archidioecesis Pragensis Saeculo XIV. et XV.*, 7 vols. (Prague: Calve, 1875), vol. 4.
- Bose, Mishtooni, 'Writing, Heresy, and the Anticlerical Muse,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne, Oxford Handbooks of Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 276-96.
- , and Hornbeck, J. Patrick, (ed.), *Wycliffite Controversies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

- Bostick, Curtis V., *The Antichrist and the Lollards. Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 70 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).
- Bougard, François, 'Jugement Divin, Excommunication, Anathème et Malédiction: La Sanction Spirituelle dans les Sources Diplomatiques,' in *Exclure de la Communauté Chrétienne Sens et Pratiques Sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication, IV^e-XII^e s.*, ed. Geneviève Bührer-Thierry and Stéphane Gioanni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 215-38.
- Boz, Kirsten I., et al., 'A draft genome of *Yersinia pestis* from victims of the Black Death,' *Nature* 478 (2011), pp. 506-10.
- Bozóky, Edina, 'Medieval Narrative Charms,' in *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. James Kapaló, Éva Pócs, and William Ryan (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 101-15.
- Bracha, Krzysztof, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza. Sermones dominicales et festuales z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Miłosławia* (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świetokrzyskiej, 2007).
- , *Casus pulchri de vitandis erroribus conscientiae purae: Orzeczenia kazuistyczne kanonistów i teologów krakowskich z XV w.* (Warsaw: DiG, 2013).
- Brenner, Elma, 'Recent Perspectives on Leprosy in Medieval Western Europe,' *History Compass* 8, 5 (2010), pp. 388-406.
- , *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2015).
- Brodman, James, 'Religion and Discipline in the Hospitals of Medieval France,' in *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. Barbara S. Bowers (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 123-32.
- Brookins, Timothy A., 'Paul and the Ancient Body Metaphor: Reassessing Parallels,' *Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters* 6 (2016), pp. 75-98.
- Brown, D. Catherine, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Brungs, Alexander, and Goubier, Frédéric, 'On Biblical Logicism: Wyclif, *Virtus sermonis* and Equivocation,' *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 76, 1 (2009), pp. 199-244.
- Bryce, William Moir, *The Black Friars of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1911).
- Buklijaš, Tatjana, 'Medicine and Society in the Medieval Hospital,' *Croatian Medical Journal* 49, 2 (2008), pp. 151-4.
- Bullough, Vern L., 'The Medieval Medical School at Cambridge,' *Medieval Studies* 27 (1962), pp. 161-8.
- , 'Training of the Nonuniversity-Educated Medical Practitioners in the Later Middle Ages,' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 14, 4 (1959), pp. 446-58.
- Burchardt, Jurzy, *Higiena wedle Tomasza z Wrocławia*, Studia Copernicana 36 (Wrocław: Wydawnictwa IHN PAN, 1997).
- Butler, Sara M., 'Medicine on Trial: Regulating the Health Professions in Later Medieval England,' *Florilegium* 28 (2011), pp. 71-94.
- , 'Portrait of a Surgeon in Fifteenth-Century England,' in *Medicine and the Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy J. Turner and Sara M. Butler (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 243-66.
- Bylina, Stanisław, *Wpływy Konrada Waldhausena na Ziemiach Polskich w drugiej Połowie XIV i Pierwszej Połowie XV Wieku* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Kraków: Zakład narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966).

- , 'František Palacký a české reformní hnutí 14. století,' in *František Palacký 1798/1998. Dějiny a dnešek*, ed. František Šmahel and Eva Doležalová (Prague: Historický ústav AVČR, 1999), pp. 123-37.
- , 'La catéchisation du peuple en Bohême aux xiv^e et xv^e siècles,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 3 (2000), pp. 25-33.
- , 'La dévotion nouvelle et le problème de la communion fréquente en Europe centrale, xiv^e–xv^e siècles,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), pp. 31-42.
- , *Hussitica Studia* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2007).
- Cadden, Joan, 'A Matter of Life and Death: Water in the Natural Philosophy of Albertus Magnus,' *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 2, 2 (1980), pp. 241-52.
- Carmichael, Ann G., 'Epidemics and State Medicine in Fifteenth-Century Milan,' in *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, ed. Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, Andrew Cunningham, and Luis García-Ballester (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 221-47.
- Cartwright, Jane, *Feminine Sanctity and Spirituality in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2008).
- Catto, Jeremy, 'After Arundel: The Closing or the Opening of the English Mind?' in *Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), pp. 43-54.
- Čechura, Jaroslav, *České země v letech 1437-1526: díl II. Jagellonské Čechy (1471-1526)* (Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 2012).
- Cermanová, Pavlína, 'Jakoubkův a Biskupcův Výklad na Apokalypsu. Porovnání s důrazem na interpretaci antikristovského mýtu,' in *Jakoubek ze Stříbra: Texty a jejich působení*, ed. Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Filosofia, 2006), pp. 209-28.
- , *Čechy na konci věků. Apokalyptické myšlení a vize husitské doby* (Prague: Argo, 2013).
- , 'V zajetí pojmu: definice husitského chiliasmu,' in *Heresis seminaria: pojmy a koncepty v bádání o husitství*, ed. Pavlína Rychterová and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Centrum medievistických studií: Filosofia, 2013), pp. 139-70.
- , 'Husitský radikalismus,' in *Husitské století*, ed. Pavlína Cermanová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2014) pp. 84-107.
- , 'Gog and Magog: Using Concepts of Apocalyptic Enemies in the Hussite era,' in *Peoples of the Apocalypse: Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios*, ed. Felicitas Schmieder, Wolfram Brandes, and Rebekka Voß, *Millenium Studies* 63 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), pp. 239-56.
- , 'Constructing the Apocalypse: Connections Between English and Bohemian Apocalyptic Thinking,' in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 66-88.
- , 'The Apocalyptic background of Hussite radicalism,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 187-218.
- Chase, Melissa P., 'Fevers, Poisons, and Apostemes: Authority and Experience in Montpellier Plague Treatises,' *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 441 (1985), pp. 153-70.
- Chenovick, Clarissa, 'Speaking, Thinking, Writing: Meditative Surgery and Intercorporeal Circulation in Henry Duke of Lancaster's *Livre de Seyntz Medicines* (1354),' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 46 (2016), pp. 33-59.
- Chevalier, Alexis, *L'Hôtel Dieu de Paris: et les Sœurs augustines (650 à 1810)* (Paris: Chez H. Champion, 1901).

- Chmielowska, Bożena, 'Stanislas de Skarbimierz—Le premier recteur de l'Université de Cracovie après le renouveau de celle-ci,' *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 24 (1979), pp. 73-112.
- Chytil, Karel, *Antikrist v naukách a umění středověku a husitské obrazné antithese* (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1918).
- Citrome, Jeremy J., *The Surgeon in Medieval English Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- Cole, Andrew, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Collins, Minta, *Medieval Herbals, The Illustrative Tradition*, British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (Toronto: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2000).
- Comi, Armando, *Verità e Anticristo: l'eresia di Jan Hus* (Bologna: Edizioni Pendragon, 2007).
- Constable, Giles, 'Medieval Latin Metaphors,' *Viator* 38, 2 (2007), pp. 1-20.
- Cook, William R. 'Peter Payne, Theologian and Diplomat of the Hussite Revolution' (unpubl. PhD diss.: Cornell University, 1971).
- Coomans, J., and Geltner, G., 'On the Street and in the Bathhouse: Medieval Galenism in Action,' *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 43 (2013), pp. 53-82.
- Čornej, Petr, *Lipanská křižovatka. Příčiny, průběh a historický význam jedné bitvy* (Prague: Panorama, 1992).
- , et al., *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české*, 15 vols. (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2000-2015).
- Coufal, Dušan, 'Sub utraque specie: Die Theologie des Laienkelchs bei Jacobell von Mies († 1429) und den frühen Utraquisten,' *Archä Verbi* 14 (2017), pp. 157-201.
- Courtenay, William J., 'Curers of Body and Soul: Medical Doctors as Theologians' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology 3 (Rochester: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 69-75.
- Crouzet-Pavan, Élisabeth, 'Les eaux noires: Essai sur le miasme et la salubrité dans la ville médiévale,' in *Ad libros! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Joseph-Claude Poulin*, ed. Jean-François Cottier, Martin Gravel, and Sébastien Rossignol (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), pp. 265-80.
- Cullum, P. H., 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision in Medieval Yorkshire' (unpubl. PhD diss.: University of York, 1990).
- , and Goldberg, P. J. P., 'Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: "To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor",' *Northern History* 29 (1993), pp. 24-39.
- Danys, Miroslav, *Master Matthew of Cracow* (Warsaw: Semper, 1995).
- Davis, Adam J., 'Preaching in Thirteenth-Century Hospitals,' *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 72-89.
- , *The Medieval Economy of Salvation: Charity, Commerce, and the Rise of the Hospital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
- Dean, Ruth J., et al. (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Literature: a guide to texts and manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999).
- Deanesly, Margaret, (ed.), *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).
- De Letter, P., 'Two Concepts of Attrition and Contrition,' *Theological Studies* 11 (1950), pp. 3-33.
- DeMaitre, Luke, 'The Description and Diagnosis of Leprosy by fourteenth-century Physicians,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 59, 3 (1985), pp. 327-44.

- , 'Medical writing in Transition: between Ars and Vulgus,' *Early Science and Medicine* 3, 2 (1998), pp. 88-102.
- , *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013).
- Dobiáš, Josef, 'Dva rukopisy z počátku 15. Století,' *Časopis historický* 1 (1881), pp. 52-60.
- Dondaine, Henri, *L'Attrition suffisante*, Bibliothèque thomiste vol. 25 (Paris: Vrin, 1943).
- Dörnemann, Michael, *Krankheit und Heilung in der Theologie der frühen Kirchenväter*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 20 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).
- Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Oxford: Routledge, 1966).
- Doyle, Robert, 'The Death of Christ and the Doctrine of Grace in John Wycliffe,' *Churchman* 99, 4 (1985), pp. 317-35.
- Dugan, Holly, 'Scent of a Woman: Performing the Politics of Smell in Late Medieval and Early Modern England,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, 2 (2008), pp. 229-52.
- Dupeux, Cécile, 'La lactation de saint Bernard de Clairvaux: Genèse et évolution d'une image,' in *L'Image et la production du Sacré: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 20-21 Janvier 1988, organisé par le Centre d'histoire des religions de l'Université de Strasbourg II, Groupe "Théorie et pratique de l'image culturelle,"* ed. Françoise Dunand, Jean-Michael Spieser, and Jean Wirth (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1991), pp. 165-93.
- , 'Saint Bernard dans l'iconographie médiévale: l'exemple de la lactation,' in *Vies et légendes de Saint Bernard de Clairvaux. Création, diffusion, réception (XIIe-XXe siècles), Actes des Rencontres de Dijon, 7-8 juin 1991*, ed. Patrick Arabeyre, Jacques Berlioz, and Philippe Poirrier (Brecht and Pontigny: Cîteaux, Commentarii cistercienses, 1993), pp. 152-66.
- Edsall, Mary Agnes, 'Arma Christi Rolls or Textual Amulets? The Narrow Roll Format Manuscripts of "O Vernicle",' *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 9, 2 (2014), pp. 178-205.
- Fastiggi, Robert L., *Sacrament of Reconciliation: An Anthropological and Scriptural Understanding* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2017).
- Flint, Valerie J., 'The Early Medieval "Medicus," the Saint—and the Enchanter,' *Social History of Medicine* 2, 2 (1989), pp. 127-45.
- Forrest, Ian, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).
- Fudge, Thomas A., 'The Hussites and the Council,' in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. Michiel Decaluwe, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 254-81.
- , *Jan Hus between Time and Eternity: Reconsidering a Medieval Heretic* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018).
- Fulton Brown, Rachel, 'The Virgin in the Garden, or Why Flowers Makes Better Prayers,' *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 4 (2004), pp. 1-23.
- Gambero, Luigi, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church: The Blessed Virgin Mary in Patristic Thought*, trans. Thomas Buffer (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999).
- , *Mary in the Middle Ages: The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005).
- Garay, Kathleen, and Jeay, Madeleine, 'Advice Concerning Pregnancy and Health in Late Medieval Europe: peasant Women's Wisdom in *The Distaff Gospels*,' *Canadian Bulletin*

- of Medical History - Bulletin Canadien D'histoire de la Médecine* 24, 2 (2007), pp. 423-43.
- García-Ballester, L., 'Medical ethics in transition in the Latin medicine of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: new perspectives on the physician-patient relationship and the doctor's fee,' *Clio Medica* 24 (1993), pp. 38-71.
- Gärtner, Hans Armin, 'Cura,' in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, ed. Cornelius Petrus Mayer, Erich Feldmann, et al., 4 vols. (Basel: Schwabe, 1986-2018), vol. 2, pp. 171-5.
- Gasse, Rosanne, 'The Practice of Medicine in *Piers Plowman*,' *Chaucer Review* 39, 2 (2004), pp. 177-97.
- Gayk, Shannon, 'The Form of Christ's Passion: Preaching the *Imitatio Passionis* in Late Medieval England,' *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 31 (2017): 231-56.
- Gecser, Ottó, 'Doctors and Preachers against the Plague: Attitudes toward Disease in late medieval Plague Tracts and Plague Sermons,' in *The Sacred and the Secular in Medieval Healing Sites, Objects, and Texts*, ed. Linda Migl Keyser (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 78-102.
- Gerwing, Manfred, *Malogranatum oder der dreifache Weg zur Vollkommenheit. Ein Beitrag zur Spiritualität des Spätmittelalters*, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 57 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986).
- Getz, Faye Marie, 'Archives and sources: medical practitioners in mediaeval England,' *Social History of Medicine* 3, 2 (1990), pp. 245-83.
- , 'Charity, Translation, and Language of Medical Learning in Medieval England,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 64 (1990), pp. 1-17.
- , 'The Faculty of Medicine before 1500' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. Jeremy Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 373-405.
- , *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- Ghosh, Kantik, 'Wyclif, Arundel, and the Long Fifteenth Century' in *Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), pp. 545-62.
- , *The Wycliffite Heresy, Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 45 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- , 'Wycliffism and Lollardy,' in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. IV, *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100-c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 433-45.
- Gillespie, Vincent, 'The Senses in Literature: The Textures of Perception,' in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard G. Newhauser (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 153-73.
- Glad, Clarence, *Paul and Philodemus: Adaptability in Epicurean and Early Christian Psychagogy* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).
- Goldin, Grace, *Works of Mercy: A Picture History of Hospitals* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1994).
- Goodey, Robert, 'The Medieval Monastic Infirmary in England' (unpubl. PhD diss.: University of London, 1987).
- Gottfried, Robert S., *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England, 1340-1530* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

- Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England: c. 1307 to the early sixteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Green, Monica H., 'Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages,' *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam*, 20 (2000), pp. 331-69.
- , 'Integrative Medicine: Incorporating Medicine and Health into the Canon of Medieval European History,' *History Compass* 7, 4 (2009), pp. 1218-45.
- Grieco, Allen J., 'The Social Politics of Pre-Linnaean Botanical Classification,' *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 4 (1991), pp. 131-149
- Grigsby, Bryon, 'The Social Position of the Surgeon in London, 1350–1450,' *Essays in Medieval Studies* 13 (1996), pp. 71-80.
- , *Pestilence in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
- Grmek, Mirko Dražen, and Fantini, Bernardino, (ed.), *Die Geschichte des medizinischen Denkens: Antike und Mittelalter* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996).
- Haberkern, Phillip, 'What's in a Name, or What's at Stake When We Talk about "Hussites"?,' *History Compass* 9 (2011), pp. 791-801.
- , 'The Bohemian Reformation and "the" Reformation: Hussites and Protestants in Early Modern Europe,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 90 (Brill: Leiden, 2020), pp. 403-31.
- Halama, Ota, *Otázka svatých v České Reformaci: Její proměny od doby Karla IV. do doby České konfese* (Brno: L. Marek, 2002).
- Haldane, John, 'Soul and Body,' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy, I*, ed. Robert Pasnau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 293-304.
- Hamesse, Jacqueline, 'La Méthode du travail des reportateurs,' *Medioevo e rinascimento* 3 (1989), pp. 51-67.
- Hamm, Berndt, 'Was ist Frömmigkeitstheologie? Überlegungen zum 14.–16. Jahrhundert,' in *Praxis pietatis. Festschrift für Wolfgang Sommer*, ed. Hans-Jörg Niden and Marcel Niden (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), pp. 9-45.
- , 'Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconography,' trans. John M. Frymire, in *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm*, ed. Robert J. Bast (Boston, Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 307-54.
- Harvey, Margaret M., *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes 1378 to 1409*, Kirchengeschichtliche Quellen und Studien 12 (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag der Erzabtei, 1983).
- Hayum, Andrée, *The Isenheim altarpiece: God's medicine and the painter's vision* (Princeton,: Princeton University Press, 1989).
- Heimpel, Hermann, *Studien zur Kirchen- and Reichsreform des 15. Jahrhunderts: II. Zu zwei Kirchenreform-Traktaten des beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts: Die Reformschrift "De praxi curiae Romanae" ("Squalores Romanae curiae," 1403) des Matthäus von Krakau und ihr Bearbeiter; Das "Speculum aureum de titulis beneficiorum" (1404/5) und Verfasser*, Sitzungsberichte der Universität Heidelberg, phil.-hist. Klasse 1974, 1 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1974).
- , *Die Vener von Gmünd und Strassburg, 1162-1447: Studien und Texte zur Geschichte einer Familie sowie des gelehrten Beamtentums in der Zeit der abendlandischen*

- Kirchenspaltung und der Konzilien von Pisa, Konstanz und Basel*, 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).
- Hein, Wolfgang-Hagen, *Christus als Apotheker*, Monographien zur pharmazeutischen Kulturgeschichte 3 (Frankfurt: Govi, 1974).
- , *Christus als Apotheker. Ausstellung Focke-Museum—Buch gebraucht kaufen* (Frankfurt: Govi 1975).
- Henderson, John, *The Renaissance hospital: healing the body and healing the soul* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Herbert McAvoy, Liz, 'Medicinal Cures of Anchoritic Devotion,' in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture*, ed. Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, Gender in the Middle Ages 11 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 85-102.
- Herkommer, Hubert, 'Die Geschichte vom Leiden und Sterben des Jan Hus als Ereignis und Erzählung,' in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1984), pp. 114-46.
- Herold, Vilém, 'Wyclif's Ecclesiology and its Prague Context,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2001), pp. 15-41.
- , 'Master Jan Hus and St Augustine,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 8 (2011), pp. 42-51.
- Hill, Bracy V., 'Apocalyptic Lollards? The Conservative use of the Book of Daniel in the English Wycliffite Sermons,' *Church History and Religious Culture* 90 (2010), pp. 1-23.
- Hinz, Andreas, *Zeit als Bildungsaufgabe in theologischer Perspektive* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003).
- Hirn, Yrjö, *The Sacred Shrine: A Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912; the original Swedish version was published in 1909).
- Hlaváček, Ivan, 'Zur böhmischen Inquisition und Häresiebekämpfung um das Jahr 1400,' in *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, ed. František Šmahel, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 39 (Munich: De Gruyter, 1998), pp. 109-31.
- Hledíková, Zdeňka, 'Karel IV. A církev,' in *Karolus Quartus*, ed. Václav Vaněček (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1984).
- Höfler, Constantin, *Concilia Pragensia, 1353-1413: Prager Synodal Beschlüsse* (Prague: K. Seyfried, 1862).
- Holeton, David R., *La Communion des tout-petits enfants: Etude du mouvement eucharistique en Bohême vers la fin du Moyen-Age*, Bibliotheca « Ephemerides Liturgicae » Subsidia 50 (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1989).
- , 'The Bohemian Eucharistic Movement in its European Context,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 1 (1996), pp. 23-48.
- , 'The Sacramental Theology of Tomáš Štítný of Štítné,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), pp. 57-79.
- , Kolář, Pavel, and Baťová, Eliška, 'Liturgy, Sacramental Theology, and Music,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 331-68.
- Horden, Peregrine, 'Ritual and Public Health in the Early Medieval City,' in *Body and City: Histories of Urban Public Health*, ed. Sally Sheard and Helen Power (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 17-40.
- Hornbeck, J. Patrick, *What is a Lollard, Dissent and Belief in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

- , and Van Dussen, Michael, 'The Europe of Wycliffism,' in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), pp. 1-10.
- , Lahey, Stephen E., and Somerset, Fiona, (ed.), *Wycliffite Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 2013).
- Hudson, Anne, *The Premature Reformation, Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- , 'From Oxford to Prague: The Writings of John Wyclif and his English Followers in Bohemia,' *The Slavonic and East European Review* 75 (1997), pp. 642-57.
- , *Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 907 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
- , *Doctors in English, A Study of the Wycliffite Gospel Commentaries*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).
- Illig, Jennifer, 'Through a Lens of Likeness: Reading English Wycliffite Sermons in Light of Contemporary Sermon Texts' (unpubl. PhD diss.: Fordham University, 2014).
- Izibicki, Thomas M., 'The Immaculate Conception and Ecclesiastical Politics from the Council of Basel to the Council of Trent: The Dominicans and Their Foes,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte—Archive for Reformation History* 96 (2004), pp. 145-70.
- , *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Jacob, Ernest F., 'The Bohemians at the Council of Basel, 1433,' in *Prague Essays*, ed. R.W. Seton-Watson (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1949; reprint Freeport, NY.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 81-123.
- Jacquart, Danielle, *La Médecine médiévale dans le cadre Parisien XIVe-XVe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1998).
- Johnson, Holly, *The Grammar of Good Friday: Macaronic Sermons of Late Medieval England*, Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).
- , 'A Fifteenth-Century Sermon Enacts the Seven Deadly Sins,' in *Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. Richard Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard (York: York Medieval Press, 2012), pp. 107-31.
- Jurkowski, Maureen, 'The arrest of William Thorpe in Shrewsbury and the anti-Lollard Statue of 1406,' *Historical Research* 75, 189 (2002), pp. 273-95.
- Kadlec, Jaroslav, 'Teologická fakulta,' in *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, ed. Michal Svatoš (Prague: Karolinum, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 142-55.
- Kaeuper, Richard W., *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).
- Kalivoda, Robert, *Husitské myšlení* (Prague: Filosofia, 1997).
- Kałuża, Zenon, 'Eklezjologia Mateusza z Krakowa (Uwagi o *De praxi Romanae Curiae*),' *Studia Mediewistyczne* 18 (1977), pp. 100-22.
- , 'Chronologie des premières discussions ecclésiologiques à Cracovie (1404–1407),' *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 52 (1997), pp. 111-27.
- Kaminsky, Howard, 'Chiliasm and the Hussite Revolution,' *Church History* 26 (1957), pp. 43-71.
- , 'K dějinám chiliastického Tábora. O traktátu *Ad occurendum homini insano*,' *Československý časopis historický* 8 (1960), pp. 895-904.

- , 'The Free Spirit in the Hussite Revolution,' in *Millennial Dreams in Action*, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (The Hague: Mouton, 1962), pp. 166-186.
- , *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
- , 'Nicholas of Pelhřimov's Tábor: an Adventure into the Eschaton,' in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, ed. František Šmahel and Alexander Patschovsky (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1996), pp. 139-67.
- Kamowski, William, 'Chaucer and Wyclif: God's Miracles Against the Clergy's Magic,' *Chaucer Review* 37 (2002), pp. 5-25.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H., *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; 2nd edn. 1997).
- Karl, L., 'Theodoric de l'ordre des precheurs et sa chirurgie,' *Bulletin de la Societe Francaise d'Histoire de la Medicine* 23 (1929), pp. 140-83.
- Kejř, Jiří, 'Žalobní články proti Milíčovi z Kroměříže,' *Husitský Tabor* 10 (1988-1991), pp. 181-9.
- , *Mistři pražské univerzity a kněží táborští* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1981).
- Kerby-Fulton, Kathryn, *Books under Suspicion, Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).
- Kibre, Pearl, 'Hippocrates Latinus: Repertorium of Hippocratic Writings in the Latin Middle Ages (II),' *Traditio* 32 (1976), pp. 257-92.
- Kienzle, Beverly Mayne, 'Introduction,' in *The sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental* 81-83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 141-74.
- Kinn, James W., *The pre-eminence of the eucharist among the sacraments according to Alexander of Hales, St. Albert the Great, St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas Aquinas*, *Dissertationes ad Lauream* 31 (Mundelein, IL: Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary, 1960).
- Kirkpatrick, J.J., and Naylor, I.L., 'The Qualities and Conduct of an English Surgeon in 1446: As Described in a Manuscript Attributed to Thomas Morstede,' *Annals of The Royal College of Surgeons of England* 79, 3 (1997), pp. 225-8.
- Knoll, Paul W., *"A Pearl of Powerful Learning": The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
- Kolbet, Paul R., *Augustine and the Cure of Souls: Revising a Classical Ideal*, *Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity* 17 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).
- Koudelka, Vladimír J., 'Heinrich von Bitterfeld († ca 1405), Professor an der Universität Prag,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953), pp. 15-29.
- Kozłowska-Budkowa, Zofia, 'Sermones Sapientiales Stanisława ze Skarbmierza,' *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 53 (1952), pp. 394-6.
- Krafft, Fritz, *Christus als Apotheke: Ursprung, Aussage und Geschichte eines christlichen Sinnbildes* (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, 2001).
- Kras, Paweł, 'Edykt wieluński z 1424 i udział brachium saeculare w walce z husytyzmem w XV-wiecznej Polsce,' *Summarium* 26-27 (1997-1998), pp. 63-77.
- , *Husyci w piętnastowiecznej Polsce* (Lublin: Towarzystwo naukowe katolickiego uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1998).
- , 'Polish-Czech Relations in the Hussite Period—Religious Aspects,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 4 (2002), pp. 177-92.
- Krmičková, Helen, 'Le Malogranatum et la question de la communion fréquente,' *Les cisterciens dans le royaume médiéval de Bohême (Actes du colloque de Kutná Hora, 9–13 juin 1992)*, *Cîteaux* 47 (1996), pp. 135-43.

- , *Studie a texty k počátkům kalicha v Čechách* (Brno: Masaryk University, 1997).
- , 'Vliv Matěje z Janova na utraktivismus Jakoubka ze Stříbra a Mikuláše z Drážďan,' in *Mistr Matěj z Janova ve Svě a v Naši Době*, ed. Jan B. Lášek and Karel Skalický (Brno: L. Marek, 2002), pp. 119-31.
- Kudlien, Fridolf, 'Medicine as a "Liberal Art" and the Question of the Physician's Income,' *Journal of the History of Medicine* 31 (1976), pp. 448-59.
- Kuksewicz, Zdzisław, 'Criticism of Aristotelian Psychology and the Augustinian-Aristotelian Synthesis,' in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 595-601.
- Kunzelmann, A., 'Die Chronologie der Sermones des hi. Augustinus,' *Miscellanea Agostiniana* 2 (1931), pp. 417-520.
- Kybal, Vlastimil, *Mistr Matěj z Janova, jeho život, spisy a učení* (Prague: L. Marek, 1905).
- , 'M. Matěj z Janova a M. Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Srovnávací kapitola o Antikristu,' *Český Časopis Historický* 11 (1905), pp. 22-37.
- , *M. Jan Hus: život a učení*, 3 vols. (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1923-1931).
- Lahey, Stephen E., *Philosophy and Politics in the Thought of John Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- , *John Wyclif, Great Medieval Thinkers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- , 'Richard Fitzralph and John Wyclif: Untangling Armachanus from the Wycliffites,' in *Richard Fitzralph: Life and Thought*, ed. Michael Dunne and Simon Nolan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013).
- , 'Stanislaus of Znojmo and Prague Realism: First Principles of Theological Reasoning,' *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28, special edition *Jan Hus in History and Legacy 1415-2015*, ed. Thomas A. Fudge (2015), pp. 9-26.
- , 'Matěj of Janov: Corpus Mysticum, Communionem, and the Lost Treatise of His Regulae,' *Religions* 9, 16 (2018), pp. 1-21.
- , 'Wyclif in Bohemia,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 63-98.
- Landgraf, Artur, 'Grundlagen für ein Verständnis der Busslehre der Früh- und Hochscholastik,' *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 51, 2 (1927), pp. 161-94.
- Láng, Benedek, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).
- Langum, Virginia, 'Discerning Skin: Complexion, Surgery, and Language in Medieval Confession' in *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. K.L. Walter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 141-60.
- , "'The Wounded Surgeon': Devotion, Compassion and Metaphor in Medieval England,' in *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture*, ed. Larissa Tracy and Kelly DeVries (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 269-90.
- , *Medicine and the Seven Deadly Sins in Late Medieval Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- Larangé, Daniel S., *La Parole de Dieu en Bohême et Moravie: La tradition de la prédication dans l'Unité des Frères de Jan Hus à Jan Amos Comenius* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008).
- Larsen, Andrew E., 'Are All Lollards Lollards?,' in *Lollards and their Influence in Late Medieval England*, ed. Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, and Derrick G. Pitard (Cambridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 59-72.

- Lawrence, Ghislaine, 'Surgery (Traditional),' in *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, ed. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 957-79.
- Leader, Damian Riehl, *A History of the University of Cambridge, vol. 1, The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Leahy, Michael, "'To speke of phisik": medical discourse in late medieval English culture' (unpubl. PhD diss.: Birkbeck, University of London, 2015).
- , 'Sickness and Healing in the Institutional Imaginary,' *Postmedieval* 8, 2 (2017), pp. 179-93.
- Le Blévec, Daniel, 'Les moines et l'assistance: L'exemple des pays du Bas-Rhône (XIIe-XIIIe siècles),' in *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite Grec et Latin*, ed. Jean-Loup Lemaître, Michel Dmitriev, and Pierre Gonneau (Geneva: Droz, 1996), pp. 335-45.
- Leclercq, Jean, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961).
- Leff, Gordon, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1350-1450* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).
- Leneghan, Francis, 'Teaching the Teachers: The Vercelli Book and the Mixed Life,' *English Studies* 94, 6 (2013), pp. 627-58.
- Lerner, Robert E., *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972).
- Levy, Ian Christopher, *John Wyclif: Scriptural Logic, Real Presence, and the Parameters of Orthodoxy*, Marquette studies in theology 36 (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2003).
- , 'Wyclif and the Christian Life,' in *A Companion to John Wyclif: Late Medieval Theologian*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
- , 'Interpreting the Intention of Christ: Roman Responses to Bohemian Utraquism from Constance to Basel,' in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 173-95.
- Little, Katherine C., 'Catechesis and Castigation: Sin in the Wycliffite Sermon Cycle,' *Traditio* 54 (1999), pp. 213-44.
- , *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).
- Loserth, Johann, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Husitischen Bewegung. II. Der Magister Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio,' *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 57 (1879), pp. 203-76.
- Lukšová, Zuzana, 'Exegeze Žalmů Mikuláše z Lyry v *Postille litteralis* a její odraz v Husově *Enarratio Psalmorum*,' in *Středověká Univerzitní vzdělanost*, ed. Martin Nodl, *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia* 18 (Prague: Filosofia, 2017), pp. 199-207.
- Macdougall, S., 'The Surgeon and the saints: Henri de Mondeville on divine healing,' *Journal of Mediaeval History* 26, 3 (2000), pp. 253-67.
- Macek, Josef, 'Táborské chiliastické články,' *Sborník historický* 1 (1953), pp. 53-64.
- Machilek, Franz, 'Die Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Böhmen und Mähren,' *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien* 4 (1976), pp. 107-44.
- Majorossy, Judit, and Szende, Katalin, 'Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary,' in *Europäisches Spitalwesen: Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Herwig Weigl, and Alfred Stefan Weiss,

- Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsbände 51 (Vienna and Munich: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), pp. 409-54.
- Malherbe, Abraham J., 'Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament,' *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)* 2, 26 (1992), pp. 267-333.
- , *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989).
- Marek, Jindřich, *Jakoubek ze Stříbra a počátky utrakvistického kazatelství v českých zemích: studie o Jakoubkově postile z let 1413-1414* (Prague: Národní knihovna České republiky, 2011).
- Marin, Olivier, *L'archevêque, le maître and le dévot. Genèses du mouvement réformateur pragois. Années 1360–1419* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).
- , *Geneze Pražského Reformního Hnutí, 1360-1419* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2017).
- , 'The Early Bohemian Reform,' in *A Companion to the Hussites*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael Van Dussen (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 25-62.
- Markowski, Mieczysław, *Dzieje wydziału teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w latach 1397–1525*, *Studia do dziejów Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 2 (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej, 1996).
- McCann, Daniel, 'Heaven and Health: Middle English Devotion to Christ in its Therapeutic Contexts,' in *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Diverse Imaginations of Christ's Life*, ed. S. Kelly and R. Perry, *Medieval Church Studies* 31 (Turnhout: Brill, 2014), pp. 335-62.
- , 'Medicine of Words: Purgative Reading in Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion*,' *Mediaeval Journal* 5, 2 (2015), pp. 53-83.
- , *Soul-Health: Therapeutic Reading in Later Medieval England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018).
- McCleery, Iona, "'Christ More Powerful than Galen?'" The Relationship Between Medicine and Miracles,' in *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100-1500: New Historical Approaches*, ed. M. Mesley and L. Wilson, *Medium Aevum Monographs* 33 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-26.
- McGinn, Bernard, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1994).
- , 'Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist,' in his *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition*, *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, CS 430 (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 1994), pp. 155-73.
- McNamer, Sarah, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).
- McVaugh, Michael R., 'The "humidum radicale" in Thirteenth-Century Medicine,' *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 259-83.
- , *Medicine Before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon 1285-1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- , 'Bedside Manners in the Middle Ages,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 71 (1997), pp. 201-33.
- , 'Treatment of Hernia in the Later Middle Ages: Surgical Correction and Social Construction,' in *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, ed. Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, Andrew Cunningham, and Luis García-Ballester (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 131-55.
- , 'Surgical Education in the Middle Ages,' *Dynamis* 20 (2000), pp. 283-304.

- , *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages* (Firenze: Sismel, Edizioni Del Galluzzo, 2006).
- Mengel, David C., 'A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit: Making the Life of Milíč,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5 (2004), pp. 33-55.
- , 'From Venice to Jerusalem and beyond: Milíč of Kroměříž and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague,' *Speculum* 79, 2 (2004), pp. 407-42.
- Merback, Mitchell B., *The Thief, The Cross, and The Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- Meyer, Cathryn Marie, 'Producing the Middle English Corpus: Confession and Medieval Bodies' (unpubl. PhD diss.: University of Texas, 2006).
- Minnich, Nelson H., *The Decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17): Their Legitimacy, Origins, Contents, and Implementation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).
- Minnis, Alastair J., "'Authorial Intention" and "Literal Sense" in the Exegetical Theories of Richard Fitzralph and John Wyclif: An Essay in the Medieval History of Biblical Hermeneutics,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 75, C (1975), pp. 1-31.
- , *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
- Molnár, Amedeo, 'Pohled do Husovy literární dílny,' *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 82, 2 (1959), pp. 239-46.
- , 'Die eschatologische Hoffnung der böhmischen Reformation,' in *Von der Reformation zum Morgen*, ed. Josef L. Hromádka (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1959), pp. 59-187.
- , 'K otázce reformační iniciativy lidu. Svědectví husitského kázání,' in *Acta reformationem bohemicam illustrantia. Příspěvky k dějinám utrakvismu*, ed. Amedeo Molnár (Prague: Kalich, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 5-44.
- , 'Chebský soudce,' in *Soudce smluvený v Chebu: sborník příspěvků přednesených na sympoziu k 550. Vyročí*, ed. Jindřich Jirka (Prague: Okresní archiv v nakl. Panorama, 1982), pp. 9-37.
- Montford, Angela, *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
- Moody, D. Branch, 'Healing power in the Marian miracle books of Bavarian healing shrines, 1489-1523 A.D.,' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 47 (1992), pp. 68-90.
- Morée, Peter C. A., 'The Dating of the Postils of Milicius de Chremsir,' *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 121 (1998), pp. 64-83.
- , *Preaching in Fourteenth-century Bohemia: The life and ideas of Milicius de Chremsir (+1374) and his significance in the historiography of Bohemia* (Slakov: EMAN, 1999).
- Morenzoni, Franco, 'Parole du prédicateur et inspiration divine d'après les artes praedicandi,' in *La parole du prédicateur (Ve-XVe siècle)*, ed. Rosa Maria Dessì and Michel Lauwers (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 271-90.
- Morrison, Susan Signe, *Excrement in the Late Middle Ages: Sacred Filth and Chaucer's Fecopoetics* (New York: MacMillan, 2008).
- Murray, Alexander, 'Religion Among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans,' *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 285-324.
- Murray Jones, Peter, 'Surgical Narrative in Middle English,' *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Review* 18 (2005), pp. 4-8.
- , 'The Surgeon as Story-Teller,' *Poetica* 72 (2009), pp. 77-92.

- , 'Complexio and Experimentum: Tensions in Late Medieval English Practice' in *The Body in Balance: Humoral Medicines in Practice*, ed. Peregrine Horden and Elizabeth Hsu (New York and London: Berghahn, 2013), pp. 107-28.
- Mutlová, Petra, 'Communicating Texts through Images: Nicholas of Dresden's Tabule,' in *Public Communication in European Reformation: Artistic and other Media in Central Europe 1380-1620*, ed. Milena Bartlová and Michal Šroněk (Prague: Artefactum, AV ČR, 2007), pp. 29-37.
- , 'Major Hussite Theologians before the *Compacta*,' in *Companion to the Hussite Movement*, ed. Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup (Turnhout: Brill, 2020), pp. 101-41.
- Nechutová, Jana, 'Filosofické zdroje díla M. Matěje z Janova,' *Filosofický Časopis* 18 (1970), pp. 1010-18.
- , 'Eschatologie in Böhmen vor Hus,' in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, ed. František Šmahel and Antonín Hrubý (Prague: Historický ústav AV ČR, 1996), pp. 61-72.
- , 'Autorita Bible a její překlady podle kvestie Jana z Myta Utrum dictis sanctorum patrum,' *Česka literature* 47 (1999), pp. 510-14.
- , 'Konrad von Soltau. *Lectura super caput Firmiter*,' in *Schriften im Umkreis mitteleuropäischer Universitäten um 1400, Lateinische und volkssprachige Texte aus Prag, Wien und Heidelberg, Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten, Wechselbeziehungen*, ed. Fritz Peter Knapp, Jürgen Miethke, and Manuela Niesner, *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 3-19.
- , 'Reform- und Bussprediger von Waldhauser bis Hus,' in *Kirchliche Reformimpulse des 14./15. Jahrhunderts in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Winfried Eberhard and Franz Machilek, *Forschungen Und Quellen Zur Kirchen Und Kulturgeschichte Der Deutschen in Ostmittel Und Sudosteuropa* 36 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), pp. 239-54.
- Nejedlý, Zdeněk, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu za válek husitských* (Prague: Nákladem jubilejního fondu Kral. České společnosti náuk, 1913).
- Newman, Barbara, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).
- , *God and the Goddesses, Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
- Nicholas, Richard A., *The Eucharist as the Center of Theology: A Comparative Study* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005).
- Nockels Fabbri, Christiane, 'Treating Medieval Plague: The Wonderful Virtues of Theriac,' *Early Science and Medicine* 12 (2007), pp. 247-83.
- Norri, Juhani, *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary in English, 1375–1550: Body Parts, Sickneses, Instruments, and Medicinal Preparations* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016).
- Nový, Rostislav, 'Ženské řeholní a laické komunity v předhusitské Praze,' *Documenta Pragensia* 13 (1996), pp. 41-6.
- Nuchelmans, Gabriel, 'Stanislaus of Znaim d. 1414 On Truth and Falsity,' in *Mediaeval Semantics and Metaphysics: Studies dedicated to L.M. de Rijk, Professor of Ancient and Mediaeval Philosophy at the University of Leiden on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, ed. Egbert Peter Bos (Nijmegen: Ingenium, 1985), pp. 313-38.
- Nuding, Matthias, *Matthäus von Krakau: Theologe, Politiker, Kirchenreformer in Krakau, Prag und Heidelberg zur Zeit des Großen Abendländischen Schismas, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation* 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

- Oberman, Heiko A., 'Anticlericalism as an Agent of Change,' in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 51 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. ix-xi.
- Olsan, Lea T., 'Latin Charms of Medieval England: Verbal Healing in a Christian Oral Tradition,' *Oral Tradition* 7 (1992), pp. 116-42.
- , 'Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice,' *Social History of Medicine* 16, 3 (2003), pp. 343-66.
- , 'The Marginality of Charms in Medieval England,' in *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. James Kapaló, Éva Pócs, and William Ryan (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), pp. 135-64.
- Orlemanski, Julie, *Symptomatic Subjects: Bodies, Medicine, and Causation in the Literature of Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).
- , 'Langland's Poetics of Animation: Body, Soul, Personification,' in *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 33 (2019), pp. 159-84.
- Otto, Sean A., 'The Perils of the Flesh: John Wyclif's Preaching on the Five Bodily Senses' in *The Five Senses in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Annette Kern-Stähler, Beatrix Busse, and Wietse de Boer, *Intersections, Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 163-76.
- Ożóg, Krzysztof, 'Formacja intelektualna biskupów krakowskich w średniowieczu,' in *Cracovia, Polonia, Europa: Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Waldemar Bukowski, et al. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia 'Secesja,' 1995), pp. 159-77.
- , *Uczeni w Monarchii Jadwigi Andegaweńskiej i Władysław Jagiełły (1384–1434)* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2004).
- Pálka, Adam, 'Papoušek versus Lupáč. Polemika o výklad basilejských kompaktát z poloviny 15. století,' *Studia Mediaevalia Bohemica* 8 (2016), pp. 41-87.
- Palmer, Richard, 'The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,' *Studies in Church History* 19: The Church and Healing (1982), pp. 79-99.
- , 'In Bad Odour: Smell and Its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century,' in *Medicine and the Five Senses*, ed. W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 61-8.
- Park, Katherine, and Henderson, John, "'The First Hospital Among Christians': The Ospedale Di Santa Maria Nuova in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence,' *Medical History* 35 (1991), pp. 164-88.
- Partavicini-Bagliani, Agostino, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- Paterson Corrington, Gail, 'The Milk of Salvation: Redemption by the Mother in Late Antiquity and Early Christianity,' *Harvard Theological Review* 82, 4 (1989), pp. 393-420.
- Peck, A. L., *Aristotle, Generation of Animals* (London: Harvard University Press, 1965).
- Peikola, Matti, *Congregation of the Elect: Patterns of Self-Fashioning in English Lollard Writings*, *Anglicana Turkuensia* 21 (Turku: University of Turku Press, 2000).
- Pelling, Margaret, 'Politics, Medicine and Masculinity: Physicians and Office-Bearing in Early Modern England' in *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine and Science, 1500–2000: Essays for Charles Webster*, ed. Margaret Pelling and Scott Mandelbrote (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 81-105.

- Perett, Marcela K., 'Jan Hus and Faction Formation: The Evidence of Hus's Post-1412 Writings,' *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28, special edition *Jan Hus in History and Legacy 1415-2015*, ed. Thomas A. Fudge (2015), pp. 45-66.
- , *Preachers, Partisans, and Rebellious Religion: Vernacular Writing and the Hussite Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).
- Perez-Gil, Maria Mar, 'Mary and the Carnal Maternal Genealogy: Towards a Mariology of the Body,' *Literature and Theology* 25, 3 (2011), pp. 297-311.
- Pilsworth, Clare, 'Medicine and Hagiography in Italy c. 800-c. 1000,' *Social History of Medicine* 13, 2 (2000), pp. 253-64.
- Pjecha, Martin, 'Changing discourses of Violence in the Hussite Movement (early 15th c.)' (unpubl. PhD diss.: Central European University, Forthcoming).
- Polc, Jaroslav V., 'Statutes of the Synods of Prague (1386–1395),' *Apollinaris* 53, 3-4 (1980), pp. 421-57.
- , *Svatý Jan Nepomucký* (Prague: Zvon, 1993).
- , and Hledíková, Zdeňka, *Pražské synody a koncily předhusitské doby* (Prague: Karolinum, 2002).
- Price, Merrall Llewelyn, 'Bitter Milk: The "Vasa Menstrualis" and the Cannibal(ized) Virgin,' *College Literature*, 28: *Oral Fixations: Cannibalizing Theories* (2001), pp. 144-54.
- Prokeš, Jaroslav, 'Brunfelsova edice domněle Husových spisů z r. 1524 a autorství antikristovských traktátů Sermones de Antichristo a *Anatomia Antichristi*,' *Časopis českého muzea* 93 (1919), pp. 149-64.
- Prügl, Thomas, 'Dissidence and Renewal: Developments in late medieval ecclesiology,' *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 7 (2013), pp. 1-17.
- Rabbow, Paul, *Seelenführung: Methodik der Exerzitien in der Antike* (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1954).
- Raschko, Mary, "'To þe Worschepe of God and Profite of of his Peple": Lollard Sermons on the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard,' in *Wycliffite Controversies*, ed. Mishtooni Bose and J. Patrick Hornbeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 175-92.
- , 'Re-Forming the Life of Christ' in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 288-308.
- Rawcliffe, Carole, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London,' *Medical History* 28 (1984), pp. 1-21.
- , *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1995).
- , *Medicine for the Soul, The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999).
- , 'More than a Bedside Manner: the Political Status of the Late Medieval Court Physician,' in *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Richmond and E. Scarff (Leeds: Maney Pub., 2001).
- , *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer Press, 2006).
- , 'A Marginal Occupation? The Medieval Laundress and her Work,' *Gender and History*, 21 (2009), pp. 147-69.
- , *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013).

- Rechowicz, Marian, *Św. Jan Kanty i Benedykt Hesse w świetle krakowskiej kompilacji teologicznej z XV wieku* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1958).
- Renna, Thomas, 'Wyclif's Attacks on the Monks,' *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 5 (1987), pp. 267-80.
- Reynolds, Philip Lyndon, *Food and the Body: Some Peculiar Questions in High Medieval Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).
- Richards, Peter D., *The Medieval Leper and his Northern Heirs* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer Press, 1977).
- Ritchey, Sara, 'Health, Healing, and Salvation: Hagiography as a Source for Medieval Healthcare,' in *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500-1500*, ed. Samantha Kahn Herrick, *Reading Medieval Sources* 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 417-36.
- Rittgers, Ronald K., *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Roberg, Francesco, 'Text- und redaktionskritische Probleme bei der Edition von Texten des Gebrauchsschrifttums am Beispiel des Antidotarium Nicolai (12. Jahrhundert)—Einige F.R., Beobachtungen. Mit einem Editionsanhang,' *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 42 (2007), pp. 1-19.
- Robinson, I.S., *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Robison, Kira, 'Making Right Practice? Regulating Surgery and Medicine in Fourteenth and fifteenth-century Bologna,' in *Medicine and the Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy J. Turner (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 175-95.
- Rouse, Richard H., and Rouse, Mary A., *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland*, *Studies and Texts* 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979).
- Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Russcher, Anne, and Bremmer Jr, Rolf H., "'For a Broken Limb': Fracture Treatment in Anglo-Saxon England,' in *Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. László Sándor Chaddonnens and Bryan Carella, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 69 (Turnhout: Brill, 2012), pp. 145-75.
- Rust, Martha Diana, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- Rutt, Richard, 'Saints Cosmas and Damian: patron saints of medicine. A story from prayers and pictures?,' *Journal of medical biography* 2 (1994), pp. 48-52.
- Ryba, Bohumil, 'Latina a Kritická Interpretace Staročeských Textů,' *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 87, 2 (1964), pp. 346-60.
- Rychterová, Pavlína, 'Charisma und charismatische Legitimation in der Vita von Johannes von Jenstein,' in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Andrea Langer (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), pp. 346-53.
- , 'Kirchen- und Klerikalkritik im Böhmen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts zwischen Latein und Volkssprachen,' in *Clero contro clero. Retoriche anticlericali fra medioevo e prima età moderna*, ed. G. L. Potestà and R. Rusconi, *Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo* 12, 2 (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2015), pp. 291-308.

- Satterlee, Craig Alan, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002).
- Sargent, Michael G., 'Censorship or Cultural Change? Reformation and Renaissance in the Spirituality of Late Medieval England,' in *Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, *Medieval Church Studies* 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), pp. 55-72.
- Schatz, Klaus, *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present*, trans. John A. Otto and Linda M. Maloney (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996).
- Schirmer, Elizabeth, 'William Thorpe's Narrative Theology,' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 31 (2009), pp. 267-99.
- Schmidt, Martin Anton, 'The Problem of Papal Primacy at the Council of Florence,' *Church History* 30 (1961), pp. 35-49.
- Schmidtke, Dietrich, 'Pastoraltheologische Texte des Matthäus von Krakau,' in *Schriften im Umkreis mitteleuropäischer Universitäten um 1400. Lateinische und Volkssprachige Texte aus Prag, Wien und Heidleberg: Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten, Wechselbeziehungen*, ed. Fritz Peter Knapp, Jürgen Miethke, and Manuela Niesner (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 178-96.
- Schwietering, Julius, 'The Origins of the Medieval Humility Formula,' *PMLA* 69, 5 (1954), pp. 1279-91.
- Scully, Terence, 'The Sickdish in Early French Recipe Collections,' in *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall, and David Klausner (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), pp. 132-40.
- Sedlák, Jan, 'Počátkové kalicha,' *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* 52 (1911), pp. 786-91.
- , 'Husův pomocník v evangeliu II,' *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým* 2 (1914-1915), pp. 446-77.
- Seibt, Ferdinand, 'Die revelatio des Jacobellus von Mies über die Kelchkommunion,' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 22, 2 (1966), 618-24.
- Sells, Michael A., *Mystical Languages of Unsayings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- Sharpe, W.D., 'Isidore of Seville: The Medical Writings,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54, 2 (1964), pp. 1-75.
- Sieben, Hermann Josef, *Traktate und Theorien zum Konzil. Vom Beginn des Großen Schismas bis zum Vorabend der Reformation (1378-1521)*, *Frankfurter Theologische Studien* 30 (Frankfurt: Verlag Josef Knecht, 1983).
- Sinanoglou, Leah, 'The Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays,' *Speculum* 48, 3 (1973), pp. 491-509.
- Siraisi, Nancy G., *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
- Šmahel, František, 'Die hussitische Kommune von Tábor 1420-1422,' in *Jan Hus und die Hussiten in europäischen Aspekten*, ed. František Šmahel (Trier: Karl-Marx-Haus, 1987), 9-28.
- , *Dějiny Tábora*, 2 vols. (České Budějovice: Jihočeské nakladatelství, 1988).
- , 'Die Tabulae veteris et novi coloris als audiovisuelles Medium hussitischer Agitation,' *Studie o rukopisech* 29 (1992): 95-103.
- , *Husitské Čechy: Struktury, procesy, ideje* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny [NLN], 2001).

- , *Die hussitische Revolution*, ed. Alexander Patschovsky, trans. Thomas Krzenck, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften 43, 3 vols. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002).
- , *Alma mater Pragensis: studie k počátkům Univerzity Karlovy* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016).
- , *Die Basler Kompaktaten mit den Hussiten (1436), Untersuchung und Edition*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte 65 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz verlag, 2019).
- Smalley, Beryl, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952).
- , 'The Bible and Eternity: John Wyclif's Dilemma,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), pp. 73-89.
- Sölle, Dorothee, *The Silent Cry: Mysticism and Resistance*, trans. Barbara Rumscheidt and Martin Rumscheidt (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).
- Solopova, Elizabeth, (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
- Somerset, Fiona, 'Wycliffite Spirituality,' in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison, Medieval Church Studies 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 375-86.
- , *Feeling Like Saints, Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- Soukup, Pavel, 'Dobývání hradu Skály v roce 1413 a husitská teorie války. Ke spisku Jakoubka ze Stříbra o duchovním boji,' *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 9 (2003), pp. 175-210.
- , 'Metaphors of the Spiritual Struggle Early in the Bohemian Reformation: The Exegesis of *Arma Spiritualia* in Hus, Jakoubek, and Chelčický,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 6 (2007), pp. 87-109.
- , 'Die Predigt als Mittel religiöser Erneuerung: Böhmen um 1400,' in *Böhmen und das Deutsche Reich. Ideen- und Kulturtransfer im Vergleich (13.-16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Eva Schlotheuber and Hubertus Seibert, Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 116 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), pp. 235-64.
- , 'The Masters and the End of the World: Exegesis in the Polemics with Chiliasm,' *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 7 (2009), pp. 91-114.
- , *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stříbra* (Prague: Filosofia, 2011).
- , *Jan Hus: Prediger - Reformator - Märtyrer* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2014).
- , 'Die böhmischen Konzilsteilnehmer zwischen Häresiebekämpfung und Kirchenreform. Die Konstanzer Predigten von Mauritius Rvačka, Stephan von Pálec und Matthäus von Königsaal,' *Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis. Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale*, ed. Gabriela Signori and Birgit Studt, Vorträge und Forschungen 79 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014), pp. 173-217.
- , 'Z prvních polemik o odpustky v roce 1412,' *Studia Mediaevalia Bohemica* 2 (2016), pp. 259-89.
- , 'Religion and Violence in the Hussite Wars,' in *The European Wars of Religion: An Interdisciplinary Reassessment of Sources, Interpretations, and Myths*, ed. Wolfgang Palaver (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 19-44.
- , 'Wiener Predigten Oswald Reinleins als Quelle zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges,' in *Zwischen Feinden und Freunden: Kommunikation im spätmittelalterlichen Krieg*, ed. Petr Elbel, Alexandra Kaar, and Robert Novotný (Vienna: Böhlau, 2017).
- , and Van Dussen, Michael, (ed.), *A Companion to the Hussites* (Turnhout: Brill, 2020).

- Sousedík, Stanislav, 'Pojem distinctio formalis u českých realistů v době Husově,' *Filosofický Časopis* 18 (1970), pp. 1024-9.
- Spencer, Helen L., 'The Fortunes of a Lollard Sermon-Cycle in the Later Fifteenth Century,' *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986), pp. 352-96.
- , *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
- Sperling, Jutta, 'Squeezing, Squirting, Spilling Milk: The Lactation of Saint Bernard and the Flemish Madonna Lactans (ca. 1430-1530),' *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, 3 (2018), pp. 868-918.
- Spindler, Erik, 'Were Medieval Prostitutes Marginals? Evidence from Sluis, 1387-1440,' *Revue belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 87, 2 (2009), pp. 239-72.
- Spunar, Pavel, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum pro vectum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, Studia Copernicana 35, 2 vols. (Wrocław: Inst. Ossolinianum, 1995).
- Spyrou, Maria A., et al., 'Historical Y. pestis Genomes Reveal the European Black Death as the Source of Ancient and Modern Plague Pandemics,' *Cell Host & Microbe* 19, 6 (2016), pp. 874-81.
- Šroněk, Michal, 'The Veils of the Virgin Mary. Relics in the Conflict between Roman Catholics and Utraquists in the 14th and 15th Centuries,' *Umění* 57, 2 (2009), pp. 118-39.
- Stearns, Justin, 'New Directions in the Study of Religious Responses to the Black Death,' *History Compass* 7, 5 (2009), pp. 1363-75.
- Steiger, Johann Anselm, 'Christus als Apotheker bei Martin Luther. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Gespräch mit Fritz Krafft,' *Berichte zur Wissenschafts-Geschichte* 26, 2 (2003), pp. 137-9.
- Still, Michelle, *The Abbot and the Rule: Religious Life at St Albans, 1290-1349* (London: Ashgate, 2006).
- Stith Scott, Laura Lisa Elizabeth, 'Assembly, Dissent, and Political Cohesion: Bohemian Institutional Development in the Fifteenth Century' (unpubl. PhD diss.: University of Chicago, 2018).
- St-Jacques, Raymond, 'Langland's Christus Medicus Image and the Structure of Piers Plowman,' *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 5 (1991), pp. 111-27.
- Stock, Bernard, 'Healers without Books, Readers without Souls,' *New Literary History* 37 (2006), pp. 503-13.
- Stone, Zachery E., 'Towards a Vernacular Ecclesiology: Revising the *Mirour de l'Omme*, *Vox Clamantis*, and *Piers Plowman* during the Western Schism,' *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 33 (2019), pp. 69-109.
- Stump, Phillip H., *The Reforms of The Council of Constance (1414-1418)* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
- Swanson, Robert N., *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism*, Cambridge studies in Medieval Life and Thought, third series, 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- , 'The "Mendicant Problem" in the Later Middle Ages' in *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life; Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, ed. Peter Biller and Richard B. Dobson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 217-38.
- , 'Praying for Pardon: Devotional Indulgences in Late Medieval England,' in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late-Medieval Europe*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 215-40.

- Taavitsainen, Irma, *Middle English Lunaries: A Study of the Genre*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 47 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1988).
- Talbot, C.H., *Medicine in Medieval England* (London: Oldbourne, 1967).
- , and Hammond, A.E., (ed.), *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1969).
- Tanner, Norman P., 'The Eucharist in the Ecumenical Councils,' *Gregorianum* 82 (2001), pp. 37-49.
- Tasioulas, J.A., 'Between Doctrine and Domesticity: The Portrayal of Mary in the N-Town Plays,' in *Medieval Women in their Communities*, ed. Dianne Watt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 222-45.
- Tavormina, M. Teresa, 'Henry of Lancaster, *The Book of Holy Medicines*,' in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation*, ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 19-40.
- Taylor, Craig, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Thibodeau, Timothy M., 'The Doctrine of Transubstantiation in Durand's "Rationale",' *Traditio* 51 (1996), pp. 308-17.
- Thompson, A. Hamilton, *The History of the Hospital and the New College of the Annunciation of St Mary in the Newarke, Leicester* (Leicester: Backus, 1937).
- Thompson, John A.F., 'Wyche, Richard (d. 1440), Lollard heretic,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-).
- Thomson, John F., *The Later Lollards, 1414-1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Tomiček, David, 'Water, Environment, and Dietetic Rules in Bohemian Sources of the Early Modern Times,' in *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), pp. 441-57.
- Töpfer, Bernhard, 'Chiliasmatische Elemente in der Eschatologie des Mathias von Janov,' in *Ost und West in der Geschichte des Denkens und der kulturellen Beziehungen. Festschrift für E. Winter zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Steinitz and E. Winter (Berlin: Akademie, 1966), pp. 59-79.
- Tracy, Larissa, and DeVries, Kelly, (ed.), *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).
- Tríška, Josef, *Literární činnost předhusitské univerzity* (Prague: Charles University, 1967).
- Trotter, D.A., and Rothwell, W., et al. (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Dictionary Online*, (London: MHRA, 1977-).
- Turner, Marion, 'Disease Narratives in the Later Middle Ages: Arderne, Chaucer and Hoccleve,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46 (2016), pp. 61-87.
- Tveitane, Mattias, 'Noctifer, a medieval Latin word-play,' *Symbolae Osloenses* 44 (1969), pp. 160-5.
- Uhlíř, Zdeněk, 'Středověké kazatelství v českých zemích: nástin problematiky,' *Almanach Historyczny* 7 (2005), pp. 57-93.
- Ulanowski, Bolesław, 'Mikołaj z Błonia, kanonista polski z pierwszej połowie XV wieku,' *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności: wydział Historyczno-filozoficzny* 23 (1888), pp. 1-60.
- Váhala, Antonín, 'Jan Hus in Exile: The Nature and Development of Spirituality,' *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28, special edition *Jan Hus in History and Legacy 1415-2015*, ed. Thomas A. Fudge (2015), pp. 67-88.

- Van Asperen, Hanneke, 'The Sheltering Cloak: Images of Charity and Mercy in Fourteenth-Century Italy,' *Textile, Cloth and Culture* 11, 3 (2013), pp. 262-81.
- Van Dussen, Michael, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- , 'Tourists and Tabulae in Late-Medieval England,' in *Truth and Tales: Cultural Mobility and Medieval Media*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015), pp. 238-54.
- , 'Richard Rolle's Latin Psalter in Central European Manuscripts,' *Medium Aevum* 87 (2018), pp. 41-71.
- Van Engen, John, 'Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church,' *Church History* 77, 2 (2008), pp. 257-84.
- van't Land, Karine, 'The Solution of Continuous Things: Wounds in Late Medieval Medicine and Surgery' in *Wounds in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anne Kirkham and Cordelia Warr (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 89-108.
- Vauchez, André, *La Spiritualité du moyen âge occidental (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Série Histoire 184, 2nd edn. (Paris: Seuil, 1994).
- Vidmanová, Anežka, 'Hus als Prediger,' *Communio viatorum* 19 (1976), pp. 65-81.
- , 'Autoritäten und Wiclif in Hussens homiletischen Schriften,' in *Antiqui und moderni. Traditionsbewußtsein und Fortschrittsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1974), pp. 383-93.
- Vielhaber, Gottfried, 'Der *Libellus de bono mortis* des Erzbischofs Johann von Jenstein,' in *Festschrift des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, seinen mitgliedern gewidmet zur feier des 40jährigen bestandes. 27. mai 1902* (Prague: Der Verein, 1902), pp. 159-65.
- Voigts, Linda E., 'Multitudes of Middle English Medical Manuscripts, or the Englishing of Science and Medicine,' in *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine*, ed. Margaret Schleissner (New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 183-95.
- , and Hudson, Robert P., 'A drynke þat men callen dwale to make a man to slepe whyle me kerven hem: A Surgical Anesthetic from Late Medieval England,' in *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture*, ed. Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall, and David Klausner (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), pp. 34-56.
- Von Nolcken, Christina, 'An Unremarked Group of Wycliffite Sermons in Latin,' *Modern Philology* 83, 3 (1986), pp. 233-49.
- , 'Another Kind of Saint: A Lollard Perception of John Wyclif. Studies in Church History,' *Subsidia* 5 (1987), pp. 429-43.
- Wada, Yoko, *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010).
- Wakefield, Walter L., 'Heretics as Physicians in the Thirteenth Century,' *Speculum* 57 (1982), pp. 328-31.
- Walker Bynum, Caroline, *Jesus as Mother, Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (London: University of California Press, 1982).
- , *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991).
- , 'Why All the Fuss About the Body? A Medievalists' Perspective,' *Critical Enquiry* 22 (1995), pp. 1-33.
- , *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

- Wallis, Faith, 'Why was the Aphorisms of Hippocrates Re-Translated in the Eleventh Century?,' in *Vehicles of Transmission, Translation and Transformation*, ed. Carlos Fraenkel, Jamie Fumo, Faith Wallis, and Robert Wisnovsky (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 179-99.
- , 'The Ghost in the *Articella*: A Twelfth-century Commentary on the Constantinian *Liber Graduum*,' in *Herbs and Healers from the Ancient Mediterranean through the Medieval West: Essays in Honor of John M. Riddle*, ed. Anne Van Arsdall and Timothy Graham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 207-69.
- , 'Pre-modern Surgery: Wounds, Words, and the Paradox of "Tradition,"' in *The Palgrave Handbook of the History of Surgery*, ed. Thomas Schlich (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 49-70.
- Walton, Michael T., and Walton, Phyllis J., *Medical Practitioners and Law in Fifteenth Century London* (Morrisville, NC.: Lulu Publishing, 2007).
- Warner, Geert, *Ruusbroec: Literature and Mysticism in the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- Warner, Marina, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Watson, Nicholas, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409,' *Speculum* 70 (1995), pp. 822-64.
- , 'Piers Plowman, Pastoral Theology, and Spiritual Perfectionism: Hawkyn's Cloak and Patience's Pater Noster,' *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 21 (2007), pp. 83-118.
- Watt, Dianne, 'Mary the Physician: Women, Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages,' in *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture*, ed. Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 27-44.
- Wei, Ian P., *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1100-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Welborn, Mary Catherine, 'The Long Tradition: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Medical Deontology,' in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honour of James Westfall Thompson*, ed. James Lea Cate and Eugene Newton Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 344-57.
- Weltsch, Ruben E., *Archbishop John of Jenstein, 1348-1400: Papalism, Humanism and Reform in Pre-Hussite Prague* (The Hauge: Mouton, 1968).
- Wener, Ernst, *Jan Hus: Welt und Umwelt Eines Prager Frühreformators*, *Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte* 34 (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Bohlhaus Nachfolger, 1991).
- Wenzel, Siegfried, 'Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, "Deus Est",' *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970), pp. 218-93.
- , *Medieval Artes Praedicandi: A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).
- Whelan, Mark, 'Walter of Schwarzenberg and the Fifth Hussite Crusade reconsidered (1431),' *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 122, 2 (2014), pp. 322-35.
- Whittet, T. Douglas, 'Pepperers, Spicers and Grocers—Forerunners of the Apothecaries,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 61 (1968), pp. 801-06.
- Wickersheimer, Ernest, 'Médecins et chirurgiens dans les hôpitaux du moyen-âge,' *Janus* 32 (1928), pp. 1-11.

- Wilks, Michael, 'Wyclif and the Great Persecution,' *Studies in Church History, Subsidia* 10 (1994), pp. 39-63.
- Williams, Arnold L., 'Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Regular Clergy in England in the Later Fourteenth Century,' *Annuaire Mediaevale* 1 (1960), pp. 22-95.
- Williamson, Beth, 'The Virgin Lactans as Second Eve: Image of the Salvation,' *Studies in Iconography* 19 (1998), pp. 105-38.
- Winston-Allen, Anne, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).
- Włodek, Zofia, *Z dziejów filozofii i teologii na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku. Sylwetki, teksty, studia*, *Historia et Monumenta Universitatis Jagellonicae* 2 (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2011), pp. 394-409.
- Woolgar, C.M., *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Wyman, A. L., 'The Surgeoness: The Female Practitioner of Surgery 1400-1800,' *Medical History* 28 (1984), pp. 22-41.
- Yoshikawa, Naoë Kukita, 'Holy Medicine and Diseases of the Soul: Henry of Lancaster and *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*,' *Medical History* 53 (2009), pp. 397-414.
- Zahajkiewicz, Marek Tomasz, 'Polskie traktaty teologiczno-duszpasterskie okresu przedtrydenckiego,' *Archiwa Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 21 (1970), pp. 199-210.
- Zawadzki, Roman Maria, *Periodyzacja Twórczości Stanisława ze Skarbimierza na Tle Jego Działalności Publicznej* (Kraków: Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, 1977).
- Zawodzińska, Celina, 'Pisma Stanisława ze Skarbimierza,' *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 4 (1960), pp. 299-327.
- Zias, Joseph, 'Lust and Leprosy: Confusion or Correlation?' *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 275 (1989), pp. 27-31.
- Ziegler, Joseph, 'Medical Similes in Religious Discourse. The Case of Giovanni di San Gimignano OP (ca. 1260-ca. 1333),' *Science in Context* 8 (1995), pp. 103-31.
- , *Medicine and Religion c. 1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- , 'Ut dicunt medici: Medical Knowledge and Theological Debates in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 73 (1999), pp. 208-37.
- , 'Medicine and Immortality in Terrestrial Paradise,' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, *York Studies in Medieval Theology* 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 201-42.
- Ziegler, Tiffany A., *Medieval Healthcare and the Rise of Charitable Institutions: The History of the Municipal Hospital* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- Zilyská, Blanka, *Husitské synody v Čechách 1418-1440* (Prague: Charles University, 1985).
- Zimmerman, Susan, 'Leprosy in the Medieval Imaginary,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, 3 (2008), pp. 559-87.
- Zoltán, Szilárdfy, 'Krisztus a lélek patikusa és orvossága,' *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 62, 2 (2012), pp. 317-20.
- Žonca, Milan, "'... and order was upset" Easter, the Eucharist, and the Jews of Prague, 1389,' in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 287-305.

Zuckerman, Charles, 'The Relationship of Theories of Universals to Theories of Church Government in the Middle Ages: A Critique of Previous Views,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, 4 (1975), pp. 579-87.

Zwiercan, Marian, 'Mikołaj z Błonia,' in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, general ed. E. Rostworowski (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1976), vol. 21, pp. 102-04.