
Metaphors of the Spiritual Struggle Early in the Bohemian Reformation: The Exegesis of *Arma Spiritualia* in Hus, Jakoubek, and Chelčický

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“Nota, quod in opere isto in fine sermonum de ewangelio semper ponitur sermo super ipso ewangelio de pugna spirituali more belli secularis,” the Utraquist priest, Mikuláš Mníšek, noted in a manuscript, in which he transcribed the Lenten sermons of Robert Holcot.¹ It was a telling commentary: Mníšek put together his *quadragesima* always from several sermons for the same day, and the last of them – designated as *pugna spiritualis* – regularly came from Holcot’s collection.² The sermons are devoted to the explication of the spiritual struggle and involve very detailed comparisons with the techniques of secular warfare. With great enthusiasm, Holcot analyses, with the help of Vegetius and other theorists of antique warfare, tactical manuals for military leaders so as to connect them at the end of every sermon with a Lenten pericope in a brief explanation of the conditions of spiritual struggle. The lively interest in the metaphorical use of military props for the moral edification of the faithful, inspired not only Robert Holcot and the parson of Trhové Sviny, Mníšek, but also many other erudite persons and personages in the early Bohemian Reformation.

Work with metaphorical meanings belonged to the basic literary equipment of medieval exegetical and homiletic writing, the early Bohemian Reformation not exempted.³ Although the often cited quadruple meaning of Scripture⁴ belonged

¹ MS Prague, NK VI F 17, fol. 33v. The manuscript is attributed to Mikuláš Mníšek by Josef Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in c. r. Bibliotheca publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur* 2 vv (Prague, 1905-1906) 1:465-466, no. 1156; concerning the note see František M. Bartoš, “Jakoubkova Betlemská postila z prvního roku revoluce 1419-20,” [Jakoubek’s Bethlehem postil from the first year of the revolution 1419 – 20] *Theologická příloha Křesťanské revue* 19 (1952) 126, who also identified the author of the eighth sermon for Ash Wednesday as Robert Holcot; see idem, “Husův ctitel na faře v Trhových Svinech,” [The venerator of Hus at the rectory of Trhové Sviny] *JSH* 12 (1939) 33-35. On Mikuláš, see also Anežka Vidmanová, “Husův přívrženec Mikuláš Mníšek,” [Mikuláš Mníšek the follower of Hus] *HT* 3 (1980) 51-66; about Robert see below in note 61.

² The manuscript ends with Saturday *post Reminiscere* [The Saturday after the Second Sunday in Lent], so that it contains only the first eighteen of Holcot’s sermons. I identify them according to Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, Bd. 5 (Münster, 1974) 192-195, and by comparison with the manuscript MS Prague, NK IV B 25 ff. 1r-50r.

³ The classical work on medieval hermeneutics and exegesis is still Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952); see also A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1982); Hennig Brinkmann, *Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik* (Tübingen, 1980); *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Biblexegese*, ed. Robert E. Lerner (Munich, 1996); a valuable source for the fourteenth century is Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy. Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge, 2002).

more to the realm of academic theory than to the daily practice of medieval authors, every one of them recognised a spiritual meaning – in one form or another – in the biblical text. During the thirteenth century, the interest of scholars distinctly shifted to the literal meaning (*sensus litteralis*),⁵ but this did not mean abandoning the explication of biblical metaphors. What became suspect were allegories that explained biblical passages, as though they denoted abstract contents, often rather distant from the literal sense. Nevertheless, metaphors, which expressed the external similarity of realities, not normally designated by them, continued among the interpretative tools of the authorial language, now enjoying exactly a new exciting field for their application.⁶

The concept of *duplex sensus litteralis* placed the metaphors into the region of literal meaning: it is necessary to know the qualities of things about which Scripture speaks so that what it wishes to say in the first place it is comprehensible. The literal meaning coincides with the author's intention, so that it is formed not by the rhetorical figures themselves, but by their content.⁷ The further broadening of the definition of literal sense, so that eventually it included all the four classical modes of interpretation, was the work of John Wyclif. His extreme realistic philosophy, which was shared by his followers among the Prague reformers, had its consequences even for the way the Scripture was viewed. He saw Scripture more as an Idea rather than a text; it was for him an expression of the single divine Truth that could be found in any one of its passages. To be able to do so, of course, he had to resort to allegorical interpretation of some biblical formulations. Those, however, in the "realist" sense belonged not into the sphere of language, but of reality that was, in fact "more real" than our transient world. Therefore, Wyclif was also sceptical vis-à-vis the parables, and placed his allegorical and tropological understanding of the Scriptures into the category of literal meaning. That was, according to him, the only correct reading of the text, through which God spoke to the people.⁸

Even in this case, therefore, the distaste for allegorisation belongs more to the level of theoretical reflection than that of practical exegesis. Ultimately, allegorisation always maintained its place in the realm of preaching.⁹ The analysis in this study will have as its material mainly sermons and popular exegesis and, only in a smaller part, writings that aimed at the educated public. In them, biblical hermeneutics is an applied science and the changes of concepts, described above, are not much manifest. Fascination with the historical sense did not find here

⁴ On the origin and alternatives of this concept, see at least Henri de Lubac, *The Four Senses of Scripture* (Grand Rapids MI, 1998) = idem, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture* (Paris, 1959-1964); Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," *Speculum* 4 (1929) 282-290; and Brinkmann, *Mittelalterliche Hermeneutik*, 226-259.

⁵ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 281-308; A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott, eds., *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c.1100-c.1375* (Oxford, 1988) 203-207.

⁶ A. J. Minnis, "Discussions of 'Authorial Role' and 'Literary Form' in Late-Medieval Scriptural Exegesis," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* [Tübingen] 99 (1977) 37-65.

⁷ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 300-301; Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy*, 11-14. The concept of *duplex sensus litteralis* was launched into use by Nicholas of Lyra, see 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) 4-5.

⁸ Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy*, 22-66; Minnis, "Authorial Intention," 13-16, 24-27.

⁹ Minnis, "Authorial Intention," 17-18.

enough space; the genre required a spiritual interpretation.¹⁰ In any case, it was impossible to work with the Bible without a hermeneutic effort, especially when the human author of the Scripture obviously dispenses his ideas with the help of metaphors.¹¹ According to Christel Meier, in the late Middle Ages, allegory left its exclusive place in the framework of specialised biblical hermeneutics and found its field of application in the sphere of moralisation. Thereby a fondness developed for allegories of “everyday life” and for allegorisation of the objects of natural world.¹² Friedrich Ohly tellingly summarised the theoretical assumptions of such an approach.¹³ For medieval interpreters, a word has two levels, on which it yields its sense: on the first, it refers to the denoted thing; on the second, that thing itself becomes a source of additional meanings, that is, spiritual meanings which stem from its individual qualities. The task of interpretation then is to determine from the context, which quality of the denoted thing is the determining one in the given place, and establishes the correct meaning of the used word. The engineering of the allegory that is used in the interpretation of the Scripture, moreover, differs from the structuring of allegorical poetry. While the aim of the “synthetic allegory” – for instance, personification – is to illustrate an abstract idea – that is, the author starts from the given meaning and seeks objects for its illustration – *allegoria facti*, on the contrary, attributes to the Scriptural text and to objects of the real world, to which the former refers, figurative or metaphorical meanings, and aims at their deciphering.¹⁴

The area of explicating the spiritual arms, with which we shall be preoccupied in this study, has to do with the allegory *ad aedificandam fidem*, which has functioned in Christianity for many a century. The appropriate biblical loci about the shield or the armour plate of faith were already noted by St. Augustine, when in *De doctrina christiana* (III, 37) he pondered over the explication of ambiguous figurative signs (*signa translata ambigua*). Nevertheless, it is useful to note, how the allegorical construction was used in the subsequent exegeses of this passage. St. Paul in the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians expresses the abstract idea of the spiritual struggle as a moral imperative, with the help of “synthetic” allegory of arms.¹⁵ His medieval exegetes, in an effort to interpret the biblical text, develop the

¹⁰ Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture,” in *Ad litteram. Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr. (Notre Dame and London, 1992) 165-198, speaks on p. 176, about the “supremacy of the moral sense” in preaching.

¹¹ According to Thomas Aquinas the allegory belonged to the human world: from God’s standpoint everything is literally obvious. For people, however, where the literal form, written down by a human author, differs from the intention of the Holy Spirit, the allegorical explanation must be given; see Minnis, “Authorial Intention,” 4-5.

¹² Christel Meier, “Wendepunkte der Allegorie im Mittelalter: Von der Schrifthermeneutik zur Lebenspraktik,” in *Neue Richtungen* 39-64, here 63.

¹³ Friedrich Ohly, “Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 89 (1959) 1-23.

¹⁴ I am adopting the terminology from Thomas Cramer, “Allegorie und Zeitgeschichte. Thesen zur Begründung des Interesses an der Allegorie im Spätmittelalter,” in *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie*, ed. Walter Haug (Stuttgart, 1979) 266.

¹⁵ Eph 6:10ff: “De cetero, fratres, confortamini in Domino et in potentia virtutis eius. (11) Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli: (12) quoniam non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae in caelestibus. (13) Propterea accipite armaturam Dei,

figurative meaning of the utilised metaphors; therefore, they use the construction of “factual” allegory [*faktické alegorie*]. The things, denoted by the Apostle’s words – in this case, parts of armament – refer by their qualities to further meanings. Exegesis, therefore, seeks comparable or, if possible, coinciding qualities of *significans* (arms) and *significatum* (virtues that Paul had in mind).¹⁶

By the early fifteenth century the Christian tradition had managed to create a rich treasury of explications of the spiritual arms. Moreover, the military metaphor offered an opportunity to utilise, for the vividness of explication, personal experiences from contemporary wars.¹⁷ The external world, of course, entered the treatises and sermons through injecting contemporary social and political aspects into the explication. The biblical ideal, in a repeated interpretation by scholars, became the object of feedback from the social reality.¹⁸ Therefore, it is necessary to ask to what extent the exegetical tradition limited the field for the Scriptural explication by the Bohemian reformers, and how much latitude they enjoyed for directing their efforts toward their contemporary purposes. This requires establishing the literary horizon and the exegetical tools of the authors of commentaries at the University of Prague, as well as outside the academy. It also requires an attempt to estimate the meaning of inter-textual references, as well as the extra-literary realities for the creation of metaphors, and for their explication. We still lack detailed research on the exegetical approaches and allegorisation of Scripture in the late medieval Bohemia.¹⁹ The metaphors of the spiritual struggle represent only a small part of the total picture; nevertheless, their investigation can shed partial light on the question of a general character.

ut possitis resistere in die malo, et in omnibus perfecti stare. (14) State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate et induti lorica iustitiae (15) et calceati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis, (16) in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere. (17) Et galeam salutis assumite et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.“ See also Rom 13:11ff.: “Et hoc scientes tempus: quia hora est iam nos de somno surgere. Nunc enim propior est nostra salus, quam cum credidimus. (12) Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquavit. Abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis. (13) Sicut in die honeste ambulemus: non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudiciis, non in contentione et aemulatione, (14) sed induamini Dominum Jesum Christum, et carnis curam ne feceritis in desideris.”

¹⁶ The arms of the spiritual struggle as res significantes are analysed in detail by Andreas Wang, *Der ‘Miles Christianus’ im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit* (Bern and Frankfurt/M., 1975) 39-104.

¹⁷ This was illustrated on the example from Pierre-aux-Bœufs, a preacher in northern France, by Hervé Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Age (1350-1520)* (Paris, 1988) 540-546.

¹⁸ This was shown by John Van Engen, “‘God is no Respector of Persons’: Sacred Texts and Social Realities,” in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages. Essays presented to Margaret Gibson*, eds. Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London and Rio Grande, 1992) 243-264.

¹⁹ The often cited article by Jaroslav Kadlec, “Die Bibel im mittelalterlichen Böhmen,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 39 (1964) 89-109, is important mainly on the level inventorying the basis in sources. There are only isolated attempts to fit the exegesis of the Bohemian reformers into the context of the preceding tradition, see Amedeo Molnár, “Písmo v rukou scholastiků. Poznámka o předhusitské biblické exegesi,” [Scripture in the hands of scholastics. A note on pre-Hussite biblical exegesis] *Křesťanská revue* 20 (1953) 175-180.

The Foundation of the Literary Method: The Homiletical Preparations of Jan Hus

Preachers and exegetes could encounter our biblical passages either during a systematic homiletical explication of Paul's Epistles, or in their particular place within the liturgical year: chapter six of the Epistle to the Ephesians on the Twenty-First Sunday after Trinity, and chapter thirteen of the Epistle to the Romans on the First Sunday of Advent. A glance over the homiletical work of Jan Hus shows that a standard method was available for the organisation of contents. With its help, it was possible to create both the formal structure, and the basis of theological argumentation, that is, of authorities that were to support the explication. The Scripture served as the basis of both the formal and the substantive structure of the explication; in the former instance, it was a guide for the division of the sermon (if the preacher chose the form of the so-called thematic sermon); in the latter instance, it provided guidance by means of verbal and theological associations.

The Epistle of the First Sunday of Advent, "*Abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis, sicut in die honeste ambulemus,*" was an outright invitation to a tripartite articulation of the preacher's oration. So it was in the university sermons of Hus and Jakoubek of Stříbro. The concluding part of the preaching preparation for the First Sunday of Advent in Hus's collection, *Postilla adumbrata*, of course, has only a bipartite articulation: the last two parts are joined into one.²⁰ The reason for this is Hus's cogitation about the meaning of the word *sicut*. If it was a matter of a conjunctive expression of two words (*sic* and *ut*), the Apostle's words would not have the form of a triple exhortation. Instead, *honesta ambulatio*, would be the consequence of putting on the luminous armament, so that it would be appropriate to discuss the excerpt in only two paragraphs.²¹ The principle of arranging the authorities for the individual distinctions of the text is partially revealed by the briefly sketched preparation of the sermon, *Confortamini in domino*. The selection of material for the distinctions²² focused on the qualities of the enemy in the spiritual struggle – the devil. To each of them, Hus adds segments of the pericope itself, other verses from Scripture, and plentiful citations from the Gloss, which determine the primary deciphering of the metaphors.²³ The mechanism of the associative construction of the text is also demonstrated by the first Advent sermon in the winter part of *Leccionarium bipartitum*. We can follow how the individual expressions evoked, in the mind of the user of the Gloss, additional biblical or patristic passages.²⁴ Thus a network of authorities was created that could serve as though a substrate of the homiletical explication. The context of the employed biblical citations could also be liturgical. Thus, the sermon for the First Sunday of Advent in Hus's Czech *Postilla* is erected on the relevant Gospel; nevertheless the

²⁰ Jan Hus, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Postilla adumbrata*, MIHO 13: 23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 23. The same in Václav Flajšhans, ed., "M. Io. Hus Sermones in Capella Bethlehem II," *Věstník KČSN* (1939) 3.

²² For this purpose, incidentally, ingeniously designed, manuals existed, see D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars. Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985) 72-77, and Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 49 (1974) 27-37.

²³ Hus, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Postilla adumbrata*, 471-472.

²⁴ "ARMA] virtutes, que sunt arma anime; Eph. 6o: Induite vos armatura Dei," in Jan Hus, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Leccionarium bipartitum. Pars hiemalis*, MIHO 9: 43.

Epistle for that day also appears, and it is provided with an elementary exegesis on the level of an interlinear gloss.²⁵

The foundation of the exegetical method of popular preaching, therefore, rests on conceptual associations, and on the use of the concordance and Gloss.²⁶ The axis of the explication runs in the direction, indicated by sources and authorities, thus selected. The method, which I have attempted to outline, is neither Hus's discovery, nor anything typical of the manner of his work. On the contrary, it is a generally favoured mode of structuring homiletical work, as it developed since the thirteenth century under the influence of the intense upsurge of popular exegesis and homiletics. The medium of the spread of this approach to the subject matter was the homiletical collections and manuals, originating in large numbers, especially in the milieu of the University of Paris, and in the academic institutions of the Franciscans. This literature apparently represented the main aid in structuring the sermons, as I have explained so far.²⁷

Popular Exegesis versus Academic Presentations and Polemics

In the popular preaching and in the vernacular forms of religious instructions, this method is combined with an effort to attain an utmost vividness and comprehensibility. The conceptual associations and the traditional explications of the principal metaphors are combined with "materialisation" [*materializace*]: comparison, by means of the most detailed parallels, of the signifying and the signified. Thus, comparisons are highly elaborated and vividness is emphasized in the *Výklad větší* [Larger Explication], in which Hus introduces the Epistle quotation about the spiritual armament, which is connected with the problem of priests' participation in a war. The shield of faith, because of its triangular shape, is, therefore, connected with faith in the Holy Trinity. A similar example is offered by a passage, in which Hus deals with the helmet of salvation: "It would be a foolish warrior, who would refuse to put on the helmet in a terrible fight, or unnecessarily open the visor, while arrows were flying all around; so much more foolish would be a warrior in the spiritual struggle, who abandons hope or alternately accepts or rejects it, if he is not secure on all sides."²⁸

In vernacular writings, designed for pious reading (or listening), Hus popularises ideas and images acquired from his academic work. There, he

²⁵ Jan Hus, *Česká nedělní postila. Vyloženie svatých čtení nedělních*, [Czech Sunday postil. An unfolding of the holy Sunday readings] MIHO 2: 64.

²⁶ For the beginning of biblical concordance, see R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, "The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974) 5-25; about the *Glossa ordinaria*, see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 56-66, and M. T. Gibson, "The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria* in Medieval Exegesis," in: *Ad litteram*, 5-27.

²⁷ The origin and the use of homiletical manuals has been studied, especially for the French milieu of the thirteenth century, see at least the collection: *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval*, eds. Geneviève Hasenohr and Jean Longère (Paris, 1981).

²⁸ "Protož jako by bláznivý bojovník byl, který by přielbice nechtěl vzieti na se v hrozném boji a neb otevřel nánosek bez potřeby, ano všudy šípi letie, tak a viece bláznivý jest bojovník v duchoviem boji, kterýž od naděje odpadá neb ji snímá u vóli a neb otvierá, když na všechny strany pevné nemá." In Jan Hus, *Výklady* [Commentaries] MIHO 1: 229-230.

proceeds less vividly, but more systematically.²⁹ Certain approaches to the analysis of metaphors, of course, recur in several of Hus's different works. It is the case with connecting the sword of God's Word with the homiletical office. In the university sermon, *Abiciamus opera tenebrarum* (1404), this motif is used for the exhortation of future preachers.³⁰ Explications, written eight years later, already date to the period of the grand conflicts of Hus's entourage with the hierarchy, among other matters, concerning the prohibition of preaching in chapels. The emphasis of the same passage about the spiritual sword now shifts into the realm of criticism of those priests, who interfere with the use of the spiritual sword: "And they also are preventing this sword from being unsheathed against sin, when they are preventing the speaking of truth, and the preaching of God's Word, by which their bloody sins are hacked."³¹

Likewise, in the polemic, *Contra octo doctores*, Hus directed his explication against the right of the clergy to engage in, or to call for, military actions. The treatise challenged those theologians, who backed up John XXIII's bull of indulgences, designed to finance a crusade. Although the Gratian's *Decretum* acknowledges the bishops' power and duty to defend the Church, according to Hus, this does not mean the permission of physical warfare; the bishops are to defend their sheep with spiritual weapons, according to the Epistle to the Ephesians.³² A similar purpose is served by the argumentation about spiritual armament in Hus's treatise, *Quaestio de cruciata*, composed in the same context as the polemic, *Contra octo doctores*. The critique of the curia escalates, in the conclusion of the *quaestio*, all the way to an open revolt. Here, Hus is seeking a logical proof that a Christian not only need not obey the Pope's unjust commands, but he is actually bound to resist them. He states: "Resistere non solum non est peccatum, sed est preceptum, cum dicat Apostolus ad Eph. 6^o: 'Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias dyaboli'..."³³

As far as university or synodal sermons were concerned, it was not difficult to compose an explication of the spiritual arms – that is, the Christian virtues – as an encouragement for good priests, or as a critique of bad ones. In the sermon, *Abiciamus*, Hus connected the deeds of darkness with ignorance, and he sought the source of the shining armament, to the contrary, in the realm of the learned: "opera tenebrarum causat ignorancia et arma lucis causat vera sciencia."³⁴ The same is the case in Hus's synodal sermon, *State succincti* (1407).³⁵ The text opens with a systematic comparison of the function of clergy in society to that of warriors in the army. The clergy are to lead an entire array into the spiritual battle, and, therefore, they need effective weapons. Their position in the first line carries a

²⁹ The Czech-language *Výklady*, in speaking of the spiritual armaments, omit, for instance, the exegesis of the belt of chastity, while in the treatise, *Contra octo doctores*, the explication of the six pieces of armour, although more concise, is nevertheless, more complete.

³⁰ Hus, in a direct connection with Eph 6:17, interprets the sermon as an *arma invasiva*, see Jan Hus, *Positiones, recommendationes, sermones*, ed. Anežka Schmidtová (Prague, 1958) 108.

³¹ Hus, *Výklady*, 231.

³² Jan Hus, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica*, MIHO 22:480-482.

³³ Jan Hus, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Questiones* MIHO 19a = CCCM 205:153.

³⁴ Hus, *Positiones*, 100.

³⁵ *Ioannis Hus et Hieronymi Pragensis confessorum Christi Historia et monumenta* (Nuremberg, 1558), II: ff. 32r-36v. I also wish to call attention to the digitalized form of this work, available as <http://knihomol.phil.muni.cz/cd/>.

special responsibility also because of the disastrous consequences of its faltering. Desertions from the front line cause confusion in the lines that follow; the defeat of the first wave, prevents the advance of the second wave.³⁶ The military allegory then continues with the explication of the spiritual belt, armour, and footgear.

Jakoubek also utilized the motif of the spiritual armament in several of his *sermones ad clericum*.³⁷ His sermon of 28 July 1410, known as *Defensio Decalogi*, is a defense of Wyclif's treatise, *De mandatis*, which had been condemned to burning by the Archbishop of Prague. The book, however, according to Jakoubek, contains evangelical truth, and that needs to be defended even in a conflict. While the spiritual struggle, in the sense of opposition to sin, was understood as an obligation of every Christian, as far as intellectual disputes with the despoilers of Christ's truth were concerned, those remained the preserve of university schoolmen. Exactly in this connection, Jakoubek recalls the words of St. Paul, which exhort to putting on the divine armour.³⁸

It is evident that the status of texts, and a regard for the presumed public, influenced the accent of the exegetical methods in the writings of the various genre categories. The emphasis of the vernacular explications on an easily accessible presentation, and on a pedagogical contribution, led, on the one hand, to the crafting of illustrative metaphors and, on the other hand, to a predilection for perennial moral themes. The academic literature could yield from its essence not only more abstract material, but also one, tied up with the quotidian debates.

Jakoubek's Homiliary: *Postilla super Epistolam ad Ephesios 'De cetero fratres'*

With the sharpening of the conflict between the Bohemian reformers and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the militant, or even militaristic, rhetoric connected with the explication of Ephesians 6 was being conspicuously thrust forward. The most extensive writings of Jakoubek on this theme stem from the period shortly before the outbreak of the Bohemian religious wars. It was, perhaps, a sequential homiletic explication of Paul's Epistles in the Bethlehem Chapel that had brought him by 1418 to the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The sole manuscript of sermons on this biblical passage (Eph 6:10-19) is contained in MS Vienna, ÖNB 4937.³⁹ The document is as yet unpublished and virtually unknown, despite the fact that František Bartoš had already noted its importance for the comparison with Petr Chelčický's treatise, *O boji duchovním* [On Spiritual Struggle].⁴⁰ Considering the

³⁶ Historia et monumenta, fol. 32r.

³⁷ Pavel Soukup, "Rytíři ducha na pražské univerzitě. Jakoubkovo kázání Abiciamus opera tenebrarum," [The Knights of the Spirit at the University of Prague. Jakoubek's lecture Abiciamus opera tenebrarum] in *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník příspěvků věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi*, eds. Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (Prague, 2004) 413-431.

³⁸ "Propterea et hanc pugnam spiritualem atque invisibilem pugnaturi spiritualia arma et invisibilia tela componite et induite vos..." see Jan Sedlák, "Husův pomocník v evangeliu II," [Hus's helper in Gospel, II] *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým 2* (1914-1915) 317.

³⁹ Ff. 11r-26r. Manuscript study in Vienna was supported by grant no. KJB 8009301 from the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

⁴⁰ A detailed comparison remains as a task for the future; here I shall concentrate only on the metaphors of the spiritual struggle. In fact, even the origin of the homiletic explication will have to be assessed anew, as well as its connection with the homiliary on 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians of

size, as well as the pastoral orientation, the reader may expect a multitude of metaphors. He will not be disappointed.

The proper explication of the spiritual armour has its starting point in Paul's comparison of virtues to the instruments of physical warfare: "ideo hic iam ponit sextuplicia arma comparando ea ad arma belli corporalis."⁴¹ The imagery relating to the armour of justice is particularly rich. According to Jakoubek, justice is of two kinds: the false one of the Antichrist, and the true one of God, and each of the two antagonists has its own protective cuirass.⁴² As the armour is composed of many strips, so the Antichrist's justice is formed by the multitude of papal decrees. The critique of the legislative practice of the Roman curia is another specimen of presentism in a sermon, couched in the traditional scheme of explication. The logic of an explication, erected on the verbal concordances, led Jakob via the term *lorica* to Apocalypse 9:9 ("et habebant loricas sicut loricas ferreas"), and to the application of the entire chapter up to the verse "et habebant super se regem angelum abyss" (Rev. 9:11). The latter evoked for him the Pope, as the head of the evil ones, in accordance with the then conventional practice of apocalyptic criticism.⁴³

Armour (*lorica*) functions further as a sign in two senses: first, the concept in itself is a signal for attaching additional citations from the Bible or the Glossary; second, it serves as a foundation for metaphors through elaborated similarities between armour and justice. God's justice, according to Jakoubek, is called armour, because it is woven from many virtues and divine commandments, just as the coat of mail is composed of many metal disks.⁴⁴ The parallel of virtue and armour continues with reference to another common quality. It is mandatory to keep integrally all of Christ's commandments and rules, because just as a cuirass that is punctured in one place is useless, so also he "who would stumble in a single commandment, sins against them all."⁴⁵

the former Broumov manuscript (now MS Břevnov Monastery Library 187 held in the National Library, Prague – I owe this information to Jindřich Marek). The extant state of research is noted by Spunar I: 240 no. 651; Rudolf Holinka, "Nová betlemská postila M. Jakoubka ze Stříbra," *Věstník České akademie* 60 (1951) 1-27; František M. Bartoš, *M. Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Husův spolubojovník a obnovitel kalicha* [M. Jakoubek of Stříbro. The comrade-in-arms of Hus and restorer of the Chalice] (Prague, 1939) 19; idem, "Betlemská kázání Jakoubka ze Stříbra z let 1415-6," [Bethlehem lectures of Jakoubek of Stříbro from the years 1415-6] *Theologická příloha Křesťanské revue* 20 (1953) 54; idem, *Dvě studie o husitských postilách* [Two studies on Hussite postils] (Prague, 1955) 12-13. The attribution of this and other homilies on the Epistles to Jakoubek must be considered hitherto tentative. My study, of course, is not concerned with the author's originality and specificity, but rather with the characteristic of the method and literary horizons of various authorial milieus, and the use of the term "author" should be understood in this sense.

⁴¹ MS Vienna ÖNB 4937 f. 18r.

⁴² Ibid., f. 18v.

⁴³ Ibid., ff. 18v-19r.

⁴⁴ "Notandum est de iusticia dei, de qua David: Sacerdotes tui induantur iusticia, quod soli sacerdotes dicunt, dum casulam sive albam induunt. Que iusticia dicitur lorica, quia ex multis virtutibus et preceptis domini est complexa, sicut et lorica ex multis koloček. Dicitur autem iusticia tribuere unicuique quod suum est, deo honorem, respectum maximum et dileccionem super omnia, proximo dare dileccionem eandem sicut seipso diligendo. Iusticia est non solum adultis, sed et parvulis baptismum cum sacramento eukaristie tribuere." Ibid., f. 19r.

⁴⁵ "Illa enim iusticia stat, dum omnes implentur Christi regulas et precepta, quia sicut lorica in uno loco rupta est destructa, sic 'qui offendit in uno', dicit Jacobus in Canonica [Jac 2,10], 'factus est omnium reus.'" Ibid., f. 19r.

The interpretation of the spiritual meaning of the material props in the biblical text had its starting points in three different sources. First of all, it could be the Scripture itself, as Jakoubek notes in the case of the Apostle's "sword of the spirit": "Solus exponit, quod per gladium spiritus scilicet sancti verbum domini significatur."⁴⁶ Another possibility, which I have already explored, was to resort to the standard manuals of the exegetical tradition. Finally, the preacher could unleash his own imagination and idiosyncratically elicit the spirit hidden behind the letter of the Biblical text, particularly if he sought a balanced standpoint toward a ticklish question. After distinguishing between two types of justice, and two types of footwear, Jakoubek proceeds with a similar dichotomy for the sword: "Est multiplex gladius, quidam secularium, quem portant in vindictam malorum, de quo dicit Romanorum 13[:1]:, Omnis potestas a domino deo est, et quia illa potestas est a deo, ideo est ordinata. Huic potestati Christus fuit a iuventute subditus cum suis discipulis, in cuius signum fecit Petro et pro se theloneum dari [Mt 17:26]. Et hec potestas ab omnibus sive sacerdotibus est timenda et honoranda, quamvis deordinationes circa illa currentes, ut voluntas mala, tirrannis, peccata non sunt reverende."⁴⁷ The recognition of the temporal power – superordinate, as in Wyclif, to the spiritual power – of course, does not mean an unqualified endorsement of physical warfare. In fact, besides the physical one there is still another "sword" – the word of God. Once again, the metaphor is based on a physical similarity: the tongue has the shape of a sword and, indeed, it can be used to inflict serious wounds on the devil.⁴⁸ When Jakoubek weighs the possibilities of employing force, he privileges the sword of the word over all the other modes of struggle, and he does so in a manner that recalled his statements in the discussion about warfare in 1419-1420.

Models for Jakoubek's Explication of Spiritual Armour in his Homiliaries

Jakoubek also comes around to deal with the spiritual armour, according to the Epistle to the Ephesians, when he preaches on the Sunday Epistles in a given year. Sermons on this theme can be found in both his Latin collection of Sunday sermons on the Epistles, dated to 1419-1420, and its Czech counterpart, probably from 1422.⁴⁹ The Czech homiliary confirms what was already said about the literary method in homiletic texts. It involves a network of biblical citations, arranged by association, and interconnected by brief introductory passages. Moreover, another significant characteristic of this genre, the numbered distinction, appears here in a particularly clear-cut form. David d'Avray, in his analysis of the template sermons of the thirteenth century, has shown that a symmetrical articulation of subject matter into numbered paragraphs can be considered a typical manner of proceeding in the

⁴⁶ Ibid., f. 22v.

⁴⁷ Loc. cit.

⁴⁸ "Hinc est, quod lingua habet proporcionem gladii, quia plerumque illi, qui sunt membra dyaboli, multos ita vulnerant usque ad lesionem anime sicut cum uno gravi gladio." At this point, Jakoubek could not resist a presentist allusion: "Et contra quemlibet errorem iste gladius est evaginandus, ut quidam, quia dicunt, quod parvuli non sint baptisandi..." Ibid., f. 23v.

⁴⁹ Spunar 1:240 no. 651; 247 no. 678.

homiletical explication.⁵⁰ “The long wave” in the history of mentalities reaches all the way to the fifteenth-century Bohemia, because the “distinction” belongs among the most beloved methods of text construction also among the authors of the Bohemian Reformation.

The sorting of the six Christian weapons in Jakoubek’s Czech homiliary is systematic; it has a marked tendency to focus on the physical characteristics of the objects compared (as it is typical for vernacular writings), and resorts most often to entirely conventional interpretation. Historical circumstance burst forth only in a few places in the sermons. When Jakoubek explicates the passage about “the managers of the world” [*mundi rectores*], this Epistle passage reminds him of the struggle of the Bohemian reformers with the ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁵¹ An echo of the Bohemian wars of religion is heard in the very conclusion of the sermon, where talking about the spiritual sword, Jakoubek comments: “And it is with this sword that the priests should fight, not with the physical one... But now the Pope, the bishops and priests have turned their backs on the spiritual sword and with the physical one are slaying the people.”⁵²

Let us turn to the Latin homily,⁵³ in which the origin of the individual metaphors of the spiritual arms is more interesting than the metaphors themselves. The subtext of the entire sermon is the homiliary on Paul’s Epistles by Nicholas of Gorran. Jakoubek adopts from it not only the comparisons of individual virtues to the qualities of corresponding weapons, but by and large also the entire argumentation, including the references from Scripture, and from the ecclesiastical writers. The extant copies of Bohemian origin indicate that Gorran’s homiliary was available in two versions in Bohemia at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. A continuous explication, according to the lemmas in the sequence of the biblical text, was apparently the more common one.⁵⁴ A copy, arranged according to Epistle pericopes for individual Sundays, however, is also available.⁵⁵

The discovery of the basic source of the sermon, *Fratres confortamini*, from Jakoubek’s homiliary on the Epistles, furnishes another reason for paying special attention to standard exegetical manuals and homiletic aids, as sources of the Bohemian Reformation’s literature. The mendicant schoolmen of the thirteenth

⁵⁰ See d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 251-255.

⁵¹ Published in *Postilla svatě paměti Mistra Jana Husi* [The postil of the pious memory of M. Jan Hus] (s.l., 1564) f. 188r. My citation follows the transcription by Ota Halama for a proposed critical edition. I thank him for his permission to use it.

⁵² “A tím mečem kněží mají bojovati, ale ne tělešným. ... Ale jižť papež, biskupové i kněží meč duchovní jsou zavrhlí a tělešným věrné hubí.” Ibid., f. 191r.

⁵³ I cite according to MS Nový Bydžov, Town Museum, inv. no. 18 (ff. 283v-286v); and I thank Jindřich Marek for copies. In addition, I use MS Prague, NK III F 8 (ff. 123v-127r) which omits certain passages but which contains more exact citations and references. The task of comparison with other manuscripts still lies ahead. For the time being, see Jindřich Marek, “Husitské postily připisované mistru Václavovi z Dráchova,” [The Hussite postils attributed to M. Václav of Dráchova] *Miscellanea ORST* 18 (2003-2004) 97.

⁵⁴ It was published in this form as *Postilla elucidativa et magistralis super Epistolas Pauli Reverendi patris fratris Nicolai de Gorran* (Hagenoae, 1502) = MS Prague, NK 27 F 62. For the second part of the homiliary see MS Prague, NK IV B 22.

⁵⁵ MS Prague, NK IV B 1 ff. 1r-135v; in the explicit marked as “dicta Gorre super epistolas de sanctis Pauli.” This manuscript, however, could not serve as Jakoubek’s direct source, because it lacks some of the passages that Jakoubek adopts from Nicholas of Gorran.

century produced these reference works with the same assiduity, as the preachers of the next two centuries utilized them. The adoption of textual passages may be illustrated by the following quotation from Jakoubek's homiliary: "Induite vos armaturam dei, id est que a solo deo est, armaturam scilicet virtutum. Indumentum exigit honestas, quia turpe est esse nudum in spectaculo; armaturam exigit necessitas, quia periculosum est esse inermem in prelio, et ideo bene dicit: 'Induite vos armaturam dei', quia sumus in spectaculo et in prelio in hoc mundo."⁵⁶ This quotation is taken from Gorran's homiliary; nevertheless, it is affected by a reduction of the original tripartite distinction to a bipartite one.⁵⁷

The question emerges, whether Jakoubek cited Gorran directly or from one of his own earlier writings, as had happened with Hus in the case of William of Auvergne.⁵⁸ Jakoubek's university sermon, *Abiciamus opera tenebrarum*, indeed contains an analogous passage: "induamur arma lucis propter tria, quia sumus in spectaculo, in prelio et in periculo. Ponderosum namque est esse nudum in spectaculo ... periculosum est esse inermem in prelio."⁵⁹ A closer comparison of Jakoubek's sermons with Gorran's writings, however, shows that the migration of motifs was more complicated. First of all, Nicolas's homiliary on Paul's Epistles contains a similar formulation also in the text of the Epistles to the Romans (13:12), and it would be logical to assume that Jakoubek always turned to the corresponding passage in the Bible, on which he was preaching at that point. The matter is, however, still more complicated: Gorran not only used two very similar distinctions in his homiliary on Paul's Epistles, but utilized the same formulation once again in his collection of template sermons, known as *Fundamentum aureum*, and it was exactly from that compendium that Jakoubek took the text for his sermon, *Abiciamus*.⁶⁰ The multiple recycling of what was once written, therefore, this time was not the responsibility of Jakoubek, but of his predecessor. In any case, it appears that medieval authors rarely undertook the exacting work of original composition, if it could be avoided. Jakoubek sought the source for his sermon in manuals according to the pericope, while he paid no attention to how his model processed the entire blocks of the homiletical text.

Metaphors of the Spiritual Armour in the Exegetical Tradition

The example just described raises serious problems concerning the sources from which the early Bohemian Reformation writers drew their metaphors of the spiritual struggle. It appears that their literary horizon may have been much narrower than it would seem at first sight from the spectrum of cited authorities. On the other hand, they used sources hitherto unknown – secondary literature, from which they adopted prefabricated building blocks, including chains of authorities. In any case, every passage in the Bible has had a long exegetical tradition that could not be comprehended without manuals and encyclopaedias. The search for

⁵⁶ MS Nový Bydžov, Town Museum, inv. no. 18 f. 284r; see also MS Prague, NK III F 8 f. 124r

⁵⁷ *Postilla elucidativa* ad Eph 6:11 (unpaginated); see MS Prague, NK IV B 22 f. 66v.

⁵⁸ Anežka Vidmanová, "Hus a Vilém z Auvergne," *Studie o rukopisech* 18 (1979) 29-47.

⁵⁹ MS Prague, NK IV G 6 ff. 46v-47r.

⁶⁰ For more detail, see Soukup, *Rytíři ducha*, 417-420.

immediate literary sources of the individual metaphors of the spiritual struggle can be only the first step on a rather shaky ground, in view of the rather sketchy knowledge of homiletical and exegetical works of the early Bohemian Reformation. Despite these obstacles, it is at least possible to adumbrate the textual sources and, with the help of comparisons, distinguish in a preliminary way the possible approaches to the processing of the subject matter.

I have already followed one of the approaches in the example of Robert Holcot.⁶¹ Overwhelmed by the heritage of antiquity, Holcot devotes more space to ancient warfare than to the pericope itself and to its spiritual explication. The Utraquist parson, Mikuláš Mníšek was, however, interested exactly in the spiritual struggle, as evident from his rubrics, marginalia, and index. Holcot's literary horizon was alien to Utraquist Bohemia and did not appeal to the readership of domestic schoolmen. The same fate afflicted another *comparand*, Peregrin of Opole, whose sermons were favoured elsewhere in Europe.⁶² Peregrin supports his explication, including those of the spiritual weapons, by exempla, and segments of legends and biblical stories.⁶³ Thus, Peregrin's literary method runs contrary to the approaches of the Utraquist masters, who bypass the rich storehouse of exempla – at least as indicated by their texts – and focus on the word of God and its explication at the expense of didactic tales. The perseverant orientation toward the exegesis of the biblical text is another possible approach to the work with Scripture. An example, close in time and space, is the Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, a professor at the University of Vienna and an opponent of the Bohemian Reformation.⁶⁴ The passage concerning chapter 6 is almost entirely composed from segments from the homiliary of Nicholas of Lyra, Lombard's Sentences, and the writings of Haymo of Auxerre. When he had found a reliable and authoritative commentary, Dinkelsbühl did not strive for originality.

It is clearly evident that the Bohemian masters used the same sources for their explications. I am presenting a survey of metaphors that are remarkable thanks to the detailed parallels between the moral meaning and their starting point with the literal text of the Bible. This overview does not claim comprehensiveness, but rather seeks to indicate once more the extent of the materials available to the writers of the era of the Bohemian Reformation. The determining importance of the exegetical tradition is already shown by the first component of the divine armament. The Bible adds *in veritate* to the exhortation *state succincti lumbos*, but traditional explications

⁶¹ On Holcot, see Beryl Smalley, "Robert Holcot O. P.," AFP 26 (1956) 5-97; eadem, *English Friars and the Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960) 133-202.

⁶² *Peregrini de Opole Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, ed. Richardus Tatarzyński (Warsaw, 1997). The spiritual struggle figures in the sermons *Erat quidam regulus* (p. 278-281) and *Induite vos armatura Dei* (on St. George's Day 405-412).

⁶³ Concerning Peregrin's exempla see Thomas Wunsch, "Zur Gestaltung von Predigtexempla aus den 'Sermones de tempore' des Peregrinus von Oppeln," in: *Die Anfänge des Schrifttums in Oberschlesien bis zum Frühhumanismus*, ed. Gerhard Kosellek (Frankfurt/M., 1997) 139-167. Peregrin is situated within the context of Bohemian homiletics by Zdeněk Uhlíř, "Středověké kazatelství v českých zemích: nástin problematiky," [Medieval preaching in Bohemia: the outline of the question] <http://www.nkp.cz/pages/page.php3?page=orst_uhlir_kazatelstvi.htm>, ad n. 99-105.

⁶⁴ See Alois Madre, Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl. Leben und Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur theologischen Literaturgeschichte (Münster, 1965); for the text of the commentary, see the unpublished dissertation: Richard Picker, *Der Epheserbriefkommentar des Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl (1360-1433)* (Vienna, 1963).

connect the belt with chastity. This direction of allegorisation was petrified by the *Glossa ordinaria*; likewise Alain of Lille in his *Distinctiones* has the explication “cingulum proprie castitas.”⁶⁵ Jakoubek in his Epistle homiliaries cites in this place Gregory, most likely by adoption from the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra. *Cingulum continencie*, which Jakoubek uses in distinction from “cingulum castitatis” of the gloss, therefore, may have its origin exactly here.⁶⁶ If we track further the possible origin of metaphors and verbal usage, we discover that Hus uses, instead of *cingulum*, the expression *zona castitatis*, or also *zona sanctimonie*. The origin of the Greek word needs to be evidently sought in Matthew 3:4: “Ipse autem Joannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camelorum et zonam pelliceam circa lumbos suos.” This quotation could not escape attention in the search for passages, on the basis of verbal association, in concordance with the expression *lumbos*.⁶⁷

Standard commentaries also offered a basis for the play on words with the helmet of salvation, and its location on the head.⁶⁸ A similar opportunity was provided by the discs of virtue that composed the coat of mail, *lorica iustitiae*.⁶⁹ The comparison is used by the *Glossa ordinaria* and Haymo, and it can already be found in the commentary of Pseudo-Jerome; a different formulation is in Rabanus who, moreover, introduces the hooks that hold the coat of mail together.⁷⁰ Likewise, Jakoubek’s formulations in the Epistle homiliary apparently derive from the *Postilla* of Lyra, namely: “iusticiam sumite pro lorica, que sicut lorica undique protegit, quia ordinat honorem ad superiorem, ad inferiorem et ad equalem.”⁷¹ On the other hand, we do not find Jakoubek’s image *lorica in uno loco rupta*, nor *circulus infinitus*, introduced in this connection by Hus.⁷²

While such metaphors may be invented specifically by the authors, it is more likely that the sources, from which they were adopted, are not known. It is also confirmed by the explication of the shield of faith. In his homiliary on the Epistles, Jakoubek declares that the shield adorns, protects, and precedes its bearer. The

⁶⁵ PL 210: 740. *Biblia Sacra cum Glossis Interlineari et Ordinaria*, Nicolai Lyrani *Postilla et Moralitatibus, Burgensis Additionibus et Thoringi Replicis* (Lyon, 1545) in Prague, NK 65 B 24, t. VI, f. 97r.

⁶⁶ *Postilla*, ff. 188r-188v; MS Nový Bydžov, f. 285v. Gregorius, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, PL 76, 1123 (see also *Moralia*, PL 76, 191 a 453); *Biblia Sacra cum Glossis* VI, f. 97r.

⁶⁷ The expression *zona circa lumbos* can already be found in connection with the explication of the spiritual armor in Rabanus Maurus: “Joannes zonam pelliceam habebat circa lumbos suos, et non erat de illis immundis...” Maurus, *Ennarationes in epistolas b. Pauli*, PL 112: 473.

⁶⁸ Hus, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica* 481; MS Vienna, ÖNB 4937 f. 21v; MS Nový Bydžov f. 286r (MS Prague, NK III F 8 f. 126v); Petr Chelčický, *Drobné spisy*, [Lesser texts] ed. Eduard Petrů (Prague, 1966) 86. See also *Biblia Sacra cum Glossis* VI, 97v; Haymo, *Expositio in divi Pauli epistolas*, PL 117: 734.

⁶⁹ *Postilla*, fol. 189r. *De cetero fratres*, see n. 44 above. The imagery was also used by Chelčický, *Drobné spisy* 77.

⁷⁰ *Glossa ordinaria*, PL 114: 600; Haymo, *Expositio in divi Pauli epistolas*, PL 117: 733; *Commentarii in epistolas Pauli*, PL 30: 840 (see also *Clavis patrum latinorum*, n. 952). Rabanus Maurus, *Ennarationes in epistolas b. Pauli*, PL 112: 473

⁷¹ MS. Nový Bydžov f. 285v. See also *Biblia Sacra cum Glossis* VI, f. 97r: “Sicut enim lorica operit corpus undique, sic iusticia reddit debitum unicuique.” The chain of echoes can be followed back through Hugh of St Cher, *Postilla super Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios*, in: *Opus admirabile*, v. 7 (Venice, 1703) f. 179rb; Hervaeus Burgidolensis (Hervaeus of Bourg Dieu / Déols) *Commentaria in epistolas Pauli*, PL 181: 1276.

⁷² “Sicut enim lorica ferrea undique concatenatur circulis, sic iusticia in suo genere concatenatur secundum lineam longitudinalem et latitudinalem, secundum rationem circuli infiniti, scilicet Dei.” *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica*, 481; concerning Jakoubek see note 45 above.

verbatim source of this phrase is the Epistle homiliary of Nicholas of Gorran, but its own precedents stretch to Augustine (cited in the *Glossa*) and even to Haymo.⁷³ Among the Bohemian reformers, the authors most often connect the image of the shield with the Holy Trinity.⁷⁴ Glosses inspired this by their interpretation of faith as *fides rerum invisibilium*.⁷⁵ The Trinitarian interpretation is connected with another, much less accessible tradition and, therefore, it cannot be considered an original product of university exegesis in Prague. A parallel can be found in the work of Hugh of St Cher: “Fides dicitur scutum, quia scutum unum est, et est triangulum: ita fides est de unitate substantiae et Trinitate personarum, et triplex secundum tres vires...”⁷⁶

On the whole, it can be said that glosses and homiliaries determined the basic direction of the explication of the spiritual struggle by the Prague masters. These authors could find there the detailed comparisons, which were then elaborated with the help of other exegetical traditions. It seems clear that the immediate sources of Prague university literature need to be sought in later summae and compendia rather than in patristic literature. The large part of applied scholarly literature which was used by the Prague’s masters remains hidden in manuscripts and early printed books. This is not to say that there was no original contribution and invention by authors involved in the Bohemian Reformation. These academically trained preachers undoubtedly had their own thoughts about vividness of biblical metaphors and about making them accessible to the public. It seems, however, that in their minds’ eyes there were rather stereotypical devotional images and they failed to draw upon the abundant military reality abundant all around them. It is to say that their literary horizon was of decisive importance. Although it enabled a presentist expression, nevertheless, on the whole, it limited the space in which the imagination of these writers could operate. This will become particularly clear in confrontation with the writings of authors with a different intellectual hinterland: the radicals of the Bohemian Reformation, and Petr Chelčický.

Discussions of the Permissibility of War and the Chiliastic Explication of *arma Dei*

The explication, application, and authority of Scripture were the central themes for the thinkers of the Bohemian Reformation. At the moment, when the conflict over the Bohemian interpretation of the word of God led to military encounter, the explications of the spiritual struggle also definitely shifted from the

⁷³ Glossa ordinaria: “Augustinus: Fides est scutum, sub quo tuta est justitia, sicut sub munimine omnium virtutum. Quod protenditur ante omnia arma, quod prius impugnat diabolus.” *Biblia Sacra cum Glossis* VI, f. 97v; “Sicut ergo scutum se tenentem protegit et tela repellit, ita fides hominem munit, et ab eo diaboli jacula et infestationes repellit, ita tamen si fuerit bonis operibus adornata.” See Haymo, *Expositio in divi Pauli epistolas*, PL 117: 734.

⁷⁴ Hus, *Výklady* 229-230; idem, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica* 481; MS Vienna, ÖNB 4937, f. 20v; *Postilla*, f. 190r.

⁷⁵ Glossa interlinearis: “sumentes scutum fidei] fidem rerum, quas non videmus”. Lyra: “Sumentes scutum fidei, quae est substantia sperandarum rerum,” *Biblia Sacra cum Glossis* VI, f. 97v.

⁷⁶ *Opus admirabile* VII, f. 179rb.

realm of morality to the sphere of sharp political debate. There are numerous accounts of the reformers' debates from the years 1419-1420 whether communities, governed by the Gospel, are permitted to engage in military violence.⁷⁷ For our purposes, it is of interest that the opinions of Prague university masters concerning the war issue contained references to the spiritual armaments in Ephesians 6.⁷⁸

Jakoubek reacted to the burning issue of violence with a typically structured explication. First of all, he put forward the ideal of spiritual struggle, connected with self-improvement, patience, and martyrdom. In the second place, he admitted, albeit with reservations – which were aimed at the radicals – also physical struggle, and enumerated the conditions that had to be met. As a rule, in the first section (*primus modus* or *via bellandi*) we then find reference to the spiritual armament. So it is in the university opinion of 17 February 1420 and similarly in Jakoubek's treatise, *Noverint universi*.⁷⁹ The citation is used in an explicitly polemical context in the letter against the chiliasts. Jakoubek here opposes the campaign of radical preachers, who exhort their adherents to violence: “communis populus arripit carnalia et secularia arma, concitatus per sacerdotes, ut scribitis, contra inimicos, ubi agitur periculum homicidii et effusionis sanguinis et odia generantur, per que exciditur a caritate, obmittendo arma spiritualia, de quibus Eph. vi.”⁸⁰

The teaching of the rural preachers in the chiliastic campaign is known to us only at second hand. A sermon, ascribed to Jan Želivský, may serve as an example of the opposite utilization of the Apostle's statement about the spiritual weapons. The preacher proceeds according to the conventional method of verbal concordances, but he brings his explication to rather different consequences. In his sermon of 23 April 1419, he connects the citation of Eph 6:16 (about the shield of faith) with an explanation that the one who has faith is born from God and as such will be victorious (1 Jn 5:4). It is, of course, obvious that he is also thinking about military warfare: “Bellando pro sua veritate, bellum licitum habentes, possunt secure bellare.” The reference to *bellum licitum*, however, does not serve as an opportunity for pondering the conditions for just warfare, nor is the biblical *vincit mundum* utilized for an explication of the spiritual struggle, as Jakoubek would probably have done. The “shield of faith” of the Epistle is simply taken as signifying that true faith guarantees victory: “Sic pugnabat Moyses habens causam licitam et ideo vicit. ... Ideo populus Dei, si vult habere adiutorium et benedictionem a Domino, servet eius precepta.”⁸¹ To make the long story short, it is a straightforward concept of a preacher who is close to the immediate engagement of priests in governmental, political, and military undertakings.

⁷⁷ For information, see Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967) 310-329 and František Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, trans. Thomas Krzenck, ed. Alexander Patschovsky, 3 vv (Hannover, 2002) 2:1041-1051, with additional bibliography.

⁷⁸ For Jakoubek's *Ad bellum* see: Pavel Soukup, “Dobývání hradu Skály v roce 1413 a husitská teorie války. Ke spisku Jakoubka ze Stříbra o duchovním boji,” [The conquest of Skala castle in 1413 and Hussite theory of war. Concerning the text of Jakoubek of Stříbro on spiritual warfare] *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 9 (2003) 207.

⁷⁹ František M. Bartoš, “Do čtyř pražských artykulů. Z myšlenkových i ústavních zápasů let 1415-1420,” [Towards the Four Articles of Prague. From the intellectual and institutional struggles of the years 1415-1420] *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám města Prahy* 5 (1932) 578; Kaminsky, *A History*, 526.

⁸⁰ Kaminsky, *A History*, 521.

⁸¹ Jan Želivský, *Dochovaná kázání z roku 1419* [Preserved sermons from the year 1419], ed. Amedeo Molnár (Prague, 1953) 1:56.

The previously mentioned presentist potential of homiletical explications made possible a plurality of opinions about the spiritual and military struggle at the beginning of the Bohemian religious wars. The Taborite concept of war, which originated in a milieu pregnant with eschatological imagery, attracted repeated, and yet intense, polemical sallies from Jakoubek's side. The extreme chiliastic variant of the sacred war, which was to accomplish the annihilation of the material world at the end of time (allotted for its existence) stood unambiguously outside the interpretational field which Jakoubek was willing to accept for the explication of apocalyptic texts. He also broached the war question in innumerable places of his *Výklad na Zjevení* [An Explication of the Book of Revelation].

The spiritual weapons of the Epistle to the Ephesians have turned here into criteria of respect for the rules of Christian warfare, stemming from a tradition going back to Augustine. The struggle has to spring from love for the opponent and be aimed at a destruction of the sin to which the enemy had succumbed: "God's side has to have love, faith, and grace for the conversion of the enemies, so that they would pray faithfully, perform contrition, and put on the spiritual armour of which the Apostle speaks to the Ephesians. Therefore, let the preacher beware that he does not approve the struggles of those people, who do not possess love, and who are not led by the Spirit of God, but by the spirit of the dragon." The metaphor of spiritual struggle here abandons the field of virtues and vices, and becomes a matter of politics, a prop for the internal polemics within the Bohemian Reformation. Jakoubek sees the advent of the demonic spirits: "to clerical functionaries, that is, preachers, and also to lay people, in order to gather them for struggle and conflict, as well as for schism and apostasy from the truth."⁸²

All of Jakoubek's examples of the spiritual struggle, although presented with the help of naturalistic military comparisons, were meant to signify the struggle against sin. At the time of the prevalence of the Four Articles, including the punishment of mortal sins in this world, there re-emerged the problem of the justified use of force within a community that claimed to live according to the Gospel. It was not an easy task for Jakoubek to explain his standpoint, balancing between the death penalty and the struggle against temptation. He opens with a citation from Jeremiah (48:10): "'Cursed is he who does the Lord's work carelessly. Cursed is he who keeps his sword away from blood,'" and Jakoubek continues: "that is, from sin. Prague has obligated itself to stop sins and to slay the beast with all its heads. The saints exposed themselves to their very death in order to stop sins... Therefore, there is a need for spiritual armaments if we are to struggle against the beast. About which in Ephesians 6..."⁸³

Biblical citation could, however, acquire a completely different sense. This is evident from the use of the statement concerning the bloody sword in one of the so-called erroneous articles, put together from the programme of suppressed chiliastic

⁸² "k zprávcóm duchovním, to jest k kazatelúom, i k světským, aby shromáždili je k boji a k sváru a k roztržení a k odstúpení od pravdy." Jakoubek ze Střibra, *Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana*, [Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John] ed. František Šimek 2 vv (Prague, 1932-1933) 2:42.

⁸³ " 'Zlořečený, ktož činí dielo Páně nedbálnivě', cituje autor Jeremiáše 48,10. "'Zlořečený, ktož zbraňuje meči svému od krve,' totiž hříecha. K tomuť se jest Praha zavázala, aby tak hříechové stavování byli a šelmu s jejími hlavami aby zabíjeli. Světí až na smrt se vydávali, hříechy stavující. ... Protož by potřebie bylo zbroje duchovnie, majíce bojovati proti šelmě. O kteréž Efez. Vlo. ..." Jakoubek, *Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana*, 1:515.

radicals. We can look here for mediated thoughts of those preachers whom Jakoubek assaulted in his letters against chiliasm and in the *Výklad na Zjevení*. Tacitly leaning on Exodus 32:29 and specifically on Jeremiah 48:10, these radicals allegedly proclaimed: “Item quod in hoc tempore ulcionis quilibet fidelis est maledictus, qui gladium suum prohibet a sanguine adversariorum legis Christi in propria persona corporaliter fundendo, sed quod debet quilibet fidelis manus suas lavare in sanguine inimicorum Christi...”⁸⁴ The biblical quotations, within the list of the heretical articles, lack the context of the literary tradition into which the university masters tended to encase them. Yet, both key quotations from the Old Testament are found together in Jakoubek’s sermon, *De cetero fratres*. In the year 1418, Jakoubek already explicitly called attention to the figurative moral meaning of the harsh images which, according to him, referred exclusively to the struggle against sin. It was the sword of the word of God that Moses commanded his faithful to take up for the vengeance on the worshippers of the golden calf:⁸⁵

“Et accenserunt filii Levi, quibus multos occidentibus ait: ‘Sacrificastis manus vestras’ [Ex 32,26-29]. Moyses est lex domini, sicut dicitur Luce [16:29]: ‘Habent Moysen’, id est legem. Lex igitur domini facit sumere gladium verbi domini contra ydolatrias, qui sunt avari, gulosi etc., qui sunt occidendi, non in esse vero, sed peccati etc. Sic occidens sacrificat manus suas, id est opera. Item Jeremie 48 [10]: ‘Maledictus, qui facit opus domini negligenter’, ut sunt negligenter sine recollacione orantes. Timeant, ne sint maledicti! Et eciam, qui faciunt opera misericordie cum murmure. ‘Et maledictus, qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine’, id est peccato, verbo scilicet domini, quod est gladius [Eph 6:17], peccatum non occidendo.”

Both the sword and the bloodied hands here have figurative spiritual meaning. The chiliasts, however, took these metaphors literally, interpreted them *in esse*, exactly in the way that Jakoubek rejected. When he was refuting in *Výklad na Zjevení* the Taborites’ erroneous articles, he returned once more to this theme: “Item [the chiliasts proclaimed] that priests in person should engage in physical warfare, fighting with their own body, as had happened in many cases; and that is against Christ – his words, life and example – as well as against the teaching of his saints. The Apostle says: ‘Put on the armour of God’. Again: ‘Our armaments are not physical.’ Many, allegedly from God, urged to physical armaments, and admonished others and rested their hopes in physical armaments, not spiritual ones.”⁸⁶

Thus, the metaphors of the spiritual struggle gained a new relevance with the outbreak of the Bohemian wars of religion. The university schoolmen and priests lost their monopoly of explicating the word of God. The biblical statements, hitherto

⁸⁴ FRB 5: 454. The version of the articles in Old Czech coincides completely with Ex 32:29: “Item, lay as well as clerical people are duty bound to consecrate their hands through the blood of the evil ones. Item, cursed is he, who keeps his sword from shedding the human blood of the enemies of God.” [*Item i světští i duchovní lidé povinni jsú rukú svých v krvi zlých posvěcovati. Item ten jest zlořečený, ktož svému meči zabraňuje krve prolévati tělesné božích nepřátel.*] AČ 3: 219.

⁸⁵ MS Vienna, ÖNB 4937 ff. 23r-23v.

⁸⁶ “Item [hlásali chiliasté], aby osobně kněžie války vedli tělesné vedlé těla bojujice, jakož jest to vidíno na mnohých; a to jest proti Kristu, čtení, životu, příkladu jeho a naučení i svatých jeho. Protož pokání mnozí mají činiti z povolenie a ponuknutie k vodění tělesnému. Apoštol die: ‘Vezměte vodění božie’. Opět: ‘Naše vodění nejsau tělesná.’ Mnozí od Boha k vodění tělesnému ponaukali a napomínali jiné a naději položili v tom odění tělesném, ne duchovním.” Jakoubek, *Výklad na Zjevení*, 1:528.

understood in a long tradition as figurative, ceased to be metaphors in the hands of the radicals. These statements now could stand outside the canonical tradition of interpretation to which the university scholars had been attached. They could acquire different meaning with unexpected consequences for public life. The moderate masters felt obliged to react against them polemically. The spiritual armour of the Epistle to the Ephesians thus had turned into real weaponry in the literary struggle with the chiliastic interpretation of war and of the entire world.

Exegesis Outside the University Purview: Petr Chelčický's *O boji duchovním*

At the start of the 1420s, a disgust about the military pandemonium also brought Chelčický to the writing desk. Standing at the beginning of his literary activity, the treatise *O boji duchovním* [About the Spiritual Struggle] dates probably to the early spring of 1421. Like Jakoubek's sermon of three years earlier, *De cetero fratres*, it is an explication of the Epistle to the Ephesians 6:10-20. Chelčický in his exegetical method perpetuates the tradition of the Bohemian reformers to rely on the text of Scripture itself, rather than on exempla, or secular learned literature. In any case, university learning remained largely inaccessible to Petr, who was not schooled in Latin. Although he was familiar with the main directions of the canonical explications, he did not have at his disposal a library of reference literature, and he did not cite it. If his presentation was in harmony with the traditional explication in any given instance, then he apparently accepted it at second hand from vernacular literature, with which he worked.⁸⁷

In compensation, Petr ponders deeply the verbatim text of the Bible, and earnestly wrestles with every expression in Paul's Epistle. The words, "*nenie vám bojovanie proti tělu a krvi,*" establishing the concept of the spiritual struggle, are for Chelčický – as for the other exegetes – the starting point of interpretation. Nevertheless, Petr feels the need to exclude the possibility of a wrong explication first of all. It is not permissible to understand the given verse, as if it prohibited a struggle with one's own corporeality, that is, with temptation.⁸⁸ There are two reasons for the appearance of such a non-standard excursus in Petr's disquisition. First, the fluid intellectual milieu, at the start of the religious wars, opened up the field for a diversity of religious opinions, including hitherto unheard-of errors; and Petr wished to stem this tide.⁸⁹ Second, Petr worked with the Scriptural text denuded from the traditional exegetical apparatus and, therefore, the text itself became paramount and every single word of the Law of God gained in gravity.

⁸⁷ Eager, however, not to neglect anything, Petr, quite consciously, employs all the metaphors, known to him. It is evident from the following formulation: "A že nohy duchovníe všickni vykládajie a vypravujie, že sú žádosti, aby duomyslem obuté, byly podlé čtenie v pravdu uvedeny a skrze pravdu čtenie zkroceny." [And that all the spiritual feet explain and tell that they yearn to be shod in wit, introduced into the truth through reading, and tamed through the reading of the truth.] Chelčický, *Drobné spisy* 77. For valuable notes on Petr's literary craft, see Jaroslav Boubín, *Petr Chelčický. Myslitel a reformátor* [Petr Chelčický: Thinker and reformer] (Prague, 2005) 65-73; see also Eduard Petřů, "K metodě myšlení Petra Chelčického," [Towards the method of the thought of Petr Chelčický] *Listy filologické* 93 (1970) 120-127.

⁸⁸ Chelčický, *Drobné spisy*, 32.

⁸⁹ Petr warns in several places against erroneous interpretation of the Bible, see *ibid.*, 32, 81, 90.

Thus, Chelčický, even more than his precursors, seeks similarities between the qualities of the spiritual armour and the virtues, which they symbolise. This leads to a vividness of explication, many details, and a large share of original comparisons and parallels. He does not cease to strive for interpretation that would be comprehensible to every Christian: “Therefore he says: ‘Take unto you the whole armour of God,’ as if he meant, ‘Another armour has no use, neither coat nor plate of iron; he does not care about them.’ Because he who puts on that armour, wishing to fight, him he more easily conquers, than one who is without the armour.”⁹⁰

The method of Chelčický’s work with metaphors is best understood from his explication of the verse “*state succincti lumbos.*” Petr examines every word separately; first of all he focuses on standing, and analyses why the Apostle commands to stand: “because in battle a man cannot lie or sit, except for one on horseback.”⁹¹ Only then he progresses to the “girding of the loins,” whereby he continues to entertain the tight parallel between the spiritual and physical levels of the metaphor.⁹² “When it is muddy, and people work or run or fight, then they gird their loins, so that they may be more agile in such things. But here the Apostle speaks of spiritual things” [“Když bláto bývá a když dělají lidé nebo běží nebo bojují, tehdy se kašie, aby ohbitější byli k takovým věcem. Ale tuto duchovní věci mluví Apoštol.”]. To gird one’s loins, therefore, means to give up unnecessary earthly things. The human being, who surrounds himself with possessions, is more vulnerable, like that warrior, who has to defend a large hinterland. In no time, Chelčický reveals the inspirational source of his lush military metaphors: the contemporary wars in southern Bohemia, the author’s immediate physical surroundings. The Lord of Rožmberk, who sits in Krumlov, while the enemy burns down his manor of Mýto, fifteen miles distant, offers quite clearly the example of a person who foolishly wishes to safeguard both his soul and his wealth from the devil. Another example is the conflicts of the town of Písek at the start of the religious wars. The defenders burned down a suburb in order to deprive the besiegers of protective cover. Similarly, when a man or a woman voluntarily abandons earthly goods, s/he prevents the devil from sneaking up to his/her proximity.⁹³

It may be assumed that it is exactly Chelčický’s ignorance of contemporary scholastic lore that gives him an advantage, assisting him to achieve “originality” of the modern type. Even Petr himself perceives it as a plus. According to him, it is not enough for an ordinary person, if his parson or bishop knows the Scriptures, he must know it for himself, too. After all, it does not help a fighter, if some one else wields the sword.⁹⁴ The mulling over the sword results in this warning: “But the Apostle does not prepare here people for bodily fights.”⁹⁵ Up to this point Chelčický does not say anything startling, but the story gets more exciting. Petr rejects not

⁹⁰ “Protož die: ‘Vezměte oděnie božie na se,’ jako by řekl: ‘Jinéť oděnie nebude platno, kabát ani plát železný, na tyť on netbá.’ Nebo kto se v to oděnie obleče, chtě bojovati, toho on snáze dobude než toho, ješto v kytli jest.” Ibid., 59.

⁹¹ “...nebo v boji nemuož ležeti člověk ani seděti, leč někto na koni.” See *ibid.*, 63.

⁹² He elucidates the principle of his allegorization thus: “And concerning this manner of physical girding, we can also speak about girding spiritual” [“A něco podobně k tomu zpuosobu tělesného kasanie muožem mluvíti o duchovníem”]. *Ibid.*, 63.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 89-90.

⁹⁵ “Ale nepřipravuje tuto Apoštol lidí k bojuom tělestným.” *Ibid.*, 93.

only warfare, but also all state authority. The treatise, *O boji duchovním*, concludes with a historical exegesis of Romans 13:4 which acknowledges the sword of governmental power. According to Chelčický, what is taught is subjection to the Roman emperor at the time of persecution, which was allowed by God so that martyrs may have had the opportunity to manifest their faith. In any case, he rejects the conventional medieval explication that saw in this passage the justification for the existence of temporal power in general. Suffice it to recall that Jakoubek, in the same place of his explication of Ephesians 6, also brings in the Epistle to the Romans that he uses to defend the sword belonging to secular authority. Also Hus had upheld the theory of the two swords.⁹⁶ This concept is entirely alien to Chelčický.

The original separatist standpoint, from which Chelčický disowned the use of physical force of any kind, including the judiciary and temporal power in its entirety, is elaborated in the treatises *O církvi svaté* and, above all, in *O trojiem lidu*, but for the first time it already appears in *O boji duchovním*. If scholars assume that the religious wars, raging in Petr's surroundings, served as the flint to spark his opposition to violence and an impulse to the composition of the treatise, it must be added that it also served as a storehouse of metaphors by which the author elucidated not only the figurative meaning of Paul's words but also the mechanics of the spiritual struggle with the devil. The allegory of armour, which he explicated word for word with such scrupulous fascination, had an unambiguous moral meaning that, for Peter, was an obligatory inviolable reality. Usually, he knew the more sophisticated interpretation of previous theologians just vaguely, and utilized them only when they did not seem to twist the meaning of Scripture. The theory of permissible war – that Jakoubek propounded in a similar context – did not belong among them.

The Harvest of Exegesis and Homiletics from Early Bohemian Reformation

Our cross-section through theological and homiletical literature of the early Bohemian Reformation (c. 1400-1421) has yielded an abundant harvest of metaphors of spiritual struggle deriving, by and large, from Ephesians 6. The frequency of their occurrence is dependent, in the first place, on the literary genre and, more prosaically, also on the length of a given piece of writing. As a rule, we find more vivid rhetorical figures in the homilies than in theological treatises.⁹⁷ As far as it can be judged, on the basis of the present state of the art, the source of the metaphors was predominantly the literary tradition. Authors, who were connected

⁹⁶ Hus, *Magistri Iohannis Hus Questiones*, 87-88. About Jakoubek see n. 47 above.

⁹⁷ Specialized exegetical works are, of course, relatively scarce. Systematic explications of the biblical books usually have the form of homiliaries, rather than commentaries. (This is the case of Jakoubek's explication of Ephesians 6.) The term *postilla* usually refers to a cycle of sermons, most often arranged in liturgical order. The term had a different meaning in Paris of the thirteenth century; see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 270. Concerning the interconnections between preaching and specialized exegesis, see Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "De la lectio à la praedicatio. Commentaires bibliques et sermons au XIII^e siècle," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986) 559-575.

with the University of Prague, employed the conventional spectrum of reference literature, consisting of glosses, commentaries, homiliaries, template sermons, collected distinctions, and concordances. Over and above these literary resources, we find refreshing comparisons evidently springing from the observation of contemporary events and often referring to the vivid reality of the religious wars of the fifteenth century. In this connection, I have tested my presupposition that such innovative metaphors increase in number where the author lacks support in the school tradition, hence, above all, in Chelčický.

The unique example of Chelčický as an author, not tied to the university schooling or to the Latin literary canon, paradoxically also provides a criterion with which to assess the intellectual and literary universe of the Prague masters. The chief instrument of the organization of the textual subject matter is conceptual associations. The method of verbal concordances derives from the manner of explicating the Bible, where an unclear passage is to be elucidated by another verse, because its allegorical meaning is, as a rule, elsewhere expressed explicitly. Association and formal symmetry, as principles for the construction of the text, are more pronounced with the learned masters and schooled preachers than with Chelčický. The academics often associate mechanically on the basis of consonant words, while Petr arranges biblical statements according to their meaning. Although he used religious literature, whenever it was available (and if not contrary to his point of view), nevertheless, concordances and distinctions never become typical instruments of his literary work, as they are for the university savants.

If the literary horizon played such an important role in the construction of the text, it is a matter-of-course that its significance was no less for the character of the text's contents. Concerning many questions, there existed an orthodox or traditional answer that could be used by the author. The Prague masters, however, often did not do so, and adopted a stand contrary to the official opinion of the Church. Yet, in other cases, the tradition fixed in authoritative compendia provided ammunition for polemics with the radicals of the Bohemian Reformation. This is not to say that the literary method, and the hinterland of readership, determined both the contents of the texts, and the intellectual or political profile of the author. To the contrary: the literary conventions and the standard manuals defined only the field, the movement within which was governed by the author's intentions. By and large it is not easy to guess whether in any given place the primary role was played by an association with traditional exegesis or the author's intent to express his own thought. Nevertheless, it is clear that both alternatives came into play. Whether the starting point was one and the consequence another, the Bohemian reformers mastered their craft so perfectly that even the most ossified method could serve their presentist designs. This is illustrated graphically by the probe into the explications of the *arma spiritualia*.

In connection with this biblical metaphor, the writers in the early Bohemian Reformation not only pursued, as their objective, catechesis and explication of the Bible, or a moral exhortation of clerics and preachers. They also issued their manifestoes on a wide spectrum of contemporary problems. These included: preaching in chapels; polemics with the papacy and its summons to illicit crusades; the defence of the Gospel truth, baptism and communion for infants; the critique of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, of indulgences, and of warrior-priests; conditions of just

war; the defence of lay communion in both kinds; the critique of radical preachers, of the Taborite style of warfare, and – last but not least – of the moral conditions in Prague. An ultimate extremism involved the denunciation of all secular authority, and any form of physical violence or force.

It has been shown that the literary hinterland of a given author was one of the key factors for the understanding of his writings and opinions. The rejection of all the traditional approaches to the explication of Scripture by the Taborite chiliasts created a chasm between them and the Prague masters. Seen from the viewpoint of exegetical technique, the milieu of the Bohemian Reformation is rent by a line of division. One side contains the radicals of both the pacifist and chiliast ilk; the other encompasses the erudite theologians, not only from the University of Prague, but also from other milieus like the University of Vienna or the Ecumenical Councils. Despite the grave importance of the literary horizon, it would be, however, simplistic to consider it the sole criterion.

Let us consider one more example as our conclusion. I have demonstrated, using the example of Exodus 32:29, the difference between Jakoubek and the chiliasts in the conception of the spiritual and physical struggle. The same passage can be found in a sermon that the erudite Augustinian, Oswald Reinlein, delivered in Vienna in 1426, before the crusaders preparing for a campaign against Bohemia. Although the homily was furnished with the standard provision of patristic quotations, the passage was interpreted as an exhortation to the unmerciful extermination of the enemies.⁹⁸ It was, therefore, used for the same purpose as in the bellicose articles of the Bohemian chiliasts. This means that the exegetical training, albeit an inseparable part of the medieval author's personality, remained, after all, an instrument serving the author to attain an objective of his own. From this perspective the earlier-mentioned line of demarcation appears in a different light. All the writers of the Bohemian Reformation can be seen as a literary community with common interests. These interests include a focus on the word of God, not obscured in explication by exempla or worldly wisdom, but only supported (if at all) by glosses of saintly doctors. The Law of God is superordinate to the church doctrine and, if there is a discrepancy between the two, it behoves to fight for truth of Christ, in any case at least with spiritual weapons.⁹⁹

(Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David)

⁹⁸ “Simile certamen nunc imminet nobis occidere unumquemque perverse hwssitice pravitati inherenti [sic!], eciam si frater vel quicumque affinis fuerit, ut sic manus et operationes nostre consecrentur domino.” Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 8365, f. 167vb

⁹⁹ This study was supported by a grant from the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Education of Czech Republic, as a part of the project for research and development LC521 “Křesťanství a česká společnost ve středověku: normy a skutečnost” [Christianity and Bohemian Society in the Middle Ages: The Norms and the Reality].

