

Heymericus de Campo:
Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus
Beate Birgitte

A Critical Edition with an Introduction

by

ANNA FREDRIKSSON ADMAN



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation contains an edition of *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*, which is a discussion and defence of the Revelations (*Reuelaciones*) of St. Birgitta of Sweden (ca. 1303-1373). In legal proceedings at the Council of Basle (1431-1449), the *Reuelaciones* were accused of heresy, examined and defended. Among the defenders was Heymericus de Campo (1395-1460), who at that time was professor of theology at the University of Cologne. In addition to the formal examination reports, Heymericus wrote a dialogue on the subject. The *Dyalogus*, which was probably composed as a contribution to a debate, is tentatively dated to have been written between October 1434 and February 17, 1435. The main part of *Dyalogus* consists of 123 text passages extracted from the *Reuelaciones* and accused of heresy, and Heymericus' defence of these text passages. The aim of the defence is to prove that the *Reuelaciones* are truly orthodox and thus inspired by God. In addition, Heymericus intends to display the reasons and arguments the impugners had for questioning the *Reuelaciones*. *Dyalogus* and the other defences were read and copied foremost within the Birgittine order. The judgement passed at the proceedings called for a commentary before the *Reuelaciones* could be disseminated to the whole of their extent. To the Birgittines the defences of Basle filled this purpose, at least for some time.

The extensive introduction of the thesis deals with the historical context of the text, its use and importance, its place within the author's literary production, the contents and language of the text, and finally the textual transmission. Vadstena Abbey's copy of the text is chosen as base manuscript for the edition.

Key-words: Medieval Latin, Medieval Theology, St. Birgitta of Sweden, visionary literature, Heymericus de Campo, Council of Basle, Birgittines, Vadstena Abbey, heresy, discernment of spirits, dialogue

Anna Fredriksson Adman, Department of Classical Philology, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden

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PART I:

Introduction

Preliminary remarks

This thesis consists of three parts and several appendices. The appendices follow the relevant part of the thesis. The principles of the edition of *Dyalogus* are given in chapter 6 of the Introduction. The principles of the editions of the appendices are given in Appendix 2. 4. 1 and *ad loc.*. The principles of Part I, Introduction and Part III, Index, sources and literature are as follow:

Whenever a printed edition of a Latin text is quoted, it is quoted with the orthography and punctuation of that edition.

To save space, the Latin text given in the footnotes is generally not translated into English.

In some quotations, central words are marked with bold type. This has been done either for the convenience of the reader, when I have found a text especially complicated, or for the sake of argumentation, when I have found an expression especially central.

As regards references, I have given priority to accessibility rather than to consistency. Therefore, some references are more detailed than others of a similar kind.

Medieval letters are often referred to in the introduction. In many cases it has not been possible to establish whether the letter in question is a copy, a draft, or a copy of a draft. Therefore, whenever the word “copy” is used, in this context it means “not original”.

In Part I, Introduction, reference is often made to the edition of *Dyalogus* in this thesis. In the edition, the lines of “A” are numbered, whereas the responses of “H” belonging to the line of “A” are not numbered. References to the responses of “H” look like this: “H [xxii]”, following the numbering of the relevant line of “A”.

List of abbreviations used in the introduction:

BSB= Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

KBR= Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels

MS, MSS= Manuscript, Manuscripts

NOS = *Non omni spiritui*, see chapter 5. 1

RA= National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

StBL= The Public Library (Stadsbiblioteket) of Linköping

UUB = Uppsala University Library

Vadstena= The Birgittine Abbey in Vadstena, Linköping, Sweden

QI = *Quid itaque*, see chapter 5. 1

For abbreviations in references, see “Sources and Literature”.

1. Presentation

Dyalogus Heymerici de Campo super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte is a defence of the Revelations (*Reuelaciones*) of St. Birgitta (ca. 1303-1373) probably written as a contribution to a debate about the authority of the *Reuelaciones*. The text was composed in connection with the legal proceedings against the *Reuelaciones* during the years 1433-1436 at the Council of Basle. In these proceedings the inspiration of St. Birgitta as well as the orthodoxy of her texts were severely questioned. Professor Heymericus de Campo (1395-1460), doctor of theology, the representative of the University of Cologne at the council and merited in the fight against Hussitism, was among the men appointed to examine the *Reuelaciones* and the accusations brought against them.

Heymericus de Campo wrote several treatises on the matter, treatises which were to have the immediate function of being advisory to the judge of the proceedings. A collection, complete for all we know, exists today in manuscript in Uppsala University Library, foremost in MS C 518. Codex MS C 518 was made in Vadstena Abbey, the mother house of the Birgittine order, and was a codex of prominence in the abbey.

Dyalogus consists of a prologue and 151 paragraphs being the exchanges between A, the impugner of the *Reuelaciones*, and H, the defender. The main part of *Dyalogus* is based on part of the indictment material brought forward against the *Reuelaciones* in the proceedings at Basle, namely 123 text passages, called articles, extracted from the *Reuelaciones* and accused of heresy, and Heymericus' defence of them.

Heymericus' defence aims at proving that the text passages that were accused are perfectly conformant with Catholic faith and that only God could have inspired St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*. He performs his duty in a highly technical language, typical for the field and time. Heymericus, however, appears to exceed the norm in respect of his sentences being overloaded with definitions and qualifiers and also being heavily rhetoricised.

To date, *Dyalogus* is found to be extant in six manuscript copies, of which five are used in the edition. The text was disseminated and copied foremost within the Birgittine order, for which order *Dyalogus* together with other defences of the *Reuelaciones* seems to have been of great importance for a long time after the proceedings.

2. The legal proceedings against the Birgittines and St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* at the Council of Basle

2. 1. An outline of the course of events

Introduction

Heymericus de Campo's *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte* (henceforth *Dyalogus*) forms an answer to accusations made against the Birgittine order in a lawsuit at the Council of Basle in the 1430s.¹ During the legal proceedings there, the orthodoxy of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* was questioned, examined and defended.

Heymericus de Campo's incentive for writing *Dyalogus* cannot be correctly understood, and the character of the text and its importance for the Birgittines cannot be explained without an insight into the different stages of the legal proceedings against St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* in Basle.

With my edition I will give an account of these events, and at the same time comment upon the subject and describe a couple of newly found manuscript sources to shed further light on the matter. I will not deal more than necessary with attacks on and defences of St. Birgitta and her writings from the time before the Council of Basle, and I will concentrate on the question of the orthodoxy of the *Reuelaciones*. Nor will I enter into the intricate question about the motives behind the attacks, more than in a brief survey of the secondary literature I have studied.

The term *Reuelaciones*

To make matters clear: In the historical survey below, the term "St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*" is continually used. Whenever the account deals with the Council of Basle, I mean by this term the *Reuelaciones* that were examined in the legal proceedings in Basle, that is: *Liber I – VIII* and *Sermo angelicus*; in these books at least we know that objectionable expressions were found.² The rule of St. Birgitta's

¹ *Dyalogus*, however, was in all probability not among the documents presented to the judge, but is to be seen as a contribution to a debate which went on alongside or after the actual legal proceedings. Cf. chapter 4. 1.

² In his edition of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*, book I, Carl-Gustaf Undhagen describes the *Reuelaciones* manuscript copy *Codex Calmariensis* or *Kalmarnensis*, siglum **K**, on p. 96-113. On p. 101-104 he names **K** as a "Basle edition" of the *Reuelaciones*, that is, a manuscript which gives the very *Reuelaciones* redaction examined in Basle. **K** is dated on p. 113 to 1380-1391, and it contains *Liber I – VIII* with prologues, *Regula Saluatoris*, *Sermo angelicus* and *Quattuor Oraciones*. It should be noted, though, that the four defenders in Basle did not examine *Regula Saluatoris* and *Quattuor oraciones*, which is evident from their defences.

order, *Regula Saluatoris*, was not examined in this process.³ *Magister Matthias'* prologue to the *Reuelaciones* and Alfonso of Jaén's prologue to *Liber VIII* were discussed in writings at this time, too, but in my account this is to be recorded only as a side issue. In all other cases the term *Reuelaciones* is used in the general sense of the word, that is, I make no statement of exactly which redaction is meant.⁴

Previous investigations

The attacks on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* at the Council of Basle, the proceedings and their outcome were treated by Carl Silfverstolpe in his article in *KVHAA:s samlingar* 1895.⁵ Since then, several scholars have commented on the matter. Höjer in 1905 gave an overall picture and presented new sources regarding the external course of events.⁶ In the beginning of the 1900s there was a discussion among scholars about what motives possibly lay behind the attacks and the final judgement.⁷ Losman, in 1970, put the legal proceedings in the context of Nordic politics,⁸ and Nyberg made many valuable observations and modifications in 1971 and 1972.⁹ Börresen looked at some aspects of the defence in 1991,¹⁰ and an analysis of the argumentation in some of the attacks and defences was made by

³ Cf. footnote 2. The *Ordo Sancti Saluatoris* was instituted as a branch of the order of St. Augustine. Its rule, *Regula Saluatoris*, is generally treated separately from the *Reuelaciones* corpus, a custom probably transferred from Alfonso of Jaén, the first redactor of the *Reuelaciones* (cf. Undhagen, *Reu. I*, p. 16-18).

⁴ The term "Reuelaciones corpus" normally denotes *Liber I – VIII* with prologues, *Sermo angelicus*, *Regula Saluatoris*, *Quattuor Oraciones* and *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*. The *Extrauagantes* appeared in their final form in the *Reuelaciones* in the first printed edition of the text, printed in Lübeck 1492 by Bartholomeus Ghotan (Cf. Hollman, *Reuelaciones Extravagantes*, p. 28). The same is true about the *declaraciones* and *adiciones* of the editions. The *Celeste Viridarium* (edition by Margareta Agrell, Uppsala University, in preparation) is generally not included in the *Reuelaciones* corpus.

⁵ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp mot Revelationes Sanctae Birgittae*. Among the comments previous to this article should be mentioned Mansi's *praemonitio* (coll. 697-698) to his edition of Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones* (called *Defensiones* by Mansi), chapter VI in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Tom. XXX, coll. 697-814, (1792) and Lederer's relation in his *Der spanische Cardinal Johann von Torquemada, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, p. 63-79.

⁶ Höjer, *Studier i Vadstena klosterns och birgittinordens historia intill midten af 1400-talet*, especially 201-224.

⁷ Westman, K. G., *Om Birgittas orden; anteckningar med anledning av T. Höjer, Studier i Vadstena klosterns och birgittinordens historia*, especially p. 262-268; Höjer, *Till kännedomen om Vadstena klosterns ställning såsom religiös institution*, especially p. 66-67; cf. footnote p. 64; Westman, K. B., *Exkurs C: Striden om Birgittas Uppenbarelser vid Baselkonciliet*. Cf. also Schmid, *Birgitta och hennes Uppenbarelser*, p. 20-30.

⁸ Losman, *Norden och reformkonsilierna 1408-1449*, with a lucid summary of the course of events on pages 199-200 and 244-250.

⁹ Nyberg, *Vadstena klosterns biktprivilegier 1446*, especially p. 314-323 and 336-345 and idem, *Dokumente und Untersuchungen zur inneren Geschichte der drei Birgittenkloster Bayerns 1420-1570* [1], p. 38*-39*.

¹⁰ Börresen, *Birgitta's Godlanguage: Exemplary Intention, Inapplicable Content*, especially p. 57-61.

Sahlin in 2001.¹¹ Other scholars have mentioned the event, without making any considerable new contributions to the question.¹²

Background: the first stages of the proceedings

The general Council of Basle opened in 1431.¹³ The principal issues on the agenda were the great schism within the Church, the reformation of the Church and the Hussite heresies. Alongside these main proceedings other proceedings in cases of lesser weight went on, which for some reason or another called for the jurisdiction of the council. These cases came under the four deputations of faith, peace, reformation and the general deputation.¹⁴ In the first years of the council the Birgittine order was to appear in the council's court, among other things, for legal proceedings concerning the German Birgittine abbey of Marienwold's claims to the indulgences *ad instar*, which seemingly had provoked the chapter of Lübeck to call them to justice.¹⁵ This case, which initially seems to have been handled by the general deputation,¹⁶ was to lead to an examination of the orthodoxy of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*.

St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* had by the time of the Council of Basle been thoroughly examined several times.¹⁷ The books did cause suspicion and criticism from some

¹¹ Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden and the Voice of Prophecy*, especially p. 221sqq.

¹² Morris, *St. Birgitta of Sweden*, p. 158; Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil 1431-1449: Forschungsstand und Probleme*, p. 404-406 and Colledge, *Epistola solitarii ad reges: Alphonse of Pecha as Organizer of Birgittine and Urbanist Propaganda*, p. [46]-[49] with some too generous interpretations of Höjer, *Studier* and other sources. Unfortunately, some accounts are quite misleading; cf. for example Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church*, p. 130, and some misconceptions tend to linger in the later literature, probably due to an unclear tradition in the earlier literature; see below footnote 90. Scholars on Heymericus de Campo's involvement at the Council of Basle naturally have touched upon the subject (cf. chapter 3. 1).

¹³ Cf. the brief description of the council's structure, composition, ideas and tendencies in Schatz, *Allgemeine Konzilien: Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 149-153. For a full account, see Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil*.

¹⁴ *Deputatio fidei, pacis, reformationis* and *deputatio pro communibus*. In the deputations the four nations Italy, France, Germany and Spain were represented.

¹⁵ Cf. Höjer, *Studier* p. 202 and 204-206 and Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 12; Westman, K. B., *Striden*, p. 281-282. The most important indulgences *ad instar* of the Birgittines were the St. Petri ad vincula and Portiuncula indulgences. All indulgences *ad instar* had been revoked by Pope Boniface IX 1402. The last confirmation on the revocation was made on September 27, 1425. The Birgittines however regarded themselves excluded from the revocation. (Höjer, *Studier*, p. 146sqq, 186 and Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 11).

¹⁶ The general deputation in autumn 1433 dealt with issues concerning St. Birgitta's order., cf. Höjer, *Studier* p. 205. Probably, the issues concerned the Marienwold case (cf. the account in *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 434). The general deputation seems to have had the overall responsibility for this case during the whole process, since it was involved on several occasions later on (cf. below, "The setting up of two subsequent commissions").

¹⁷ A general account of the different examination processes involving Birgittines that preceded the one in Basle is given by among others Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 22sqq.

parties in the Church during the canonization of St. Birgitta when the *Reuelaciones* were to be made public. However, it was primarily the rule of the order, formulated in one of St. Birgitta's revelations, which time and again was subject to discussion. Up to the Council of Basle, the claims of St. Birgitta and the Birgittines on the divine origin and great authority of *Reuelaciones* had been spared from any organized attack of an official character. However, vague formulations in the papal acts had left the ground open for critics. A discussion about how the Church should regard private visions had been going on for some time among theologians,¹⁸ and as late as 1419 Pope Martin V had confirmed St. Birgitta's canonization bull of 1391 and Boniface IX's declaration that St. Birgitta had deserved to see visions and revelations through the grace of the Spirit, and to foretell many things through prophetic inspiration.¹⁹ During the legal proceedings against the Birgittine abbey of Marienwold, the Birgittines as the defending party pleaded the *Reuelaciones* as proof of the right to their indulgences: It is, in fact, in *Reuelaciones* that God grants the indulgences to St. Birgitta and her new order.²⁰ The judge was now faced with the fact that a final decision about the authoritative status of the text had been long lacking. Thus, to be able to proceed in the case, the evidence adduced, the *Reuelaciones*, must be examined.

The Birgittine reaction

Previous scholars on the subject have demonstrated that the different powers who in their different quarters worked for a prohibition of the *Reuelaciones* had long been waiting for an occasion to give vent to their discontent.²¹ The lawsuit against the German Birgittine abbey suddenly appeared as a perfect occasion. The council on the whole, too, was focused on examination and clean-up, two of its main issues being the reformation of the Church and the problem of the Hussite heresies.

The case of the German Birgittine abbey was soon to involve the mother house of the Birgittine order, that is, Vadstena Abbey in Sweden (henceforth Vadstena), more seriously. On August 13, 1433 the leaders of Vadstena received a document which called them to Basle to show the original documents of the order.²²

¹⁸ In Johannes Gerson's contribution to that debate, the text *De probatione spirituum* from 1415, Johannes insists that the question of St. Birgitta's inspiration must finally be solved. Cf. also Westman, K. B., *Striden*, p. 280sq.

¹⁹ Canonization bull by Boniface IX dated October 7, 1391, "*Ab origine mundi*": "*haec generosa vidua per gratiam sancti Spiritus promeruit (...) visiones ac revelationes varias videre et audire ac spiritu prophetico multa praedicere (...) prout haec et alia in ejus Revelationum volumine plenissime describuntur*" and confirmation bull by Martin V dated July 1, 1419, "*Dudum*". Both bulls are edited in *Acta sanctorum*, Oct., T. IV, p. 468-472 and p. 476 respectively. Martin V's bull is also printed in *Svenskt Diplomatarium från och med år 1401*, Del 3 (no. 2656), p. 467-468.

²⁰ Cf. St. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* IV, 137.

²¹ For literature on this subject, see footnote 5, 6 and 7.

²² Cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 434.

This summons might not have come as a surprise for the Birgittines in Vadstena. The correspondence of Vadstena shows an exchange of many letters within the order during the time before the council, letters which express worries, even despair, over what the council might do.²³ Lawsuits awaited them from both Germany and Denmark, other threats had been heard of, and it was clear to them that they now again would have to speak up for the rule as well as the use of the indulgences *ad instar*.

There were indeed reasons to be worried. The attack on the indulgences was to become very serious,²⁴ and the initially subordinate question of the authority and orthodoxy of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* quickly developed into the most severe attack on the *Reuelaciones* in their whole history.

The legal proceedings: the first commission and the indictment

The history of how the process evolved after the abbey of Marienwold had pleaded the *Reuelaciones* as proof is complicated, not very clearly described in the secondary literature and only partly depicted in the medieval sources.²⁵

The history sets out with a description of court proceedings of April 6, 1434, found in a document dated March 23, 1436. The description is made in Basle by a notary on request of Gervinus Petri, the confessor general of Vadstena and its representative on the council at this time.²⁶ The notary of 1436 gives quite a detailed description of the background to the events of April 6, 1434. Then he describes the events of April 6, 1434 and includes a copy of a document put before the judge on that day. Finally he certifies the document copy. The document of March 23, 1436, by its contents henceforth called the "account of April 6, 1434", is preserved in Sweden's National Archives (henceforth RA) in the collection of parchment letters,²⁷ and part of it was printed in Silfverstolpe's article of 1895.²⁸ It gives the following account of the events preceding and happening on April 6, 1434 (my translation; for the Latin text, see Appendix 2. 4. 1):

²³ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 12-13; Höjer, *Studier*, p. 202-204.

²⁴ K. G. Westman in *Om Birgittas orden*, p. 267 calls the judgement of the proceedings one of the most important events in the history of the order.

²⁵ There is for example no comprehensive account to be found among the council's *Acta*, see below, chapter 2. 2, "Introduction".

²⁶ Cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 435. The members of Vadstena Abbey are listed and described in Silfverstolpe, *Klosterfolket i Vadstena*. However, because of the rarity of this book and because it is partly unreliable (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, p. 29), when it comes to members of Vadstena Abbey in the present account, I will make references to Gejrot's commentary in *Vadstenadiariet (Diarium Vadstenense)* from 1996. *Diarium Vadstenense* is edited with an introduction in English by Gejrot in 1988. The numbering of the entries in the two editions is identical.

²⁷ RA, parchment letter of March 23, 1436. The description of the court proceedings was probably made by the public notary Johannes Dieulefist(?).

²⁸ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 29 footnote 4.

In the name of the Lord Amen. **May each and everyone, who shall read this present public instrument know that**, in the year from the birth of the same Lord 1434, in the twelfth indiction, on Tuesday the 6th of April in the fourth year of the pontificate of the most saintly in Christ, the father in our Lord, *dominus* Eugenius IV, pope through the grace of God, when in this holy Council of Basle a legal dispute or a controversy in matters of faith was brought forward in discussion between the venerable and circumspect man, *magister* Nicolaus Amici, licenciate of sacred theology and Procurator-general in cases of faith, especially appointed to this by the mentioned Council of Basle, as the one party, and the brothers and sisters of the order, which is called "St. Birgitta's", from the abbey in Marienwold in the diocese of Ratzeburg, against whom solely on this occasion legal proceedings were being brought, as the other party, and the dispute was indeterminate ('in the air') and in the state of uncertainty of the process some books entitled with the wording "Books of St. Birgitta's Revelations" had been brought forward as documents in the case for the sake of the members of the stated order, and these books on mandate of the most reverend in Christ, the father and *dominus, dominus* Johannes, by divine grace priest cardinal of the title St. Petri *ad vincula*, in the holy Roman Church and judge in matters of faith, especially appointed by the stated Council general in Basle and through him had been given for examination to certain doctors and masters of theology, **it is hereby that** in the year, the indiction and the pontificate, and month and day as above **the same venerable and circumspect men**, *domini* Bernardus Serra, almoner and the ambassador of the most serene lord, the king of Arragony, Matthias Döring, provincial minister of the Minorites in Saxony,²⁹ and Henricus de Diist, all masters and professors of sacred theology, by demand to do so on this occasion, among other things that they extracted from the stated books, **lay before** the aforementioned *dominus* the Cardinal **and**, on the Procurator's urgent request and summons, **presented articles** as faithfully extracted from these books, articles which read word for word as below: (...). (Then follow the 123 articles.)

While the summoning of the Vadstena leaders indicates that the lawsuit was handled by the general deputation in the beginning, the account of April 6, 1434 makes it clear that the lawsuit was treated as a matter of faith, *materia fidei*, even before the representatives from Marienwold pleaded the *Reuelaciones*. Other sources (cf. below) confirm that it is the judge in matters of faith at the council, Johannes Cervantes of St. Petri ad vincula, who is responsible for the case at this

²⁹ Here is meant the province Saxony in Germany.

time and that it is this man who appointed a group of theologians to examine the *Reuelaciones*.³⁰

As Silfverstolpe points out, the task of the three theologians appointed (henceforth called "the first commission") among whom were Matthias Döring, was primarily to find out what authority, namely what spirit, lay behind the *Reuelaciones*.³¹ If it could be stated that it really was God who had dictated these revelations, then the Birgittines in Marienwold would have the right to their indulgences by divine authority. If, on the other hand, the *Reuelaciones* were found to be illusory or even heretical, their case would not be so strong. The presupposition of the examiners was that divine messages could not contain anything adverse to the Holy Scriptures or holy men's scriptures. Ungodly formulations in the text would then be incontrovertible proof of the text not being divine. Subsequently, going through the *Reuelaciones*, the examiners found no less than 123 passages that could be suspected of heresy.³² The main part, omitted above, of the account of April 6, 1434, is made up of these 123 passages cited, or "extracted", from the *Reuelaciones* by the examiners.³³ The 123 articles were now used against the Birgittines in the ongoing proceedings, as they, at the urgent request of Nicolaus Amici, the procurator of the council and the opposing party of the Birgittines in the case,³⁴ at the proceedings of April 6, 1434 were put before Cervantes the judge and the *Reuelaciones* were accused of being heretical.

³⁰ Cf. Decker, *Cervantes, Juan in Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II, coll. 1634-1635. According to Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil*, p. 115, footnote 141 (with reference to *Monumenta Conciliorum* II, p. 358) Johannes Cervantes was judge in matters of faith from May 1433 to September 1434.

³¹ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 32, cf. also below, chapter 3. 2, "Heymericus contributions in the field of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*".

³² That they were extracted as being suspected of heresy is not explicitly stated in the "account of April 6, 1434", however it is stated in several other sources, cf. for example Heymericus, *Declaraciones*, fol. 98r - v. The entire contents of the original indictment are not known to me, though it would have contained somewhat more than just the extracted articles (cf. chapter 3. 2, "Introduction"). Johannes de Turre Cremata in his *Declaraciones* (cf. footnote 5) quotes the prosecutors who claims the articles to be extracted as suspected "*in qualitate*", "*in figura*" and "*in pondere*" (*Declaraciones*, art. 123, col. 813 B/C).

³³ The 123 articles reappear in the *Declaraciones* of Johannes de Turre Cremata and in *Registrum* (see below). All except one appear in Heymericus' *Dyalogus*. Cf. the edition and chapter 4. 1. The number "123" may originate from the fact that Johannes de Turre Cremata's defence in chapter VI of his *Declaraciones* consists of 123 articles; in the copy of the indictment in RA, the articles are not numbered, and the text passages are far more in number than 123, however, sometimes a defender answers to several at a time.

³⁴ Nicolaus Amici or Nikolaus Lamy was the representative of the University of Paris (Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil*, p. 151 and 400 with footnote 172). According to the Birgittines he was acting "on behalf of adversaries to the order" – probably among others the chapter of Lübeck. (Cf. below, "the Birgittine account of 1434/1435")

“Birgittine account of 1434/1435”

As for what happened immediately after the indictment was put forward, we have no information. However, a month later, in a letter of May 5, 1434, the other representative at that time of Vadstena at the council, Acho Johannis, complains of the bad situation for the order.³⁵ He asks the sisters to pray for the order, as there is great need to do so, and he talks about a lengthy missive on the state of affairs which he has sent to the convent on an earlier occasion. This document has not been found in the original among the Vadstena documents, but would most probably have given a full account also of the events between April 6 and May 5, 1434.

Luckily, whether it is a copy of Acho Johannis’ story or not,³⁶ an account of these days in Basle does exist among the Vadstena documents, included in the overall history of attacks on and defences of St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* collected by the abbey. The history makes up the introduction to Vadstena’s big defence corpus,³⁷ a collection made of defences written of St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones*,³⁸ including historical background (which I call “Introductory history”),³⁹ a kind of index called *Registrum*, and directions for use. This collection is kept in Uppsala University Library (henceforth UUB) as MS C 518. The account, which I henceforth call “the Birgittine account of 1434/1435” appears on fol. 3va-4vb of the defence corpus. Here the development of the process is described from a Birgittine point of view from after the Birgittines of Marienwold pleaded the *Reuelaciones* as proof, up to the time when the *Reuelaciones* finally, in the eyes of the Birgittine historian, got a fair treatment.

Although the story is tendentious and the description of the course of events heavily biased by the attacked and (understandably) offended party of the Birgittines; yet the account is important and vivid and not printed elsewhere, and therefore I would like to quote it in translation *in extenso* below (for the Latin text, see Appendix no. 2. 4. 2).

³⁵ RA, Parchment letter of May 5, 1434. Cf. Höjer, *Studier* p. 209 and footnote 2. Acho Johannis was brother of Vadstena Abbey 1416-1442, see the *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 267:2 and no. 520.

³⁶ Other Birgittines were present at the council, too, who could have given a verbal account.

³⁷ The Birgittines themselves at this time used the term *defensorium* for the defence corpus and *declaraciones* for most of the individual defences. However, as the term *defensorium* is used by them for Adam Easton’s defence, too, and as the term *defensorium* has been used for the individual defences in previous secondary literature, in this study I will use the term “defence corpus” for the type of collection of defences represented in UUB MS C 518.

³⁸ Among other defences it contains the copy of *Dyalogus* chosen as the base manuscript for the present edition. Cf. below, chapter 5. 1, description of codex B and *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Bd 5, p. 307-312, further Fredriksson Adman, *Striden om den heliga Birgittas renlärighet speglad i några Vadstenahandskrifter*. Höjer, (*Studier*, p. 206 and footnote 3) has seemingly picked up some information from this source.

³⁹ A fragmentary draft of this story, with more wordy descriptions of the people and events, exists in Uppsala University Library MS C 31, fol. 92r –95v and inside the cover in the library’s MS C 610. Variants of the story exist in other collections of defences, cf. chapter 5. 1.

In the first lines of this quotation we recognize the account of April 6, 1434,⁴⁰ which has served as the source for the relation of events preceding the events of 1434/1435. The new account starts out with the words "This *magister* Matthias Döring"⁴¹ (second paragraph below).

It so happened in the year from the birth of Christ 1435, when in the mentioned Council of Basle a legal dispute or a controversy (...) was brought forward in discussion (...) that some venerable and circumspect men, *domini* Bernardus Sarra, almoner and the most serene lord, the king of Arragony's, ambassador, Matthias Döring, minister of the minorites in the province of Saxony, and Henricus de Diist, all masters and professors of sacred theology, among other things that they extracted from the stated books,⁴² brought forward 123 articles and lay them before the aforementioned master the cardinal as erroneous in respect of Catholic faith and suspected, as can be gathered in full from the notarial instrument made about and over this.⁴³

This *magister* Matthias Döring, the above mentioned minister of the minorites in the province of Saxony, being something like the principal and Achilles of all impugnors and adversaries of this time to St. Birgitta's order and Revelations, made and brought forth a certain tract against the books of these Revelations of St. Birgitta, a tract which begins with the words "*Probate spiritus*", "Probe the spirits" etcetera.

In this tract he strove first, namely in the prologue or foreword, at the same time but indiscriminately through 7 arguments to accuse and condemn the words of master Matthias, professor of sacred theology and once canon of Linköping, in his prologue to St. Birgitta's Revelations, a prologue he

⁴⁰ This document had been available in the archives of the abbey since 1436. Cf. below, "Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement". It should be pointed out that the Birgittine account of 1434/1435 in relation to its presumed original has some omissions and some additions: For example, the words *in materia fidei* in the beginning were omitted; in the description of Nicolaus Amici the words (*Nicolaum ... quendam*) "*venerabilem et circumspectum magistrum*" were omitted, while the words (*Nicolaum*) "*nomine quorundam aduersariorum ordinis Reuelacionum beate Birgitte tunc agentem et procurantem*" were added. In the part omitted in the present edition, between "*certis doctoribus et magistris in sacra theologia*" and "*ad examinandum dati fuissent*" was added an explanation, "*scilicet domino Johanni de Turre Cremata et aliis tribus infrascriptis*", an addition which is misleading, as the chronology gets confused.

⁴¹ Regarding Matthias Döring, cf. Helmroth, p. 123-124 and footnote 178; p. 502 (Nachträge). Colledge in *Epistola Solitarii* sees a problem with the dating of Döring's partaking in composing the indictment of the 123 articles. However, it is stated by Weigel in *Matthias Döring als Minister der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz (1427-1461)* (forthcoming in print 2004), Anhang 1, nr. 45, that Döring had returned to the council and was present there from October 14-15, 1433 onwards. Weigel remarks (Anhang 1, nr. 46, footnote 2) that Döring on an earlier occasion had appeared to be a keen supporter of St. Birgitta's order. I thank Dr. Weigel for letting me use her unprinted material.

⁴² i. e. *Reuelaciones*.

⁴³ Reference to the "account of April 6, 1434".

made himself as a recommendation of St. Birgitta's sanctity and as an attestation of the truth of her Revelations, a prologue which by *dominus* Alfonsus, he who arranged and divided St. Birgitta's Revelations into books and the books into chapters, was placed before Book I as a prologue or foreword to all books of Revelations of St. Birgitta, and which starts thus: "*Stupor et mirabilia audita sunt in terra nostra*" "Stupendous and wonderful things have been heard of in our country", and at the same time he tried to accuse and condemn the writing "*Epistola solitarii*", The hermit's letter" or, by another name, "A letter from Alfonsus, once bishop of Jaén and thereafter the most irreproachable hermit", a letter he made himself as an attestation to the sanctity of St. Birgitta and the truth of her Revelations, a letter which starts "*O serenissimi reges*", "O most serene kings" etcetera, and which is generally placed before the 8th book or "the heavenly ruler's book of revelations to the kings", then, after his preface, that same Matthias Döring, returning to his first proposition, extracted certain paragraphs or articles from the Books of Revelations themselves, here and there, dispersedly and diffuse, and although he extracted these paragraphs and articles quite corruptly and obtruncated (which is obvious to anyone who examines them carefully by comparing these articles thus extracted by this man from the book in this way with the original text, from which they are extracted) he nevertheless, in addition to this, against these paragraphs and articles extracted in the way described above, strove to argue through the Holy Scripture, sometimes even through the Revelations themselves, sometimes through the reasoning of the Revelations, and always in a tricky way and insufficiently. And by wavering just a little he made bad or false subsumptions, as is quite clear from the *Registrum* and attestations⁴⁴ and also from the canonization bull and *legenda beate Birgite*, and therefore it is not to wonder that he made bad or false conclusions.

This tract and these articles and even many other articles extracted by himself and others, his associates, from the mentioned books of St. Birgitta's Revelations in the way described above, written down in a very large number of pamphlets and small writings, the aforementioned adversaries brought before the judge and the whole deputation of faith and other masters and doctors in the stated Council of Basle, by their own hand or through their messengers, secretly and again officially.

When this tract and these paragraphs and articles were recieved for examination by several other venerable masters and doctors, these people, and especially those four, who on mandate of the said master the judge in matters of faith and the council itself were especially chosen and appointed – from the four nations – to examine these books of Revelations of St. Birgitta and the articles extracted from them and, as said above,

⁴⁴ This may be a reference to the authentications of some of the defences, authentications which are inserted in the defence corpus itself.

already brought before the judge, namely the most reverend in Christ, father and *dominus, dominus* Johannes de Turre Cremata, professor in sacred theology, then master of the sacred apostolic palace, now priest cardinal in the holy Roman Church, with the title *Sancte Marie Transtyberim* once *Sancti Sixti*, of the Spanish nation, and the venerable man master Heymericus de Campo, magister and professor in sacred theology, then at the *alma* University of Cologne, now vice-chancellor and *lector ordinarius* at the faculty of theology of the University of Leuven, of the German nation, and the reverend father and *dominus, dominus* Johannes Roberti, abbot of the monastery of Bonneval of the Cistercian order of the French nation, and the pious father and *dominus, dominus* Ludovicus de Pirano, provincial minister of the minorites in Italy, of that very nation, in a commission especially imposed on them by the judge himself and the whole deputation of faith and the whole Council of Basle, by a thorough examination of all above-mentioned books and articles, now together, now separately, and by a studious collation made, **came well and correctly to their conclusion**, not as the aforementioned master Matthias, provincial minister of the minorites in Saxony and the principal adversary and impugnator of St. Birgitta's Revelations, or the others, his fellows, that is, in a tricky way or in any way illogical, but in accordance with their positions and true explanations, which they themselves had written down and which were fully grounded in the Holy Scripture and the words of the Holy Fathers, **that these books** of St. Birgitta's Revelations and their articles rightly understood **are true** and in consonance and accordance with the Catholic faith and the sacred scripture in honour and praise of the almighty God and his glorious Mother, Mary, and Jesus Christ's elected spouse, St. Birgitta, and all God's saints, and to the honour and exaltation of the whole of our holy Mother, the orthodox Church, and especially the order of our St. Saviour.

The setting up of two subsequent commissions

The lines "When this tract and these paragraphs and articles were recieved for examination by several other venerable masters and doctors these people (...)", possibly introduces yet a new source for the Birgittine account of 1434/1435.⁴⁵ This account describing the indictment coming to another group of theologians for examination corresponds with information in the *Acta* of the council. In the note of May 11, 1434 the session of the general deputation is namely recorded, in which a group of theologians was given the task of examining the indictment containing the collection of 123 articles put together by Matthias Döring and the first

⁴⁵ If the preceding account really has as its source the missive of Acho Johannis from the council, the missive would end here, as the events now to be described took place a few days after Acho Johannis' letter to the convent.

commission.⁴⁶ This new group of theologians, which I here call "the second commission" was to work together with the judge in matters of faith, Johannes Cervantes of St. Petri ad vincula. The account of the Birgittine is somewhat unclear at this point. After having introduced the "several other venerable masters and doctors", he immediately afterwards and probably without knowing it, with the words "and especially those four" (...), introduces yet a third group of theologians, which should be distinguished from the second commission. The names of the four theologians mentioned in the Birgittine account are not among the names of the members of the group appointed by the general deputation on May 11 in the *Acta* of the council.⁴⁷

The work of the second commission seems to have been especially intense in June of the same year.⁴⁸ However, a note from August⁴⁹ is the last thing to be heard from this group among the *Acta* of the council, and no written statement seems to have come out of it.⁵⁰ Seemingly instead, the group of four theologians is put together to take over the task.

The examination reports themselves and the testimony of Heymericus de Campo confirm that four theologians from the four nations examined the *Reuelaciones* at the council.⁵¹ The Birgittine account of the appointment of the four theologians⁵² most probably has as one of its sources the *Littera testimonialis* to the

⁴⁶ *Concilium Basiliense*, [Bd. III] "1434 und 1435", p. 95 l. 21-28. *Die martis XI:a maii in deputacione pro communibus ad conveniendum cum reverendissimo domino cardinali S. Petri ad vincula iudice fidei et examinandum articulos extractos de libris assertarum revelacionum S. Brigite fuerunt deputati ambassiatores domini regis Dacie* (=bishop Ulrik of Århus and the bishop of Växjö, Nicolaus Ragvaldi, later archbishop of Sweden. cf. Höjer p. 205 and 209), *episcopus Pergamensis, abbas Clareuallis, magister Johannes Pulcripatris, provincialis Lombardie, provincialis Francie ordinis Predicatorum, magister Symon Freron, dominus Petrus Corserii, doctor universitatis Erfjordensis, et referant.*

⁴⁷ Cf. footnote 46.

⁴⁸ *Monumenta conciliorum generalium*, II, p. 709 l. 12sq.

⁴⁹ *Concilium Basiliense*, [Bd. III] "1434 und 1435", p. 175 l. 24-26.

⁵⁰ According to the note in *Monumenta conciliorum*, II, p. 709 r. 12 sq., the lack of protocols from these discussions is due to the fact that the judge, Johannes Cervantes, left the council before this errand was finished (cf. above footnote 30).

⁵¹ Copies of the examination reports, called *Declaraciones*, are inserted together with the other defences in Vadstena Abbey's defence corpus, UUB MS C 518 (cf. description in chapter 5. 1). Heymericus de Campo, *Declaraciones* (Prologue 1446), fol. 98rb: "fui ex parte totius nationis Germanie ad consulendum iudici fidei super quam plurimis articulis ex libro Reuelacionum beate Birgitte extractis (...) cum aliis tribus solemnibus reliquarum trium nacionum (...) doctoribus per idem concilium deputatus" (cf. chapter 3. 3, "The commission in Basle and Heymericus' writing of *Dyalogus*"), further, Johannes de Turre Cremata, Prologue 1446/1435 ("*Epistola*"), p. a [1] r, B/D. and Ludovicus de Pirano, *Declaraciones* (UUB MS C 518, 210v): "Et hec sunt, que pie et catholice sencio de huiusmodi articulis ex libris beate Birgitte ad examinandum mihi uni ex deputatis assignatis".

⁵² Why exactly these persons were assigned is not known to me; however, in the prologue to the writings of Johannes de Turre Cremata (cf. footnote 61 below) it is said that the Birgittine representatives begged Johannes de Turre Cremata to participate. This is not known to have been the case with Heymericus de Campo.

Vadstena copies of Heymericus de Campo's texts.⁵³ Other probable sources would be the Prologues of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus to their *Declaraciones* (cf. below). The account in the *Littera testimonialis*, which in turn would rely on a verbal account of Heymericus and the legation from Vadstena (cf. below), goes well with an assumption that it was the second commission under Johannes Cervantes that appointed the group of the four theologians.⁵⁴ Therefore, I would like to call the group of four theologians "the third commission". The work of this third commission seems to have formed the closing stages of the proceedings.

In the presentation of the four theologians in the Birgittine account, we meet Heymericus de Campo's name for the first time as the representative of the German nation.⁵⁵ Heymericus is here entitled "professor and master of sacred theology, then at the *alma* University of Cologne, now vicechancellor and *lector ordinarius* in the faculty of theology at the University of Leuven". Johannes de Turre Cremata⁵⁶ is also mentioned here by name and title as the representative of Spain, Johannes Roberti⁵⁷ as the representative of France and Ludovicus de Pirano⁵⁸ as representing the Italian nation.⁵⁹ We get to know further down in the Introductory history, that their work in the beginning was hampered by a certain disorder of the material,⁶⁰ however, when the four theologians finally put forward the results of their examinations, their conclusive verdicts all proved to be defences and acquittals of the *Reuelaciones* and St. Birgitta's inspiration.⁶¹ In addition to this, some voluntary defences by supporters of St. Birgitta were put forward.⁶²

⁵³ Cf. Rodolphus de Beringhen's *Littera testimonialis* to Heymericus de Campo's *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum*, # 6-8. The *Littera testimonialis* is edited in Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 89-92.

⁵⁴ Höjer, *Studier*, p. 207 states that "De olika nationernas medlemmar inom trosdeputationen (here he must mean "the second commission") utsågo därefter hvar sin deputerad (the third commission) för att genomgå de olika artiklarna och öfver dem avgiva sitt utlåtande". I have not been able to trace Höjer's source for this, but it could perhaps be the Birgittine account of 1434/1435.

⁵⁵ Cf. his own statement in his *Declaraciones*, quoted in footnote 51.

⁵⁶ Cf. Prügl, "Johannes de Torquemada" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 5, coll. 973-974.

⁵⁷ Biographical information and references in Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil*, p. 128 and footnote 202.

⁵⁸ Biographical information and references in Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil*, p. 171, footnote 378.

⁵⁹ The titles in the Birgittine account correspond with the presentations the theologians make of themselves in their writings, except for Johannes Roberti, whose writing ends abruptly with no subscription.

⁶⁰ *Introductory history*, (UUB MS C 518) fol. 6vb-7ra. The Birgittine author regrets that the defenders did make some mistakes in their argumentation due to the fact that they were very busy and did not have access to the true original documents and sources in the case. As for Heymericus' work, cf. chapter 3. 2, "The commission in Basle and Heymericus' writing of *Dyalogus*" and footnote 371, 372 and 373.

⁶¹ Johannes de Turre Cremata's examination of the 123 articles, which makes up chapter VI of his defence, was edited 1792 by Mansi in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova collectio*. The prologue of 1446 and chapters I-V have been printed together with several editions of the *Reuelaciones* starting with the first edition of 1492. Cf. footnote 116. *Dyalogus* is the first among Heymericus' reports to be edited. The

The Birgittine account of 1434/1435 closes with this description of the great contribution of the four defenders. After that follows a description of their individual contributions in detail. Of these four theologians, Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus de Campo were held to be the foremost.⁶³ They also made the most exhaustive contributions; both wrote on all the 123 extracted articles.⁶⁴ In addition to this, Heymericus de Campo wrote lengthy tracts on the theme of "St. Birgitta's inspiration", to answer to that part of the attacks on St. Birgitta.⁶⁵ Johannes Roberti wrote on the first 20 articles only, and Ludovicus de Pirano wrote on the following 29 articles. The individual reports of the four theologians have been called *Declaraciones*.⁶⁶ A report on the most difficult passages, a kind of summary which has been called *Auisamentum*, is considered to have been composed by the four theologians together, to form an advisory memorial directly to the judge. However, it is not established that this actually was the case.⁶⁷ The circumstances of the defenders presenting their reports before the judge is quite unknown.⁶⁸

examination reports of all four defenders are extant in manuscript in UUB MS C 518 (cf. chapter 5. 1, description of codex **B**).

⁶² Cf. Höjer, *Studier*, p. 208.

⁶³ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 30-31. Possibly this is a reconstruction after the event: Johannes de Turre Cremata was to become the foremost in rank, as he was later on appointed cardinal. The fact that the writings of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus are the ones most used should be due to the fact that only these were authenticated (cf. *Introductory history*, UUB C 518, fol. 7rb). In Vadstena Abbey one also expected additional contributions from Johannes Roberti after the council (Cf. RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 87r and *Introductory history*, UUB C 518, fol. 6rb-6va). Heymericus, however, is the one most praised by the Birgittines (Cf. chapter 4. 2 and footnote 454).

⁶⁴ Heymericus treats all 123 articles except one (Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones*, article 38 and Heymericus' *Declaraciones* article 35) in his *Dyalogus*. Heymericus *Declaraciones* consist of 80 articles only (cf. chapter 3. 2.). It is stated in *Introductory history* in UUB C 518, fol. 7rb that, even if Johannes Roberti and Ludovicus de Pirano did not write over all articles, they still examined them all.

⁶⁵ Cf. below, chapter 3. 2, "Survey of the texts and their functions"

⁶⁶ This is the denomination used by the Birgittines in Vadstena. Heymericus, Johannes de Turre Cremata and Ludovicus de Pirano all use the word in describing their work.

⁶⁷ *Auisamentum* is attributed to the four theologians in the prologue to the text *Auisamentum* in Vadstena Abbey's defence corpus UUB MS C 518. In this prologue, probably composed by a Birgittine (cf. below "Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey. *Auisamentum*") the text is described and named *Auisamentum* (cf. UUB C 518, fol. 216r). In the *Introductory history* to UUB MS C 518, fol. 6va and 7va, the Birgittine historian is now assertive, now hesitating when attributing this text to the four defenders. An *auisamentum* written together by the four defenders is mentioned by Heymericus in *Declaraciones* (Prologue 1446), fol. 98rb. *Auisamentum* consists of 38 articles and answers to them and exists also in two copies in UUB MS C 31. *Auisamentum* was printed after UUB MS C 31 by Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, bilaga 1, p. 39-47.

⁶⁸ The only reliable source known to me that actually states that these reports were presented to the judge is Rodolphus de Beringen, *Littera testimonialis*, #8. Cf. also the description of the event in the secondary preface to *Auisamentum*, and below, "Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey". An interesting document, role of which I have not been able to establish, is the "*Articuli in forma*

The dating of the work of the third commission to 1435 in the Birgittine account⁶⁹ maybe arises from what can be read about the proceedings in the prologues of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus to their *Declaraciones*.⁷⁰ Here it is stated that the *Declaraciones* were written in 1435 during the then ongoing lawsuit. This dating is not unproblematic, and will be dealt with further in chapter 3. 3.

As for the events following the completion of the work of the four defenders, the Birgittine does not return to them in his narrative. The procedure of putting the defences before the judge and further, the judges' reaction, is passed over in silence. This is interesting in itself and will be treated separately below.⁷¹

We learn from other sources that a judgement was eventually pronounced, the foremost of course being the judgement itself, communicated to the Birgittines in a juridical document dated December 1, 1436 and signed by the judge in matters of faith.⁷² A note in a copy of the judgement states⁷³ that a bull was made over this which approved the judgement and which made the bishops of Sleswig and Lübeck together with the *prepositus* of the monastery in Stade executors of it.⁷⁴

Although the document seemingly was not sent to Vadstena,⁷⁵ the judgement aimed at the Birgittine order as a whole⁷⁶, and therefore of course the judgement was a main concern of the mother house of the order at Vadstena.

exhibita in iudicio fidei" in UUB MS C 31, fol. 139r-142r. Cf. further chapter 3. 2, "Survey of the texts and their functions".

⁶⁹ The Birgittine apparently has composed his history in the following way: He starts by stating that what he is about to describe took place in the year 1435. Having done that, he starts over with the background to the events of that year, and describes events we (and he) know took place in 1434. By some thoughtlessness, the dating of 1435 gets to comprise these events as well. However, bearing in mind what we already know about the evolution of affairs, the dating of 1435 can at the earliest be true for the stage when the third commission was appointed and judge Cervantes handed over the indictment, the 123 articles, and the *Reuelaciones* to this commission.

⁷⁰ Both Heymericus in his *Declaraciones* (fol. 98rb) and Johannes de Turre Cremata in his *Epistola ad omnes Chrsiti fideles* (Prologue 1446/1435 to his *Declaraciones*), p. a [1]r G/B, write that they carried out their examinations in 1435.

⁷¹ Cf. below, "About the treatment of the judgement in the Birgittine writing of history".

⁷² The original document, unknown to Höjer and Silfverstolpe, has by Nyberg in *Dokumente und Untersuchungen I* p. 38* footnote 41 been tracked down to the Staatsarchiv in Nürnberg. The document goes under the call number "Urk. des 7farbigen Alphabets Nr. 5084". Other copies exist in UUB MS C 31, fol. 31-32r; RA Cod. A 19 fol. 121v-122r; RA Cod. A 21(**kollas**) fol. 94v-95; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Lat. 85, fol. 341; UUB Palmskiöld 334:19.

⁷³ BSB Munich, MS Cod. lat. 85, fol. 342 as quoted by Höjer, *Studies*, p. 211, footnote 3.

⁷⁴ This bull has not yet been located by modern scholars.

⁷⁵ Although Vadstena in 1445 still lacked an authenticated copy (Cf. RA, Cod. A 20 f. 312r, in which letter Vadstena expresses a wish to have an authenticated copy of Marienkron's sealed document), one can assume that a non-authenticated copy existed in Vadstena quite soon after the pronouncement. There are no authentications in the copies of the judgement in the Vadstena manuscripts in UUB MS C 31 and RA Cod. A 19. The disinformation in Losman, *Norden*, p. 245 would be due to an easily made mistake; The letter A 20, fol. 312r is addressed to Marienkron, not Marienwold.

The judgement

The juridical document containing the judgement is a confirmation made on December 1, 1436 of a judgement pronounced on March 1, 1436 by cardinal Ludovicus Arelatensis (Allemannus),⁷⁷ judge in matters of faith after Johannes Cervantes of St. Petri ad vincula's departure from the council. The judgement consists of an introduction and five paragraphs, of which the first deals with the indulgences *ad instar*, the second with the right of the Birgittines to hear confessions, the third with the observance of interdict and the fourth with the *Reuelaciones*. Lastly comes a paragraph with the stipulated penalty for disobedience.

In the judgement, Ludovicus states that the indulgences *ad instar* in accordance with previous withdrawals must not be proclaimed in any way. He also limits the right of the Birgittines to hear confessions. Regarding the *Reuelaciones* he seems less severe. In this part, the judgement looks like a strange compromise between the claims of the prosecution and those of the defence.⁷⁸ The judge does not go so far as to condemn the *Reuelaciones* as being heretical, as their impugners claimed them to be. The word "heretical" is not used in the judgement. Instead, it is said that the books contain "perplexities and ineptitudes", and because there is dispute and hesitation among learned men regarding the *Reuelaciones* and their title, the use of the *Reuelaciones* is restricted.

I would like to quote the introduction and the part that treats the *Reuelaciones* in translation. Part of the Latin text is re-edited⁷⁹ with a medieval orthography in Appendix 2. 4. 3.

The name of Christ invoked: I Ludovicus, by divine mercy cardinal of the holy Roman Church with the title *sanctae Caeciliae* commonly called "of Arles", especially appointed judge and commissioner in cases and this case of faith by the most holy general Council of Basle, sitting before the tribunal and having only God before my eyes, out of the counselling as well as assent of persons well versed in both divine and human law, I pronounce, decide and declare by this my definite sentence, which I give in these documents, after having studied the apostolic documents appearing among the acts in the case against the brethren and sisters of St. Augustine's order called "saint Saviour's" living by the practices and instructions of St.

⁷⁶ The Birgittines in England however were exempted from the judgement on the indulgences, cf. Højer, *Studier*, p. 214-215.

⁷⁷ Also called Louis d' Arles eller d'Allemand. Biographical information and references in Helmrath, p. 117 and footnote 148.

⁷⁸ Cf. Schmid, *Birgitta* p. 30, Nyberg, *Dokumente und Untersuchungen I* p. 39* and Westman, K. B., *Striden*, p. 287 and 289, who all noted that the judgement actually could be regarded as an acquittal.

⁷⁹ The judgement was printed *in extenso* by Silfverstolpe using UUB C 31 in his article, bilaga 2, p. 48-50.

Birgitta, by which documents they are prohibited to preach or proclaim indulgences *ad instar* (...) that stated brothers and sisters should not at all, neither by mouth or in writing, proclaim indulgences *ad instar* against mentioned mandate (...).

(In between comes the judgement regarding the indulgences in three paragraphs.⁸⁰)

(...) Finally, since in those books, which bear the title "Books of St. Birgitta's divine or heavenly Revelations" , much is contained and described in the manner and form of revelations ascribed to the mentioned St. Birgitta, about which quite many masters have different meanings and hesitate, both regarding the title and the perplexities and ineptitudes in many of the conclusions made there, which in their present form are called in question by the stated masters, I, not approving of the aforementioned title nor the material in those books that contain such things, decree and declare that rather much of the contents in those books is in need of modifications, explanations and additions by prudent and wise and in the Holy Scripture well-versed doctors, wherefore I forbid anyone to presume to pronounce or disseminate in public such things, in their present form in those books, without a Catholic modification; concerning the assertions and pronouncements already made by some of the mentioned brethren of the order, namely that one should have the same faith in the revelations that are contained in the said books, as in the Gospels, I say, pronounce and declare them to have been and to be presumptuous and temerary and never to have been at all permitted or never to become at all permitted in the future neither to aforementioned brethren nor to any other persons:

By this my definite sentence I do not intend to detract in any respect anything from St. Birgitta's sanctity or veneration or her canonisation or order (...).

The use of the *Reuelaciones* is in short restricted thus:

The judge declares that neither the title of the *Reuelaciones*, i. e. *Libri diuinarum seu celestium Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte*, nor their contents are approved of. More specifically it is prohibited to 1) pronounce or disseminate in public the unclear contents in their present form without a Catholic modification, and 2) equate the authority of the book with the authority of the gospels.

The second paragraph of the two is connected with the question whether the *Reuelaciones* are directly dictated by God. Therefore the judgement on the *Reuelaciones* can be regarded as comprising two fields: "Contents/ publication" and "authority". The disapproval of the title, that is the naming of the *Reuelaciones* as "divine" or "heavenly", could be included in the field of "authority". This

⁸⁰ Cf. Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 33-34 and Höjer, *Studier*, p. 211-213.

classification corresponds to the arrangement of the *Declaraciones* of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus too, in which the two matters are treated separately: In Johannes de Turre Cremata's defence, the question of the contents is treated separately **within** the investigation of the authority, In Heymericus' *Declaraciones* the question of authority is treated in the prologue.

Already from the fact that the earlier withdrawals⁸¹ of the indulgences *ad instar* were confirmed in sharp words, one gets the message that those, in the judge's opinion, were **not** communicated to the Birgittines in the *Reuelaciones* by God himself. The same is to be understood from the judge's statement that the *Reuelaciones* did not have the same authoritative status as the Gospels. On the other hand, they were not judged to be dictated by any evil force, and the judge made it clear in his verdict that St. Birgitta was still to be regarded as a true saint and her order to be held in the same honour as before.

The Birgittine reaction to the judgement

By the reactions of the Birgittines in Vadstena to the judgement it is obvious that both the disapproval of the title and the restrictions on the use of the *Reuelaciones* were taken very seriously, as will be shown below. The object of the Birgittine strivings from the very beginning was to be allowed to establish an order and live within it in full accordance with St. Birgitta's, or God's, dictated directions. To them, everything in the *Reuelaciones* was to be regarded as divine truth, and the rest was just a matter of getting the world to understand and approve of that.⁸² In this respect, a compromise was never really acceptable, and fulfilling St. Birgitta's vision was to them a work in progress. Before the proceedings against the *Reuelaciones* in Basle one had, by hard work, got so far as to have St. Birgitta canonized, the *Reuelaciones* approved of, and a rule to live by, which to a certain extent, if not fully, had the form St. Birgitta had wished. Where the rule is concerned, one had made some progress only a few weeks before.⁸³ Through the Council of Basle the Birgittines in one blow lost large sections of what they had achieved, notably their *Reuelaciones*; the position of these seemingly had been regarded secure.⁸⁴ Suddenly, they were back at the starting point in several respects, especially regarding the *Reuelaciones*, and certainly this loss must have been deeply felt. In the correspondence of the abbey, sadness and bitterness at the outcome is expressed, but also tired resolution.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Cf. above, footnote 15.

⁸² Cf. Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 5-22. The Birgittines obviously regarded the setback as a momentary reverse. Cf. below, "How did the Birgittines in Vadstena Abbey respond unofficially to the judgement?", and *Introductory history* in UUB MS C 518, especially fols. 3va-4vb.

⁸³ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 21.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Introductory history*, fol. 3rb (l. 9-21).

⁸⁵ Cf. the letter from the convent to Marienkron, in copy in RA Cod. A 20, fol. 312r, the letter to Johannes de Turre Cremata, in copy in RA Cod. A 21, fol. 85v-86r (parts of it quoted in Silfverstolpe,

The treatment of the judgement in previous research

Scholars of modern times have different opinions as regards what happened with the judgement of the Council of Basle after the council was dissolved in 1449. While there is agreement as to the date of the restoration of the indulgences in their entirety, which took place in 1484, by a bull of 1488 and a confirmation of 1490,⁸⁶ there is a state of uncertainty as to what happened with the judgement on the *Reuelaciones*. No official revocation of this part of the judgement has been found,⁸⁷ and as the last word in the question a tract by Benedict XIV is mentioned, in which the Pope gives his statement on the *Reuelaciones*.⁸⁸ Some scholars, referring to Benedict XIV's writing, claim that the judgement on the *Reuelaciones* is still valid today.⁸⁹ Other scholars, some by referring to the same tract by Benedict XIV, claim that the judgement was revoked thanks to the contributions of the defender Johannes de Turre Cremata.⁹⁰ This difference of opinions was recorded as early as 1792 by Mansi.⁹¹

Om kyrkans angrepp, p. 34) and the copy of announcement of Vadstena Abbey in RA Cod. A 21, fol. 90v.

⁸⁶ Before the final restoration the Birgittines won back the indulgences in part in different monasteries at different points of time. See Höjer, *Studier*, p. 221-223.

⁸⁷ Johannes Messenius in his *Chronologia Sanctae Birgittae*, p. 222 § 218-219, writes that Pope Nicholas V in 1448 chose St. Birgitta as his patron saint and revoked the judgement of the Council of Basle and "every privilege granted them by the Holy See, graces, indulgences and prerogatives he willingly approved of". Both Silfverstolpe (*Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 35) and Höjer (*Studier*, p. 221-222) have searched in vain for Messenius' source, and scholars now seem to agree on the point that this document never existed. Höjer shows that Vadstena's efforts to restore the indulgences were still going on after 1448. Nyberg, in *Dokumente* p. 92-96 (no. 31) edits and comments upon a bull of Nicholas V from January 7, 1449 **rejecting** the wishes for a revocation of the judgement. At any rate, this revocation seems to regard the indulgences only. Messenius does not mention the *Reuelaciones*.

⁸⁸ Benedict XIV was pope from 1740 to 1758. His tract *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione* was printed in several different editions in the middle of the 18th century; I have used "Ed. secunda locupletior", Patavii 1743.

⁸⁹ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp* and Höjer, *Studier* have the same opinion. Höjer, *Studier* writes p. 221 "Att någon ändring i Baseldekretets förklaring om uppenbarelserna eller i formen för regelns stadfästelse ej heller senare kommit till stånd, synes säkert och har heller aldrig varit omtvistadt." (Höjers' *Studier* does not reach further than to ca. 1450). Schmid in *Birgitta* (1940) joins him in this opinion and refers p. 30 to Benedict XIV's writing, as Silfverstolpe does p. 37. Börresen, too, in *Birgitta's Godlanguage* (1991) speaks p. 61 about "Birgitta's canonical domestication" in Benedict XIV's writing.

⁹⁰ Going through the question of the *Reuelaciones*, Colledge in *Epistola solitarii* (1956) writes p. [49] that "the Basle decrees were annulled" July 1, 1484, and refers to Höjer, *Studier* (1905) p. 223, footnote 3. However, Höjer in this note speaks of the judgement regarding the indulgences only. Colledge is somewhat unclear on this point or there is a misconception, which could have caused Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden* (2001), p. 223 to interpret this as if the Basle decree was revoked in its entirety, that is, also the part regarding the *Reuelaciones*. Morris, giving a similar account of the course of events in *St. Birgitta* (1999), p. 158, gets her information from an article by F. Vernet on "Brigitte de Suède" in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*. Perhaps an assumption made by Lederer in *Der spanische Kardinal* (1879), is, at least partly, the origin of the belief that Johannes de Turre Cremata's defence led to the acquittal of the *Reuelaciones* in Basle. Lederer on p. 77-78 suggests that "the doctors of the

Indeed, Pope Benedict XIV seems to have considered both the judgement and the defences when composing his statement: The wordings of the judgement shines through in Benedict's assertions that the approval of the *Reuelaciones* made by Boniface IX was only a permission to edit them for the benefit of the believers after mature examination, further that the Christian does not owe the *Reuelaciones* the total assent of Catholic Faith. The wording of the defences echo in his statement that the *Reuelaciones* do deserve the assent of **human** faith, according to the rules of prudence, further that they are probable and credible if read with piety, and that one should not judge them too hastily or show them contempt.⁹²

A comprehensive study of the history of Vadstena Abbey and the Birgittine order like Højer's, which ends in the middle of the 15th century, is still lacking for the second half of the 15th century.

The question about what actually happened when the third commission put forward the results of their examinations and the judgement was pronounced, and further, what happened with the judgement after the council had come to an end, still has not been fully investigated.⁹³

commission" in Basle rejected the accusations against the *Reuelaciones* and that the case was put aside. This assumption, however, was based on the fact that up until that time no judgement had been found among the sources. The conception of Johannes de Turre Cremata's victorious contribution is further communicated in the Spanish general dictionary *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana* 62 (1928): Torquemada (Juan de) p. 1236, coll. 2.

⁹¹ See Mansi's *Premonitio* to his edition of Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones* (called *Defensiones* by Mansi).

⁹² Benedict XIV, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, Liber II, cap. 32, 11 (p. 243): "*sciendum est, approbationem istam nihil aliud esse, quam permissionem, ut edantur ad Fidelium institutionem, et utilitatem post maturum examen: siquidem hisce Revelationibus taliter approbatis licet non debeatur, nec possit adhiberi assensus Fidei Catholicae, debetur tamen assensus fidei humanae juxta prudentiae regulas, juxta quas nempe tales Revelationes sunt probabiles, et pie credibiles, uti, loquendo de (...) Revelacionibus Sanctae Birgittae, quae a Bonifacio IX (...) approbatae dicuntur, (...) docet Arauxo*". Further, Liber 3, cap. 53, 15 (p. 499-500), in his quoting of different theologians on the matter, Benedict XIV also quotes Johannes de Turre Cremata and his final comment to his *Declaraciones*. Benedict XIV concludes: "*Ex quibus proinde sequitur, posse aliquem, salva et integra Fide Catholica, assensum Revelationibus praedictis non praestare, et ab eis recedere, dummodo id fiat cum debita modestia, non sine ratione, et citra contemptum.*" Cf. Heymericus' opinion expressed in his *Dyalogus* (summarized in chapter 4. 2), which is mainly the same as the opinion expressed in the final comment to his *Declaraciones*, UUB MS C 518, fol. 136r-137r, edited in Appendix 2. 4. 4.

⁹³ Nyberg, *Dokumente*, p. 38*, footnote 41 points out that the judgement itself is not fully evaluated, and writes that Ulrich Montag was working on the document at that time (1972). However, this work did not focus on the judgement specifically, according to the kind information of Dr. Montag himself, on my inquiry (letter to me of April 29, 2002).

2. 2. Observations to form a basis for a new investigation about the judgement

Introduction

The lack of an analysis of the judgement and its effects is of course a big deficiency in the context of the edition of one of Heymericus de Campo's defences. Since these questions are of principal importance for the estimation of Heymericus' contributions and his *Dyalogus*, it is essential for the present edition to, at least preliminary, try to find out what happened with the judgement of Basle.

Höjer⁹⁴ and Silfverstolpe⁹⁵ point out that there is a peculiar lack of medieval sources for these events that were so important for the Birgittines. This is true, especially with regard to Birgittine sources from Vadstena concerning the judgement and its effects, and I will return to this problem below. However, the situation for a study is somewhat better now than before. In the course of the work on this edition some Birgittine sources, previously not fully or not at all examined, have come my way.

These sources all have to do with the closing stages of the proceedings and the judgement too, and two of them are particularly interesting. They give a picture of the outcome of the proceedings quite contrary to the established view of the leading scholars in the field and to the other medieval sources of the history of Vadstena Abbey and St. Birgitta's order; scholars and sources which show, that a negative judgement of the *Reuelaciones* was proclaimed in Basle.

In what follows I will therefore make a preliminary identification of the problems, relate the new sources to the ones already known and finally propose a reasonable view on the judgement which at least takes all the known facts into consideration. As this is not the place for an exhaustive study, I will leave it to a professional historian to put the matter into a wider context.

In my study I will treat the judgement of the Council of Basle as consisting of two different parts, that is, one regarding the indulgences and the rights to hear confession, and one regarding the *Reuelaciones*.⁹⁶ Therefore, when asking questions about the revocation of the judgement, I will analyse the one separate from the other, even though they are closely related.⁹⁷ The present survey is thus limited to that part of the judgement that regards the orthodoxy of the *Reuelaciones*. It also seems natural to focus on the circumstances and sources regarding the Birgittine mother house Vadstena, since the work with the judgement was organized by this community.

⁹⁴ Höjer, *Studier*, p. 201 and 209.

⁹⁵ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 32-33 and 35.

⁹⁶ Höjer, Nyberg and Börresen in their different studies work in this way.

⁹⁷ That these two questions had immediate consequences for the interpretation of the rule and how to live by it goes without saying.

When studying the part of the judgement concerning the *Reuelaciones*, described above (“The judgement”), one issue stands out as central, namely the one regarding the orthodoxy of the *Reuelaciones* and the prohibition against them being publicly disseminated in their present form. This is the issue focused upon in the Birgittine sources from the decades following the judgement, as will be shown below. The issues concerning the divine authority and the title seemingly were not discussed to such an extent.

The relevant questions are: What impact did Louis d’Allemand of Arles’ judgement regarding the orthodoxy of the *Reuelaciones* have on Birgittine life, and how long was it considered valid? What part did the texts of Heymericus and the other defenders play?

As a platform for this discussion I will present a recapitulation of the most important events and dates:

- 1) The indictment containing the 123 articles, is put forward by the first commission on April 6, 1434.
- 2) A second commission, led by the judge in matters of faith, Johannes Cervantes of St. Petri ad vincula, is appointed on May 11, 1434 to examine the indictment and the *Reuelaciones*.
- 3) The indictment and the *Reuelaciones* are handed over to a third commission consisting of Johannes de Turre Cremata, Heymericus de Campo and two others (most likely after August 1434).
- 4) The third commission is at work in the year 1435.
- 5) The judgement is pronounced on March 1, 1436.
- 6) A certified copy of the 123 articles of the indictment, is made at the request of Gervinus Petri on March 23, 1436. (the ”account of April 6, 1434”).
- 7) Gervinus Petri is back in Vadstena Abbey on June 27, 1436
- 8) The judgement is confirmed by a papal bull dated December 1, 1436.

Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement⁹⁸

Vadstena Abbey’s leading representative at the council, the confessor-general Gervinus Petri, is back in Vadstena Abbey in June 1436.⁹⁹ He brings a copy of the 123 articles with the account of April 6, 1434, and without doubt also copies of the defences.¹⁰⁰ In *Diarium Vadstenense*, the memorial book of the abbey, the entry of

⁹⁸ The efforts of Vadstena Abbey to have the judgement of Basle revoked is described by Höjer, *Studier*, p. 217-223.

⁹⁹ *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 458.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. above “The legal proceedings” and *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 473 and the note that brother Petrus Olavi had made copies of the *Declaraciones* before 1438. That there were copies of the defences made

this day states that Gervinus returns from the council "the business of our order accomplished in an excellent way";¹⁰¹ a bit peculiar, one would think, in regards to what is known about the outcome of the proceedings. This entry, however, was changed by a later hand to "the business of our order **un**accomplished".¹⁰²

The changed entry in *Diarium Vadstenense* casts doubt as to whether the abbey upon the return of Gervinus Petri was informed of the whole contents of the judgement. This information would in any case have come to the abbey before 1438-1439, as can be gathered from the contents of the copy of a supplication of the Swedish bishops to Pope Eugenius IV dated 1438-39.¹⁰³ In this supplication, Nicolaus Ragvaldi,¹⁰⁴ archbishop of Sweden at that time, together with other Swedish bishops plead with Pope Eugenius IV among other things, that he confirm St. Birgitta's rule, that he approve of and confirm the *Reuelaciones*, the indulgences and the "remissions of sins" (the right to hear confessions) and allow them to be publicly proclaimed and preached.¹⁰⁵ Nicolaus points out that St. Birgitta's rule is for the present observed in Vadstena Abbey and that the *Reuelaciones* have already been up for examination at the Council of Basle. The issues brought up in Nicolaus' request indicate that Nicolaus at this time was aware of the contents of the judgement, because the issues correspond perfectly with the paragraphs of the judgement. It is a fact, too, that by the judgement of Basle restrictions were put on the use of the *Reuelaciones* for the first time in history.

Despite a judgement already having been pronounced, and despite its contents obviously being known, the judgement is not mentioned in the supplication. Instead, Nicolaus writes that the examinations of the *Reuelaciones* have shown that the books are irreproachable and in no respect deviate from the Catholic faith.

at the council is confirmed by the *Littera testimonialis* of Rodolphus de Beringhen to Heymericus de Campo's *Tractatus de probatione spirituum*, #9-11.

¹⁰¹ *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 458, cf. the apparatus. "rediit (...) expeditis egregie negociis ordinis nostrī". Dr. Claes Gejrot has been so kind as to draw my attention to this.

¹⁰² *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 458. From the original *expeditis egregie negociis ordinis nostri to inexpeditis negociis ordinis nostri*.

¹⁰³ RA Cod. A 20, fol 191r.

¹⁰⁴ Nicolaus Ragvaldi had been a member of the second commission of the proceedings, cf. above, "The setting up of two subsequent commissions" and footnote 46.

¹⁰⁵ It seems like preparations were made to try the matter of the Birgittines at the Council of Basle once more at this time, cf. Höjer, *Studier*, p. 217. A letter with about the same contents as Nicolaus Ragvaldi's was prepared at about the same time by Karl Knutsson, Regent of Sweden at one point of time in this period (Copy in RA, Cod. A 20 fol. 191r). I believe the letter of Eric of Pomerania, King of Sweden to king Sigismund of Rome (Copy in RA, Cod. A 20, fol. 152r), should be connected with this effort, too, since the wording is almost identical to that of Nicolaus as regards the requests (cf. Friedländer, *Vadstena kloster och dess gymmare 1416-1419*, p. 134-135).

The matter is not mentioned further in Vadstena documents until 1444. In the entry of September 5 that year,¹⁰⁶ *Diarium Vadstenense* describes preparations for a legation to Rome and the Curia. The object for the journey is said to be to obtain 1) approbation of the *Reuelaciones* 2) confirmation of *Regula Saluatoris* 3) ”subscriptions by their own hands of the theologians explaining the articles extracted from the *Reuelaciones*”.¹⁰⁷ In a copy of an announcement regarding the same preparations dating from September 3, 1444 the community of Vadstena Abbey announces that it has appointed delegates with the authority to procure at the Holy See confirmation of the rule regarding an abbey of two convents and approbation of the *Reuelaciones* and the indulgences of the abbey.¹⁰⁸

The first legation did not reach Rome, since the delegates were assaulted and plundered in Wilsnak in Brandeburg.¹⁰⁹ Another legation was sent, according to *Diarium Vadstenense*, on August 22, 1445.¹¹⁰

A letter, written to the daughter house Marienkron at Stralsund dates from this time, i. e. 1445.¹¹¹ In this letter the Vadstena community writes about the delegation sent out “for the sake of arduous negotiations for our order”, and that the plan of the Vadstena community was to try and get the judgement changed or mitigated. Their chance to succeed, the community writes, would likely be greater if the community got a certified copy of the judgement, which could be made from the copy of Marienkron’s sealed copy. The objects of the journey mentioned in this letter are identical with those mentioned in *Diarium Vadstenense* quoted above.

The activities of the legation in Rome seem to be concentrated to the beginning of the year 1446.¹¹² Despite the fact that the question about the *Reuelaciones* has the most prominent position in the documents quoted above, it seems that the negotiations in Rome came to deal mostly with the Birgittine indulgences, a mission not even mentioned in two of the three documents quoted. In March 1446 the delegates had presented supplications to the pope regarding the indulgences, and had also managed to obtain the desired authentication of the writings of Johannes de Turre Cremata. Johannes is now cardinal at the Curia in Rome. Apart from this, no efforts concerning the mitigation or revocation of the judgement of Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* is mentioned at all in the legation’s letters from Rome. It has been suggested that the passing over of the *Reuelaciones* was a strategy from Vadstena Abbey, namely that there was an opinion that it was improbable that this matter would be solved before the schism within the Church

¹⁰⁶ In *Diarium Vadstenense*, edition of 1988, this entry (no. 547) is dated August 5, 1444, however, according to Claes Gejrot, September 5 is the correct dating.

¹⁰⁷ *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 547.1.

¹⁰⁸ RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 90v.

¹⁰⁹ *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 547.2.

¹¹⁰ *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 554.

¹¹¹ RA Cod. A 20, fol. 312r.

¹¹² Højer, *Studier*, p. 219-221.

had come to an end – therefore one should put all one’s strength into the restoration of the indulgences.¹¹³

One point concerning the *Reuelaciones* was achieved, as mentioned above, namely the authentication of the copies of Johannes de Turre Cremata’s defence of the *Reuelaciones*.

We have some information about how the legation approached Johannes de Turre Cremata in a letter of safe-conduct to him from the Vadstena community, written before the the second legation left in 1445.¹¹⁴ In this letter the community asks Johannes to help the legation to obtain from the pope that ”all attacks during the Council of Basle against the *Reuelaciones*, their abbey, order and privileges be withdrawn and declared invalid”. The community explains that they wish to have Johannes’ revision of his own writings and his authentication as a defence against future adversaries and for the memory of Johannes’ name in generations to come, so that in the end said *Reuelaciones* can be approved and confirmed by the Apostolic See, or at least get permission to be disseminated publicly within the Church like any other saint’s scriptures. The wording supports the view referred to above, as it indicates that the Vadstena community was prepared to wait for the right occasion for the *Reuelaciones*: meanwhile, one seems to be ready to accept the degradation of the *Reuelaciones* from not being placed on the same level as the Gospels, to just being ranked with apocryphal writings.¹¹⁵

Johannes de Turre Cremata’s immediate response to all these requests is unknown. In a prologue made in 1446 to his revised and authenticated *Declaraciones*, Johannes in neutral terms describes what he has done in the matter so far and what he is about to do, i. e. to give an authentication.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, Vadstena Abbey does obtain a very important document: the authentication and approbation by the judge of the Curia himself, Ludovicus de Garsiis,¹¹⁷ of the copy

¹¹³ About the mission of the legation, Nyberg in *Vadstena klostets biktprivilegier 1446* (especially p. 315-327 and p. 343-345) has presented an explanation as to why the indulgences came to be of immediate interest.

¹¹⁴ Copy in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 85v-86r.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Heymericus’ suggestion in his *Dyalogus* and his formulation in the final comment to the *Declaraciones* (Appendix 2. 4. 4), further Johannes de Turre Cremata’s final comment to his *Declaraciones*.

¹¹⁶ The prologue of 1446, *Declaraciones* chapter I-V and the beginning of chapter VI written in 1435 have been edited together in several editions of the *Reuelaciones*, starting with the first edition of 1492. There seems to be a confusion among the editors of Johannes de Turre Cremata’s text as to the arrangement of his text; The prologue of 1446 and part of prologue of 1435 are called “*Epistola ad omnes Christi fideles*”, Chapters I-V of the *Declaraciones* are commonly called “*Prologus*” (cf. chapter 5. 1 and the description of the manuscript copies). Chapter VI, which contains the explanation of the 123 articles, was edited for the first time in 1792 by Mansi.

¹¹⁷ Ludovicus de Garsiis is entitled *iudex camerae apostolicae* in the certification. Ludovicus’ certification has been printed together with Johannes de Turre Cremata’s Prologue of 1446/1435 (“*Epistola*”) and chapters I-V of *Declaraciones* (cf. footnote 116 above). Ludovicus’ certification in the

of Johannes' *Declaraciones*. In generous formulations, Ludovicus de Garsiis among other things in his certification writes that he makes the authentication of the copy of Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones* "so that this book (i. e. the *Declaraciones*) and its contents by the course of time and considering the weakness of human nature may enjoy greater and more steadfast confidence, and so that those things that were given and performed by the holy *patres* at the general councils may have force, strength and stability".¹¹⁸ In addition he solemnly gives his approval of the *Declaraciones* themselves. The ceremonious terms are standard for this kind of document, but in fact not only Johannes' authentication of *Declaraciones* as being his own, but also the contents of them are approved of by the papal court.¹¹⁹

In *Diarium Vadstenense*, in the entry of October 20, 1446, we have information about the return of the legation from Rome. The legation brought authenticated copies of the defences for the *Reuelaciones*.¹²⁰ From another source we know that on its way home the legation had called on the three other defenders at their different places of domicile and then also obtained Heymericus de Campo's revised writings and authentications.¹²¹ However, the diary states, the rest of their business remained in suspense. For this one blames the overriding problem, the schism.¹²²

Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey. *Auisamentum*

After the note of October 20, 1446, *Diarium Vadstenense* is silent about these matters. This is also about as far as previous studies have reached.

Altomünster edition of 1680 has the heading "*Littera testimonialis et decretum Domini Iudicis Camerae Apostolicae super praemissis declarationibus Domini Ioannis Cardinalis de Turrecremata*".

¹¹⁸ Ludovicus de Garsiis, *Littera testimonialis et decretum Domini Iudicis Camerae Apostolicae* p. c 2r G: "ut dicto libro, et contentis in eodem decursu temporis et propter fragilitatem naturae humanae in futurum major fides et certior adhibeatur, et illa, quae per sanctos Patres in Concilijs generalibus edita et facta sunt, vigorem, et roboris firmitatem habeant".

¹¹⁹ Ludovicus de Garsiis, *Littera testimonialis et decretum Domini Iudicis Camerae Apostolicae* p. c 2v D (For the sake of clarity, the punctuation of the 1680 edition has been changed in this quotation.) "Idcirco omnibus et singulis supradictis tam rite et legitime factis et celebratis in eodem iudicio coram nobis, ut dictis, scripturae, seu manu, et sigillo atque libro ac omnibus contentis in eisdem, plenaria fides firma adhibeatur ubique locorum et terrarum, nostram et dictae Curiae Causarum Camerae Apostolicae auctoritatem iudiciariam et ordinariam interposuimus ac tenore praesentium interponimus pariter et decretum." I thank Prof. Eva Odelman for helping me interpret this document.

¹²⁰ *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 566.1.

¹²¹ Rodolphus de Beringhen, *Littera testimonialis*, #11-12. The remaining two defenders had passed away.

¹²² *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 566.2. "alia vero eorum negocia remanserunt in suspenso, quia unio non erat facta." For the interpretation of *quia unio non erat facta*, cf. Nyberg, *Vadstena klosterns bikprivilegier 1446*, p. 343-344.

Therefore it is no wonder that the draft document kept in the large book of copies of the abbey, which mentions the matter again in the 1450s-1460s, seems to be unused in previous studies of the matter.¹²³

The character of the draft document is difficult to determine; it looks like a letter which lists problems discussed at a general meeting in the abbey, problems which the Vadstena community needed help to solve. As a possible addressee, at least for the second part of the letter, a meeting of Swedish bishops has been suggested.¹²⁴ The hand is a *cursiva* difficult to read, and a later hand, medieval though, has made a great number of barely legible additions in the margin. The text is written on a spare space after a couple of other shorter texts, dated 1456. The heading reads as follows in translation (a preliminary transcription is inserted as Appendix 2. 4. 5):

Your humble and devoted Sister K abbess, brother M, confessor <general> and (all) other persons in Saint Virgin Mary's <and Saint Birgitta's> Abbey in Vadstena (*added by later hand*: due to the problems etc. out of the collected (...?), your predecessors)

This is what we have collected and gathered in writing and disposed after (*above the line*: due mastication and digestion and) mutual collating and approbation (*addition in marg.* : of chapter(hall?)) as well as (...?) to inform your belovednesses, due to the abbess's and the general confessor's different problems and questions, which earlier was laid before you in writing and maybe others in the same way in the future (...?)

As the text preceding the draft document is dated 1456,¹²⁵ the draft document must be dated 1456 or after. In his description of A 20, fol. 286v, Ståhl has suggested the dating of 1465, due to his identification of the first scribe as being Johannes Johannis,¹²⁶ present in the abbey at the same time as one abbess K(atarina) and one general confessor M(agnus).¹²⁷ The abbey was led by one abbess K and one confessor general M in 1456-1457 too,¹²⁸ and it would be by a closer analysis of the

¹²³ RA, Cod. A 20, fol. 286v. The draft document has been mentioned in Fröjmark, *Mirakler och helgonkult*, p. 53-54 and footnote 13, and it was described by Ståhl in *Vadstena klostrets stora kopiebok: En presentation av handskriften A 20 i Riksarkivet*, p. 51-53, with reproduction on p. 44.

¹²⁴ Ståhl, *Vadstena klostrets stora kopiebok*, p. 53.

¹²⁵ Cf. *Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev*, letter no. 26858 and 26859 (Cod. A 20, fol. 286r-v).

¹²⁶ Johannes Johannis was in the abbey 1459-1482, cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 705, 785 and 851.

¹²⁷ Katarina Persdotter, abbess November 13, 1465-1473 (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 775:7 and no. 815) and Magnus Unnonis, confessor general 1444-1452 and 1457 – December 17, 1465 (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 545, 627, 682a and 777:1, 808. Cf. also Nyberg, "Magnus Unnonis" in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, Vol. 10, coll. 97-99.

¹²⁸ Katarina Bengtsdotter, abbess 1452-September 20, 1456 (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, 627:4 and 674:1); Katarina Ulfsdotter, abbess September 29, 1456-1461 (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 676 and 714) and Michael Sunonis, confessor general 1448-1457 (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 581, 670, 676 and 682a).

issues mentioned be possible to confirm if the dating of 1465 is correct. Until then, to be on the safe side, I will below call the document "draft document of 1456-1465".¹²⁹

The questions listed in the document are questions of crucial importance for daily life in the abbey. They show that the community finds the present situation intolerable and that there exists a wish or demand to reform the old ways and rules and to develop new, relevant and stable ways of life in the abbey.

At the top of the list come questions that deal with the *Reuelaciones* and the explanations (*declaraciones*) of them. These undoubtedly refer to the *Declaraciones* made by the four defenders in Basle (I quote the text in translation. For the latin text, see appendix 2. 4. 5):

First, how the *Reuelaciones* within themselves and with the defence corpus¹³⁰ or the explanations (*in the margin*.: of the articles extracted from the books of *Reuelaciones*) of them made and written down by the doctors can be reduced to one uniformity

Further, how the uniformity of the defence corpus itself or of the explanations in it should be arranged over the year

Further, how the explanatory revelations, even the extravagantes, should be included in a uniform way

The question about reducing the *Reuelaciones* to a uniformity within themselves and with the defences should be connected with the wordings of the judgement – restrictions were put on them due to "the perplexities and ineptitudes in many of the conclusions made there".¹³¹ Further, as we remember, the judgement forbade preaching the unclear contents of the *Reuelaciones* **without orthodox modification by wise men**. The wordings of the draft document indicate that plans existed for revising the *Reuelaciones* according to the suggestions and interpretations made in the defences.

The second question, dealing with the question of the uniformity of the defences or how the defence should be arranged over the year, must be connected with preliminary plans for a cycle of readings at meals of the kind we see later in

¹²⁹ On a couple of occasions, the document mentions a "chapter", and a "future chapter" (cf. Appendix 2.4.5, footnotes 225, 237 and 238). Without trying to give a final interpretation of these words, I would like to point out that a general chapter of the order was prepared by Marienwold Abbey in Lübeck in 1456 (cf. footnote 125 and *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 667 and 670). A general chapter was held in Gnadenberg 1487, too.

¹³⁰ Cf. footnote 484.

¹³¹ Through the defences of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus we get to know that the critics pointed out that in the *Reuelaciones* theses are often posed, which are contradictory to statements in other chapters of the books, and that the conclusions in them were often incorrectly drawn. Cf. chapter 4. 1.

the *Liber Usuum* eventually made, a book for uniform customs and ceremonies mentioned further down in the document.¹³²

The third question further indicates that there was work going on with the incorporation of the *Reuelaciones extrauagantes* and possibly also additions and explanations (*declaraciones*)¹³³ of an earlier date to the *Reuelaciones* corpus, all of which we find inserted in the printed edition of *Reuelaciones* of 1492.

In this context one would have expected the Birgittines to present *Auisamentum* for discussion,¹³⁴ for it seems like the answers to the articles of *Auisamentum* at some stage was thought of as being added to the *Reuelaciones*.¹³⁵ The different versions of the preface to *Auisamentum* in the copy in C 518 (fol. 216r-218r) and the two copies in C 31 (fol. 127r-131v and 135r-142r) show how this plan developed. In the latest version of the three, as I judge it, in C 31 fol. 127r-131v¹³⁶ it is stated that *Auisamentum* was composed to make up the *modificaciones* asked for in the judgement.¹³⁷ The reliability of the preface is, however, so weak that it cannot be used as material for this investigation. It is obviously secondary to *Auisamentum* itself, most probably written by a Birgittine in Vadstena after 1446,¹³⁸ and in the Introductory history in UUB MS C 518 (fol. 7va) it is openly admitted that the

¹³² Cf. Appendix 2. 4. 5. This is considered the starting point for the work on *Liber Usuum*, which then seemingly was under construction for a long period of time. Some parts are perhaps older than others, and one version would have replaced another several times. Finally one version was approved for dissemination at the Birgittine general chapter in Gnadenberg 1487. An edition of *Liber Usuum* is being prepared by Fil. lic. Sara Risberg, Dept. of Classical Philology, Stockholm University, and I am indebted to her for letting me use her unpublished material.

¹³³ These additions and *declaraciones* by Birgitta were in fact revelations, too. Cf. Hollman, *Reuelaciones extrauagantes*, p. 28.

¹³⁴ About *Auisamentum*, see above, "The setting up of two subsequent commissions".

¹³⁵ It has not been possible to find out whether these plans were prior to the draft document of 1456-1465, or after that document.

¹³⁶ Edited by Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 39-47. About the function of C 31 as a collection of "left-over" but not dismissable material, cf. Nyberg, *Skriftföljder och lägg*, p. 20.

¹³⁷ *Prologue to Auisamentum*, (UUB MS C 31, fol. 127r-v): "*Concepte itaque erant infrascripte breues declaraciones super libris et articulis memoratis quasi omnium aliarum declarationum epilogae examine, perlecte et correcte, que non solum huiusmodi sententie diffinitive, verum etiam ipsis libris Reuelacionum in margine super articulis huiusmodi ex decreto iudicis fidei debuissent fuisse inserte ac de verbo in verbum integraliter incorporate, ut secundum ipsas quasi secundum quasdam modificaciones, de quibus commemorat preacta sententia a iudice in causis fidei in Basiliensi concilio fulminata, et sicut etiam seriose et assertatiue dominus Johannes cardinalis et magister Heymericus pro eorum declarationibus alias requisiti, factum fuisse veraciter presumebat (sic);*" In the subsequent text it is said that "*Auisamentum*" would be a suitable name for the writing and that it should be recorded among the defences. Even if this source is not used in this investigation it is interesting to note that the preface states that the answers to the articles of *Auisamentum* were written **to be added to the final judgement and to the *Reuelaciones* due to a decree by the judge in matters of faith**. Thus the writer indicates that *Auisamentum* was presented to the judge **after** he pronounced the sentence (cf. below, "The story of the judgement in codex A").

¹³⁸ In the preface reference is made to, among other things, the authentications and subscriptions to the texts made 1446 by Heymericus and Johannes de Turre Cremata.

attribution to the four theologians is constructed.¹³⁹ Heymericus, it is true, speaks of an *ausamentum* written by the four defenders,¹⁴⁰ but no special objective with that text or special features are mentioned to make it possible to identify it with the text called *Ausamentum* by the Birgittine in Vadstena. The plans for adding the *Ausiamentum* to the *Reuelaciones* leaves no traces in the Vadstena copies of the *Reuelaciones*, and seem to have been abandoned.¹⁴¹

To return to the draft document of 1456-65: The questions on the list regarding the *Reuelaciones* are followed by other questions¹⁴² as important and different as for example the one about making a book of customs, *Liber Usuum*, and the one about the confirmation of the rule of St. Saviour (St. Birgitta's rule) *in prima persona*, the canonization of Katarina of Vadstena, St. Birgitta's house in Rome, even "the reformation and confirmation of the Order of St. Saviour as a whole".

The events in Basle resound in several of the issues on the list: Apart from the questions discussed above regarding the *Reuelaciones*, there is one asking "how it would be possible to renew the *ad vincula* indulgences, or to at least get to be the allowed to pronounce the Revelation about it" (it was among the 123 ones criticized in Basle), one question about how the indulgences of the order could be pronounced "safely and in a uniform way" throughout the year and which indulgences are to be regarded as *ad instar* and which are not; another one about how a judgement at the Council of Basle against certain persons of the order could be revoked or mitigated. More than 20 years after it was pronounced and more than 10 years after the legation's return from Rome, the judgement is thus the source of big and fundamental discussions within the abbey. Apparently, one finally is beginning to plan for a life where the judgement on the *Reuelaciones* is not going to be revoked.

One cannot help thinking of how big a task this must have been regarded as – to redact or rewrite parts of the "untouchable" *Reuelaciones* almost some 70 years after the work of Alfonso – a man appointed for the task by God himself! Where was one, first of all, to find a new Alfonso, a person willing and competent enough

¹³⁹ UUB MS C 518, fol. 7va, after a description of the existing versions of the texts of the four defenders in Basle: "*Similiter et declarationes doctoris seu magistri ignoti et Ausamentum* (in marg.: *et declarationes quarum auctor proprius ignoratur*), *licet nomina actorum huiusmodi declarationum et Ausamenti nobis sint ignota, tamen, quia loco et tempore et forte a magistris et doctoribus eisdem scribebantur et omnes libros et articulos sepedictos approbant et defendent, ideo eorum scripta aliorum doctorum scriptis (...) licet ipsi prius scripserant, preponuntur in registro et defensorio infrascriptis.*" Cf. also the erasure in UUB MS C 31, fol. 127v.

¹⁴⁰ *Declaraciones*, Prologue 1446 (UUB MS C 518, fol. 98rb, l. 24-27).

¹⁴¹ Interestingly enough *Ausamentum* is used this way in one existing manuscript, made as late as 1488 in the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon. Cf. below, "The story of the judgement in codex A".

¹⁴² Cf. Appendix 2. 4. 5.

to do the job¹⁴³ – and would the work be unnecessary, as the schism would no doubt eventually come to an end and the *Reuelaciones* would be confirmed in its present form?

We are left in the middle of affairs, since the draft document of 1456-1465 is the most recent among Vadstena documents that I have been able to find so far that openly discusses the effects of the judgement on the *Reuelaciones*. I am sure, though, that there is more material to be found for anyone who decides to go thoroughly through the development of the matter after 1446, especially in Birgittine sources other than those of Vadstena.

How did the Birgittines in Vadstena Abbey respond unofficially to the judgement?

The activities in Vadstena from 1438 to the 1450s- 1460s show that the judgement on the *Reuelaciones* really constituted a problem for the leading Birgittines in Vadstena, and that the situation in the 1450s-1460s called for an immediate solution. Formally, the judgement regarding the *Reuelaciones* with its sanctions against title and use would have considerably hampered the fundamental and vital use of the texts within the abbey. If obeyed to the full of its extent, it was bound to pinion the brethren in their daily tasks, in their making of sermons, in their copying of texts and, not least, in the long term plan for the expansion of the order, financed by indulgences and motivated by the *Reuelaciones*.

However, scholars have different opinions about the impact of the judgement on Birgittine life and its effect on the status of the order and the *Reuelaciones*. For example, Höjer observes that the judgement, even though it diminished the esteem of the order through the blot on the reputation of the *Reuelaciones*,¹⁴⁴ did not seem to have had any real effect on the expansion of the order or the attitude towards it at the Curia.¹⁴⁵ Silfverstolpe agrees with Höjer on the point of the position of the order, however, he sees the interest in the *Reuelaciones* as reading on the continent decline.¹⁴⁶ Westman records that the situation generated a lot of work for the Birgittines, and remarks that the general attitude towards it within the order was another matter.¹⁴⁷

As for the internal affairs of Vadstena Abbey I have noted some conditions when going through the primary documents, conditions which support the view of Westman, meaning that parallel with the official efforts to mitigate the judgement, there existed an “unofficial treatment” of, or an “attitude” towards, the judgement.

¹⁴³ Could Heymericus have been thought of? In his *Epistula super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*, Heymericus made a promise to Vadstena to go through the whole of the *Reuelaciones* to comment upon difficult passages. Cf. chapter 3. 3, “Heymericus’ relations to the Birgittine order” and footnote 406.

¹⁴⁴ Höjer, *Studier*, p. 215sqq.

¹⁴⁵ Höjer, *Studier*, p. 223-224.

¹⁴⁶ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁷ Westman, K. B., *Striden*, p. 287-288.

Firstly, discontent is openly expressed in the Vadstena correspondence with friends of the order or members of the order. In other internal documents, pride and hurt over the unjust treatment of the *Reuelaciones* is expressed, foremost in the official “history” of the event in the defence corpus UUB MS C 518.¹⁴⁸ Time and again two passages in the *Reuelaciones* are quoted: The one about Christ foretelling St. Birgitta that he will permit his words to be trampled upon for some time for them to have greater effect in the future,¹⁴⁹ and the one in which Christ grants the indulgences to St. Birgitta’s order.¹⁵⁰ The latter quotation in fact was cut in stone and bricked into the wall in the church of Vadstena Abbey.¹⁵¹

Secondly, during this period the Birgittines seemingly did not stop preaching and disseminating in public the contents of the *Reuelaciones* after the judgement. As far as we know,¹⁵² in the writing of new sermons, the Birgittine preachers continued to quote St. Birgitta, and not in an altered version.¹⁵³ However, in many cases it is not possible to determine, whether a particular sermon was written before or after the council of Basle.¹⁵⁴ It remains to be studied, if the way a Birgittine preacher quotes the *Reuelaciones* before the judgement differs from the way he quotes them after the judgement, or if he simply avoids criticized passages. Nor does there seem to have been a change in custom as regards the use of the title, “not approved of” in the judgement. The *Reuelaciones* are continuously called

¹⁴⁸ *Introductory history*, UUB MS C 518, fol. 3va-4vb (cf. above, “The Birgittine reaction to the judgement”).

¹⁴⁹ St. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* VI, 100, 4-5: “*Ideo noli timere, quia nullus poterit infirmare verba mea, sed venient ad locum et gentem michi placitam. Verumptamen scias, quod verba ista sunt sicut oleum. Propterea moliri et calcari et exprimi debent nunc ab inuidis, nunc a scire volentibus, nunc ab occasionem querentibus, vt honor meus et paciencia ampliatur.*”

¹⁵⁰ St. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones*, IV, 137, 5, in Christ’s words to Pope Urban V: “*Ego dictavi eam (regulam) et dotavi spirituali dote, scilicet concedendo indulgencias, que sunt in ecclesia sancti Petri ad vincula in Roma. Tu ergo approba coram hominibus quod coram exercitu meo celesti est sanctitum.*”. Further, IV, 137, 7-8: “*Tu autem sponsa mea, cui dictam gratiam feci, si non poteris habere litteram et gratiam pape et sigillum super concessione indulgencie dicte nisi precedente pecunia, sufficit tibi benedictio mea. Ego enim approbabo et confirmabo verbum meum et omnes sancti erunt tibi testes, Mater mea sit tibi sigillum, Pater meus confirmator et Spiritus sanctus aduenientium ad monasterium tumm consolator.*”

¹⁵¹ The stone is still there today, illustrative enough, with some hooks made for a curtain to cover it. Cf. Andersson, *Vadstena klosterkyrka I*, p. 44-45 with an illustration. I have not been able to find any study of this stone and therefore do not know the circumstances of the making of it, however, the walls of the church, “långhuset”, were finished in 1414.

¹⁵² Information kindly granted me by word of mouth by scholars working with these texts on a regular basis: Doc. Maria Berggren, Uppsala University, Prof. Stephan Borgehammar, University of Lund, Uppsala University Library, Prof. Monica Hedlund, Uppsala University. The most recent study in this field was made by Roger Andersson, *Birgittas revelationer i Vadstenabrödernas predikningar*.

¹⁵³ Preliminary results of an investigation of sermons in UUB MS C 319 (dated 1446-1460 and copied twice in Vadstena) kindly reported to me by Prof. Monica Hedlund, Uppsala University.

¹⁵⁴ This is the case for example with the sermon collections UUB MS C 317 and C 389, analysed by Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden*, p. 212-220 and 223, footnote 4, and by Borgehammar, *Preaching to Pilgrims*, especially p. 95.

“heavenly” in the Vadstena sermons,¹⁵⁵ however, the dislike of the judge may have regarded the word “divine”.

Further, the copy of the judgement in Vadstena’s *Liber priuilegiorum*, “book of privileges”, today RA Cod. A 19,¹⁵⁶ is the one most likely to have been the copy for everyday use within the abbey.¹⁵⁷ The copy is inserted in the *Liber priuilegiorum* after the 1450s, which is consistent with the fact that in 1445 Vadstena Abbey still wanted an authenticated copy.¹⁵⁸ The original of the copy in *Liber priuilegiorum* would, like the rest of the originals of the book, have been kept in safe custody in archival cases in the abbey.¹⁵⁹ None of the known copies of the judgement gives the impression of being a document of prominent importance among other documents. On the contrary, the copies are all of a quite insignificant character, with the most plain type of rubrication.

This leads us to the most significant feature of the so called unofficial treatment of the judgement, namely the treatment of it in the Birgittine writing of history.

About the treatment of the judgement in the Birgittine writing of history

In addition to the “conditions” noted above, it seems like all direct information about the judgement was withheld in the writing of the history in the abbey.¹⁶⁰ The prime Vadstena record of the history of the abbey, *Diarium Vadstenense*, the history of the rule in the book of customs, *Liber Usuum*,¹⁶¹ and the history of the events in Basle in UUB MS C 518 all pass over the judgement with circumscriptions. This should be separated from the fact that the judgement and its effects are spoken of and discussed openly, as we have seen, in the correspondence of the abbey.¹⁶²

Some examples of the “withholding” of information: To start with *Diarium Vadstenense*, the corrector of the entry recording the return of Gervinus Petri from the Council of Basle writes in no. 458 only that he returns “our order’s business unaccomplished”.¹⁶³ In no. 547, on the purpose of the journey to Rome, the scribe writes, as if it was something quite natural, that one object was to get a approbation of the *Reuelaciones* and an approbation of the rule. The reason why this was

¹⁵⁵ Results of a preliminary investigation kindly reported to me by Dr. Roger Andersson, University of Stockholm.

¹⁵⁶ RA, Cod. A 19, *Liber privilegiorum monasterii Vadstenensis*, was published in facsimile with an introduction by Ernst Nygren. The copy of the judgement appears on fol. 121v-122r, and it is mentioned in the introduction p. xvii (cf. also p. xxiii).

¹⁵⁷ Another Vadstena copy of the judgement exists in UUB MS C 31; Cf. also footnote 72 above.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Nygren’s introduction to *Liber privilegiorum*, p. xxiii-xxiv. The copy in Cod. A 19 however is not authenticated; we do not know if Vadstena ever succeeded in obtaining an authenticated copy.

¹⁵⁹ About Vadstena Abbey’s archive, cf. Ståhl, *Vadstena klostets stora kopiebok*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Westman, K. B., *Striden*, p. 288.

¹⁶¹ Cf. above, “Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey”.

¹⁶² Cf. footnote 85.

¹⁶³ Cf. above, “Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement. *Auisamentum*”.

necessary is not mentioned anywhere in the diary. Other places where one would have expected a reference, but does not find one, are in no. 554 (the second departure to Rome) and no. 566 (the legation's return from Rome).

Liber Usuum, the customs book of Vadstena Abbey, was composed after 1448.¹⁶⁴ In an introduction to the book there is an account of the history of the rule. It is worth noting that in this account the "fatal outcome" of the proceedings in Basle is not mentioned once. It is true, the rule was not specifically examined in the proceedings against the monastery of Marienwold,¹⁶⁵ but the part regarding the indulgences certainly was, and here the result was far from what is dictated in the rule. The composer of the text seems to simply ignore the fact that this happened. As a guarantee for the validity of the contents of *Liber Usuum*, the composer refers to the two bulls from the time before the council. If this "history of the rule" is proved to be composed after the indulgences had been restored, that is, after 1484, it will be easier to understand this attitude. Nevertheless, it points to a certain tendency to omit "unnecessary" information.

Still more remarkable is the fact that one looks in vain for a reference to the judgement in the text that served as the official version of the course of events at the Council of Basle, namely the **Introduction to the defence corpus UUB MS C 518**.

After the description of the contributions of the four defenders in Basle, the writer immediately goes on to the making of *Auisamentum* and its presumed function as advisory to the judge in matters of faith. It is not mentioned at all that a judgement in the case was eventually pronounced. Instead, the writer goes on to tell the story of the journey of the Vadstena brethren to Rome.¹⁶⁶

To conclude, these three primary sources seem to be deliberately obscure on the point at issue.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Personal correspondence with Sara Risberg, University of Stockholm, May 2003. Cf. footnote 132.

¹⁶⁵ That the rule was discussed in Basle is a fact, and we find that the rule is one issue in Nicolaus Ragvaldi's supplication of 1438–1439, in the description of the purpose of the legation to Rome, in Vadstena's copy of the letter of safe-conduct to Johannes de Turre Cremata and Vadstena's letter to Marienkron ca. 1445 (cf. above "Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement").

¹⁶⁶ Another place where one would have expected information is in UUB MS C 518, fol. 20v-21r (cf. "The story of the 'introduction to the defence corpus'" below). On the other hand, the judgement is mentioned in the secondary preface to *Auisamentum* (cf. "Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey. *Auisamentum*"), revised several times.

¹⁶⁷ To the examples of this behaviour can be added the Birgittine treatment of yet another source, namely one of Heymericus' texts. In a subscription to *Dyalogus*, Heymericus says that he "makes the conclusion that as long as the controversy among doctors is not brought to an end, it is not safe to call the book of Revelations discussed here anything else than "*libri Apocryphi de reuelacionibus celestibus*", "apocryphal books of heavenly Revelations" (cf. the edition of *Dyalogus*). This subscription was erased in the UUB MS C 518 copy.

Conclusions about the situation in 1436-1465(?) – official and unofficial activities
of the Birgittines in Vadstena Abbey

The investigation of the situation in Vadstena in 1436-1465(?) in respect to the judgement on the *Reuelaciones* shows that regular efforts existed to achieve a change or mitigation of the judgement and to achieve an approbation of the *Reuelaciones*, efforts which seem to end after the return of the legation from Rome in October 1446. In 1456-1465 the Birgittines in Vadstena are instead prepared to bring the *Reuelaciones* to a uniformity with the defences. Parallel to this there was an unofficial treatment that, for all we know, responds to the judgement only half-heartedly and that avoids mentioning the judgement in the records of the Abbey. This could be seen either as a kind of precaution or reservation, as one felt sure that the judgement one day would be revoked, or a sophisticated strategy for blurring facts and causing insecurity about the judgement. Either way, I believe that the treatment, or rather non-treatment, of the judgement in the last text quoted reflects the way the Vadstena brethren looked upon the business themselves. They never in their hearts nor in their own writings recognized the judgement, even though, as shown above, they felt they had to observe it.

Two Birgittine sources previously unexamined will serve as an illustration of the fact that this strategy in a very refined form had the result of creating a myth of the judgement in the daughter houses.

The story of the “introduction to the defence corpus”

The two previously unexamined Birgittine sources at first sight appear very remarkable: One of them seemingly contradicts the judgement, and the other not only speaks openly of it, but speaks of it as exonerating the *Reuelaciones* on every point. This information thus contradicts the conclusions of the leading modern scholars as well as the other medieval sources.

On a closer look, however, one finds, that in the first case we have the strategy of “withholding” information used so cleverly that it in practice contradicts the judgement. Further one finds that this strategy may have contributed to the misconception in the other source.

The first source is extant in UUB MS C 518 fol. 20v-21r in what looks like a empty space after *Registrum*; Still, the text is solemnly called “introduction to the defence corpus” in the manuscript. This text should be separated from the above mentioned “main” or “Introductory history” in UUB MS C 518, which is extensive and extant in UUB MS C 518 before *Registrum*.¹⁶⁸

The “introduction to the defence corpus”, after having given an account of which theologians in the course of history have examined and approved of the *Reuelaciones*, gives the following account, here quoted in translation, of the outcome of the proceedings in Basle (The Latin text is inserted as Appendix 2. 4. 6):

¹⁶⁸ The “Introductory history” is called “*Prologus seu directorium in Registrum*” in the manuscript.

The said articles, separated to depart from a true and sound understanding of them and treated meanly by the aforementioned calumniators **will, examined in and by the collection of defences** written below by the abovementioned celebrated *domini*, masters and doctors, **explained and approved of, show, in their present form in their true and corrected originals to be true and orthodox and through a certain *diffinicio* of the Holy Council once held in Basle made on and about these articles in accordance with the explanations of said doctors to be allowed licitly to be admitted in God's holy Church, disseminated, sung and read as in no respect dissonant or against the right faith** or the Catholic truth or the sincerity of the Holy Scripture, but entirely consonant and conform with the right faith and every truth as settled by the Holy Scripture and the holy doctors, especially the old ones. **From which it is clear and obvious that St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* are to St. Birgitta herself by divine agency revealed and ministered by heaven by God and his saints through the Spirit of Truth and not through the Spirit of Falseness, and that they can be preached, read and disseminated in the whole of the militant Church without any hesitation at all, licitly and publicly**, to the praise and honour of the almighty God and his saints, who ministered them to St. Birgitta for the sake of correction and emendation of sins, and for the exaltation of Christ's bride, St. Birgitta's holiness, and her order and way of life in all eternity. Amen.

Just as Nicolaus Ragvaldi did in his supplication to pope Eugenius IV, where he did not mention the judgement but stressed the fact that the examination (i. e. of the third commission) showed that the *Reuelaciones* were orthodox, and like other "historians" in Vadstena Abbey, the composer of the "Introduction to the defence corpus" leaves out the fact that a negative judgement was pronounced. Instead he refers directly to the defences and especially to a *diffinicio* made at the council. This in a way corresponds to the information given in the secondary preface to *Auisamentum*,¹⁶⁹ in which is mentioned a certain decree, according to which *Auisamentum* was to be inserted in the judgement as well as in the *Reuelaciones*.

The central part of this account is in my opinion the passage "(said articles will show) to be true and orthodox and through a certain *diffinicio* of the Holy Council once held in Basle made on and about these articles in accordance with the explanations of said doctors to be allowed licitly to be admitted in God's holy Church". It is possible to interpret this passage in two ways: **Either** with the meaning that there was a *diffinicio* made at the council of Basle according with the explanations of the doctors, that is, a *diffinicio* that followed the advice in these *Declaraciones*, **or** with the meaning that the articles are allowed to be licitly admitted in the Church if in accordance with the explanations or together with

¹⁶⁹ Cf. footnote 137.

(iuxta) these *Declaraciones*. The latter interpretation does in a way correspond to the truth, for a prohibition to disseminate the unclear contents **without** an orthodox modification can actually be seen as an allowance for them to be disseminated **with** an orthodox modification, and the *Declaraciones* in fact could be seen as such.

Either way, the composer of the text 20v-21r explicitly concludes that according to the examinations, defences and the *diffinicio*, it is "clear and obvious" that St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* are orthodox, by divine origin and that they can be disseminated in public. We note the fact that every issue of the judgement (the title is not mentioned explicitly) of the *Reuelaciones* recurs here.

The text must have been composed after 1446, since reference is made to the defences in their corrected originals, that is, the redacted and authenticated versions of Johannes de Turre Cremata's and Heymericus de Campo's defences from 1446. It could hardly have been composed later than 1500, which is the latest date suggested for the writing in UUB MS C 518 as a whole.¹⁷⁰

Could this document be composed after the draft document of 1456-1465, and could it be, that the "introduction to the defence corpus" is evidence that the judgement was eventually revoked, that is, after 1456-1465 but before 1500? My answer would be no. As stated above, I believe that what we see here is the deliberate strategy, observable in the main sources of the history of Vadstena described above, going one step further.¹⁷¹

Now let us compare this source with another one on the same subject, a source from the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon:

The story of the judgement in Codex A

In another defence corpus, KB Brussels MS 1451-53, called "Codex A" in this edition,¹⁷² dated 1490 and written in the Flemish Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon, we read in an epilogue to *Auisamentum*, fol. 31ra-31va (quoted in translation, for the Latin text, see Appendix 2. 4. 7):

Therefore, now, so that it be clear and obvious to everyone of what great authority these *Reuelaciones* are and by whom they have been approved, **it should be observed that**, when the said four masters and doctors often named above, namely *dominus* Johannes de Turre Cremata the Cardinal, master Heymericus de Campo together with two others, had examined those Revelations in a diligent investigation and found them divine and orthodox, **they explained all the articles**, which had been extracted from the Revelations and accused by their enemies and impious persons, **clearly and**

¹⁷⁰ I thank Prof. Monica Hedlund, Uppsala University, for this information.

¹⁷¹ The Vadstena community had saved themselves with sophistry before, for example in the question of the name of the order, cf. Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 7-8.

¹⁷² Cf. below, chapter 5. 1, description of Codex A.

exhaustively with reference to the canonical scriptures, as is obvious from what is said above and shall be obvious below.

But, so that the judge in matters of faith (who gave said masters and venerable men the task to examine the Revelations) would know what definite sentence (*sentenciam diffinitivam*) he should express over the book's title and the *Reuelaciones* themselves, **they all came together and composed the 38 articles** written down above, together with a compendious solution of each of them, because more than all other articles these could be at risk of being in some way impugned as suspected with respect to the truth (by those who have a heart blinded by envy or dim eyes, judging nothing be true or sound that does not please them). After they had written them down the way described, they presented them for the judge in matters of faith.

This man, after he had read them and found them true, as they in fact were, and as those adversaries then present were not able to contradict them, by the will of God, who permitted his words to be trampled upon for a while so that they, pressed, would smell in the noses of everyone who is in church,¹⁷³ **the judge himself, namely Ludovicus** by divine mercy priest cardinal with the title "sancte Cecilie" in the Roman Church, commonly called "of Arles", at the time by the sacrosanct synod in Basle especially appointed judge in matters of faith and this case regarding faith, with the assistance of five bishops, two abbots together with three other masters of theology with an authority bestowed on them, **approved the title of the books**, which is "Books of St. Birgitta's divine and heavenly Revelations", **and the book of Revelations itself**, divided in eight separate books **together with the rule of St. Saviour**, *Sermo Angelicus* and *Quattuor Oracionibus*, all had below. **In the same way he confirmed by decreeing and declaring that the contents of the same in its entirety and in its parts are orthodox and true and not revealed and showed by the deceiver the Devil, but by God**, for the sake of emendation of every state, priests as well as lay people, **and that these *Reuelaciones* should be preached to the people in God's holy Church**, not with the sense that the adversaries made up by themselves, but **according to that Catholic sense which these *Reuelaciones* have, as these doctors clearly have shown through the Holy Scripture**. This took place in Basle in the year 1436, in the fourth indiction, on Thursday the first of March, in the fifth year of Pope Eugenius' in Christ fourth pontificate.

The text was composed by a Birgittine, and this copy was made in 1490, that is, 54 years after the judgement was pronounced. The first part of the text, up to "and shall be obvious below" could have been written with the introduction to the defence corpus quoted above as a model, but the rest of the text brings new

¹⁷³ Reference to St. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones* VI, 100, 4-5 (cf. above, "How did the Birgittines in Vadstena Abbey respond unofficially to the judgement?").

information to us. In what follows the composer goes even further than the composer of the “introduction to the defence corpus”, who states that it is “clear and obvious” from the defences that the *Reuelaciones* are orthodox etcetera; he even claims that the proceedings ended with the judge getting *Auisamentum* (38 explained articles) in his hands, reading it and finding it true, whereupon he approved of 1) the title of the *Reuelaciones* as “*Liber diuinarum seu celestium Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte*” 2) and the book itself in its composition and in its parts including *Regula Saluatoris*. Further he confirmed “by decreeing and declaring” 3) the orthodoxy and truth of the books, 4) that they were inspired by God and 5) that they should be preached publicly in Church “according to that Catholic sense which these *Reuelaciones* have, as these doctors clearly have shown”. The dating, March 1, 1436, is the same day when in reality the negative judgement was pronounced and the proclamation of the indulgences of the order was prohibited.

As in the “introduction to the defence corpus”, in which the issues of the judgement reappear in a reverse context, the formulations of the judgement resound even more clearly in this epilogue to *Auisamentum*, especially in the triumphant enlargement of the approved title.¹⁷⁴ Now, how did this happen, and from where did the composer get these sensational and happy news? First we have to state that they cannot be true: We know from many sources that the Birgittines for a long time after 1436 were working for a revocation of the negative judgement, and they themselves talk about the negative judgement in their correspondence.

Perhaps the information is not as sensational as it looks at first sight. For if one analyses the wording, it does not on every point contradict the negative judgement of Ludovicus of Arles that we know. He never said that the *Reuelaciones* were unorthodox, and he never said they were inspired by the devil. And as in the “introduction to the defence corpus”, I believe we meet here that kind of interpretation of the judgement that claims that the articles **could** be disseminated “according to that Catholic sense which these *Reuelaciones* have, as these doctors clearly have shown”. Problems arise with the title and the approval of “the rule”, that is, I believe, “the **indulgences** granted in the rule”.¹⁷⁵ This, however, could be explained as a misconception due to the fact that the indulgences *ad instar* by this time (1490) had been restored. Then remains the question of the title, to which I can as yet offer no explanation.

Possible sources of the story of the judgement in Codex A.

A comparison with other copies of *Auisamentum*¹⁷⁶ known to me shows that no epilogues such as this one exist in the other manuscripts. At the same time the

¹⁷⁴ The letters are in fact enlarged when the title is given.

¹⁷⁵ This was the one matter connected with the rule in these particular proceedings.

¹⁷⁶ Copies of *Auisamentum* exist in all of the other defence corpuses used in the edition of *Dyalogus* (cf. chapter 5. 1), and in two copies in UUB MS C 31.

copy in codex A lacks the preface found in the other copies of *Auisamentum*. And, what is even stranger, in the defence corpus manuscript which served as an original for codex A, called “codex E” in this edition,¹⁷⁷ *Auisamentum* is inserted as a commentary to the *Reuelaciones*, thus trying to follow a demand of a negative judgement. The epilogue to *Auisamentum* does not exist in codex E.

Thus it can be stated, that whatever happened regarding information, happened between the exemplar codex E, written in 1488, and the copy of it, codex A, written in 1490. As stated above, I believe that this story can be explained as a result of the strategy of Vadstena historians, exemplified above, and quoted in a refined form in the “introduction to the defence corpus”. The leaving out of information about the judgement and the extremely “positive interpretation”, in combination with a fact that the history of the judgement and the formulations in it by this time, in a daughter house of Vadstena, had begun to fall into oblivion, creates a myth about the judgement.

A possible scenario would be that the composer of the epilogue to *Auisamentum* in codex A, if he was not quoting another source containing these exact words, in composing his story had some version of the “introduction to the defence corpus” at hand.¹⁷⁸ In this introduction it is stated that the *Reuelaciones* were found orthodox and that it is allowed to disseminate them. Now it is possible that the composer, when reading that “central” passage quoted above, interpreted the passage the first way, that is, with the meaning that there was a *diffinicio* made at the council of Basle according with the explanations of the doctors, that is, a *diffinicio* that followed the advice in these *Declaraciones*. Such a scenario would explain the account of the judge making an additional sentence (called a definite sentence) in accordance with the writings of the defenders. This, too, in a way corresponds to a certain decree regarding *Auisamentum* mentioned in the secondary preface to *Auisamentum* extant in codex E.¹⁷⁹ Thus, a negative judgement on the *Reuelaciones* or its effects, as never spoken of in official documents,¹⁸⁰ is, perhaps by an over-interpretation of “*et per quandam diffinicionem*”, turned into an entirely positive judgement, which is given the same dating as the real negative one in Basle.

A *diffinicio* also exist in one of Heymericus’ texts, *Quid itaque*.¹⁸¹ *QI* is in the Flemish defence corpus inserted as a concluding speech to Heymericus’ *Dyalogus*, being one out of three defence texts in that codex. In *QI*, Heymericus writes about the correction of his opinion “in accordance with the sentence (*sentencia*) of the present Council of Basle and the definition (*diffinicionem*) of each Catholic doctor

¹⁷⁷ Cf chapter 5. 2, “A copy of E”

¹⁷⁸ I have not been able to find “Introduction to the defence corpus” in codex E.

¹⁷⁹ Cf footnote 137.

¹⁸⁰ About the lack of reliable sources when writing history in the monastery of Maria Troon, cf. Sander Olsen, *The Late Medieval Chronicle of Marie van Oss*, p. 242.

¹⁸¹ The text is described and discussed below, chapter 5. 1, “Major differences between the MSS and their copies of *Dyalogus*” and is edited as an appendix to the edition of *Dyalogus*.

who was granted judgement in matters of faith”.¹⁸² In my opinion, this is just another one of Heymericus’ many “double expressions”¹⁸³, but the Birgittines may have taken it as a support for a *diffinicio* in the later stages of the proceedings, a *diffinicio* that claimed that the *Reuelaciones* were revealed from above.¹⁸⁴

Reservations

Even if the reliability of the two new sources above is questioned, it is interesting to note that a certain *diffinicio* or decree recurs independently in two of the sources, the “introduction to the defence corpus” and Heymericus’ *Quid itaque*. Unless, of course, the “introduction to the defence corpus” has as its source Heymericus’ *Quid itaque* and that second possible “Birgittine” interpretation of the text. In that case, the whole “*diffinicio*” concept would originate from a misinterpretation of Heymericus’ *Quid itaque*.

At any rate, the changing of the entry in *Diarium Vadstenense* describing Gervinus Petri’s return from the council now comes to mind.¹⁸⁵ Is it possible that an additional commentary was actually made, a *diffinicio*, to the original judgement, which modified it as regards the *Reuelaciones*? Could this be the explanation to the fact that Gervinus in June 1436 brought the news that things turned out very well for the order in the closing stages of the proceedings? Did this commentary at first lead the Birgittines to believe that everything was now brought to a successful close? Maybe the Birgittines did not experience the judgement’s real purport until the bull was delivered on December 1, 1436?

Many things point to a certain confusion during the last stages of the process. and perhaps the case was undetermined for a while. Though intriguing, I will have to leave these matters for now.

¹⁸² Cf. appendix to the edition, *QI*, §1: “*Quid itaque de articulis prememoratis in summa absque preiudicio sentencie sanioris sub correccione omnimoda tam superius in hac materia scriptorum quam infra notandorum iuxta sentenciam presentis concilii Basiliensis et diffinicionem cuiusque catholici doctoris, cui creditum fuerit iudicium fidei, pie racionabiliterque sciendum sit?*”. Heymericus in his subscriptions, too, expresses the formulaic wish, that he be corrected according to the usual procedures. Cf. also Ludovicus de Pirano, subscription to his *Declaraciones* (UUB MS C 518, fol. 210v): “*et libere me ipsum subicio et hec omnia (...) per me scripta (...) correccioni et emendacioni huius sacri concilii Basiliensis cum omnium catholicorum doctorum eius.*” and Johannes de Turre Cremata, *Epistola ad omnes Christi fideles*, p. a [1]v D: “*omnia, quae scripsi, submitte correctioni, et iudicio hujus Sanctae, et universalis Synodi Basiliensis.*”

¹⁸³ In his numerous “double expressions”, Heymericus says the same thing twice with different wordings. Cf. chapter 4. 2, “Construction of the sentences – the role of the definitions”.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. appendix to the edition, *QI*, §2. That the Birgittines did interpret the expression this was obvious from the rubrics to the text (cf. description of *QI* in chapter 3. 2), most likely composed by a Birgittine (cf. chapter 5. 2, “**ABDEF** form a group”).

¹⁸⁵ Cf. above, “Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement”.

2. 3. An attempt to reconcile the divergent statements on the validity of the judgement and the Birgittine response to it

Recapitulation

We now have a number of statements regarding the validity of and the Birgittine response to the judgement:

- 1) A negative judgement of the *Reuelaciones* was pronounced.
- 2) Vadstena community was still in the late 1450s or 1460s trying to find a solution to the problems arising from the judgement of the *Reuelaciones*.
- 3) The judgement seems to have been made more or less invisible in the Birgittine writing of history (which caused the creation of a myth regarding the judgement in one of the daughter houses).
- 4) No official document revoking the judgement has been found by modern scholars.
- 5) The judgement is by some scholars been regarded as formally still valid, by other scholars as not valid.
- 6) Benedict XIV's statement from the middle of the 18th century regarding St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* is considered the last word in the question.

How can all these statements be put together in one thesis?

The role of the defences

I believe that the minds at work in the 1450s-1460s eventually came up with a sophisticated solution to the whole problem concerning the judgement of Basle, a solution that would allow them to wait and work for a revocation and that would still constitute an official *modus vivendi* that did not go against the judgement in Basle.

The strategy of mentioning the judgement as little as possible in the records of the order was one part of the solution, or rather part of the waiting for the revocation, – the fact that no judgement existed in the records would be natural and practical the day the goal was reached.

To repeat: The central issue of the judgement of the *Reuelaciones*, as is obvious from all the sources quoted above, was the prohibition to preach the unclear contents of the *Reuelaciones* and disseminate them in public in their present form without an orthodox modification. This problem would have been the one most immediately calling for a solution, as suggested by the draft document of 1456-1465. The document also testifies that by this time the community was prepared to accommodate the *Reuelaciones* to the judgement. Still, changing the professionally established, and also many times approved, formulations in the huge

corpus of *Reuelaciones* according to a schismatic judgement would not have been seen as an attractive alternative.

The solution of the problem for the Birgittines, I believe, we see today in the defence corpus of Vadstena Abbey, now UUB MS C 518. At first sight, this volume looks just like any other well-written Vadstena volume, but on a closer look it is apparent that it is in fact the whole solution to the problem. It also gives almost the whole explanation for us as to the question about what happened to the judgement, at least as regards what happened to it within the Birgittine order. UUB MS C 518 should, together with some paragraphs about the defences in *Liber Usuum*, be regarded as the result of the discussions concerning the *Reuelaciones* described in the draft document of 1456-1465.

As described above,¹⁸⁶ UUB MS C 518, which is a product of the best quality the Vadstena brethren could accomplish in this period, is a collection of defences of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* probably complete as to what was known and available to the Birgittines at this time. The collection is voluminous with its texts of 11 defenders, a register (*Registrum*), the introducing history, parts of which is quoted above, and detailed instructions for use.

The defence corpus UUB MS C 518 plays its big part together with the instructions given in *Liber Usuum*. The Birgittines seemingly finally got the idea that, instead of changing the *Reuelaciones* in accordance with the *Declaraciones* of the defenders, it was possible to connect the texts in another, looser, way, and still act totally in accordance with the judgement's formulations. One simply reads the criticized parts of the *Reuelaciones* together with the orthodox "modifications" that the explanations of highly esteemed theologians of all times from St. Birgitta's canonization up to the Council of Basle constitute. As we remember, this conduct is indicated in the "introduction to the defence corpus" in UUB MS C 518. The text holding the most prominent position here was, not surprisingly, the one with an affirmation by the judge of the Curia itself, that is, Cardinal Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones*.¹⁸⁷

The idea of making a defence corpus seems to have existed early,¹⁸⁸ still it seems as if the idea of the full use of it was not fully developed until after the

¹⁸⁶ Cf. also full description of the manuscript in chapter 5. 1, description of codex B.

¹⁸⁷ Presumably the news of Johannes de Turre Cremata's appointment as cardinal in 1439 was received with joy in Vadstena Abbey.

¹⁸⁸ Regarding plans for and sketches of a collection of defences, cf. Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 86-88. It would then have been an idea of making a collection of the defences for its own sake. According to their correspondence, the Vadstena community initially wanted the authentications for the defence against future antagonists (cf. letters from Vadstena Abbey to Heymericus and Johannes de Turre Cremata, copies in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 85r and 86r-v). Magnus Unnonis, confessor general 1444-1452 and 1457-1465 (cf. above "Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey") stands out among others as the possible supervisor of and driving force behind the making of the defence corpus (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 808). He would however not have done the job himself, which is indicated by the words "*ex iniuncto mihi prelati mei mandato*" in footnote 193 below. Magnus Unnonis died in 1470.

1450s-1460s. The idea and the decision however are manifested in the instructions for the use of the defence corpus in *Liber usuum* and in UUB MS C 518 itself.

In *Liber Usuum*, a book approved of at the general chapter of the order in 1487, it is stated¹⁸⁹ that the *Reuelaciones* should be read daily¹⁹⁰ at meals, “together with at least one explanation to each article”,¹⁹¹ “that is Johannes de Turre Cremata’s explanation or someone else’s explanation of the articles not explained by Johannes”. This means that when the person reading the *Reuelaciones* came to a passage that had been criticized, he should still read it, but immediately look the passage up in *Registrum*¹⁹² and then read the relevant explanation in the defence corpus aloud, thus acting rightly from a juridical point of view. Further, in the Introductory history in UUB MS C 518, it is said explicitly that a register to the book was made, so that **no one would desist from preaching the *Reuelaciones* with the excuse of not finding the right explanation of an article.**¹⁹³ The instructions for use on the first folium of the volume, “How St. Birgitta’s books of Revelations should be read at the table together with their explanations and defence” are extremely detailed, describing a diligently worked out order of the reading.¹⁹⁴ Two preserved *Reuelaciones* manuscripts, considered to be the most important of those of Vadstena Abbey, bear marks that would correspond to these instructions.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ *Liber Usuum*, Cap. 37, §334-336.

¹⁹⁰ The defence corpus, *Reuelaciones* and the Bible was read on a daily basis, the rule once per month, *Regula Augustini* once per week, *Addiciones Prioris Petri* once per quarter, *Liber Usuum* once every third year (and) before the bishop’s visitation. (*Liber Usuum*, Cap. 1, §43)

¹⁹¹ I. e. each **criticized** article.

¹⁹² Each article in *Registrum* is followed by references to each passage in the defence corpus that explains this very article.

¹⁹³ *Introductory history*, UUB MS C 518, fol 2ra-rb. *Ideo, ut eo prompcius ipsi articuli et eorum declaraciones inueniri poterint et intelligi et ne, si huiusmodi articuli in aut circa textum ipsarum Reuelacionum aliter fuerint eciam qualitercumque quotati vel designati, tam ipse textus quam ipsi articuli aliquibus, et maxime eorum emulis, videantur vt suspecti, et ne propter difficultatem huiusmodi articulos inueniendi seu discernendi articulos huiusmodi seu propter inhibiciones quasdam velum excusacionis de non predicando ipsas Reuelaciones beate Birgitte ab aliquibus pretendatur, presens infrascriptum de eis Registrum ex iniuncto mihi prelati mei mandato colligere attemptauit.*”

¹⁹⁴ *Introductory history*, UUB MS C 518, fol 1r. As an example may serve the beginning of the text: *Qualiter legantur ad mensam libri Reuelacionum beate Birgitte cum suis declaracionibus et defensorio. Si libri Reuelacionum beate Birgitte cum eorum defensorio integraliter legi debeant ad mensam aut eciam alias, primo legatur Prologus et primum capitulum Libri primi. Et dum in illo capitulo vel alio quocumque capitulo occurrerit articulus extractus circa ipsum textum pro extracto signatus (point above the ruled line) lector dicat expresse “articulus”. Sed si circa textum, in quo legitur, non fuerint ipsi articuli extracti signati (point above the ruled line) attendat ipse lector, (...).*

¹⁹⁵ In Codex Calmariensis (cf. footnote 2 and Undhagen, *Reu. I*, p. 103 and footnote 14) criticised passages are marked out with the word “articulus” in the margin, without doubt being a reference to the defence corpus, further, in Codex Falkenberg (described in Undhagen, *Reu. I*, p. 92-96 and in Hollman, *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, p. 47 and p. 50-51) several of the passages that appear in the *Registrum* as

I will leave it to others to investigate how this conduct, which was established in 1487, goes with the fact that the Birgittines already in 1478 almost got the *Reuelaciones* printed,¹⁹⁶ and that the Birgittines were secure enough to eventually print the book in over 800 copies in Lübeck in 1492. Perhaps this could be done with the reservation that they would be read together with their defences, but what is more likely is that Johannes de Turre Cremata's prologue to his *Declaraciones*, the bulls from the time before the Council of Basle and the decree of Ludovicus de Garsiis inserted in the edition, at this time even at the Holy See were considered a sufficient guarantee for the orthodoxy and proper origin of the *Reuelaciones*. The residing pope at the time, Innocent VIII (pope 1484-1492), was in fact the one to confirm St. Birgitta's rule, the rule of St. Saviour, in 1490, making reference to no other predecessor than Martin V.¹⁹⁷ The edition of 1492 contained some new material, too, among other things, additional explanatory revelations to some of the chapters.¹⁹⁸ The title of the *Reuelaciones*, "not approved of" in the judgement, is quite another story. Already in the judgement the title is treated separately, and it is not included by the formal prohibitions, only by a disapproval. Perhaps this made the Birgittines dare attempt to use the words "revealed by Christ himself" and "heavenly" about the *Reuelaciones* in the two editions of 1485 and 1492, especially as the *Prologus* of Johannes de Turre Cremata states they emanate from a divine spirit.

A full investigation would show whether the fact that the *Reuelaciones* were printed in 1492 without orthodox modifications by wise men is due to the fact that something happened between the 1450s – 1460s and the preparations to a first printed edition in 1478 that set aside the prohibition against the disseminating of the *Reuelaciones* and the disapproval of its title. However, in 1487 at the general chapter of the Birgittine order in Gnadenberg the custom to read the *Reuelaciones* together with their defences that was formally established, and, during the time that followed, arranged for to be practiced within all monasteries of the order. It is a fact that the defences and *Liber usuum* were copied within the order for a long time after that.

From the point of view of the use of the defences within Vadstena Abbey it is interesting to note that the defences of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus appear in other contexts than just reading at meals.¹⁹⁹ The explanations of the articles were apparently also used on occasions when there was a discussion of a

criticised are marked out in the margin, although not with the same consistency as those in Codex Calmariensis.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, 1, p. 1-5, cf. also Schmid, *Birgitta*, p. 28.

¹⁹⁷ Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 35, footnote 3. Cf. also above, "Background – the first stages of the proceedings".

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Hollman, *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, p. 28 and footnote 3.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. the wording "*ad mensam aut eciam alias*" in the text quoted above, footnote 194.

passage in the *Reuelaciones* that was once criticised, so for example in the preacher Nicolaus Ragvaldi's²⁰⁰ collection of material for sermons in UUB MS 302, fol. 518v-519v.²⁰¹ It seems like the defences were used like a commentary to the *Reuelaciones*.

The defences in the daughter houses

Now that it is clear that the community of Vadstena Abbey was aware all along of the problems arising from the judgement and also finally brought a solution to the order, there still remains the question as to how the different daughter houses responded to these things. This is a relevant question especially if one considers the view on the judgement found in the Flemish defence corpus; however, this is not the right place to make a full investigation. The correspondence of Vadstena Abbey shows that Johannes de Turre Cremata's texts, after being complemented with the apostolic authentication of 1446, quite soon start to be disseminated among the daughter houses.²⁰² However, the conduct of reading the defences with the *Reuelaciones* would perhaps not have been fully established or commended before the completion and approbation in 1487 of the *Liber Usuum*, in which the reading at the table of the defences is stated to be a rule of custom. To do this, it was of course in the long run necessary to have a copy of the whole of the defence corpus, but to start with, one could have got along with a copy of the defence of Johannes de Turre Cremata.²⁰³ It is interesting to study the different redactional solutions of the daughter houses; for example in Maria Troon the commended conduct was made easier by the joining of the *Reuelaciones* and the defences in the same volume.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Nicolaus Ragvaldi was brother and confessor general of Vadstena Abbey 1476-1514 (cf. *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 828:2 and no. 1027).

²⁰¹ Another example is extant in UUB MS C 31, fol. 327r-335v ("*Rubrica et reuelacio super indulgenciis*"), where passages from the *Reuelaciones* are quoted together with the explanation of them made by Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus. The manuscript in UUB C 31 is a copy of an authenticated document made in 1456. Cf. Nyberg, *Skriftföljder och lägg*, p. 26 and *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Bd. 1, p. 267.

²⁰² A brother from Gnadenberg Abbey was in Vadstena to copy the texts already in 1447 (Copy of certification in RA Cod. A 21, fol. 102r-v, edited by Nyberg in *Dokumente und Untersuchungen* I, p. 332-334 (no. 142). In 1453, Vadstena Abbey invited representatives from the daughter house Syon to Vadstena to make copies of the defences of Johannes and Heymericus (copy in RA Cod. A 21, f. 83r). In 1456, a vidimation of Johannes de Turre Cremata's writings is made on behalf of the Birgittine abbey of Mariënwater by the Chapter of St. Johannis Evangeliste church in s'Hertogenbosch (Bibliotheca Birgittina, Birgittastiftelsen, Vadstena). A dissemination of a defence corpus of C 518's model has apparently existed, but naturally, because of its scope, in a somewhat slower course or perhaps parallel with the copying of Johannes de Turre Cremata's texts (cf. chapter 5).

²⁰³ Cf. footnote 202. Johannes de Turre Cremata's texts also exist in copy alone, (cf. Montag, *Das werk der heiligen Birgitta von Schweden in oberdeutscher Überlieferung*, p. 18-19 and footnote 1). Cf. further Bamberg, Königl. Bibl. Cod. 236, Bl. 1-86 (information kindly granted to me by Prof. Sten Eklund, Uppsala University).

²⁰⁴ Cf. the description of manuscripts in chapter 5. 1.

The defence corpus and *Liber Usuum* show quite a similar picture where copying is concerned. Both texts or collections have been copied repeatedly within the Birgittine order up to 1500 as far as we know, and the copying then experienced a revival in the 17th century.²⁰⁵ In the Birgittine abbey of Altomünster the library collection at the end of the 17th century is equipped with newly written, beautiful copies of both books.²⁰⁶

Thus it seems that the Birgittines in the late 17th century still in fact have explicit orders and also the means to observe the negative judgement of the Council of Basle. On the other hand we have above met with a 15th century Birgittine writer of a Flemish daughter house, who was ready to deny the existence of a negative judgement. The paradox is illustrated by the fact that the denial of the negative judgement exists in a defence corpus made to observe it.

Remaining consequences of the proceedings

As regards the question of the existence and validity of the judgement in the eyes of the world outside the Birgittine monasteries and its effect on the use of the *Reuelaciones* in this world, a first glance at the list of the different titles under which the books have been published since 1492²⁰⁷ indicates that the judgement after due time has fallen into oblivion. The editions are legion and the *Reuelaciones* are commonly called “divine” or “heavenly”. The fact that a new papal confirmation or approval of the books is lacking, as becomes especially obvious in the editors’ preface of Durante’s edition of the *Reuelaciones* of 1606, does not seem to have been a hindrance. Johannes de Turre Cremata’s explanation that the writings are orthodox together with the approval of his texts of Ludovicus de Garsiis and the papal bulls from the time before the council seem to have been considered evidence enough for the authority of the *Reuelaciones*.

From the point of view of the formal validity of the judgement within the Catholic Church, the judgements pronounced during the Council of Basle, though it was schismatic, were never all as a group officially pronounced invalid²⁰⁸ after

²⁰⁵ I thank Sara Risberg, Stockholm University, for the information regarding *Liber Usuum*.

²⁰⁶ The Altomünster copy of the defence corpus from ca. 1690 contains precise references to what at the time was the new edition of St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones*, an edition procured by the Prior in Altomünster, Simon Hörmann. Another copy of the defence corpus was made at about the same time (only half of it is extant), cf. chapter 5. 1, descriptions of codex **D** and codex **F**.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, and idem, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Birgerus Magni’s (Birger Månsson), Bishop of Västerås, letter to Vadstena Abbey of 1464 (RA Cod. A 20, fol. 326r-v) and Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 35 with footnote 3:. Even if Pious II by the bull “*Execrabilis*” had considerably diminished the validity of the decrees of the general councils, Birgerus Magni still had not been able to accomplish more than just a little in the case of the indulgences *ad instar* of Vadstena One has to consider, too, the fact that the judgement concerning the Birgittines was not only one given by the council, as it was also confirmed by a bull (cf. Höjer, *Studier*, p. 211, footnote 3 and the quotation of Cod. lat. Mon. 85, fol. 342: “*Hanc sententiam prescriptam approbavit Basiliense concilium, ut de hoc bulla est in registro bullarum ibidem li. V^o folio VIII (...)*”.

the council, and consequently, they are still to be regarded as formally valid.²⁰⁹ Although both the decree of Ludovicus de Garsiis regarding Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones* and the presumed consent of Innocent VIII to print the *Reuelaciones* before 1492, should be seen as a mitigation of this judgement, the writing of Benedict XIV on the canonization of saints in the 1750s, even though it is not a bull, is today regarded as the last word on the question. Regarding this writing it seemingly has been a question of interpretation whether Benedict XIV in his formulations supported the standpoint of the judge or the one of the defenders. As stated above, as I see it, he supports both of them in part. Benedicts' view, in my interpretation, that the *Reuelaciones* are worthy of belief, even though they should not be read with blind credulity but instead with a good portion of christian benevolence, and that they make up edifying literature for the believer, in its greater part corresponds to the overall views of Heymericus de Campo and Johannes de Turre Cremata.²¹⁰ The view seems to have been commonly accepted, and is no doubt shared by many today.

Thus, the contributions of the defenders, being only partly fruitful during the Council of Basle, had their real influence and effect after the council, and then in the daily activity that formed life within the order. Perhaps the defences even contributed to forming our own view today of St. Brigitta's *Reuelaciones*. In any case, they certainly have that lasting value of being the great contemporaneous and perfectly initiated commentary on the *Reuelaciones*.

²⁰⁹ Cf. *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, p. 330: "Rerum eventu coactus Eugenius IV (bulla "Dudum sacrum" 15. Dec. 1433) sua contra Concilium Basileense decreta retraxit illudque legitimum esse agnovit (MaC 29,78s); hinc huius Concilii sessiones I-XXV, id est usque dum Ferraram transferretur (that is 1431-1437), oecumenici valoris sunt, quatenus eius decreta scopum a papa praestitutum attingunt." The sessions I-XXV were held in 1431-1437.

²¹⁰ Cf. above, "The treatment of the judgement in previous research".

2. 4. *Appendices* to chapter 2

Appendix 2. 4. 1²¹¹

”Account of April 6, 1434” in RA, Parchment letter of March 23, 1436.²¹²

In nomine Domini amen. Nouerint vniuersi et singuli hoc presens publicum instrumentum inspecturi, quod anno a natiuitate eiusdem Domini Mcdxxxiv indicione duodecima, die vero Martis sexta mensis aprilis pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Eugenii diuina prouidencia pape quarti anno quarto, cum lis et controuersia in materia fidei in hoc sacro Basiliensi concilio inter venerabilem et circumspertum virum magistrum Nicolaum Amici, in sacra theologia licenciatum et causarum fidei procuratorem gen<eralem> per dictum sacrum Basiliense concilium specialiter ad hoc deputatum ex vna, et fratres et sorores ordinis nuncupati sancte Brigitte de monasterio in Marienwolde, Raseburgensis dyocesis, contra quos dumtaxat tunc agebatur, ex altera partibus moueretur et penderet indecisa pendenteque proc<essu> (... o.ni?)²¹³ certi libri intitulati sub vocabulo librorum Reuelacionum sancte Brigitte pro parte illorum de dicto ordine apud acta cause producti fuissent, ipsi quoque libri de mandato reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Iohannis miseracione diuina tituli sancti Petri ad vincula sancte Romane ecclesie presbiteri cardin<alis> et causarum fidei iudicis per hoc sacrosanctum generale Basiliense concilium specialiter deputati ac per ipsum certis doctoribus et magistris in sacra theologia ad examinandum dati fuissent, hinc est, quod anno, indicione et pontificatu ac mense et die quibus supra iidem venerabiles et circumsperti viri, domini Bernardus Serra, elemosinarius et ambassiator serenissimi domini regis Aragonie, Mathias Doring, prouincialis Saxonie ordinis minorum, ac Henricus de Diist, sacre theologie magistri et professores, inter cetera, que ex libris antedictis extraxerunt, coram prefato domino cardinali tunc compulsi articulos, quorum tenor de verbo ad verbum inferius describitur, tamquam fideliter ex eisdem libris extractos prefato procuratore fidei instante et petente ac requirente dederunt et exhibuerunt. (...)

²¹¹ The principles for the transcriptions in “*Appendices* to chapter 2” are basically the same as for the edition of *Dyalogus*. Cf. chapter 6. 1.

²¹² Part of this manuscript was edited with some deliberate omissions and the orthography of classical Latin by Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 29 footnote 4.

²¹³ *Propter maculam non legitur*.

Appendix 2. 4. 2

”Birgittine account of 1434/1435”.

UUB, MS C 518, fol. 3vb, line 21 – fol. 4vb, line 28.

(...) Contigit, vt anno a natiuitate Christi Mcdxxxv, dum in eodem concilio Basiliensi lis et controuersia (...) moueretur (...), quidam venerabiles et circumspecti viri et domini Bernardus Sarra, elimosinarius et ambasiator serenissimi domini regis Arragonie, Matthias Döring, minister prouincialis Saxonie ordinis minorum ac Henricus de Diist, sacre theologie magistri et professores inter cetera, que ex predictis libris extraxerant, coram predicto domino Cardinali cxxiii articulos producerent et offerrent tanquam de fide catholica erroneos et suspectos, sicut lacius colligitur ex instrumento de et super hoc specialiter confecto. Ipse tamen magister Mathias Döring, minister prouincialis Saxonie ordinis minorum suprascriptus, tanquam omnium impugnatorum et aduersariorum ordinis et Reuelacionum beate Birgitte huius temporis princeps et achilles, fecit et optulit quendam tractatum contra libros ipsarum Reuelacionum beate Birgitte, qui incipit ”Probate spiritus” etcetera. In quo primo, scilicet in prologo seu prohemio, similiter sed confuse nititur per vii argumenta reprobare et dampnare dicta magistri Mathie, sacre theologie professoris quondam canonici Lincopensis, in prologo Reuelacionum beate Birgitte, quem ipse fecit in recommendacionem sanctitatis beate Birgitte et in attestacionem veritatis Reuelacionum eiusdem, qui quidem prologus a domino Alphonso, qui ordinauit et distinxit Reuelaciones sancte Birgitte in libros et libros in capitula, positus est ante primum librum pro prologo et prohemio omnium librorum Reuelacionum beate Birgitte, et incipit sic: ”Stupor et mirabilia audita sunt in terra nostra”, et similiter Epistulam solitarii, seu alio nomine ”domini Alphonsi, quondam episcopi Ienensis et post ea heremite probatissimi”, quam ipse fecit eciam in attestacionem sanctitatis beate Birgitte et veritatis Reuelacionum eiusdem, que quidem²¹⁴ epistula incipit: ”O serenissimi reges” etcetera et habetur communiter ante octauum librum seu librum Reuelacionum celestis imperatoris ad reges, deinde, post suum prologum, idem magister Mathias Döring rediens ad suum principale propositum extraxit quedam puncta seu articulos ex ipsis libris Reuelacionum hinc inde, sparsim et diffuse, et, quamuis huiusmodi puncta et articulos satis corrupte et obtruncate extraxerit, (prout patet vnique ipsos articulos ab ipso sic extractos et ipsum textum originalem, vnde sunt extracti, comportando diligenter examinanti), tamen vltra hoc, contra puncta et articulos taliter, qualiter ut dictum est, sic extractos, nititur arguere per sacram scripturam, aliquando eciam per ipsas Reuelaciones, aliquando eciam per suas rationes et semper sophisticate et insufficienter. Et diminute claudicando male aut false subsumit, vt satis sufficienter patet ex registro et

²¹⁴ quidem *scripsi*, quedem *Cod.*

attestationibus, necnon ex ipsa bulla canonizationis et legenda beate Birgitte, et ideo ne mirum, si male aut false concludit. Quem quidem tractatum et articulos et etiam quam plures alios articulos taliter, qualiter dictum est, ex libris predictis Reuelacionum beate Birgitte per ipsum et alios suos complices excerptos in quam plurimis cedulis et codicellis conscriptos ipsi aduersarii predicti coram iudice et tota deputacione causarum fidei ac aliis magistris et doctoribus in predicto concilio Basiliensi per se et per suos internuncios clamculo et etiam iudicialiter prodixerunt.

Deuenientibus itaque tractatu, punctis et articulis huiusmodi ad manus et examen plurium aliorum magistrorum et doctorum venerabilium ipsi, et precipue isti quatuor de mandato dicti domini iudicis fidei ac per ipsum concilium de quatuor nacionibus ad examinandum huiusmodi libros Reuelacionum beate Birgitte et articulos extractos de eisdem ac, vt prefertur, in iudicio iam oblatos specialiter electi et deputati, scilicet reuerendissimus in Christo pater et dominus dominus Iohannes de Turre Cremata, sacre theologie professor, tunc sacri palatii apostolici magister, nunc autem sancte Romane ecclesie presbyter cardinalis tytuli sancte Marie transtiberim, olim sancti Sixti, de nacione Hyspanie et venerabilis vir magister Heymericus de Campo, sacre theologie professor et magister, tunc alme vniuersitatis Coloniensis, nunc autem Louaniensis vicecancellarius et lector ordinarius in facultate theologica vniuersitatis eiusdem de nacione Germanie ac reuerendus pater et dominus dominus Iohannes Roberti, abbas monasterii Boneuallis ordinis cisterciensis de nacione Francie necnon religiosus pater et dominus dominus Ludouicus de Pyrano, minister prouincialis ordinis minorum de Ytalia de nacione ipsius Ytalie ex commissione ipsius iudicis et tocius deputacionis fidei necnon tocius concilii Basiliensis ipsis de et super hoc specialiter iniuncta, examinacione diligenti omnium librorum et articulorum prefatorum nunc coniunctim, nunc diuisim facta et collacione habita studiosa, non sicut predictus magister Matthias ordinis minorum de Saxonia minister et Reuelacionum beate Birgitte principalis aduersarius et impugnator seu alii, eius complices, sophisticæ seu quomodolibet paralogice, sed ex suis, quas ipsi conscripserant, posicionibus et veris declaracionibus in sacra scriptura et sanctorum auctoritatibus sufficientissime fundatis bene et formaliter concluderunt ipsos libros Reuelacionum beate Birgitte et eorum articulos sane intellectos esse veros atque catholice fidei et sacre scripture consonos et conformes ad laudem et honorem omnipotentis Dei glorioseque Matris eius Marie et preelecte Sponse Ihesu Christi beate Birgitte ac omnium sanctorum Dei necnon ad gloriam et exaltacionem tocius sancte Matris ecclesie orthodoxe et specialiter ordinis sancti Saluatoris. (...)

Appendix 2. 4. 3

”The judgement of Ludovicus of Arles”.

RA, Cod. A 19, fol. 121v-122r.²¹⁵

Sentencia contra ordinem nostrum in concilio Basiliensi lata

Christi nomine inuocato; nos Ludouicus, miseracione diuina tituli sancte Cecilie sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis Arelatensis vulgariter nuncupatus, causarum et cause huiusmodi fidei a sacrosancta synodo generali Basiliensi iudex et commissarius specialiter deputatus, pro tribunali sedentes et solum Deum pre oculis habentes, de iuris diuini pariter et humani peritorum consilio pariter et assensu per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitiuam, quam ferimus in hiis scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus – attentis litteris apostolicis, de quibus in actis cause apparet, contra fratres et sorores ordinis sancti Augustini sub vocabulo sancti Saluatoris secundum consuetudines et instituta sancte Birgitte viuentes, quibus prohibentur predicare seu dogmatizare indulgencias ad instar (...), fratres et sorores predicti amodo non debere contra mandata predicta verbo vel scripto publicare (...) indulgencias ad instar (...).

(I leave out the judgement regarding the indulgences and other matters (cf. above, p. 12)

Demum in libris intitulatis Libri diuinarum seu celestium Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte continentur multa et describuntur sub modo et scemate Reuelacionum dicte sancte Birgitte ascriptarum, super quibus quamplures magistri ambigunt et hesitant tum propter ipsum titulum tum propter perplexitates et ineptitudines multarum conclusionum in ipsis positarum et prefatis magistris, ut iacent, suspectarum. Nos nec prefatum titulum nec materiam librorum huiusmodi continencie approbantes decernimus et declaramus quamplura in prefatis libris contenta modificacionibus, declaracionibus et addicionibus prudencium et sapiencium doctorum ac in sacris litteris exercitatorum indigere. Quapropter inhiemus, ne quis talia, ut in praefatis libris iacent, sine modificacione catholica dogmatizare aut publicare presumat, illas vero asserciones et docmatizaciones per aliquos ex dictis fratribus actenus factas, quod reuelacionibus in dictis libris contentis tanta fides est adhibenda sicut euangeliis, fuisse et esse presumptas et temerarias minimeque fratribus predictis aut aliis quibuscumque licuisse aut ulterius licere dicimus, pronunciamus et declaramus; per hanc tamen nostram sententiam diffinitiuam sanctitati aut veneracioni beate Birgitte eiusue canonizacioni vel ordini non intendimus in aliquo derogare. (...)

²¹⁵ Silfverstolpe edited this text in *Om kyrkans angrepp*, Bilaga 2, p. 48-50 with the orthography of classical Latin and using the copy in UUB MS C 31, fol. 31r-32r .

Appendix 2. 4. 4

Heymericus de Campo's opinion on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*, expressed in his *Declaraciones*.

UUB, MS C 518, fol. 136ra, line 31 – fol. 137ra, line 5.

Arbitror enim, quod (...), **quo fit, quod (...) innouatur reuelacio veritatis** et succrescit disciplina sapiencie salutaris ad instar solis sensibilis successiue ab ortu per meridiem ad occasum tendentis et corporis humani vicissim in viuacitate sensus proficientis, ex quo Christus scribitur "sol iusticie" et ecclesia sibi per fidem desponsata assimilatur corpori organico (...). **Quamuis ergo subscripti, sicut quedam superscripti, articuli non inueniantur clare et expresse in sacra scriptura positi, tamen, si non reperiantur multiformi eiusdem scripture sentencie prorsus contrariari, non poterunt per iudicium spiritus veritatis presidentis in conciliis generalibus et qualibet alia sanctorum communione iuste hereticari.** Hinc enim admittuntur in Dei ecclesia varie legende sanctorum et doctrine doctorum **apocriphe tamquam pie opinabiles in fide**, que sunt in triplici differencia, quia quedam sine quacunque contradiccione eliciuntur ex scriptura veritatis correlarie, quedam non possunt per scripturam autenticam probari aut reprobari expresse, quedam vero se habent vtroque modo, scilicet videntur equaliter certis auctoritatibus consone et aliis dissone, quia ergo teste Ambrosio veritas, a quocumque dicatur, est a Spiritu Sancto, sicut innuit Salomon Sap. ix, cum orando ad Dominum pro dono sapiencie, que est theoria veritatis secundum modum loquendi Aristotelis 2:o Metaphysice, ita exclamat "sensum tuum quis scire poterit, nisi ei miseris Spiritum Sanctum de altissimis".²¹⁶ **Non debet merito cuiquam esse cure quis librum, qui intitulatur "liber Reuelacionum celestium domine Birgitte" dictauerit, sed quid in eo dictatum est.** Est in statera veritatis studiose trutinandum iuxta verbum Sapientis, qui ait, quod *verba sapientum statera ponderabuntur*.²¹⁷ **Et si post diligentem huiusmodi veritatis examinationem inueniatur a canonibus fidei non deuium, est velut dictamen Spiritus Sancti nondum aliis reuelatum tamquam tempori presenti opportunum benigne suscipiendum et in timore Domini, qui est inicium sapiencie,**²¹⁸ **pie venerandum** (...). Sic (...) propter hanc status ecclesiastici successiuam variacionem bene nos ammonet apostolus "*Spiritum nolite extinguere, et prophecias nolite spernere*"²¹⁹(...). Quid ergo mirum, si instante status ecclesiastici noua indigencia Deus omnium prescius quedam noua sue veritatis et sapiencie salutaris docmata certis viris aut mulieribus sibi acceptis et ecclesie in pace, fide et moribus edificande vtilibet reuelauit aut in posterum reuelauerit?

²¹⁶ Cf. Sap. 9, 17.

²¹⁷ Sir. 21, 28.

²¹⁸ Cf. Sir. 1, 16; Ps. 110,10.

²¹⁹ I Th 5, 19-20

Appendix 2. 4. 5

”Draft document of 1456- 1465”, first third part of, in RA, Cod. A 20, fol. 286v²²⁰

Soror K abbatissa, frater M confessor ceterique persone monasterii sanctarum Marie virginis <et Birgitte> de Watzsteno humiles vestri²²¹ et deuoti²²²

Hec sunt, que collegimus²²³ et conscripsimus atque disposuimus post²²⁴ mutuam collacionem et approbacionem²²⁵ (...?)²²⁶ dileccionibus impertire²²⁷ idest propter varias difficulta<te>s et questiones abbatisse et confessoris et vobis propositas et ascriptas et forte²²⁸ aliis in futurum pariformiter(?) ostendendas(?).

Primo qualiter libri Reuelacionum ad inuicem et cum defensorio seu declaracionibus²²⁹ doctorum super eis editis et conscriptis ad vniformitatem reducantur.

Item qualiter vniformitas ipsius defensorii seu declaracionum huiusmodi²³⁰ per totum annum ordinem habeatur.

Item qualiter reuelaciones²³¹ declaratorie seu extrauagantes vniformiter conscribentur.

Item qualiter familiares seu fratres ad extra clausuram ex vna parte et focarie sororum ad intra²³² sub vna regula²³³ vniformiter dirigantur.

Item qualiter vnus haberi posset ordinarius super horis sororum et²³⁴ ceremoniis earundem.

Item qualiter²³⁵ fratres vnus moris et consimilium²³⁶ ceremoniarum per vnum communem librum vsuum in domo Domini valeant habitare.²³⁷

(continues overleaf)

²²⁰ This transcription has drafted in discussion with Dr. Peter Ståhl, RA, Sara Risberg, Stockholm University, and Prof. Monica Hedlund, Uppsala University.

²²¹ fr post vestri del.

²²² propter difficultates etc. ex collectis reuerendorum patrum vestrorum predecessorum in marg. add. manu II.

²²³ ex concepimus in collegimus corr.

²²⁴ maturam maxstigationem et digestionem atque supra lin.

²²⁵ de capitulo(?) tam (post tam fere 8 verba non leguntur) in marg. add.

²²⁶ vestris del., aliorum(?) in marg. add.

²²⁷ ex impertiri corr.

²²⁸ forte sub lin.

²²⁹ articulorum ex libris reuelacionum extractorum sub lin.

²³⁰ Perhaps the addition in footnote 215 above should be insterted here instead.

²³¹ reuelaciones scripsi, reuelacionis(?) Cod.

²³² proti(nus?) ex altera (?) in marg. add.

²³³ d post regula del.

²³⁴ earum moribus et post et del.

²³⁵ vr post qualiter del.

²³⁶ consimilium supra lin. add.

²³⁷ reuerendorum patrum et fratrum nostrorum de futuro capitulo post habitare del.

Hec²³⁸ infrascripta²³⁹ sunt super quibus Paternitatum vestrarum requirimus exhortacionum consolacionumque documenta.

(Under this heading in the document follow 13 points of issue and a final comment.)

Appendix 2. 4. 6

”Introduction to the defence corpus”.

UUB, MS C 518, fol. 20vb, line. 20 – fol. 21ra.

Prelibati enim articuli a vero et sano intellectu per pretactos calumpniatores sequestrati et sinistrati patebunt in et ex defensorio infrascripto per predictos celebres dominos magistros et doctores examinati, declarati et approbati, sicut iacent in suis veris et correctis originalibus, esse veri et catholici et per quandam diffinitionem sacri quondam concilii Basiliensis de et super ipsis factam iuxta predictorum doctorum declaraciones posse licite in ecclesia sancta Dei admitti, publicari, cantari et legi tanquam in nullo a fide recta aut veritate catholica vel sacre scripture sinceritate dissoni vel contrarii, sed iuxta modum scripture sancte et sanctorum doctorum precipue antiquorum recte fidei et cuius veritati omnino consoni et conformes. Ex quo euidenter patet, quod Reuelaciones beate Birgitte a Deo et sanctis eius per spiritum veritatis et non per spiritum falsitatis sunt ipsi beate Birgitte diuinitus reuelate et celitus ministrare, et quod possunt in vniuersali militante ecclesia sine quacumque hesitatione licite et publice predicari, legi et publicari ad laudem et honorem omnipotentis Dei et sanctorum eius, qui eas pro correccionem et emendacionem peccatorum beate Birgitte ministrabant, necnon ad exaltacionem sanctitatis et ordinis ac religionis eiusdem sponse Christi beate Birgitte in secula seculorum. Amen.

²³⁸ hec infrascripta sunt super quibus reuerendorum patrum et fratrum nostrorum de preterito requirebamus et de futuro capitulis requirimus (requirimus *post futuro del.*) *in marg. add. manu II.*

²³⁹ infrascripta *supra lin.*

Appendix 2. 4. 7

"The epilogue to *Auisamentum* in Codex A".

KB Brussels, MS 1451-53, fol. 31ra, line 31- fol. 31va:

Itaque nunc, vt cunctis pateat euidenter, quante auctoritatis huiusmodi Reuelaciones sint et a quibus approbate, notandum est, quod cum predicti quattuor magistri et doctores supra sepius nominati, videlicet dominus Iohannes de Turre Cremata cardinalis, magister Heimericus de Campo cum aliis duobus ipsas Reuelaciones diligenti indagine examinassent et ipsas diuinas et catholicas repperissent, omnes articulos ab ipsarum emulis et maliciosis ex ipsis Reuelacionibus extractos accusatosque lucide et diffuse cum auctoritatibus scripturarum canonicarum declarauerunt, sicut supra patet et infra patebit. Sed vt ipse iudex fidei (qui prenominatis magistris et venerabilibus viris de et super Reuelacionibus examinandum (*sic*) commissionem dederat) sciret, qualem sententiam diffinitiuam super titulo libri et ipso libro Reuelacionum ventilaret, conuenerunt inter se et ordinauerunt prescriptos xxxviii articulos cum compendiosa eorum solutione, quia pre omnibus aliis articulis isti suspecti de veritate (ab illis, qui cor inuidia obcecatum habent aut oculos lippientes, qui nulla vera nec sana nisi placencia iudicant) possent aliqualiter impugnari. Quibus sic editis presentauerunt eos iudici fidei. Qui ipsis perlectis et veris (ut erant) compertis ipsisque aduersariis, qui presentes erant, contradicere non valentibus domino volente, qui verba sua ad tempus calcari permisit, vt ipsis tritis fragrant in naribus omnium, qui in ecclesia sunt, ipse iudex fidei, videlicet Ludowicus miseracione diuina tituli sancte Cecilie ecclesie Rhomane presbyter cardinalis Arelatensis vulgariter nuncupatus, causarum et cause huiusmodi fidei a sacrosancta generali synodo Basiliensi pro tunc specialiter deputatus, assistentibus sibi quinque episcopis, duobus abbatibus cum aliis tribus in theologia magistris auctoritate sibi tradita, approbavit ipsum titulum libri, qui est Liber diuinarum seu celestium Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte,²⁴⁰ necnon ipsum librum Reuelacionum in octo parcialibus libris distinctum vna cum ipsa regula sancti Saluatoris, Sermone angelico et Quattuor oracionibus, vt infra habentur. Simili modo confirmavit discernendo et declarando, quod omnia et singula in eisdem contenta sunt catholica et vera atque non ab illusore Diabolo sed a Deo pro emendacione omnium statuum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, reuelata et ostensa, quodque huiusmodi Reuelaciones deberent in ecclesia sancta Dei populo predicari, non in sensu, quem aduersarii sibi finxerunt sed secundum sensum catholicum, quem huiusmodi Reuelaciones habent, sicuti doctores per sacram scripturam euidenter patefecerunt. Acta sunt hec Basilee Anno Mcccxxxvi, Indiccione quarta, die Iouis Prima die Martii Pontificatus in Christo Eugenii pape quarti anno eius quinto.

²⁴⁰ *Liber ... Birgitte* written in larger letters.

3. Heymericus de Campo and his contributions in the field of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*

3. 1. Heymericus de Campo: His life and work

Introduction

The different phases of Heymericus life and authorship have been described in detail in different articles.²⁴¹

This chapter will therefore, after a summarized account of his life, career and literary production, focus on the task Heymericus was assigned at the Council of Basle, where he examined the orthodoxy of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*, a work which resulted in, among other texts, his *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*.

Heymericus de Campo was born in 1395 in Son close to Eindhoven in what is now the Dutch part of Brabant.²⁴² It has been suggested that he took his first academic degrees in Paris ca 1410-1420.²⁴³ After that, and after a couple of years as a teacher in Diest, he went to the University of Cologne as *magister artium* 1422. In Cologne he taught philosophy at the same time as he studied for the doctoral degree in theology. After becoming a doctor and ordained, he got a chair as professor of theology at the same university 1429.²⁴⁴ In 1431²⁴⁵ he was elected vice-chancellor and worked for a couple of months in 1432 as rector of the university. In November 1432 he was sent as the representative of the University to the Council of Basle, which he left before February 17, 1435. The same year he accepted the offer of the chair of professor of theology at the University of Leuven. He held this

²⁴¹ Hoenen in *Academics and intellectual life in the low countries. The university career of Heymeric de Campo (†1460)* summarizes what was known in 1994 and makes his own contribution to our knowledge of Heymericus de Campo, his authorship and academic career. For an outline of Heymericus' ideas in theology and philosophy, see the introduction in Hoenen's *Heymeric van de Velde: Eenheid in de tegendelen*, p. 11-65. The following account of Heymericus mainly follows these two accounts by Hoenen. For an exhaustive bibliography of Heymericus' life and work, cf. the same two accounts. However, several treatises on Heymericus' writings been published since 1994, some of which are referred to below. Among those should be especially mentioned the first volume of *Heymericus de Campo: Opera Selecta*, published in 2001, with further references.

²⁴² Black, *The realist ecclesiology of Heimerich van de Velde*, p. 273-274 and footnote 2.

²⁴³ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 177-183.

²⁴⁴ *Heymericus de Campo: Opera selecta*, p. 10. Cf. also Meersseman, *Geschichte des Albertismus*, Heft II, p. 15.

²⁴⁵ Meersseman, *Geschichte*, Heft II, p. 15.

chair until his death in 1460. He had then been the vice-chancellor of the university holding the rector's title six times in a row.²⁴⁶

During his career Heymericus made contributions in several different fields and contexts. To the most important ones are usually counted his work at the Council of Basle, his role as a developer of late medieval Albertism, and his transmission of Lullism to his contemporaries and, not least, to his student Nicolaus Cusanus, all of which will be treated briefly below.

Among scholars of Birgittine life and spirituality, he is counted as a most devoted and productive examiner of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*.

Expressed in a few sentences, Heymericus' life appears to have consisted of the university and its different positions. However, Heymericus had many different functions within the university as well as outside it, which provided scope for his different talents.

Not much is known about Heymericus' private life. A certain Godefridus de Campo, *synodi primarius* in Woensel, Brabant, is mentioned by one source as being his father, another source mentions Heymericus' father as being a *presbyter* and Heymericus' mother as *soluta*.²⁴⁷ The silence surrounding these matters is probably due to Heymericus' illegitimate birth.

It has been pointed out that Heymericus' splendid career within the university had no counterpart within the Church.²⁴⁸ It is however not stated that Heymericus had such ambitions. Heymericus obtained his first canonry, St. Aposteln in Cologne in 1425. In the final stage of his university career, before 1451, Heymericus seems to have kept the prebend Rosmalen close to s'Hertogenbosch. In a document from 1451²⁴⁹ Heymericus takes leave of the prebend and gets a pension from it.

After 1453 Heymericus seems to withdraw from his university position.²⁵⁰ In July 1454 he obtains the title *canonicus* of St. Peter's church in Leuven and the prebend of St. Andreas' Altar which belonged to it. An obligation connected with the prebend was to give lectures six weeks per year. These lectures he chose to

²⁴⁶ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 195 and footnote 93.

²⁴⁷ When applying for his first canonry, Heymericus had to produce a supplication to the pope to obtain dispensation for the deficiency in his birth, as was routine in cases like this. (Cf. Rolf De Kegel's introduction to his edition of Heymericus' *Epistola ad papam Martinum V (Hussiten-Dialog)* in *Heymericus de Campo: Opera Selecta 1*, p. 43-44). In the papal acts his father is titled *presbyter*, and his mother *soluta*, that is unmarried or divorced. In the *incipit* to a text attributed to Heymericus (Cf. Kahza, *Dialogus Heimerici de Campo cum Godefrido de Campo*, p. 273-289) his father is named Godefridus de Campo: *Fidelis eloquii famelico, Godefrido de Campo, Woncellensis synodi primario, Heimericus, eius filius, (...)*.

²⁴⁸ Black, *The realist ecclesiology*, p. 274.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Nyberg, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*, p. 188, who quotes an apostolic document from March 21, 1451 (Arch. Vat. Reg. Vat. 395 fol. 24r-25v). In this document it is stated that the chapter St. Jan in S'Hertogenbosch, which for a long time had kept a permanent *locum tenens* at the presbytery in Rosmalen, now wishes to incorporate Rosmalen into the chapter.

²⁵⁰ Meersseman, *Geschichte*, Heft II, p. 17.

give on Raimundus Lullus in the monastery of Betleem close to Leuven, a monastery which was adherent to the Windesheim congregation. Betleem was also the place Heymericus went during his autumn holidays.²⁵¹

In his writings on Heymericus' life, Hoenen brings out these occasions and those duties within Heymericus' commissions and posts, which included dealing with and solving situations of conflicts and intervention between two parties.²⁵² Without presupposing a special interest or endowment, one can assume that thanks to this Heymericus was experienced, and perhaps even skilled in the area of intervention in conflicts. The Birgittine case could be counted as one of these experiences.

It has been pointed out that Heymericus' writings and teachings reached outside the university borders, especially in the area around Leuven and the Brabant. He was in contact with the *Deuotio moderna* movement in the monastery of Betleem mentioned above, and copies of Heymericus' writings were extant in other convents of this movement, Rookloster (in Soignes south of Brussels) and the Augustinian monastery of Groenendael (in "Zonia" near Brussels).²⁵³ The Augustinian monastery of Val. St. Martin in Leuven, and the Canons regular near Eindhoven owned writings of Heymericus, too.²⁵⁴

The Brigittine abbey of Mariënwater, too, had some of Heymericus' attention, and his texts on Birgitta were used and copied within the Birgittine order.²⁵⁵

Influences on Heymericus' philosophical theology

Heymericus is a good representative of the training in the Neoplatonic-Augustinian tradition and its use of the writings of Aristotle. Further characteristics of his theology are his Albertism, his expressed neoplatonist tendencies and his interest in mysticism.²⁵⁶ The latter interests can be seen in his philosophy as well as in his frequent references to *Liber de Causis*, Proclus, Ps.-Dionysios and Raimundus Lullus. By adhering to a school as well as searching for inspiration from the mystical tradition in general, Heymericus is typical of the period.²⁵⁷

²⁵¹ Cf. Meerseman, *Geschiedte*, Heft II, p. 17 and Hoenen, *Academics*, 182 footnote 34 with further references.

²⁵² About his role as mediator, see Hoenen, *Academics* p. 194-196.

²⁵³ Kałuza, *Trois listes des oeuvres de Heimeric de Campo dans le 'Catalogue du Couvent Rouge' ('Rouge-Cloître')*, p. 5 and 9-20.

²⁵⁴ I do not know whether these monasteries adhered to *devotio moderna*, and the same is true about the abbey of Park in Heverlee near Leuven and the Augustinian convent of Corstendonck (in the province of Anvers, Belgium) mentioned by Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 196.

²⁵⁵ Cf. chapter 3. 3, "Heymericus' relations with the Birgittine order". The order of St. Saviour, St. Birgitta's order, formed a branch of the order of St. Augustine.

²⁵⁶ Cf. the outline of Heymericus' ideas in theology and philosophy in Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 11-65, cf. also the summary in Black, *The realist ecclesiology*, p. 273.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 175-176.

Regarding his Albertism,²⁵⁸ however, Heymericus goes further than just being an adherent. Heymericus says that he owes all of his knowledge to Albertus Magnus, and he calls him his adoptive father and leader.²⁵⁹ Albertus Magnus exerted a “Neoplatonizing Aristotelism”, which permeates the philosophical conceptions of Heymericus.²⁶⁰ After having been fostered in the Albertist school during his time as a student at the University of Paris, where Johannes de Nova Domo in all probability was his teacher,²⁶¹ Heymericus during his Cologne period came to be one of the foremost advocates of late Medieval Albertism, and also one of those who formed that school. In *Tractatus problematicus* (cf. below) from the Cologne period he lays down the principal differences between the schools of Albertism and Thomism.

The writings of Raimundus Lullus, the Spanish mystic, had a great influence on Heymericus’ thinking.²⁶² This can be observed already in Heymericus’ writings from the Basle period, and the feature becomes more and more conspicuous in his literary production. It is symptomatic that Heymericus in his final years devotes his lectures to the Spanish philosopher.

Heymericus expresses an ambition to unite philosophy and theology. In one of his texts he talks about “the philosophy of the Christians”, and names his own method as *theologicæ philosophare*, to “philosophize theologically”.²⁶³ His way of analysing and applying philosophy to worldly problems has been described as translating the world into philosophical terms – thus its eternal and unchanging principles become apparent – and then to make a calculation, based on the principles, as to how the world must be.²⁶⁴

A recurrent theme in Heymericus’ treatises is knowledge and human intellect in relation to the world and the highest intellect. In this discussion Heymericus as an Albertist opposed the alleged predominate view of the Thomists, as he thought that the human intellect **can** know the immaterial and godlike directly, without

²⁵⁸ Imbach, “Albertismus” in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 1, coll. 336-337, with further references. (My free and abridged translation): A philosophical school of the 15th century which, with explicit reference to Albertus Magnus, adhered to the *via antiqua* and which fought the Nominalism of the *via moderna*. The Albertism however differed from both Scotism and Thomism. Between the Albertist and Thomist school there was a serious controversy at the university of Köln about the principal questions of Logic and Metaphysics, carried on foremost by Heymericus de Campo and Gerardus de Monte. As for the contents, Albertism denies the real distinction between being and essence and in the question of universals speaks for a doctrine inspired by Albertus Magnus and founded in the emanations metaphysics about the three states of the Universals (*ante rem, post rem, in re*). Upholders of the school at the end of the 15th century were the universities of Heidelberg, Leuven, Krakau and Prag.

²⁵⁹ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 180 and footnote 22.

²⁶⁰ Caviglioli, *Les écrits d’Heymericus de Campo (1395-1460) sur les oeuvres d’Aristote*, p. 314-315.

²⁶¹ Hoenen, *Academics* p. 177-178 and footnote 14.

²⁶² Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 181-182. A central study is Colomer, *Nicolaus von Cues und Raimund Llull. Aus Handschriften der Kueser Bibliothek*, Berlin 1961, 9-46.

²⁶³ *Heymericus de Campo: Opera Selecta*, p. 11 and 208.

²⁶⁴ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 201.

assistance from the sensations.²⁶⁵ This standpoint is interesting especially with regard to private revelations, a topical question in the dispute about St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* and a principal question in the examinations of them.

Types and genres of Heymericus' writings

It is apparent from the reviews of and the references to Heymericus and his works in the contemporary sources and the descriptions in the following centuries that this philosopher, theologian, Albertist and investigator was far better known and held in much greater esteem than one would reckon from the extent to which his works have survived to modern times.²⁶⁶ It is a fact that his writings and teachings reached not only academics, but also schools and monasteries.

Heymericus' literary production is extensive and comprises about 50 writings of various length in both philosophy, theology and ecclesiology.²⁶⁷ As the best known is considered a treatise written in connection with the controversy between Thomists and Albertists during Heymericus' time at the University of Cologne,²⁶⁸ namely *Tractatus Problematicus* or *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam ad utriusque opinionis intelligenciam multum conferencia*.²⁶⁹ The treatise has been printed twice, the first time as early as in 1496,²⁷⁰ and it is regarded as being one of the most important works in the field of Albertism.²⁷¹

Known for the fact that they were used by the philosopher Nicolaus Cusanus are two big volumes with works by Heymericus which are preserved and which

²⁶⁵ Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 42.

²⁶⁶ Cf. chapter 4. 2, "Language and style in *Dyalogus*. Introduction" and footnote 453.

²⁶⁷ Cf. the preliminary bibliography of Heymericus' writings by Luc Burie, *Proeve tot inventarisatie van de in handschrift of in druk bewaarde werken van de Leuvense theologieprofessoren uit de XVe eeuw*, p. 221-237. A good summary of bibliographical articles is extant in Dumala, *L'ordre des causes (Ordo causarum) dans Compendium divinorum par Heimeric de Campo*, p. 76, footnote 2 and Kafuza, *La voix créatrice de Dieu*, p. 439-440, footnote 1-5. It would be possible to update Heymericus' bibliography continuously thanks to the new finds of scholars reported in different books and articles.

²⁶⁸ During Heymericus' time in Cologne, an already existing dispute between different groupings, among them the Albertists, developed into a serious controversy between Thomists and Albertists (cf. Meersseman, *Geschichte*, Heft II, p. 19sqq).

²⁶⁹ Cf. Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde († 1460) und die Geschichte des Albertismus: Auf der Suche nach den Quellen der albertistischen Intellektlehre des Tractatus problematicus*, p. 303-331, esp. p. 307-320. Cf. also Caviglioli, *Les écrits*, p. 305. It has been suggested that *Tractatus problematicus* was written about 1424-25, and published in 1428. The text was translated into Dutch by Hoenen in *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 82-121, and a critical edition of Heymericus' *Tractatus Problematicus* with an introduction is currently under preparation by Mr. Pepijn Rutten, University of Nijmegen.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Burie, *Proeve*, p. 237. Another printed edition of 1517 is quoted in two different publications, according to Burie.

²⁷¹ Attributed to Heymericus in the 18th century but most probably not by him (Caviglioli, *Les écrits*, p. 312 and Burie, *Proeve*, p. 236) on the same subject and printed twice are *Reparationes librorum totius naturalis philosophiae secundum processum Albertistarum et Thomistarum* (Köln, Ulrich Zell, 1494 and Frankfurt am Main 1969) and *Promptuarium argumentorum dialogice ordinatorum a Lilio Albertista et Spineo Thomista mutuo sibi obviantibus (...) disputatorum* (Köln, Henri Quentell, 1492 and Frankfurt am Main 1969).

once belonged to Nicolaus Cusanus. Several of the texts bear traces of Nicolaus' intense reading,²⁷² of which Heymericus' first work, *Compendium divinatorum* (cf. below) and *De sigillo eternitatis* (cf. below), is considered to have influenced Cusanus' philosophy.

Heymericus produced writings in advanced theology and metaphysics as well as commentaries on the basic university literature and compendary books on theology. These latter writings, teaching materials, he made throughout his university career.²⁷³ He also wrote treatises on ecclesiology and questions regarding doubtful orthodoxy and the interpretation of rules.

A major contribution among the **commentaries** constitute three big commentaries on *Corpus Aristotelicum*, named *Compendium logicae*, *Compendium naturalis philosophiae* and *Compendium ethicorum*,²⁷⁴ all of which were completed in Cologne. Another example, the commentary on Petrus Lombardus' *Sententiae*,²⁷⁵ was finished there 1425. From his Leuven period dates among other writings one commentary on the *Apocalypse*²⁷⁶ and another on Cato's *Ethica*.²⁷⁷

Examples of his works on **theology and metaphysics** are *Theoremata totius universi* (1431, Cologne),²⁷⁸ *De sigillo eternitatis* (cf. above) (Basle summer-autumn 1433),²⁷⁹ *Collectio positionum* (principiorum?) *iuris naturalis divini et humani philosophice doctrinalium* (1435),²⁸⁰ *Tractatus de naturali veritatis catholice analisy* (1452(?), Leuven),²⁸¹ *Tractatus de formis intentionalibus* (1452-1453),²⁸² *Invectiva* (1456),²⁸³ *De signis notionalibus trinitatis et unitatis superne*

²⁷² Cf. *Heymericus de Campo: Opera Selecta*, p. 9-10. Scholars productive in this field are, among others, Eusebio Colomer, Rudolf Haubst, J. N. Hillgarth and Ruedi Imbach.

²⁷³ Cf. Rolf de Kegel, *Epistola ad papam Martinum V*, p. 37-38.

²⁷⁴ Heymericus work was dealt with and partly edited by Caviglioli in *Les écrits d'Heymericus de Campo (1395-1460) sur les oeuvres d'Aristote* (1981).

²⁷⁵ Cf. Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 10, no. 5 and footnote 24.

²⁷⁶ Burie, *Proeve*, p. 227.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Kałuza, *La voix*, p. 441-443.

²⁷⁸ The text was edited by Colomer in *Heymeric van den Valde entre Ramón Lull y Nicolas de Cusa* (1963), p. 229-232. The text was translated into Dutch by Hoenen in *Heymeric van de Velde* p. 129-134.

²⁷⁹ The text was edited with an introduction by Imbach /Ladner in *Opera selecta I* (2001), p. 93-128.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Colomer, *Nicolus von Cues und Raimund Lull*, p. 10-11 and 29-39, with extensive quotations. The alternative title *Colliget principiorum iuris naturalis divini* etc. is given by different scholars; I have chosen the title given in Burie, (*Proeve*, p. 225), that is *Collectio positionum* etc., since *Colliget* would demand an object. The title does not make sense to me.

²⁸¹ The text was edited with an introduction by Kałuza in *Opera selecta I* (2001), p. 169-203.

²⁸² Full title: *Tractatus de formis intentionalibus in lumine rationalis nature, gratie et glorie per notionales intentionum primarum, 2^{um} et 3^{um} differentias artificialiter distinctis*. Cf. Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 12-13, no. 37 and footnote 42.

²⁸³ The text is partly edited in Meersseman, *Geschichte*, Heft II (1935), p. 112-121 (4*-13*).

(undated).²⁸⁴ In his **compendiary theology** Heymericus discusses fundamental philosophical problems and central aspects of Christian faith. As examples could be mentioned *Compendium divinatorum* (1420-1422, Diest),²⁸⁵ *Ars demonstrativa* (1429(?)-1432, Cologne),²⁸⁶ *Dyalogus cum Godefrido de Campo* (after the Council of Basle),²⁸⁷ *Centheologicon* (1450-53, Leuven),²⁸⁸ *Alphabetum doctrinale* (1450-1453, Leuven),²⁸⁹ and *Testamentum doctrinale* (1453, Leuven).²⁹⁰

In his writings on **ecclesiology**, Heymericus treats the burning question of the Council of Basle: Who has supreme authority in the Church, the Pope or the Council?²⁹¹ The two first writings on this topic, *Disputatio de potestate ecclesiastica* (1433)²⁹² and *De concilio Basiliensi* (“*Vincat veritas*”)²⁹³ were produced during his time in Basle, but Heymericus also contributed to the discussion afterwards with *Apologia cur recesserit a concilio Basiliensi et Eugenio quarto adhererit* (after 1435)²⁹⁴ and later *Epistola ad papam Eugenium IV de potestate papae et concilii generalis* (1446, Leuven).²⁹⁵

Heymericus’ texts on the orthodoxy of St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* would form a group of its own together with many other expositions made by him in **questions regarding doubtful orthodoxy and the interpretation of rules**.²⁹⁶ For the sake of

²⁸⁴ The text is edited and dealt with in Hoenen, *Trinität und Sein. Der Traktat “De signis notionalibus trinitatis et unitatis supernae” und seine Bedeutung für das trinitarische Weltbild des Heymericus de Campo* (1998).

²⁸⁵ The first part was edited by Korolec in “*Compendium divinatorum*” *Heimeryka de Campo w rkp. BJ 695. Studia nad dziejami albertyzmu kolońskiego* (1967) p. 56-75. Cf. also Korolec, *Quelques informations sur le ‘Compendium Divinorum’ de Heymericus de Campo ainsi que sur un commentaire inconnu de ce ‘Compendium’*, p. 33-39; Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 4 and footnote 4; Korolec, *Heymeric de Campo et sa vision néoplatonicienne de Dieu* and Dumała, *L’ordre des causes (ordo causarum) dans Compendium divinatorum par Heymeric de Campo*. The text was translated into Dutch by Hoenen in *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 69-81.

²⁸⁶ The text was edited with an introduction by Caviglioli in *Opera Selecta I* (2001), p. 129-167.

²⁸⁷ The text was edited with an introduction by Kałuza in *Dialogus Heimerici de Campo cum Godefrido de Campo* (1971). Cf. however below, “Other dialogues by or attributed to Heymericus”.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Imbach, *Das Centheologicon des Heymericus de Campo und die darhin enthaltenen Cusanus-Reminiszenzen: Hinweise und Materialien* (1983).

²⁸⁹ The text was edited with an introduction by Korolec (†) in *Opera Selecta I* (2001), p. 205-219.

²⁹⁰ The text was dealt with and partly edited by Kałuza in *La voix créatrice de Dieu. Remarques sur l’Alphabetum de Heymeric de Campo* (1992), p. 453-468.

²⁹¹ Cf. Black, *Heymericus de Campo: The Council and History*, Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 197-198 and Ladner, *Revolutionäre Kirchenkritik am Basler Konzil? Zum konciliarismus des Heymericus de Campo*.

²⁹² Cf. Black, *The realist ecclesiology* and Ladner, *Revolutionäre Kirchenkritik* (the text is partly edited p. 18-19).

²⁹³ The text was edited and dealt with by Ladner in *Der Ablass-Traktat des Heymericus de Campo. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Basler Konzils* (1977).

²⁹⁴ Black in *Heymericus de Campo: The Council and History*, p. 78, makes reference to J. F. v Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart 2*, Stuttgart 1877, p. 373.

²⁹⁵ Dealt with by Black in *Heymericus de Campo: The Council and History*.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 202-208.

their relation to *Dyalogus*, in the following I will describe the texts of this group in a few words, but will not enter into the factors that were behind Heymericus producing them.

- *Epistola ad papam Martinum V*, or, by another name, "Discussion dedicated to Pope Martin V about the incomposite state of the Church and about the heresy of the Bohemians"²⁹⁷ (1425, Cologne).²⁹⁸ The dialogue takes place between *Bohemus* and *Romanista* who discuss the differences of their different theological standpoints. The *Romanista* is an adherent to the *via antiqua*, and he defends the Roman Church in terms of Realism.

- *Epistola contra Johannem de Rokozano de communione sub utraque specie*. "A letter against Johannes de Rokozano about the communion under both kinds" (1433, Basle).²⁹⁹ Heymericus tells about this tract in a letter from the Council of Basle dated 14 April [1433].³⁰⁰ According to himself, Heymericus succeeds in prevailing over the dangerously eloquent Hussite, Johannes de Rokozano.

- *Determinatio super clausura canonicorum regularium magistri Heymerici de Campo* "Heymericus de Campo's decisive standpoint regarding the monastic enclosure of Canons Regular". (1436-1438, Leuven). Heymericus' text constitutes an answer to a certain Wilhelm Berwoldi's critique of the strict rule practised by the Canons Regular in the monastery of Betleem (cf. above). Heymericus is a defender of the strict rule.³⁰¹

- *Soluciones dubiorum sub regula Augustini(?)* "Solutions of doubtful matters regarding the rule of St. Augustine".³⁰² Three groups of *quaestiones*, the last two groups contain 48 and 39 *questiones* respectively, are made to Heymericus by one *prior monasterii de Throno*, and Heymericus answers.³⁰³

²⁹⁷ Alternative titles used: *Disputatio de incomposito statu Ecclesie et de heresi Bohemorum ad Martinum V papam*; *Tractatulus contra errores Hussitarum missus domino Martino pape huius nominis quinto* (Cf. Burie, *Proeve*, p. 227-228) and *Tractatulus missus domino Martino pape*.

²⁹⁸ The text was edited with an introduction by Rolf De Kegel in Heymericus de Campo, *Opera Selecta I* (2001), p. 35-92, with the title *Epistola ad Papam Martinum V (Hussiten-Dialog)* and with the rubric *Epistola magistri Heymerici de Campo missa summo pontifici anno domini 1425*.

²⁹⁹ The text was edited and treated by Ladner in *Heymericus de Campo an Johannes Rokycana. Zur Laienkelchdiskussion am Basler Konzil* (1985).

³⁰⁰ The letter is edited by Bianco in *Die alte universität Köln und die späteren Gelehrten-Schulen dieser Stadt*, Teil I, Anlagen, letter no. XXXIII, p. 171-174.

³⁰¹ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 203. About how the controversy started, cf. Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 9, no 3 and footnote 21.

³⁰² The copy of this text exists in Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussels, MS 11881-11883, fol. 1-50. The manuscript is described in Lourdaux & Haverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio, I*, p. 534-536, the text in Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 13, no. 38 (footnote 43) and p. 17-18.

³⁰³ According to Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 17 this would be a reference to Canons Regular of Thronos BMV, close to Grobbendonck. Kałuza, however, has not been able to identify the prior in question. Another monastery that comes to mind is the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon in Dendermonde. This monastery was founded 6 years after the death of Heymericus, but perhaps there were monastic activities at the place before that.

- [Millelogicon], *Tractatus quidam continens determinationem magistri Heymerici de Campo contra quosdam articulos erroneos contentos in duobus libellis comparatis apud quendam bogardum reclusum circa Renum*, "A treatise containing *magister* Heymericus de Campo's decisive standpoint against certain heretical articles extant in two small books found with a certain *begardus*, living as a hermit near the Rhine". (1450, Leuven) The work consists of one thousand *questiones*, divided into two volumes and six chapters. Especially the statement made in the book that the essence of God and man are the same receives ardent critique of Heymericus.³⁰⁴

Similar to Heymericus' investigations of the *Reuelaciones* is the so called *Determinatio super peregrinatione*, "Decisive standpoint about the peregrination" that Heymericus composed in 1458. The work is a commentary on the phenomenon of children wandering in mass pilgrimages to Mont St. Michel at this time, and it regards the question about what force drove the children to do this.³⁰⁵

Heymericus' work as university representative at the Council of Basle

Heymericus' work as the representative of the University of Cologne at the Council of Basle is often mentioned as one of the important episodes of his professional life. It is typical of the time that Heymericus as an academic was involved as a party in disputes within the Church.³⁰⁶ The University of Cologne had been urged several times by the council to send delegates to participate in the proceedings. One of the main issues of the council was the extirpation of the Hussite heresies³⁰⁷ and the University of Cologne was known as one of the most persistent strongholds of resistance to the Hussites. When eventually in 1432 the university decided to send representatives, they chose Heymericus together with the canonist Lambertus Langenhove. Perhaps this was due to the fact that Heymericus had already shown himself able of arguing in the heresy question in his *Epistola ad papam Martinum V*.

During his time in Basle, Heymericus continuously sent reports to his university.³⁰⁸ Through some preserved letters we get a picture of his working conditions: He is engaged in one proceeding after another, he is constantly at work writing and taking copies of important documents for the university, his colleague leaves the council and gets no successor, and for financial reasons, Heymericus shares lodgings with his colleagues from Vienna. Several times in his letters to the university, Heymericus points out that he is not content with his financial situation. Despite Heymericus' repeated demands for more money from the University, the

³⁰⁴ Cf. Kaluza, *Trois listes*, p. 14 no. 45 and footnote 50.

³⁰⁵ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 206-208.

³⁰⁶ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 174-175.

³⁰⁷ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 189

³⁰⁸ Most of the preserved letters are edited by Bianco in *Die alte Universität Köln*, Teil I, Anlagen, p. 171-197.

situation remains unsatisfactory, and this has been considered a possible reason for Heymericus leaving the council before February 17, 1435.³⁰⁹

Although financially strained, this time in Basle was a time of great literary activity and production for Heymericus. At least five of his writings, of which several are extensive, date from this period,³¹⁰ as probably does all his writings except one in the question of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* (cf. below).

Dyalogus forms part of the big collection of expositions and treatises written by Heymericus on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* within the task assigned to him by the council.³¹¹ As it was a case of suspected heresy it is not surprising that Heymericus was chosen to represent the German nation. As stated above, Heymericus had been involved in the Hussite question recently at the council with his *Epistola contra Iohannem de Rokozano*.

Other dialogues by or attributed to Heymericus

In the list of Heymericus' writings, three texts are to be found named dialogues by modern scholars: *Epistola ad Papam Martinum V*; *Dialogus cum Godefrido de Campo* and *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*.

The former, written in 1425, which by some scholars is considered to be a *questio*, is called a dialogue by its editor. The text, like *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*, deals with the question of heresy in a dialogue form.

As for *Dialogus cum Godefrido de Campo* (the title is secondary), written after the council according to Kałuza, there have been doubts about Heymericus' authorship, even though the dialogue in one manuscript is described as a conversation between Heymericus himself and his father, Godefridus de Campo.³¹² This little work does not focus on heresy, but deals with fundamentals of Christian faith, about which Godefridus the priest wants to learn more from Heymericus.

Heymericus' *Dyalogus* on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* is undoubtedly written by himself, as is shown by his own authentications from 1446 (cf below). The dating of *Dyalogus* as well as the questions why Heymericus chose the dialogue form and for whom he wrote his *Dyalogus* on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* will be discussed below in chapter 3. 3.

³⁰⁹ Cf. Black, *Heymericus de Campo*, p. 78, idem, *The realist ecclesiology*, p. 275-276.

³¹⁰ *De sigillo eternitatis*; *Disputatio de potestate ecclesie*; *De concilio Basiliensi* ("Vincat veritas"); *Epistola contra Iohannem de Rokozano de comunione sub utraque specie*; *Collectio positionum iuris naturalis diuini et humani philosophice doctrinalium* and two sermons (cf. Ladner, *Heymericus de Campo an Johannes Rokycana*, p. 301 and footnote 8).

³¹¹ Cf. chapter 2. 1, "The setting up of two subsequent commissions" and chapter 3. 2, "Survey of the texts and their functions".

³¹² Cf above, the beginning of chapter 3. 1. The text is edited in Kałuza, *Dialogus Heimerici de Campo cum Godefrido de Campo* (1971). Another manuscript source states that the dialogue was written down by an admiring disciple of Heymericus, Bartholomeus Conradi (cf. Kałuza, *Dialogus*, p. 277-278). The reliability of this source is however debatable.

3. 2. Heymericus' contributions in the field of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*

Survey of the texts and their functions

One wonders how Heymericus, if his time in Basle was so hectic and financially strained as he says in his letters, could devote so much time and ink to the question of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*. He was obviously very diligent; according to himself he prepared his writings by thorough collations and comparisons among the manuscripts to find the true reading of St. Birgitta's texts. And the result is impressive: The collection of Heymericus' texts in the manuscript codex Uppsala University Library MS C 518,³¹³ requires 90 large manuscript folios, which would make up ca. 340 printed pages in an edition with measures like this edition of *Dyalogus*.³¹⁴ In addition there is a collection of articles "*Articuli in forma exhibitia in iudicio fidei*" with answers attributed to Heymericus in UUB MS C 31 in four folia in quarto.

In the manuscript in Uppsala University Library (UUB) MS C 518, a manuscript of special significance in this dissertation, Heymericus' texts on Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* is divided into three parts. The division probably originates from the time when Heymericus revised and authenticated his texts, and when all the old texts were put together in two separate volumes "with red covers",³¹⁵ and when a third, a new one, was written, namely in Leuven in 1446, when the Vadstena brethren were on their way home from Rome.³¹⁶

The revised and authenticated writings were brought to Vadstena. In Vadstena Abbey copies of the two volumes and the new text were made and the

³¹³ Cf. the description of UUB MS C 518 and other copies of this defence corpus in chapter 5. 1. As for the question if there have existed yet other writings by Heymericus on St. Birgitta, there are some titles in the old manuscript catalogues that I have not been able to identify: In the 16th century catalogue of Rouge-Cloître there is one book by Heymericus with the title *Dyalogus* (Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 10, no. 11), which at the time belonged to the Augustinian abbey of Groenendael, and two others which then belonged to the Augustinian monastery of Val. St. Martin. The first of the two bears the title *De defensione Reuelacionum beate Birgitte* (Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 12, no. 34 and footnote 41). Kałuza identifies the latter as being the copy of Heymericus' *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte* in Brussels KB MS 1451-53. I would not dare do that. The second of the two bears the title *De valore indulgentiarum ordinis sancte Birgitte et quibusdam aliis collatarum* (Kałuza, *Trois listes*, p. 12, no. 35). Regarding this text, a copy of some passages extracted from Heymericus' and Johannes de Turre Cremata's texts on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* might be taken into consideration. The passages, which regard the Birgittine indulgences, were copied 1456 and brought together with the relevant text passage(s) in the *Reuelaciones*. One copy of this text is inserted in UUB MS C 31 ("*Rubrica et reuelacio*"), fol. 327r-335v (cf. chapter 2. 3, footnote 201).

³¹⁴ One of the texts, *Epistula* (10 fol., cf. below) was written after the council. On the other hand, four folia are cut out from the collection in UUB C 518 (cf. footnote 347).

³¹⁵ Cf. Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 84-86 and Rodolphus de Beringhen's *Littera testimonialis* to Heymericus de Campo's *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum* edited there, #13.

³¹⁶ Cf. above, chapter 2. 2, "Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement".

copies were put together with the writings of the other defenders in the big collection of defences for St. Birgitta, which is now UUB MS C 518.³¹⁷

In UUB MS C 518 Heymericus' writings appear on folios 98r – 188r. The three parts are separated by blank pages and ornamented initials. Each of the first has a prologue from 1446 and authentications from the same year copied from the two volumes, authentications made by Heymericus and the University of Leuven.

The grouping of the texts within the parts is probably due to the physical condition of the texts and their distribution in the two original red volumes – the volumes would have been about the same size.³¹⁸ The first part consists, as did one of the original red volumes, of Heymericus' *Declaraciones* together with a small text called *Resoluciones 14 dictorum* or *14 dicta*. This part I have called the *Declaraciones* text group. The second part consists, as did the other of the original red volumes, of a collection of shorter treatises which more or less explicitly deals with the question of which spirit revealed the *Reuelaciones* to St. Birgitta. Six or seven texts, depending on how one chooses to count, make up the collection which begins with the text *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum* and closes with *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*. This second part I call the *Tractatus* text group. The third part, lastly, consists of one single text, Heymericus' *Epistula super articulis Reuelacionum beate Birgitte*, which was originally presented to the Vadstena community in a separate small volume.³¹⁹

The text *Auisamentum*, said to have been written by the four defenders of the commission together,³²⁰ is extant in UUB MS C 518 fol. 216r-218r.

The collection of 20 articles and explanations of them, "*Articuli in forma exhibita in iudicio fidei*" in UUB MS C 31, fol. 139r-142r is somewhat mysterious as regards its authority, use and importance. Firstly it should be stated that the fact that the text is inserted in UUB MS C 31 indicates that this text, or to be exact, this copy, was not for first-hand use, as were seemingly none of the others in this volume.³²¹ The copy however stands out from the other defence texts in UUB MS C 31 in regards to its neat hand unlike those typical of Vadstena manuscripts, and the leaves constitute one separate file. The answers to the articles in the collection are attributed to Heymericus.³²² All the articles in this collection Heymericus has treated before in other writings. For example all of them are treated in *Dyalogus*, but with other wordings. The wording is not that of *Auisamentum* either. The title of the collection is interesting. If it can be proven that these articles and their

³¹⁷ Cf. Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 86-88.

³¹⁸ Cf. Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 85-86.

³¹⁹ Cf. description below in this chapter.

³²⁰ The circumstances of the writing of *Auisamentum* are yet unsettled. Cf. Chapter 2. 1, "The setting up of two subsequent commissions" and footnote 67 and chapter 2. 2. "Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey. *Auisamentum*".

³²¹ Cf. Nyberg, *Skriftföljder och lägg*, p. 20.

³²² The rubric to the first answer goes: "*Iudicium magistri Heymerici sine preiudicio sententie fidelioris.*", and the following answers: "*Iudicium m. H. ut supra.*".

answers were really meant to be presented to the judge, it would constitute important evidence regarding the story of the last stages of the proceedings.

According to the sources,³²³ the task of the third commission, of which Heymericus was a member, was to examine the *Reuelaciones* together with the indictment of the proceedings. From what we learn from the Birgittine account of 1434/1435³²⁴ and the preserved copy of the 123 articles³²⁵, together with the collection of Heymericus' texts, the indictment consisted of two types of writings. The first type was the principal indictment containing the "123 articles" or text passages extracted from the *Reuelaciones* and made suspected of heresy.³²⁶ The 123 articles were copied and the document was brought to Vadstena. The document is extant today in RA, and the individual articles are also extant in copy in UUB MS C 518 as part of the *Registrum* to the defences.³²⁷ In addition to the articles, the indictment originally seems to also have included some explanatory statements or reasons of the examiners in the first commission. These statements are not inserted in the copy of the 123 articles, however. That such expressed reasons existed, whether delivered by word of mouth or written down, is apparent from both Heymericus' defences and Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones*, in which the examiners and their reasons are often quoted in the answers of the defenders.³²⁸ The examiner, called *impugner* or adversary, is often quoted in Heymericus' *Tractatus* text group, especially in Heymericus' text *Difficultates* (cf. description below).

That there existed a second type of indictment or rather accusations is stated in the Birgittine account of 1434/1435. These accusations were apparently additional to the indictment containing the 123 articles of, and were put forward in those pamphlets that Matthias Döring produced and disseminated, and which are described in the Birgittine account, writings which mainly accused and criticised St. Birgitta's inspiration and the rendering of how the *Reuelaciones* were revealed to St. Birgitta. Only one of the treatises in the pamphlets is mentioned by name in the Birgittine account, namely Döring's tractate *Probate Spiritus*.

Judging from Heymericus' preface to his *Declaraciones* and a comparison between his *Declaraciones* and the *Declaraciones* of the three other defenders, it seems quite safe to assume that Heymericus' *Declaraciones* form his answer to the indictment containing the 123 articles. According to the Introductory history in UUB MS C 518, *14 dicta* was not an answer to any official indictment.³²⁹ It has

³²³ Cf. chapter 2. 1. "The setting up of two subsequent commissions".

³²⁴ Cf. chapter 2. 1, "Birgittine account of 1434/1435" and Appendix 2. 4. 2.

³²⁵ Cf. chapter 2. 1, "The legal proceedings".

³²⁶ According to Johannes de Turre Cremata in his *Declaraciones*, art. 123, the *Reuelaciones* were suspected "*in qualitate*", "*in figura*" and "*in pondere*" (in Mansi's edition in col. 813 B/C).

³²⁷ The 123 articles exist also in Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones* and all except one in Heymericus' *Dyalogus*.

³²⁸ Cf. chapter 4. 2, "Language features specific for *Dyalogus*, its subject and form".

³²⁹ Cf. description below in this chapter.

been said³³⁰ that Heymericus' *Tractatus de discrecione Spirituum* is the answer to Matthias Döring's *Probate Spiritus*. This is not explicitly stated in the text itself, but seems probable on grounds that the Birgittine account of 1434/1435, where Matthias Döring is said to have written a text with the title *Probate Spiritus*, and on grounds that this title corresponds to the title of Heymericus' writing. It would be natural to assume that the rest of the defences in the *Tractatus* text group are answers to the great number of untitled, small writings Matthias Döring is said to have written and disseminated. This is not contradicted by the first hand description of the aims and objectives of the texts of the *Tractatus* text group made by Heymericus himself in his preface from 1446, even though Döring's pamphlets are not mentioned there. The only aim Heymericus describes there is to make additional examinations to cover all aspects of the problem according to a task assigned to him by the council.

As for the objectives in particular of the different texts in the *Tractatus* text group we get a good description in their respective rubrics in UUB MS C 518, as will be described below. The authority of the rubrics is not completely established³³¹ but they are very useful. In the following summary description of Heymericus' different texts in UUB MS C 518, I will quote these rubrics, wherever there is one to the text in question. In other cases I briefly describe the text in my own words and give all the texts a working title. Further, to keep order among the texts within the *Tractatus* text group, I have given numbers to the different tracts in that group.

Summary descriptions of the different texts by Heymericus in UUB MS C 518
"Declaraciones text group", fol. 98r-140v.

"Prologue of 1446 to the *Declaraciones* text group" ("Prologus 1446 Decl.") fol. 98r-98v.

Denomination: Rubrics in the text: *Prefacio Magistri Heymerici de Campo (...) super quibusdam declaracionibus pro defensione Reuelacionum beate Birgitte editis ab eodem*. In the column title: *Prohemium seu Prologus super declaracionibus Reuelacionum beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Ad gloriam et honorem Dei (...)*.

Description and comments: The *Declaraciones* text group begins with the prologue Heymericus wrote in the revision of his work in 1446. The rubrics of the text are the same as the rubrics of the Prologue of the *Tractatus* text group. In the prologue, Heymericus describes the reason for the revision of 1446, and mentions the work he did in 1435.

³³⁰ Höjer, *Studier*, p. 208.

³³¹ Cf. Chapter 5. 2. "ABDE form a group".

”Prologue of 1435 to *Declaraciones*” (Prologus 1435 Decl”) fol. 98v-103r.

Denomination: Same heading as Prologue 1446.

Inc.: *Responsurus ad quosdam articulos (...)*.

Description and comments: After the prologue from 1446 follows the *Prologus* to the *Declaraciones* dated 1435. Heymericus describes why he writes the text, and then chooses to work from an *ypotesis certa*.³³² Within the framework of the prologue he then treats his subject, St. Birgitta’s inspiration, in 18 syllogisms.³³³ He says that these shall serve as a kind of presupposition ”for a resolutive stabilization of the things I intend to write about the decision on the articles that will follow”.³³⁴ He also describes the manner in which he aims to examine the *Reuelaciones*.

”*Declaraciones*” fol. 103r-137r.

Denomination: In the column title (articles from book I of the *Reuelaciones*): *Declaraciones articulorum primi libri Reuelacionum beate Birgite magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Primus itaque articulus (...)*.

Description and comments: *Declaraciones* is made up of 80 articles and explanations of them,³³⁵ not 123, which seems to be due to some confusion in the delivery of the articles to Heymericus. In a couple of places it is said that they were not given to him all on one occasion.³³⁶ The expositions of the articles are often quite lengthy compared to the exposition of the same article in *Dyalogus*.³³⁷ The examination ends with Heymericus summing up and giving his opinion.³³⁸

”*14 Dicta*” fol. 137r-138r.

Denomination: In the text: *Sequuntur resoluciones 14 articulorum precipue contra librum Reuelacionum celestium beate Birgite obiectorum Magistri Heymerici*. In the column title: *Declaraciones seu resoluciones*

³³² Cf. chapter 4. 1, “The discussion in *Dyalogus* and the argumentation of ‘H’”.

³³³ In one of the copies of the Prologue of 1435 to the *Declaraciones* (Clm. 27047a, cf. chapter 5. 1, description of Copy **D**), this part is treated separately under the heading *Argumenta octodecim*.

³³⁴ Fol. 102v: ”*ad stabiliendum resolutorie ea, que circa decisionem articulorum subscriptorum intendo scribere*”.

³³⁵ In the Introductory history in UUB MS C 518 it is stated that despite this Heymericus has given his opinion on all the 123 criticized passages of the *Reuelaciones* in *Declaraciones*, because Heymericus explained the remaining articles within the existing 80. UUB MS C 518, fol. 5rb: ”*Tali enim modo scripsit super omnibus libris et articulis librorum Reuelacionum beate Birgite et omnes alios articulos ad illos lxxx articulos reduxit*”. However, according to *Registrum*, over forty of the 123 articles in the indictment are not treated within these 80 articles.

³³⁶ Cf. below in this chapter, “The commission in Basle and Heymericus’ writing of *Dyalogus*”.

³³⁷ Cf. chapter 4. 2, “Language features specific for *Dyalogus*, its subject and form”.

³³⁸ Part of the conclusion is edited in Appendix 2. 4. 4.

quatuordecim dictorum ex Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo.

Inc.: *Ecclesia est firmamentum et columpna veritatis (...).*

Description and comments: The 14 *dicta* consist of articles that, according to the text, were considered especially difficult to defend. Heymericus solves the problems by syllogisms.

”Heymericus’ epilogue to the *Declaraciones* text group” fol. 138r-138v.

Denomination: -

Inc.: *Hec sunt, o sacrosancta Basiliensis synode, que ego, Heymericus de Campo (...).*³³⁹

Description and comments: Heymericus’ dedication and assertion to the council, which he re-uses for the *Tractatus* text group, described below.

”Heymericus’ subscription to the *Declaraciones* text group” fol. 138v.

Denomination: In the text: *Hec est subscriptio ipsius magistri Heymerici.*

Inc.: *Ego Heymericus de Campo, arcium et sacre pagine magister etc., fateor (...).*

Description and comments: Heymericus confirms that he wrote the text and that he has checked the copy. In the copy in UUB MS C 518 Heymericus minor seal is depicted in ink. This subscription, too, he re-uses for the *Tractatus* text group, described below.

”Authentication of the *Declaraciones* text group” fol. 138v-140v

Denomination in MS Clm. 27047a:³⁴⁰ *Littera testimonialis.*

Inc.: *Vniuersis et singulis presentes litteras seu presens publicum instrumentum visuris, lecturis et audituris: Rudolphus de Beringhen (...).*

Description and comments: Authentication made by the rector of the University of Leuven, Rodolphus de Beringhen. The reasons for the authentication being made are described in detail, as are the volumes produced. Except for the description of the copy in the red volume, the text is identical with the authentication of the *Tractatus* text group.

“The *Tractatus* text group”, fol. 142r-178r.

Like the *Declaraciones* text group, the *Tractatus* text group starts out with the prologue Heymericus wrote to one of the two volumes in the revision of his work in 1446. After the *Prologus* from 1446 follows the *Prologus* to the *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum* dated 1435.

³³⁹ This text and the three following are edited in Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 89-92.

³⁴⁰ That is, MS **D** of the edition. The notarial instrument is called *Littera testimonialis* in MS **E** of the edition, too. Cf. chapter 5. 1.

”Prologue of 1446 to the *Tractatus* text group” (Prologus 1446 Tract.”) fol. 142r-142v.

Denomination: In the text: *Prefacio magistri Heymerici de Campo (...) super quibusdam declaracionibus pro defensione Reuelacionum beate Birgite editis ab eodem* (identical to the heading to the *Prologus* to the *Declaraciones* text group).

Inc.: *Quoniam sicut perfecta sunt Dei opera (...)*.

Heymericus describes how and why he makes these additional examinations. This description will be analysed below, chapter 3. 3.

I. ”Treatise on the discernment of spirits” fol. 142v-148v.

Denomination: In the text: *Incipit tractatus de discrecione spirituum contra quendam Reuelacionum beate Birgite impugnatores*. In the column title: *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum super Reuelacionibus beate Birgite Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Probate spiritus si ex Deo sunt I Joh. 4 (...)*.

Description in rubrics:³⁴¹ ”Here begins the treatise (...), in which first, through 7 syllogistic *rationes*, considering and confirming 7 ways and signs, through which it is possible to discern divine revelations of a good spirit from diabolic revelations of an evil spirit (ways and signs put down by Alfonsus in his ”Letter to the kings”), St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* are proved to be divine and of a good spirit and not diabolic of an evil spirit. And within each of those *rationes* one of the said impugner’s 7 arguments is mooted and solved, and both the syllogistic *ratio* and its solution is confirmed by the Holy Scripture”.

I. a. A short separate examination under the column title *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum*, fol. 146v-148v.

Denomination: - (cf. Description and comments).

Inc.: *Quibus rationibus magistri Matthie (...)*.

Description in rubrics:³⁴² ”Here on a general level *magister* Matthias’ of Linköping statements in his *Prologus* to St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* and

³⁴¹ ”*Incipit tractatus de discrecione spirituum contra quendam Reuelacionum beate Birgite impugnatores, in quo primo per vii rationes sylogisticas epylogizantes et confirmantes vii rationes et signa discernendi reuelaciones diuinas et spiritus boni a reuelacionibus dyabolicis et spiritus maligni, que ponuntur per dominum Alphonsum in Epistula sua ad reges, probantur Reuelaciones beate Birgite esse diuine et spiritus boni et non dyabolice aut spiritus maligni. Et inter quamlibet illarum septem rationum mouetur et soluitur unum argumentum de septem argumentis huiusmodi impugnatoris et tam ipsa ratio sylogistica quam solucio per sacram scripturam confirmatur.*”

³⁴² ”*Hic in generali probantur dicta Magistri Mathie Lincopensis in Prologo Reuelacionum beate Birgite et domini Alphonsi, alias dicti solitarii, in sua Epistula ad reges secundum doctrinam magistri Johannes Gerssen in tractatu suo de discrecione spirituum esse bene posita. Et post hoc circa finem huius capituli concluditur ex dictis quod Reuelaciones beate Birgite sunt celestes et non illusorie.*”

domini Alfonsus', also called 'the hermit', statements in his "Letter to the kings" are proved to be well founded, according to the doctrine of Johannes Gerson in his treatise on the discernment of spirits. And after this, towards the end of this chapter it is concluded from what is said that St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* are divine and not illusory.

II. "Oppositions and articles on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*" fol. 148v-152r.³⁴³

Denomination: In column title: *Oppositiones et articuli super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Hiis videtur obuiare multiplex contradiccio (...)*.

Description and comments: This is a treatise, the different parts of which are difficult to survey. Therefore, I have numbered them within the group.

Description in rubrics:³⁴⁴ "Here, in 6 *rationes* or special arguments, objections are made against what is said above and against St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* (II. a below). Then, in an epilogue beginning "Ut ergo *opposita*" very many articles, extracted from the books of *Reuelaciones*, are heaped together, and after that, it is argued against each of them with the aforementioned impugner's arguments (II. b). But all the arguments made that way, the adversary's as well as the other 6 mentioned earlier, are solved here: "*Sane quia teste*" etc. (II. c)".

II. a. "Six *rationes* or special arguments", fol. 148v-149r.

Denomination: In the text: *6 rationes seu argumenta specialia*. In column title: *Oppositiones et articuli (...)* as above.

Inc.: *Hiis videtur obuiare multiplex contradiccio (...)*.

Description: Cf. above.

II. b. Articles extracted from the *Reuelaciones* and the impugner's arguments against them, fol. 149r-152r.

Denomination: Cf. description. In column title: *Oppositiones et articuli (...)* as above.

Inc.: *Ut ergo opposita iuxta se posita magis elucescant (...)*.

³⁴³ In one manuscript copy called *Epilogus triginta tres articulos continens* (Clm. 27047a, cf. chapter 5.1).

³⁴⁴ "*Hic opponitur contra predicta et contra Reuelaciones beate Birgitte primo per 6 rationes seu argumenta specialia. Deinde coaceruantur sub epylogo quam plures articuli extracti ex libris Reuelacionum ibi scilicet: 'Ut ergo opposita' etc., et ibi consequenter arguitur contra quemlibet eorum per argumenta prefati impugnatoris. Sed omnia argumenta sic facta tam aduersarii quam alia 6 pretacta soluuntur ibi 'Sane quia teste' etc.*"

Description and comments:³⁴⁵ 29 articles are collected here, containing all in all 33 text passages. "For the oppositions to be clearer by being placed beside each other, in an epilogue some articles from the said book of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* are collected, which at first sight looks to be of an insane doctrine, suspected in respect of Christian faith or offensive to pious ears". Almost all of the articles have been treated before in *Declaraciones*.

As II b goes over in II c there is a new column title: "*Supposiciones pro defensione Reuelacionum beate Birgitte*".

II. c. α - β "Suppositions for the defence of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*" fol. 152r- 161v.

Denomination: (Cf. description). In column title: *Suppositiones pro defensione Reuelacionum beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Sane, quia teste Hilario De Trinitate libro I (...)*.

Description and comments:³⁴⁶ In the description of "II" above, we were promised that at the line "*Sane quia teste*" we would get a solution to the arguments used against the articles brought forward in II a and II b. But in the rubrics to "*Sane quia teste*" we read: Before an answer is made to the articles and this impugner's arguments and even other (arguments) brought forward above, first will be put down three lessons (II. c. α), aimed at the good and pious reader or listener, after that 7 suppositions or propositions which are by themselves known to the true theologian are put down (II. c. β), from which are drawn sufficient and quite lucid solutions to aforementioned articles and arguments, the impugner's as well as the ones made elsewhere in 29 *difficultates* below (II. c. γ .) beginning: "*Ex quibus suppositionibus*".

II. c. α . "Three lessons" fol. 152r.

Denomination: In the text: *Tria documenta*, as above. In column title: *Supposiciones pro defensione Reuelacionum (...)* as above.

Incipit: *Sane, quia teste Hilario De Trinitate libro I "Principium discipline humilitas est", (...)*.

Description: Cf. above.

³⁴⁵ "*Ut ergo opposita iuxta se posita magis elucescant, coaceruentur sub epylogo quidam articuli ex prefato libro Reuelacionum beate Birgitte extracti, qui videntur prima facie de doctrina insana, in fide catholica suspecti aut piarum aurium offensiu.*"

³⁴⁶ "*Antequam respondetur ad articulos et argumenta ipsius impugnatoris et eciam alia superius adducta ponuntur hic primo tria documenta (II. b. α), que pertinent ad bonum et pium lectorem seu auditorem, deinde 7 supposiciones seu propositiones (II. b. β) vero theologo per se note, ex quibus inferuntur predictorum articularum et argumentorum tam impugnatoris quam aliter factorum per 29 difficultates (II. b. γ) soluciones sufficientes et satis clare infra ibi: 'Ex quibus suppositionibus'."*

II. c. β "Seven suppositions or propositions" fol. 152r – [?].³⁴⁷

Denomination: In the text: *VII supposiciones seu proposiciones*. In the column title: *Supposiciones pro defensione Reuelacionum (...)* as above.

Incipit: *Prima suppositio: Oportet quemlibet addiscentem esse attentum ad audiendum (...)*.

Description: Cf. above.

II. c. γ. "29 difficulties" fol. [?] – 154r

Denomination in MS Clm. 27047a³⁴⁸ (pages missing in UUB MS C 518): *Ex quibus supposicionibus procedendum est ad absolucionem 29 difficultatum in dictis obiectionibus memoratarum, quarum (...)*. In column title in UUB MS C 518: *Difficultates et eorum soluciones super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: (...) *prima fuit, quod finis reuelacionis seu erudicionis celestis est gloria Dei et non hominis (...)*.

Description and comments: Finally, we get the promised solutions of the articles and the impugner's arguments against them given above under II. a and II. b on fol. 148v forward. Here Heymericus admits that the articles and arguments against them put forward by the impugner constitutes "difficulties", *difficultates*, and he now groups the articles and the impugner's arguments in 29 paragraphs, *difficultates*, which he solves.

III. "24 fundamentals" fol. 154r – 161v.

Denomination: In the text: *Hic ponuntur 24 fundamenta seu principia philosophie et sacre pagine (...)*. In the column title: *Fundamenta pro defensione Reuelacionum beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Ex hiis omnibus pro et contra disputatis liquido potest colligi (...)*.

Description in rubrics:³⁴⁹ "Here 24 fundamentals or principles of philosophy and the Holy Scripture are laid down, and together with each of them are put sometimes one, sometimes several of these articles from the *Reuelaciones* (here is probably meant the articles under II. a and II. b.), and it is shown that these rightly understood in no way are against the Holy Scripture up to the line: '*Eya ergo virtuosi*' etc."

³⁴⁷ Cf. headings in the copy in Clm. 27047a, codex **D**. Between fol. 152v and 153r in UUB MS C 518, i. e. from the middle of *Suppositio 4* to the end of *Difficultas 18*, four folia are cut out. The text however is complete in three other copies of the text, in codex **D**, **E** and **F** of the edition (cf. chapter 5. 1).

³⁴⁸ BSB MS Clm. 27047a, p. 76. Cf. footnote 347 and chapter 5. 1, description of codex **D**.

³⁴⁹ "*Hic ponuntur 24 fundamenta seu principia philosophie et sacre pagine, ex quorum quolibet iterum inferuntur aliquando unus, aliquando eciam plures ex predictis articulis Reuelacionum et ostenditur eos sane intellectos sacre scripture nullatenus obuiare usque ibi: 'Eya ergo virtuosi' etc.*"

IV. "How the suitable examiner of every revelation whichever it may be should be disposed" fol. 161v-162v.

Denomination: In the text: *Hic dicitur qualiter debet esse dispositus ydoneus eciam quaruncunq[ue] reuelacionum examinador (...)*. In column title: As in the text.

Inc.: *Eya ergo, virtuosi diuinorum ammirabilium scrutatores (...)*.

Description and comments: An exhortation to the reader of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* that he should have a loving attitude in all his doings. Otherwise, he has no right to call himself a Christian. One should also found one's arguments in the divine truth and not put forward arguments rooted in one's own human weakness.

V. "*Quid itaque*" (henceforth *QI*) or "Which view one should have about St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*" fol. 162v –163r.

Denomination: In the text: *Hic expresse dicitur quid et qualiter pie et racionabiliter sciendum sit iuxta sentenciam concilii Basiliensis et diffinicionem cuiusque catholici doctoris de Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte satis lucide (...)*. In the column title: *Sentencia super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Quid itaque de articulis prememoratis (...) sciendum sit? (...)*.

Description and comments: "Here it is expressly stated very lucidly what and how one should think about the *Reuelaciones* of St. Birgitta according to the sentence of the Council of Basle and the definition of every Catholic doctor." As is to be concluded from the place of *QI* within the *Tractatus* text group, the *articuli* mentioned in the denomination and rubrics must be the ones discussed above under II a, II b, II c and under III. In these texts the criticised articles have sometimes been treated many at a time, which explains the different numbers of *Oppositiones*, *Difficultates* and *Fundamenta*. *QI* follows these texts subsequently, and should be regarded as a conclusion of the statements made and an application of them on the question of the orthodoxy of the *Reuelaciones* and St. Birgitta's inspiration.³⁵⁰

VI. "*Dyalogus*" fol. 163r – 175v.

Denomination: In the text: Cf. Description. In column title: *Sequitur prohemium et prologus in quendam dyalogum* and *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte Magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Porro: Timor est in foribus (...)*.

³⁵⁰ This fact argues against *QI* being the final comment of *Dyalogus*. Cf. the discussion in chapter 5. 1, "Major differences between the MSS and their copies of *Dyalogus*". *QI* is edited in the appendix to the edition.

Description and comments:³⁵¹ "Here follows a preface and prologue to a certain dialogue brought together between "A" as disciple and "H" as master about and on articles extracted from St. Birgitta's book of Revelations at the Council of Basle by some enemies of these Revelations, and charged with heresy before the judge in matters of faith, further over some other doubts regarding the material of these articles and Revelations". As said above, Heymericus in *Dyalogus* treats all of the 123 articles of the indictment, except one.³⁵² Thus he once again treats the articles he treated in his own *Declaraciones*. Heymericus in *Declaraciones* gives a much longer and much more circumstantial explanation to each article than he does in his *Dyalogus*. Sometimes, the answer to the article in *Dyalogus* seems to be a summary of the one given in *Declaraciones*.³⁵³

VI. a. "*Non omni spiritui*" fol. 175r (henceforth *NOS*).

Denomination: -

Inc.: *Non omni spiritui, donec probetur, si ex Deo est, credendum fore* (...).

Description and comments: This final comment to *Dyalogus*, "H's" line 151,³⁵⁴ aims at answering the question what attitude one should have to the question as a whole, especially regarding the question of divine versus non-divine inspiration.

VI. b. "*Versus*" fol. 175r.

Denomination in rubrics: *In qua confidentia conuerto me finaliter ad sanctam Birgittam per hoc metra*. Denomination in margin: *Wersus*.

Inc.: *Felix regnicola paradysi sancta Birgitta* (...).

Description and comments: A prayer in which Heymericus asks St. Birgitta to approve of his writings and to pray for them to be well accepted.

"Heymericus' epilogue to the *Tractatus* text group fol. 175v (cf. the epilogue to the *Declaraciones* text group above).

Denomination: -

Inc. *Hec sunt, o sacrosancta Basiliensis synode, que ego, Heymericus de Campo* (...).³⁵⁵

Description and comments: Heymericus dedication and assertion to the council. He writes that in the present writings³⁵⁶ he has treated the

³⁵¹ Cf. chapter 4. 1 and the edition in Part II of this dissertation.

³⁵² That is, the 123 articles that are contained in the partial copy of the indictment as in RA Parchment letter of March 23, 1436. The article not treated in *Dyalogus* is Heymericus' *Declaraciones* article 35, Johannes de Turre Cremata's article 38.

³⁵³ Cf. chapter 4. 2, "Language features specific for *Dyalogus*, its subject and form".

³⁵⁴ Cf. discussion in chapter 5. 1, "Major differences between the MSS and their copies of *Dyalogus*".

³⁵⁵ Cf. above, footnote 339.

question in different styles, and that he has chosen to do so "rather by making plausible conjectures than firm assertions".³⁵⁷

"Heymericus' subscription to the *Tractatus* text group" fol. 175v-177v (cf. the subscription to the *Declaraciones* text group above).

Denomination: In the text: *Sequitur subscriptio magistri Heymerici de Campo*.

Inc.: *Ego Heymericus de Campo, arcium et sacre pagine magister etc., fateor (...)*.

Description and comments: Heymericus confirms that he composed the text and that he has checked the copy. In the copy in UUB MS C 518 Heymericus' minor seal is depicted in ink.

"Authentication of the *Tractatus* text group" fol. 175v-177v (cf. the authentication of the *Declaraciones* text group above).

Denomination in MS Clm. 27047a: "*Littera testimonialis*".³⁵⁸

Inc.: *Vniuersis et singulis presentes litteras seu presens publicum instrumentum visuris, lecturis et audituris: Rudolphus de Beringhen (...)*.

Description and comments: Authentication made by the rector of the University of Leuven, Rodolphus de Beringhen. The reasons for the authentication being made are described in detail as is the volume in question. Except for the description of the copy in the red volume, the text is identical with the authentication of the *Declaraciones* text group.

"Heymericus' subscription to the red volumes" fol. 177v-178r.

Denomination: -

Inc.: *Oro autem quemlibet studiosum horum scriptorum meorum lectorem (...)*.

Description and comments: In this subscription Heymericus exhorts the reader to compare this writing wisely with his other writings collected in "two other codices, of which one looks like this one, whereas the other is smaller, dictated in the form of an answer by letter".³⁵⁹ The text is identical with the subscription to the red volumes to the *Declaraciones* text group.

³⁵⁶ That is, the *Declaraciones* text group as well as the *Tractatus* text group, because the assertion is the same for the two groups.

³⁵⁷ "*pocius probabiliter coniecturando quam firmiter asserendo*". Cf. his assertion in *NOS* and chapter 4. 1, "Heymericus' opinion as examiner".

³⁵⁸ Cf. footnote 340.

³⁵⁹ "*in aliis duobus codicibus (quorum vnus est similis huic, alter vero minor, per modum epistularis rescripti dictatus) compilatis*" (i. e. the other red volume and the MS now UUB C 91 containing Heymericus' *Epistula*).

“Epistula super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte” fol. 179r – 188r.

Denomination in rubrics: *Incipit Epistula domini Heymerici de Campo Arcium magistri (...) de et super nonnullis articulis (...)*.³⁶⁰

Inc.: *Religiosis in Christo deicolis abbatissis et monasticis utriusque sexus monasterii sanctarum Marie Virginis et Birgitte in Watzteno (...)*.

Description and comments: As stated above, Heymericus wrote yet another text in these matters during the visit of the Vadstena brethren in Leuven 1446. This text exists in a manuscript authenticated by Heymericus, now UUB MS C 91.³⁶¹ A copy of this authenticated manuscript exists in UUB MS C 518, fol. 179r-188r,³⁶² forming the third part of the collection of Heymericus’ defences and expositions of the *Reuelaciones*. In the introduction Heymericus addresses the Vadstena community and says that he in *Epistula*, ”so that the evidence of my previous discussion may be even more stringent and lucid”, once more gives an answer to the ”more subtle and less lucid” articles in brief, and in a form he believes will be easy to understand for everyone or, for those who understand them, easy to interpret (to others).³⁶³

The letter, composed as a small book, consists of three parts. The first part consists of 36 articles and explanations of them, treating some more than 36 text passages. According to *Registrum*, all of these articles except one were treated by Heymericus in his *Dyalogus* too.³⁶⁴

Part two treats articles Heymericus considers easy to misinterpret.³⁶⁵ The articles have been dealt with before by ”cardinal Adam”, that is cardinal Adam Easton, an Englishman who wrote a defence for St. Birgitta at the time of her canonization.³⁶⁶ Heymericus says in the beginning of this part that he got these articles and the ones of part three of *Epistula* from the Birgittines, who asked him to explain them.³⁶⁷ Five text passages from the *Reuelaciones* are treated in part two.

Part three treats articles defended before by another Englishman, Galfridus de Bellaland. This treatise was sent to the Council of Basle as a deliberate

³⁶⁰ Cf. also Heymericus’ denomination of the writing in the subscription to the red volumes quoted in English above.

³⁶¹ UUB MS C 91 is described in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Bd. 2, p. 119.

³⁶² Another copy of *Epistula* is extant in UUB MS C 31, fol. 111v-125v.

³⁶³ Fol. 179rb: *Optans vestre, o religiosa sanctimonie regularis, cui presens rescriptum meum dirigitur, concio, caritati gratanter placere pro cauciori et planiori mee pristinae circa eosdem articulos discussionis euidencia aliquos ex eis magis scrupulosos et minus claros summarie replicatos et tenore vobis, ut reor, omnibus facilliter intelligibili seu per intelligentes interpretabili explanatos eidem vestre caritati exemplariter transmitto*. Cf. also Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 86.

³⁶⁴ Not treated in *Dyalogus* is one text passage in article 15 of part one of *Epistula*. This passage is however treated in *Declaraciones*, article 35.

³⁶⁵ Fol. 184rb: *”Inter quos posteriores articulos per quendam Adam cardinalem ad longum defensos et declaratos inuenio hos magis apparenter ambiguos”*.

³⁶⁶ Adam Easton’s defence is edited by Schmidtke in *Adam Easton: Defensorium Sanctae Brigittae*. Cf. also Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden*, p. 183-192 with further references.

³⁶⁷ *Epistula*, fol. 184r.

contribution to the debate of the proceedings.³⁶⁸ 14 text passages are treated here. At the end of his *Epistula*, Heymericus sums up the state of affairs in a consoling way, and he promises the Vadstena community that he will give them further support in the future, among other things, by going through the whole of *Reuelaciones* and explaining remaining text passages, if there would be any which could be looked upon as offensive.³⁶⁹

Although it would be very interesting to go through all of Heymericus' texts in these matters to study and compare his attitude and the application of his philosophy to the problem in question, there is no room for such a thorough analysis in this dissertation. I hope that my readers in the fields of theology and philosophy will venture upon this in my stead. A comparison with Johannes de Turre Cremata's defence, too, would surely be very informative.

3. 3. The commission in Basle

Heymericus' writing of *Dyalogus*

The overall circumstances for Heymericus writing the texts on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* are described above, in chapter 2, chapter 3. 1 and chapter 3. 2 of this dissertation. There it has been suggested that the *Declaraciones* correspond to the task assigned to the commission of the four doctors, "the third commission", a task which consisted of an examination of an indictment containing 123 articles,³⁷⁰ and that the *Tractatus* text group, at least parts of it, corresponds to the additional accusations made by Matthias Döring and disseminated in pamphlets, and to a need formulated by the council to examine all aspects of the problem. This latter examination task seems to have been assigned to Heymericus only, as will be described below.

There is however more information in the matter in Heymericus' own texts. In the two prologues from 1446 to the two text groups respectively in UUB MS C 518, Heymericus gives a fairly detailed description of the task assigned to him in Basle. We also get some information from the (perhaps secondary) rubrics of the texts in the *Tractatus* text group and the Birgittine Introductory history in UUB MS C 518, quoted above. By this we get to know more about how the material was

³⁶⁸ Höjer, *Studier*, p. 208. Part three begins with the words (184v): "*Quibus articulis subiunguntur quidam articuli alii per dominum Galfridum de Ballalande anglicum defensabiliter elucidati, qui prima fronte sunt valde scrupulose ambigui*".

³⁶⁹ Fol. 187va-188ra. No such study has yet been found in the manuscript collections. Cf. below chapter 3. 3, "Heymericus' relations to the Birgittine order". However, there are two unidentified writings of Heymericus on St. Birgitta mentioned to have been owned by the monastery of Val St. Martin in Leuven (cf. footnote 313).

³⁷⁰ Cf. above, footnote 33.

presented to Heymericus as well as how he worked on it. However, we do not get to know how Heymericus presented his reports to the judge.

In the *Prologus 1446* to the *Declaraciones* text group, Heymericus says that the material he was to examine in Basle was given to him "by turns, not according to the ordinary order of the book, from which they were extracted".³⁷¹ He says that now, in the redaction of the texts of 1446, he has put the 80 articles of *Declaraciones* in their right order. In the epilogue to the *Declaraciones* text group, he repeats that he has composed them "according to the capricious order in which these articles were, as they were handed over to me successively".³⁷² This is described in even greater detail in the Introductory history to UUB MS C 518, presumably describing the form *Declaraciones* had in the Vadstena copy before the revision of 1446.³⁷³ He says that he was assigned by the Council of Basle, together with three doctors of the other nations Italy, Spain and Gaul, to advise the judge in matters of faith "in the question of very many articles extracted from the book of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* and as being suspected of heresy accused before the same judge. An *auisamentum*, as described above chapter 2. 1-2, is mentioned in the Prologus of 1446, too. To begin with, even the examiners of the third commission seemingly were hesitating about the quality of the *Reuelaciones*, however, their opinion changed during their work."³⁷⁴

As for the so called *14 dicta*, we read in the description of this text that Heymericus wrote on these articles because he wanted to do more than just writing the *Declaraciones*".³⁷⁵ These especially difficult articles are said to have been given especially to Heymericus by the adversaries. Therefore, they would not have been part of an official indictment, but, as the description of the text indicates, been put

³⁷¹ *Declaraciones*, fol. 98rb: "vicissim, non secundum ordinarium libri, ex quo fuerunt extracti, processum".

³⁷² *Declaraciones*, fol. 138v: "secundum casualem huiusmodi articulorum mihi successiue oblatozum vicissitudinem (...) conscripsi".

³⁷³ Introductory history, UUB MS C 518, fol. 5ra-b: "Heymericus de Campo (...) in prefato concilio Basiliensi scripsit super articulis lxxx hoc ordine scilicet retrogrado, quia tali ordine sibi fuerant ipsi articuli presentati. Primo enim faciendo solempnem prologum et subtilem incepit a capitulo lxxix libri sexti consequenter usque ad finem Sermonis angelici continuando, secundo iterum fecit prologum breuem et incepit a capitulo xxiiii libri sexti continuando usque ad capitulum lxxviii libri eiusdem, tercio (...). Tali enim modo scripsit super omnibus libris et articulis librorum Reuelacionum beate Birgitte et omnes alios articulos ad illos lxxx articulos reduxit". In the pre-MS C 518-version of the Introductory history in UUB MS C 31 this pre-1446 copy of *Declaraciones* is described in even greater detail.

³⁷⁴ Cf. the Birgittine version in *Introductory history* to UUB MS C 518, fol. 6vb-7ra (quoted in footnote 60), and Heymericus in *Dyalogus*, H [xxiii].

³⁷⁵ Introductory history, UUB MS C 518, fol. 5rb, "Sed nec hiis declaracionibus contentus scripsit eciam seu per xiiii dicta breuia respondit super xiiii articulis".

forward in a face-to-face controversy.³⁷⁶ It is worth noting that all articles except two reappear in *Auisamentum*, while half of them were treated before in *Declaraciones*.

Informative with special respect to Heymericus' contributions beyond the commission of the four doctors, and especially as regards the aims of *Dyalogus*, is the description of Heymericus' work on the *Tractatus* text group that he gives in its *Prologus* from 1446.

In this prologue Heymericus says that in this matter it is necessary to examine all those writings of St. Birgitta which are said to not be in conformity with the truth of heaven, and furthermore to ponder upon the reasons, authorities, reasonings and arguments of the adversary. He says that on a mandate and commission especially given him over these matters³⁷⁷ by the council and the judge in matters of faith, he has tried and sought to (in the way that follows) examine, discuss, explain and answer the reasons, authorities, reasonings and arguments of these opponents, together with articles which he has explained previously elsewhere, as well as some other articles from the said *Reuelaciones*, articles that were extracted "from the sane integrity of the truth in a spirit of malicious suspicion"³⁷⁸ and put before him especially to be explained, "let be afterwards" (*licet ex post facto*),³⁷⁹ because they were missing among those he had already explained in the said Council of Basle in 1435.³⁸⁰

This information is of greatest interest for an investigation of the dating of *Dyalogus*.

We read here that:

- 1) Heymericus was assigned a special examination task "afterwards" that was initiated by the judge in matters of faith and by the Council of Basle. The other three defenders are not mentioned, in contrast to the *Prologus 1446* to *Declaraciones*. This could mean that this task was assigned to Heymericus alone.
- 2) The task was to examine the "reasons, authorities, reasoning and arguments" of the opponents, and the articles not explained elsewhere in his previous writings.
- 3) Heymericus has tried to do this in the way "that follows below", that is, with the *Tractatus* text group.

³⁷⁶ Introductory history, UUB MS C 518, fol. 5rb. "*Presumbant enim aduersarii, quod nequaquam saluis scripturis sanctis et sanctorum doctorum sentenciis sciret aut posset ad illos xiiii articulos respondere*".

³⁷⁷ UUB MS C 518, fol. 142ra "*de mandato et commissione (...) michi de et super hoc specialiter factis*".

³⁷⁸ UUB MS C 518, fol. 142rb "*in spiritu suspicionis sinistre a sane fidei integritate*"

³⁷⁹ UUB MS C 518, fol. 142rb "*necnon tam articulos a me alias declaratos quam quosdam alios ex predictis Reuelacionibus eciam (...) extractos et mihi, licet ex post facto, ad declarandum specialiter propositos et presentatos*". Cf. ThLL s.v. "*post*", p. 163, 76 sqq.

³⁸⁰ That is, the remaining 43 of 123 articles of the indictment.

An essential formulation of the account is "afterwards". One wonders, "after" what? There are two alternatives: Either one reads it as "after sentence in the question already was delivered", or one reads it "after my having fulfilled my task within the commission of the four doctors, i. e. written the *Declaraciones*". The former interpretation is not attractive, since the sentence was delivered on March 1, 1436, and Heymericus had left the council already before February 17, 1435. If we still interpret "afterwards" this way, Heymericus must in some way or another have continued to take part in the process even after he had left the council.³⁸¹ In my opinion, the latter interpretation of the two, that is, that he made these investigations after he had completed his *Declaraciones*, seems less strained, and I choose this interpretation for the analysis below.

Dating of *Dyalogus*

It seems easy at first to date Heymericus' writing of *Dyalogus*. However, while the *terminus post quem* is easy to place in October 1434, the first indisputable *terminus ante quem* is the year 1446. Heymericus writes in a couple of places that he worked on this question in 1435,³⁸² but we also know that he left the council before February 17 in the same year. Thus if he completed his investigations at the Council of Basle he must have completed this great mass of texts in about a month. Heymericus does not say exactly what texts he wrote in 1435. Therefore, there is a slight possibility that some of them were written after his departure from the council. It is probable that the discussion of the matter went on up till, and perhaps even some time after, the sentence was pronounced in March 1436. Many things point to a certain confusion at the later stages of the proceedings,³⁸³ which makes setting an exact date a delicate task. For example we do not know when the four defenders presented their reports to the judge, if all at once or separately.³⁸⁴ We also have to take into consideration that Heymericus was willing to revise the old versions of his writings and to compose a new one as late as in 1446.

It will be necessary to go through the case in detail.

The *terminus post quem* for the writing of *Dyalogus* of October 1434 is the date for the last recorded assembly of the second commission, which later appointed the third commission. As for the *terminus ante quem*, it is tempting to let it be decided by the epilogue to the *Tractatus* text group, which follows immediately after *Dyalogus*. Here, Heymericus addresses the council in direct speech and expresses a wish that the text be corrected, if it does not correspond to

³⁸¹ It could possibly be that Heymericus left his writings on the matter to be handed over to the judge by some of the other members of the commission, or that he continued his investigations after he had left the council.

³⁸² Namely in the Prologues of 1446 to his *Declaraciones* and *Tractatus* text groups; it is also repeated by Rodolphus de Beringhen in the *Littera testimonialis* to the two text groups.

³⁸³ Cf. Chapter 2. 2 - 2. 3.

³⁸⁴ Lederer, *Der spanische Cardinal*, p. 74-75 has come to the conclusion that Johannes de Turre Cremata could not have finished his examinations before January 1436.

the final judgement. This would indicate that all the texts comprised by the epilogue were written before the sentence was delivered, that is before March 1, 1436. It would further be natural to think that Heymericus wrote all his texts in the matter before his departure from the council, that is before February 17, 1435.

Such a dating of *Dyalogus* as being written between October 1434 and February 1435 however is no more than a probable assumption, as shall be argued below.

Dyalogus itself gives some information about how it was written. Of interest for this discussion is the reference in *Dyalogus* to "that considered opinion that some very distinguished doctors of theology gave after the lengthy examination that at **this** Council of Basle was entrusted to them together with me, an opinion that was worked out in mutual conversations and then was laid down by each of them in their own writings".³⁸⁵ As this must be a reference to *Declaraciones* of the four defenders, and perhaps even a team work like *Auisamentum*, we must place *Dyalogus* after the writing of these texts and perhaps also after presenting the *Declaraciones* before the judge. References to *Declaraciones* appear several times in *Dyalogus*.³⁸⁶ Another reference, seemingly to the text *24 Fundamenta* (24 Fundamentals) is found in *Dyalogus*' paragraph [H] cxlvii,³⁸⁷ and therefore we must place *Dyalogus* in time after the three texts *Oppositiones*, *Difficultates* and *Fundamenta*.³⁸⁸ The words "this Council of Basle" ("*in hoc concilio Basiliensi*") indicate that *Dyalogus* was written before Heymericus left the council.³⁸⁹

The final comment on *Dyalogus* (in five out of six manuscripts), which actually does not look like an original ending to *Dyalogus*³⁹⁰ does not help us much. It is impossible to determine by the formulaic expressions if the final comment was written before or after the judgement.³⁹¹ In yet another final comment, which looks like a later addition, the controversy of the process is called a prevailing and not settled controversy between the learned.³⁹²

³⁸⁵ *Dyalogus*, article H [i].

³⁸⁶ Heymericus' original reference is often made more exact by the scribes. An example on a reference is to be found in articles H [xxviii]-H [xxix].

³⁸⁷ According to *Registrum*, the article treated in *Dyalogus*' paragraph cxlvii is treated in *Fundamenta*, too, as article 10 and 13.

³⁸⁸ *Fundamenta* must have been written later than *Oppositiones* and *Difficultates*, since *Fundamenta* departs from the two other texts. Cf. description above, chapter 3. 2.

³⁸⁹ This is the first time the Council of Basle is mentioned in *Dyalogus*, so "*hoc*" should not be a reference meaning "above mentioned".

³⁹⁰ Cf. Chapter 5. 1. "Major differences between the MSS and thir copies of *Dyalogus*".

³⁹¹ Cf. the edition of *Dyalogus: Non omni spiritui*: "by (...) not defending anything (...) against the truth in a definitive or convincing judgement by someone versed in theology whoever it might be". Cf. Ludovicus de Pirano's almost identical final comment (footnote 182). In the text *Quid itaque*, a text loosely attached to *Dyalogus*, Heymericus speaks of "the sentence of the present Council of Basle" (cf. Appendix of the edition). It has however not been possible to state that *Dyalogus* and *Quid itaque* form a unit. Cf. the discussion in chapter 5. 1. "Major differences between the MSS and their copies of *Dyalogus*".

³⁹² Cf. the edition of *Dyalogus: Elicio ex omnibus premissis* (...).

To conclude, while it seems clear that *Dyalogus* was written as one of the last in the group of defences, the only indication in *Dyalogus* itself that *Dyalogus* was written before February 17, 1435 is the pronoun “*hoc*” before “*concilio Basiliensi*” in the first paragraph of *Dyalogus*.

Now let us go back to the description of Heymericus’ task as defined in the Prologues from 1446 to the *Declaraciones* text group and the *Tractatus* text group. As suggested above the Prologue of 1446 to the *Tractatus* text group indicated that the whole of the *Tractatus* text group was written after *Declaraciones*. Further, in the identical epilogues of the text group reference is made to a judgement yet to come. According to this, *Dyalogus* as part of the *Tractatus* text group would have been written before the judgement too.

However, there are reasons not to completely trust the epilogues. The fact that they are identical rises the suspicion of one of them having been copied from the other without much thought. Further, the epilogues could have been put in their respective places when Heymericus revised his work in 1446, when all the texts were collected and divided into two separate volumes. Thus, it is possible that the texts of the *Tractatus* text group were not grouped this way originally and that the placing of the epilogue may not be originally meant for this group of texts. Thus, there is nothing to guarantee that the epilogue and its dating of the texts to “before the judgement” really holds good for all the texts that now make up the *Tractatus* text group.

As for the *terminus ante quem*, 1446, it is not probable that *Dyalogus*, like Heymericus’ *Epistula*, was written during the visit of the Vadstena brethren to Leuven in 1446, for two reasons: Firstly, the comparison of the manuscripts for the stemma indicates that there existed a pre-1446-version of *Dyalogus*.³⁹³ Secondly, in the letter of gratitude of 1447 from Vadstena Abbey to Heymericus,³⁹⁴ the abbey thanks Heymericus, among other things, for the completion of “the bipartite work of defending and explaining these books”³⁹⁵ (i. e. of Revelations) and especially for two new writings in the form of “*Epistule*”, recently edited and sent. The “letters” are described, and perhaps it is possible to identify them.³⁹⁶ It is probable that, if Heymericus wrote *Dyalogus* in 1446, it would have been mentioned among the new writings.

To sum up: we cannot exclude the possibility that one or some of the texts now in the *Tractatus* text group were written after Heymericus left Basle, perhaps even after the final judgement. The text or texts would then have been put together with the others to form the *Tractatus* text group in volume number two of

³⁹³ Cf. chapter 5. 2, “**ABDEF** form a group”.

³⁹⁴ Copy in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 89r-v.

³⁹⁵ This would be a reference to the two red volumes.

³⁹⁶ Either the two separate letters within the text *Epistula* are meant (Cf. this writing in UUB C 518, fol. 179r and fol. 187va-188ra, and the description of *Epistula* in chapter 3. 2) or the whole of *Epistula* and the short letter from Heymericus to Vadstena, today StBL Br. 1, fol. 122v (cf. below, “Heymericus’ relations to the Birgittine order”).

Heymericus' revision of 1446; they were then followed by an epilogue copied from red volume number one containing the *Declaraciones* text group. This is actually quite a probable scenario, especially if one considers the great mass of text Heymericus is considered to have produced during this short period of time, and his otherwise substantial workload.

If one were to pick out one text among the others, as standing out as regards its form as well as its feature of being a summing up, one would choose *Dyalogus*. This text does indeed not look like an examining report, to be handed over to the judge at a certain point of time, but it looks like a working up or summing up of the whole examination material into a popular form, aimed at a completely different readership.³⁹⁷

For now I must leave open the question of the dating of *Dyalogus*, having suggested the dating October 1434 - February 17, 1435 as probable, although not undisputable. In chapter 4. 1 I will return to the idea of *Dyalogus* being a summary of all Heymericus' defences.

Why did Heymericus choose the dialogue form and for whom did he write?

The dialogue form has been used throughout history as a literary form for investigations, as the form allows for contradictory opinions to encounter and test each other. As such, it stands close to the academic *questio*-form and the disputation. The seemingly "objective" searching for the truth gives the author good opportunities to convince his audience.

It has been pointed out that there were several dialogues produced during the Council of Basle.³⁹⁸ If this could be called a trend and if this trend has something to do with the renaissance of the classical dialogue form with the Italian humanists, remains to be seen.³⁹⁹

Heymericus says in *Dyalogus* that he has put together this *Dyalogus* "familiar in tone and possible to understand for everybody". Heymericus expresses the same intention in his *Epistula super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*. Here he says that he has strived for and now wishes the texts to be *grata*, pleasing, and understandable, or at least, that they, for those who understand them, would be possible to interpret (to others). In another place he says that he wishes the texts to be *grata* to God, the Church and the Vadstena community. In the case of *Epistula* his wish is aimed at the monastic Vadstena community, which consisted of both brethren with

³⁹⁷ However, in *Dyalogus* articles are treated that were not treated elsewhere in his texts, and it thus helps to fulfil the task assigned by the council, as described in the prologue to the *Tractatus* text group. Cf. chapter 4. 1, "The aims of *Dyalogus* in relation to the other defences".

³⁹⁸ Kaluza, *Les écrits de Heimeric de Campo sur sainte Brigitte de Suède*, p. 220 with several examples in footnote 15. Enea Silvio, too, reportedly wrote a dialogue on the relation between council and pope. Cf. Helmuth, *Das Basler Konzil*, p. 446 and footnote 115.

³⁹⁹ A "neo-ciceronian" dialogue period, initiated by the Italian humanists, has been distinguished by scholars. Cf. Marsh, article "Dialog: V. Humanismus" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. III, coll. 995-996.

academic degrees and members without any education at all. Thus, Heymericus would match the demands of the highest possible theological level, to satisfy the learned circle, at the same time as he wanted to be understood by the non-educated members of the Birgittine order, as well as the general public, the Church. It is probable that this was his intention with *Dyalogus*, too.

If *Dyalogus* was ever disseminated in the learned circles of the universities, for example as a contribution in a debate going on during the Council of Basle, the disseminating did not leave any remarkable traces in the manuscript collections today. A clearly traceable and steady disseminating of the text was procured by the Birgittines, and Heymericus' texts on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* were copied among Birgittine convents, on occasion also appearing in other Augustinian convents⁴⁰⁰ and Cistercian convents.⁴⁰¹

Heymericus' relations to the Birgittine order

It is obvious from what is stated above that Heymericus' commitment to the matters of the Birgittine order was great, time-consuming, seemingly suddenly appearing and long-lasting.

What could possibly lie behind this great involvement, which, despite the meagre resources, made Heymericus write one report after another in this question? As for Johannes de Turre Cremata, according to his own account, his contribution was due partly to insistent pleas from the Birgittines, partly because he was "impassioned by a zeal for the truth and by the honour of St. Birgitta."⁴⁰² No such Birgittine pleas are heard of in the case of Heymericus.⁴⁰³

Even if, as stated above, this is not the place to analyse Heymericus' position in the political controversies of the council, one could perhaps note that Heymericus changed his position from being a "moderate conciliarist" to becoming a "moderate papalist" after he had left the Council.⁴⁰⁴ Within St. Birgitta's critique of individual popes, the Birgittines had always been counted among the papalists.

I have found no evidence that Heymericus had any contacts with the Birgittine order before the council. However, there are common fields of interests such as mysticism, the order of St. Augustine, and the common features of *Deuotio moderna* shared by the Birgittines and the Windesheimers.⁴⁰⁵ Even after the council, relations seem to have been very good. As we have seen, Heymericus not

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. footnote 313.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. chapter 5 and the description of Codex C.

⁴⁰² Johannes de Turre Cremata, *Epistola D. Ioannis cardinalis de Turrecremata ad omnes Christi fideles* fol. a [1]r B/D and fol. a [1]v A/C.

⁴⁰³ Heymericus only provides assurance in the usual formulaic wordings in the *Prologus to Dyalogus*, that he did not let pleas affect his sound judgement.

⁴⁰⁴ Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 201. The change of sides seems to be due to his view that a schismatic, non-functioning council as the one in Basle proved to be, could not have that supreme authority in the Church which he ascribed a well-functioning council.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Fogelqvist, *Apostasy and reform in the Revelations of St. Birgitta*, p. 25-26 and 243-244.

only revised and authenticated his writings benevolently on the request of the Vadstena brethren visiting Leuven in 1446, he also composed a new tract and promised, when the occasion presented itself, to go through the whole of the *Reuelaciones* and explain difficult passages.⁴⁰⁶ Heymericus also seems to have been involved in the founding of the Birgittine convent of Mariënwater in Rosmalen, which was his prebend for some time.⁴⁰⁷ He is counted among the protectors of the abbey⁴⁰⁸ and is said to have "loved this abbey very much".⁴⁰⁹

By the Birgittines in Vadstena Heymericus was regarded as one of the great promoters of the order. In the Introductory history in UUB MS C 518 prominence is given to the quality of Heymericus' writings, and he is ranked as the author who was most productive and had the most "subtle style" among the defenders.⁴¹⁰ In a letter to the Birgittines in Vadstena, Heymericus calls himself "your promotor according to my ability and capacity".⁴¹¹

In what way Heymericus' texts were used together with the other defences in Vadstena Abbey has been described above, chapter 2. 3. It seems that they were often copied together with Johannes de Turre Cremata's defence as a kind of indispensable set.

From the evidence of the preserved manuscripts, it seems that Heymericus' *Dyalogus* was the copyist's first choice from among his texts.⁴¹² One of the scribes writes that this is because this text treats all the criticised text passages and gives a short answer to them.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. above, the description of *Epistula super Reuelacionibus beate Birgite* with footnote 369. The Vadstena community remembered this promise and asked in 1447 the convent of Mariënwater to remind Heymericus of it. (Copy in RA Cod. A 21, fol. 88v). They themselves also remind him in the letter of gratitude to Heymericus of 1447 (Copy in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 89r-v)

⁴⁰⁷ Nyberg, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen*, p. 187-188.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. for example letter of gratitude from Vadstena to Heymericus of 1447 (Copy in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 89r-v) directed to "venerabili viro et in Christo Ihesu sincere dilecto Heymerico (...) amico et fautori nostro singularissimo".

⁴⁰⁹ *Scriptores rerum svecicorum* III: II: XXX, p. 297-298 (=RA, Cod. A 19, fol. 183r), "Enumeratio monasteriorum ordinis S. Birgittae": "16. Item in Brabancia prope opidum Buscum Ducis dyocisi Leodiensi est situm monasterium ordinis nostri quod Aquas Marie nuncupatur, quod magister Heymerich multum dilexit.". Further, there is a reference to a person that might be Heymericus in the chronicle of Marie van Oss, prioress of Mariënwater, (Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln MS GA 178) fol. 10r: "Vrouwe Mylle de placke blijdelijc ontfinc, de deken van sinte Jans Euangelisten kercke (cf. footnote 249) ende die groote her Herman, die ouerste canonynck, ende ander personen vielen haer bij." Dr. Ulla Sander Olsen has kindly informed me of this last reference in a letter of July 2002.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. chapter 4. 2, "Introduction" and footnote 454, letter of gratitude from Vadstena Abbey to Heymericus 1447 in RA Cod. A 21, fol. 89r-v and Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 31 and footnote 1, without reference.

⁴¹¹ "vester iuxta posse et nosse fautor". Br. 1 StB Linköping, fol. 122v.

⁴¹² In two of six of the manuscripts used for the edition, *Dyalogus* is the only text of Heymericus that has been copied.

⁴¹³ Bryssel KB, MS 1451-53, fol. 3rab-3va.

4. *Dyalogus*

4. 1 Structure, contents and discussion of *Dyalogus*

The structure of *Dyalogus*

Dyalogus consists of three main parts: an introductory prologue, the dialogue proper, presented in the 151 numbered lines of “A” and “H”, and, after the last line of “H” a short prayer. The dialogue itself consists of three parts: an introductory dialogue, a central dialogue and a concluding dialogue. The central dialogue, lines A xxx - H [cxlvii], is composed from the 123 lines contained in the indictment, text passages or “articles”, extracted from St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* and accused of heresy,⁴¹⁴ and Heymericus’ answers to the articles. “A” as the adversary of the *Reuelaciones* and “H” as the defender represent the two parties of the proceedings which “in reality” debated in writing, and which now meet “face-to face”.⁴¹⁵ The central dialogue is in some of the manuscript copies called *Recapitulacio*. The dialogue of the *Recapitulacio* shows that Heymericus had the document with the 123 articles before him. “H” answers the accusations in due order, without letting “A” make any attendant questions. In contrast, the introductory dialogue and the concluding dialogue (when I talk of them together, I will call these parts “framing dialogue”) often move beyond the particular text passages of the *Reuelaciones* in a general discussion of the subject.

Table 1: Plan of the the different parts of *Dyalogus*

D Y A L O G U S				
	Dialogue			
Prologue	”Introductory dialogue” A i - H [xxix]	”The 123 articles” or <i>Recapitulacio</i> A xxx – H [cxlvii]	”Concluding dialogue” A cxlviii – H [cli]	Prayer

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Chapter 2. 1, “The legal proceedings” and 3. 2, “Heymericus’ contributions in the field of St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones*”.

⁴¹⁵ These very arguments had already been made during the proceedings at Basle, the arguments of the adversary partly in the indictment and the arguments of “H” partly in Heymericus’ other writings in the matter.

The aims of *Dyalogus* in relation to the other defences

In the prologue to the *Tractatus* text group and in *Dyalogus* itself Heymericus mentions several aims for making these new examinations of *Reuelaciones* and for writing *Dyalogus*.⁴¹⁶ As described above in chapter 3. 2, Heymericus says in the prologue to the *Tractatus* text group that in this matter it is necessary to examine all those writings of St. Birgitta which are said to not be in conformity with the truth of heaven, and furthermore to ponder upon the reasons,⁴¹⁷ authorities, reasonings and arguments of the adversary. He also makes clear that he undertakes this examination in order to perform a task laid upon him especially by the Council of Basle and the judge in matters of faith.

In the prologue to *Dyalogus*, Heymericus says that his aims for writing *Dyalogus* is to defend himself against persons criticizing him for defending St. Birgitta's *Revelaciones* – *Dyalogus* is a defence of his defence.⁴¹⁸ Further, "A" in the first part of *Dyalogus* gets to say that "H" in his earlier writings did not present the subject in a manner that convinced his opponent.⁴¹⁹ As I see it, these two statements should be taken as meaning that by writing the *Dyalogus* Heymericus had a wish to convince the broad public, that his assertions of the *Reuelaciones* are correct and true, even if he did not have the opportunity to convince his opponent in public.

Apart from these outspoken aims there was of course an overall aim with Heymericus' examinations of the *Reuelaciones*, namely, according to his commission in Basle, to examine the inspiration at work in St. Birgitta's writings – were the *Reuelaciones* of God or the Devil?⁴²⁰ This aim is topical in *Dyalogus*, too, and it is answered as well. However it is formulated very carefully. In a central line of *Dyalogus*, paragraphs A xxviii-H [xxix], it is said that the recapitulation of the articles (the 123 articles of the indictment) is made to make "A" understand, that St. Birgitta is a "faithful disciple of the saving wisdom of God and consequently a

⁴¹⁶ That is, in addition to those examinations already made in *Declaraciones*.

⁴¹⁷ I here translate *motiua* by "reasons" (*Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae medii aevi*. "motivus" II B 2) and not "motives", because the indictment seemingly originally included the reasons given by the examiners (cf. chapter 3. 2, "Survey of the texts and their functions"), and "reasons" goes well with the others in the enumeration. It is also consistent with the fact that in his texts Heymericus does not touch upon the motives of the adversary.

⁴¹⁸ *Dyalogus*, Prologus: 1-8. Perhaps Heymericus had a presentiment that his defence would not be totally in accordance with the judgement, or perhaps this is an indication that the judgement had already been pronounced.

⁴¹⁹ *Dyalogus*, A xxix. "A" says that even if "H" has done enough for the cause in a truthful and implicit way, however, as he did not put the articles in a certain form, he appears not to have given the opponent a satisfactory answer. "A" also points out that in the previous discussion the false statements of the adversary have looked more true than the true statements of the defender.

⁴²⁰ Even if this accusation is never spelled out in the documents, we know this aim from the circumstances of the proceedings and the accusation of heresy in the indictment, the preserved judgement, the part of the defences that focus on the question of inspiration, and finally from the many conclusions in the material, which emphasize, referring to the examination of the articles, that the *Reuelaciones* are heavenly.

true theologian". The aim of examining St. Birgitta's inspiration shows in other places too, in the insinuations of "A" and in the many conclusions of "H", that state that the *Reuelaciones* are of divine origin.

In *Dyalogus*, Heymericus fulfils the aims in a skilful way. In the overall aim of the Tractatus text group, *Dyalogus* no doubt constitutes a very important part. *Dyalogus* treats all the 123 articles of the indictment except one;⁴²¹ this means that the 42 that Heymericus did not yet examine in his *Declaraciones* are included, 11 of which he did not treat in any of the other texts in the *Tractatus* text group.⁴²² At the same time, the literary form chosen for the new examination, the dialogue, allows Heymericus to display the reasons, reasonings and arguments of the adversary, as will be shown below. In *Dyalogus*, however, no commission of the council is mentioned. Instead, in presenting the aims of defending himself and convincing his opponent Heymericus makes clear that he works for himself and his own reputation. How he deals with this aim will be described below. As described above, *Dyalogus* also answers to the task of proving that the 123 passages quoted do not contain anything contradictory to Christian faith, and thus are to be considered divine. In addition to all this, *Dyalogus* gives the admirable contribution of sorting out Heymericus' examination material, summing it up and presenting it in a pleasing form.

Presented in the form of a dialogue, this examination material does not give the impression of having worked as a formal document for the proceedings or to be presented to the judge. Instead, considering the imaginative audience, it would be a contribution to a debate which went on alongside or after the actual proceedings.

Contents

The nature of the quotations from the *Reuelaciones* in the collection of the 123 extracted articles, as it appears in *Dyalogus*, indicates that the examination of the *Reuelaciones* by the first commission was routinely handled, and that the examiners of that commission had read through the books hastily with as critical an eye as possible.⁴²³ As both Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus point out in their defences, the text passages are taken out of context, often mixed up and also often misquoted.⁴²⁴ The lasting impression one gets when reading the passages

⁴²¹ Article 35 of Heymericus' *Declaraciones* (= article 38 of Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declarations*), which deals with the right or authority of the deacons to preach, exists in the copy of the 123 articles of the indictment (see footnote 414 above), but is not dealt with in *Dyalogus*.

⁴²² According to *Registrum* (Cf. chapter 2.1, "Birgittine account of 1434/1435"), there are passages discussed elsewhere in the *Tractatus* text group that are not discussed in *Dyalogus* or *Declaraciones*. These other passages however are not among the 123 articles in the copy in RA, Parchment letter of March 23, 1434.

⁴²³ Regarding the discussion among scholars about possible motives behind the attacks, cf. chapter 2.1, "Previous investigations" and footnote 7.

⁴²⁴ "H" maintains (*Dyalogus*, H [i]) that the reason that there was an indictment at all, was that the accusers had read the *Reuelaciones* too hastily and too negligently. He also thinks the accuser may have had a bad copy of the *Reuelaciones*.

of the indictment is that the examiners have just pounced upon a wording which has annoyed them, disregarding its contents.⁴²⁵

In his defence, Heymericus predominantly uses the method of demonstrating the conformity of the criticised text passage with the texts of the Bible, the Church fathers, and Aristotle. Heymericus also quite frequently makes reference to Pseudo-Dionysios,⁴²⁶ which is in line with the expressed element of neoplatonism in his philosophical view.⁴²⁷ But what exactly are the examiners criticising?

The following will describe the themes recurring most frequently in the 123 articles and subsequently in *Dyalogus*. As above stated in chapter 3. 2, the indictment seems to originally have included the reasons given by the examiners. *Dyalogus* does not quote these reasons explicitly and therefore does not make it clear on what theological grounds the articles were extracted or suspected of heresy, except occasionally in the “framing dialogue”. In order to detect what theological issues of the *Reuelaciones* were subjected to criticism, I have grouped the articles into themes according to similar features.⁴²⁸

Issues discussed

Most important among the themes or subject fields discussed is the questioning of the genuineness of the messages to St. Birgitta.

To begin with, the examiners criticise how the reception of the messages from God is described: They have noted the advertising in the *Reuelaciones* of St. Birgitta’s person and the advertising of the value of her revelations. Also St. Birgitta’s physical sensations of the Godhead are called into question. Further, that often occurring situation that the person revealing the divine truth to St. Birgitta in the *Reuelaciones* is someone other than Christ, sometimes even the Devil, is called into question, and leads further to a discussion of the true nature of spirits, and especially the question of their full capacity of foreknowing future good and bad events.

The theological issue of the day at the Council of Basle, the communion under both kinds, is treated but once. The immaculate conception is treated in only a few articles. On the other hand the examiners have shown considerable interest in St. Mary’s role on the whole in the *Reuelaciones*, for example the rendering of St. Mary’s relation to the Godhead and to the created beings.

⁴²⁵ However, it was the *procurator fidei* of the process, Nicolaus Amici, who acted upon the collection of the 123 extracted articles and turned it into an indictment (cf. chapter 2. 1, “The legal proceedings”).

⁴²⁶ Pseudo-Dionysios ranks third on the list of authors and works overtly quoted, after the Bible and Aristotle.

⁴²⁷ Cf. chapter 3. 1, “Influences on Heymericus’ philosophical theology”.

⁴²⁸ An analysis of the theological standpoints discussed is not within the scope of this dissertation. Cf. the discussions of previous scholars on the subject; Westman, K. B, *Striden*, especially p. 282-286, Börresen, *Birgitta’s Godlanguage*, especially p. 59-60, and the comments of Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 31-32 and Höjer, *Studier*, p. 207.

The question of Christ's two natures requires some space in the collection of 123 articles: Here the descriptions of his human nature as well as his divine nature are criticised. The opponents seem to be bothered by the "humanization" of Christ going too far in the descriptions of his body that sometimes occur in some revelations. Regarding his divine nature they discuss the range of Christ's knowledge, among other things, about his own future suffering.

Another large part of the articles consists of those pronouncements in which the *Reuelaciones* judge the priesthood and give it new instructions: In this part, the examiners have found grounds for suspicion of St. Birgitta's attitude to the full power of the priesthood and how it should be exerted. The *potestas consecrandi* and the *potestas ligandi* in the case of bad priests and popes is mentioned here as well as their right to give dispensation.⁴²⁹ Further, a classical theological issue of controversy is represented: the question whether a bad priest makes the communion invalid or not. These pronouncements are related to those many passages in which the *Reuelaciones*, according to the examiners, dishonour God's servants and speak disparagingly of the priesthood and the pope against the word of the Bible that states that God's servants should be honoured. Further, the opponents seem to have had doubts about St. Birgitta's radical ways of judging the value of certain merits or sins, and her utterances about the right character of the indulgences.

Finally, a large portion of the articles could be placed under a heading "general peculiarities". The examiners consequently pick out text passages in which St. Birgitta communicates "things never heard of before in Christian history", messages contradictory within themselves or messages which the examiners seemingly found contradictory to established truths, together with such messages that seem to be St. Birgitta's own interpretations of the Bible or new versions of biblical stories.

Despite the diversity of the issues treated, in the end they are boiled down to the one principal question of the proceedings: Are St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* really dictated by God?⁴³⁰ Originally, the answer to this question was meant to serve as guidance in the question about the indulgences of the German Birgittine abbey of Marienwold, but, as we have seen, the question started to live its own life, which is clearly reflected in the judgement.

The discussion in *Dyalogus* and the argumentation of "H"

In his *Dyalogus*, "H" makes it clear that he has decided to examine St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* in a benevolent way and that he in no way is going to be seduced to anything else by the evil insinuations of the other party. Already in his *Declaraciones*,⁴³¹ Heymericus states that he aims to depart from the "ypothesis

⁴²⁹ Many of the questions regarding the priesthood is treated in the "framing dialogue" part of *Dyalogus*.

⁴³⁰ If any flaw were found in the *Reuelaciones*, this would serve as evidence that they were not of God.

⁴³¹ *Declaraciones*, fol. 98v.

certa” of Job IX, 2-4: “*Deus est sapiens et fortis robore. Quis ergo resistet ei et pacem habet? Siquidem ob id non poterit homo ei respondere unum pro mille.*”⁴³² He seems to be pursuing the same line of reasoning in his *Dyalogus*⁴³³ and thus, in contrast to his opponent, he assumes a positive attitude towards St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones*. The impression one gets of the text passages of the indictment alone, i. e. that the examiner is simply annoyed by the formulations in the *Reuelaciones*, is cleverly strengthened by Heymericus rhetorical devices. In the irritated sallies of “H”, the adversary is from the beginning displayed as negligent, irrational and malicious, and every now and then Heymericus lets “A” give a narrow-minded commentary to the passages. In doing so Heymericus follows a line of argumentation he started in the prologue to the *Tractatus* text group in which he states that the articles were extracted in a spirit of evil suspicion.

Since the opponent of “H” in the main part of *Dyalogus* does not answer back, “H” is free to give as thorough or as brief explanations of the articles as he wishes. On many occasions, especially in the “framing dialogue”, a genuine engagement in the theological problems is displayed, but generally “H” answers in a routine manner and using the commonly used methods found in these kinds of examinations.⁴³⁴ The arguments most often used by “H” are the following:

- the article is in agreement with the Bible, with the formulations of the Church fathers or other esteemed theologians, or reflects a mode of thought expressed by Aristotle or Boethius.
- the article is consonant with certain basic theological principles (this is proved by way of deductions or syllogisms).
- the article is misread or extracted in a corrupt manner; the adversary has had a corrupt manuscript copy of the *Reuelaciones* or he did not read the context: If correctly read the article is orthodox.
- the article is orthodox if interpreted “in the right way”.⁴³⁵ “H” explains the meaning of the passage with the words “what she really meant was”, without referring to any authorities at all; analyses of the inner significance of words and concepts also occur.⁴³⁶
- the very definite argument “Well, if Christ said so to St. Birgitta, it must be true”.⁴³⁷

⁴³² Translation following the King James version: God is wise in heart, and mighty in strength: who hath hardened himself against him, and hath prospered? If he will contend with him, he cannot answer him one of a thousand.

⁴³³ Cf. also “H”’s assertion in *NOS*.

⁴³⁴ Cf. f. ex. Schönberger, “Scholastik“ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VII, coll. 1522-1523.

⁴³⁵ That is, benevolently instead of malevolently. This is an argument often used in the apologies for the *Reuelaciones*. Cf. for example the wording of the other defenders in Basle and the wording of Alfonso of Jaén in his *Epistola solitarii ad Reges*, chapter VI, paragraph 74-76.

⁴³⁶ The answers to these articles can be equated with a commentary or exposition.

⁴³⁷ It is noteworthy that the most obvious example of this argumentation is found in the article treating the burning issue in the proceedings of the indulgence St. Petri ad vincula, that is in A-H [lxxxiii].

The last two arguments are the most interesting ones, and the one comprising the interpretation is the one most demanding for Heymericus. In the interpretations “H” presupposes that St. Birgitta’s assertions are true. He also presupposes that she meant to be rightly interpreted; she was and wanted to appear orthodox. Therefore, since there is one way of interpreting the passage, that does bring the contents into conformity with the creed of the Holy Church, this must be the interpretation St. Birgitta expected from her readers. Thus “H”’s argument ”what she really meant was” should be read ”what she really wanted us to read in this was”. And here he points to an important distinction: He believes that St. Birgitta very well knew what was proper. To be sure, she wanted a reform of the Church, but within the existing boundaries of the Church.⁴³⁸

That “H” presupposes that St. Birgitta’s assertions are true is also made obvious by his emphasis on Christ as the ultimate authority. This argument could be criticised for being unnecessary or even a case of arguing in a circle, since what is to be proved is whether St. Birgitta expressed the words of Christ or not. But it could also be seen as a manifestation of Heymericus’ general view on the question of private revelations: We cannot know – for a lower spirit cannot have knowledge of a higher (cf. below).

As “H” has decided on the presupposition, i. e. that St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* are true, naturally the presupposition of the opponent is that they are untrue. This reflects the conditions of the proceedings, as is evident enough from the 123 articles of the indictment. This circumstance keeps the two parties in the dialogue from conciliation. Both of them go on in their own circular reasonings, “H” by proving that the *Reuelaciones* are of Christ with the argument, that Christ himself in *Reuelaciones* says they are, the opponent by proving the opposite, meaning that if Christ said so in the *Reuelaciones*, there must be something wrong with the *Reuelaciones*. A bit surprisingly the adversary never, not even at the end of *Dyalogus*, admits himself defeated, and perhaps one would have expected an outcome in which “H” more clearly stood out as convincing his opponent. But Heymericus’ aim with *Dyalogus* is not to construct an outcome of the proceedings in Basle more in line with his own view, but, as suggested above, to convince the general public, his readership, that even if he previously did not convince everybody, his standpoints are correct and true.

Indirect accusations of the adversary

Besides the main issues listed above and discussed in *Dyalogus* it is possible to distinguish another kind of accusation made by the adversary, accusations which exist alongside the supposed striving to find out more about St. Birgitta’s

Other examples are to be found in articles A-H [lxv], A-H [cxx] and A-H [cxxvi], and implicitly in A-H [x], A-H [xxii], A-H [lxxxii] and A-H [xcv].

⁴³⁸ Cf. Fogelqvist, *Apostasy and reform*, especially p. 242-246.

theological standpoints, namely indirect and direct criticism of the quality and authority of the *Reuelaciones*. This criticism is apparent in the comments of "A" to his quoting of different passages and issues. This is in line with Heymericus demonstrating the evil mind of the adversary, which he shows has judged the text beforehand by hidden criteria, even if he lifts up the questions one by one to the level of theological discussion.

As stated above, the adversary makes the presupposition that the *Reuelaciones* are untrue, that is, not of God. In the indirect accusations it shows in addition, that he thinks that St. Birgitta is the author of the texts and consequently the *Reuelaciones* are made up by herself. As this is his conviction, he is irritated by the fact that St. Birgitta among other things⁴³⁹ as an "author" expresses herself in a way that offends pious persons (Prologue: 2, A cl), in vanity exalts her own person (A cxlviii, A cxlix), extends the role and powers of St. Mary to an unsuitable degree (A ci, A cxxxviii, A cxxxix), dishonours the priesthood and incites people against it (A xlvi, A liiii, A lxxxii, A lxxxiii), speaks contradictorily, speaks unclearly, says strange things (A xxv, A lx, A c, A cxxvi) and asserts that Christ has spoken directly to her (A lxiii, A xcv, A cxlix) (cf above).

Heymericus' response to the indirect accusations

While Heymericus thus displays the irrational irritation, which may very well be authentic, of the adversary with a conceited woman, he makes "H" go in for convincing the adversary in every question in detail. In a fatherly way he leads the discussion from the level of gossip to a composed conversation about the basic principles of theology, thus presenting himself as the moderate, benevolent and objective, that is, the trustworthy party in the matter.

Though the waves of discussion sometimes run high, "H" never inclines to recognizing the "false" presupposition of the adversary. Instead, he gives the undoubted impression that he himself really believes that *Reuelaciones* are truly inspired by God.⁴⁴⁰ From other sources we know, that Heymericus personally believed in private revelations.⁴⁴¹

In his long text, Heymericus gets many occasions to praise the *Reuelaciones*. To choose just a few of his opinions, he says that St. Birgitta is a *mulier layca* indeed, a lay woman,⁴⁴² but God chooses whomever he wants as a medium, a fact

⁴³⁹ For the grouping in categories I have considered the judgmental comments of "A" in his quoting of the *Reuelaciones*.

⁴⁴⁰ Heymericus reveals some of his general attitude towards private revelations in *Dyalogus*' for example in H [cxxxvi], and in the final comment to his *Declaraciones* (cf. Appendix 2. 4. 4).

⁴⁴¹ According to Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 42sq, and *Academics*, p. 207, Heymericus in his *Tractatus problematicus* (written 1423-1424) defends the Albertist opinion that man can know separate substances and God directly, and that man in his earthly life can be inspired by divine light, a light which can give knowledge of the future. The intellect can via self-reflection make way to the divine.

⁴⁴² About the question of a woman serving as a medium for God's word cf. Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden* and Börresen, *Birgitta's Godlanguage*. Heymericus deals with this question in *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum* (Uppsala University Library MS C 518, fol. 142r-148v).

we cannot question. He finds her texts to be of a very high theological, educational and literary standard, and even calls her a *vera theologa* with her own *doctrina*.⁴⁴³ In a plain style, he says, the *Reuelaciones* offer edifying reading to people on all intellectual levels. Regarding the case of the dishonoured priesthood, he thinks she is right to blame part of it. He repeatedly points out that if one gives the *Reuelaciones* a chance, and if one uses methods befitting a true academic and a true Christian, one will not be able to find any flaw in the text. He himself is living proof of that.

To the accusation of St. Birgitta expressing herself in a manner which is offensive to pious persons, “H” answers by making it clear that if this text is offensive to a person, there is not a flaw in the text, but in the reader. As he has shown, if a person is offended by this text, he cannot be anything other than a prejudiced, malevolent, negligently or cunningly misquoting amateur, and such a person can in no way call himself pious. Consequently, the *Reuelaciones* are not offensive to pious persons.

Heymericus’ opinion as examiner

Heymericus presents his “final opinions” in several places in the text.⁴⁴⁴ *QI*, a text loosely attached to *Dyalogus*, contains the most straightforward declaration.⁴⁴⁵ To conclude, “H” declares that as long as no new material comes forward in the discussion of the orthodoxy of the *Reuelaciones*, a pious Christian must have respect for this wonder of a revelation. As “H” has been able to confute every point of accusation, the *Reuelaciones* must be regarded as orthodox. Thus, *Reuelaciones* are most probably inspired by God. Even so, in an additional final comment regarding the title of the book, Heymericus says that the safest thing would be to call the *Reuelaciones* apocryphal.⁴⁴⁶

In the subscription to both the *Declaraciones* and the *Tractatus* text group, Heymericus says he makes his standpoint “rather by making probable conjectures than firm assertions”. This may appear a bit too cautious, but this action would be founded in his philosophical conviction mentioned above that we cannot positively say that we *know* which spirit inspires a private revelation.⁴⁴⁷ In such cases, the result or fruit of the revelation must be decisive. When the remaining result of the inspiration is good, the inspiration is good and vice versa. This conviction is not explicitly expressed in *Dyalogus*, but shines through in some places⁴⁴⁸ in the

⁴⁴³ Heymericus no doubt for rhetorical reasons exaggerates a bit, but the choice of words is remarkable. It is interesting that Heymericus chooses to call her *theologa* and not *canalis*, the epithet used by among others St. Birgitta herself.

⁴⁴⁴ The first “final opinion” already appears in article H [xxvi], that is, even before *Recapitulacio*.

⁴⁴⁵ *QI* or *Quid itaque* is inserted as an appendix to the edition. Cf. also chapter 5. 1, “Major differences between the MSS and their copies of *Dyalogus*”.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. the edition and chapter 5. 2, “**ABDEF** form a group” and footnote 573.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 207.

⁴⁴⁸ For example H [xxvii].

dialogue, and certainly in *QI*, in which text he stresses the fact that the effect of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* is good.⁴⁴⁹

As is shown above, Heymericus in his *Dyalogus* displays and answers several problems connected with the *Reuelaciones*, indeed, the text in itself completely fulfils the aims of that additional commission, to which Heymericus alone and personally was appointed by the judge in matters of faith, as is described in the prologue of the *Tractatus* text group. In both form and content the text stands out as an accessible summing-up of all texts and standpoints of Heymericus in the matter. In *Dyalogus*, as I see it, Heymericus shows a sincere striving to define and solve the complex problem concerning St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* in their entirety, leaving politics aside. Among the documents in the case, the indictment as we know it, the judgement of Louis of Arles and the defence of Johannes de Turre Cremata, Heymericus' *Dyalogus* appears more daring and more philosophical and, not least, less involved in Church politics. With its straightforward tone and honourable intention, *Dyalogus* stands out as a particularly vivid and important testimony for the discussion of the real value of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. also the final comment to *Declaraciones*, Appendix 2. 4. 4.

4. 2 Language and style in *Dyalogus*

Introduction

It has been suggested that Heymericus' difficult Latin is the reason that his texts have not been very known during the last centuries.⁴⁵⁰ It is true that many of the modern scholars working with his texts have found it necessary to comment upon his language with terms like "very obscure" and "difficult to grasp", even "incomprehensible".⁴⁵¹ Some of his contemporaries expressed similar opinions,⁴⁵² but Heymericus' language does not seem to have hindered Heymericus from being held in great esteem as an investigator, disputator and Aristotelian philosopher during his lifetime.⁴⁵³ The Birgittines in Vadstena also sound fully content when they speak about Heymericus contributions, and especially mention the value of his "subtle style", in comparison to the "simple style" of the other defenders.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁰ Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 13.

⁴⁵¹ Apart from Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 13 and Hoenen, *Academics*, p. 184 also Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 30; Westman, K. B. *Striden*, p. 278 and 286; Meersseman, *Geschichte*, Heft II, p. 99-100 and p. 1*; Black, *Heymericus de Campo*, p. 78, footnote 1; Reinhardt, *Werke des Heymericus de Campo (†1460) im Codex Cusanus*²⁴, p. 309. In the case of the Swedish historian Silfverstolpe, Heymericus' language seems to have made him by choice pass over the defence writings of Heymericus, and Westman seemingly focuses on Johannes de Turre Cremata's "comparatively clear and concise" mode of reasoning in his defence.

⁴⁵² Meersseman, *Geschichte*, Heft II, p. 99-100 quotes the Thomist Gerard van 's Heerenberg in Cologne, who banter over Heymericus' language, stating that it would have been better for Heymericus if he, when making reference to Albertus Magnus, had used Albertus' formulations than Heymericus' own. Further, at the Council of Basle, according to the Birgittine "Introductory history" to UUB MS C 518 (fol. 5rb) Heymericus' adversaries in the question of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* commented upon his argumentation by quoting the Gospel according to St. John (Vulg. Io. 6, 61): "*Durus est hic sermo*", *nescimus, quid loquitur, ambulat in nubibus*. (This is a harsh language, we don't know what he is talking about, he walks around in the clouds. Cf. also New King James version John 6:60: This is a hard saying, who can understand it?)

⁴⁵³ Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 13-14 and Hoenen, *Academics*, especially p. 191-196. His reputation lasted as long as a couple of centuries after his death, as is obvious from the relevant bibliographical lexica of the time, cf. Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 13 with reference to *Catalogus van kerkelijke schrijvers* by Johannes Trithemius (†1516) and *Belgische bibliotheek* by J. F. Foppens (*1689).

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. copy of letter from Vadstena to Heymericus of 1445 in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 85r: "*et tanto ampliores [graciarum acciones temptauimus(?)], quanto soliciores pre ceteris se exhibuit dominacio vestra in dictarum Reuelacionum defensione. Nam licet alii sacri doctores simplici stilo et semel, dominacio tamen vestra multiplici modo stiloque subtiliori, nec solum semel aut bis, verum etiam pluries easdem Reuelaciones nisa fuerat effectualiter defensare. Ne igitur, venerabilis domine, doctor nobis in Christo Ihesu dilectissime, tantus et tam preclarus thesaurus laborum vestrorum ac fructus (? supra lin.) gloriosus quasi superuacuis poterit existimari aut a memoria hominum excidere quomodolibet in futurum, dignum duximus (...) elaborare, ut dicta et scripta vestra (...) corroborentur*". Cf. also the Birgittine description of Heymericus' work in UUB MS C 518 (Introductory history), fol. 5ra-6rb, and the letter of gratitude of 1447 from Vadstena to Heymericus in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 89r-v.

Heymericus' language can be determined as being of the type commonly used in late Medieval academic theological-philosophical dissertations, a type sometimes called scholastic Latin.⁴⁵⁵

Without trying to define "difficult" Latin, I will below note some features of Heymericus' Latin, as it appears in *Dyalogus*, that may have caused this widespread resignation to his language. In this, I also have the ambition of giving a "key" to the text in *Dyalogus*, to help the reader get into the text more quickly. In doing this, I hope to make the reader see that this language does not consist of rhetoric only, but is to serve as the conveyance of information serious to the last degree.

In what follows I will use the expression "Heymericus' language" and "Heymericus' text" and similar expressions to mean "Heymericus' language or text in *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgite*".⁴⁵⁶

Language features specific for *Dyalogus*, its subject and form

On the whole, the language and style of Heymericus is the same throughout *Dyalogus*. However, there are minor differences between the different parts.⁴⁵⁷ For example, both the Prologue and the closing final comment H [cli] have, according to the rhetorical standards, a pompous, overburdened feature. This feature is not at all as dominating in the dialogue part, paragraphs A i – H cl. Within the dialogue part, however, there are other differences. In the introductory dialogue A i – H [xxix] and in the concluding dialogue A cxlviii – H [cl] questions of a general character are discussed, and the complexity of the questions results in complex language. In contrast, in part A xxxi – H [cxlvii], "H" answers more precise questions from "A", often in a clear and brief way. In this part, the lines of "A" consist of all except one of the 123 passages⁴⁵⁸ that formed part of the indictment against St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* in the proceedings in Basle.

Although quite light in structure, the answers of "H" in the central dialogue part often display a compression of thought, resulting in gaps in the process of reasoning, which make the line of thought hard to follow. This would be a feature special for his *Dyalogus*, since this compression or brevity is probably due to the

It is natural that the Birgittines praise Heymericus' work in their letter of gratitude, however, it exceeds the praise made to the other defenders. The copying and use of Heymericus' texts within the order also are proof of his text being valuable for the Birgittines (Cf. chapter 2. 3, "The role of the defences").

⁴⁵⁵ On scholasticism on the whole, its methods and mode of thought, and on the language of theological and philosophical literature of the Middle Ages, cf. for example Schönberger, "Scholastik" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol VII, coll. 1521-1526 and Brown, "Theology and Philosophy" in *Medieval Latin*, p. 267-287.

⁴⁵⁶ It is hardly necessary to point out that no comparative study of Heymericus' language and terminology in his different texts has yet been done.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. table 1 in chapter 4. 1.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. chapter 4. 1, "The structure of *Dyalogus*" and "The aims of *Dyalogus* in relation to the other defences" and footnote 421.

fact that Heymericus in the case of several of the articles had already made a lengthy exposition in his *Declaraciones* or some other text. If one compares a brief explanation in *Dyalogus* with a more verbose explanation of the same article in *Declaraciones*, the latter in all its verbosity still appears as more clear.⁴⁵⁹ In the *Declaraciones* one sometimes also gets a glimpse of what could be the reasons given by the examiner, explaining why he thought the passage suspect.⁴⁶⁰ In *Dyalogus*, “H” sometimes seems to answer such a reason, even though it is not inserted in *Dyalogus*. Thus, the answers does not always correspond perfectly to the questions.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. for example *Dyalogus* article A liii – H [liiii] with *Declaraciones* article ix: The single sentence in H’s answer in *Dyalogus* is rather cryptic. What does it mean? In *Declaraciones* art. ix we read first that the article was regarded suspect because it implicates that the Devil can actually die. The hypothesis that “H” in *Dyalogus* claims to be impossible is so simply because the Devil cannot die, he even cannot **want** to die, because it is against his nature and because it would be favourable to God. Still he says he would rather die a hundred times than man would show the slightest bit of love to God, because it is necessary for the Devil to make a condition that could not possibly be fulfilled, otherwise he would be at risk that it would be fulfilled, something he does not want. *“In capitulo 54 libri primi dicitur, quod Dyabolus est tam inuidus, quod mallet cencies mori quam quod homo minimum bonum caritatis exhiberet Deo. Qui articulus, licet videatur inopinabilis pro eo, quod Demon est immortalis, attamen, quia voluntas secundum sue libertatis ambitum est impossibilium (3 ethicorum) in quantum, scilicet, est appetitus imperfecti consequens apprehensionem vniuersalem intellectus necessaria possibilis et impossibilia intelligentis, non est mirum, si Dyabolus, cuius, secundum Dyonygium 4 c. de diuinis nominibus, est triplex malum, scilicet furor irrationabilis, fantasia proterua et demens concupiscencia, in odio salutis eterne, unde irrecuperabiliter cecidit, in quantum illa est alteri communicabilis, finaliter immobilitatus vellet, si possibile foret, potius in seipso mortaliter perire, quam tante felicitati aliene et mediis ad eam anagogicis acquiescere. Si nempe odium est felicitatis aliene displicencia, ergo odium infinitum, cuiusmodi est inuidia finalis, ex quo finis est negatiue infinitus, tollit omnimodam talis felicitatis tam in actu quam in potencia complacenciam, felicit negacio consequentis interimit omne illud, quod secundum ordinem rationis antecedit ad ipsum, secundum philosophum primo posteriorum. Sed constat, quod minimum bonum caritatis est [bonum] salutis eterne in caritate consummata consistentis meritorium. Ergo Dyabolus nullo modo fauet ei et per consequens non vellet ad illud consenciendum per quencumque casum excogitabilem citra illud bonum finale ex inclinacione talis appetitus liberi, sic ut premititur, per vicium inuidie deprauati moueri. Dico autem “appetitus liberi” ad differenciam sui appetitus naturalis in amore sui esse et felicitatis eterne per necessitatem intencionis diuine, qua Deus fecit omnia, ut essent, et propter seipsum, sibi sicut cuilibet creature impresse inclinati, quomodo dicit Dyonysius ubi supra, quod demones habent naturalia salua et integra, ratione quorum appetunt esse et viuere. Et quia secundum hunc appetitum primum appetibile est proprii sui esse conseruacio, ut dicit Boecius de consolacione, eo quod hoc est sibi magis coniunctum et ideo virtuti vnitue amoris naturalis proxime obiectum. Idcirco per inclinacionem huiusmodi appetitus naturalis impossibile est Sathanam potius velle mori quam quod homo iustificetur.”* Confer also *Dyalogus* article A xlix – H [xlix] with Johannes de Turre Cremata, *Declaraciones* article xxii.

⁴⁶⁰ The examiner is quoted in places in Johannes de Turre Cremata’s *Declaraciones*, for example article 33 (col. 728 D/E), article 39 (col. 732 B/C) and article 123 (col. 813 B/C). In Heymericus’ *Declaraciones*, article 9 quoted above, for example the line *Qui articulus, licet videatur inopinabilis pro eo, quod Demon est immortalis, attamen, quia (...)* may be such a reason. Cf. chapter 3. 2, “Heymericus contributions in the field of St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones*”.

In *Dyalogus* "H" naturally very often quotes St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* and the established authorities too. Sometimes the insertion of the quotation, especially in the lines of "A", in the current text was less successful.⁴⁶¹ Sometimes, it seems, Heymericus also tries to shorten quotations made in his earlier writings on the subject, on occasion making the sentence obscure.⁴⁶²

Heymericus' vocabulary and grammar in general

When analysing Heymericus' text one finds that the terminology is not extraordinary, but typical for this type of text. Further, Heymericus' syntax on the whole is normal for the period and academic field. When it comes to the use of cases he often deviates from the standards of classical Latin; the use of mode and tense is on the whole in accordance with the standards of classical Latin. The alleged difficulty of Heymericus' language must then be due to something else than peculiarities in vocabulary and grammar.

It is obvious to anyone who tries to read Heymericus' text that part of its complexity is due to the high level of abstraction and the advanced level of the subject. The way that Heymericus uses the Medieval scholarly vocabulary,⁴⁶³ often varying the expressions and using synonyms, exceedingly conscious of the value of each single word,⁴⁶⁴ often leaves the reader at a loss as to the translation of the word in that specific context. The many definitions and qualifiers add to the feeling that the most important part of the sentence is hidden. Then there is the construction of the sentences and the rhetorical devices, which in the case of Heymericus' texts often feel like a hindrance rather than make the text look better.

⁴⁶¹ This has occasionally made the copyists hesitate, cf. the edition and the different readings of the manuscripts in article A lxiii. That Heymericus allowed this awkwardness must be due to the fact that he wanted to illustrate that the misquoting of the *Reuelaciones* was one of the problems of the indictment.

⁴⁶² Compare the way Heymericus quotes Boethius in *Dyalogus* article H [xcvi] with the same quotation in *Fundamenta*, article 1 (UUB C 518, fol. 154va, cf. chapter 3. 2, description of "24 fundamentals"). "'Deus est spiritus illocalis, quod sit spiritus'. Patet Jo. 4, quod ergo sit illocalis, patet per Boecium in suis Ebdomadibus, ubi dicit pro maxima sapientibus nota quod incorporalia non sunt in loco. Sane omnis spiritus est incorporeus, ergo etc.'" In this case and article it is easy to suspect an error in the tradition of the text of *Dyalogus*. By having the text of *Fundamenta* one gets, if not a full reference, at least support for the reading of *Dyalogus*.

⁴⁶³ That the problems are not due to the Swedish language having no equivalents for these expressions, or to the construction of sentences according to a Dutch model, is shown by the fact that commentaries on his difficult language are heard from scholars of diverse western European speech areas, including the Dutch.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. for example A xi - H [xi], and the use of *dispensare* and *dispensacio*, which alternatively within the article could be translated "dispense the Holy Sacrament", alternatively "dispense" in the meaning "give an exemption". In article H [xlxi] the word "*natura*", in other places best translated as "nature" or the like, seems best translated "emotion" (as opposed to reason). The use of *substancia* and *essencia* is troublesome, too. However, the use of the terms as synonyms and not synonyms alternatively seems to be a common feature in this kind of text.

I will below analyse how Heymericus constructs his often fairly long and loaded sentences, and how he furnishes them with rhetorical ornaments.

Construction of sentences – the role of the definitions

First of all it should be pointed out that Heymericus does not excel in that type of period, in which the main clause starts with a subject and ends with the finite verb after a long row of subordinate clauses and participial constructions. There are examples of such periods, but generally the construction is linear, or rather like a chain. However, in allowing very many layers of subordination (using full clauses or participial constructions), Heymericus adds so much information to the main clause that it – however simple and straightforward in itself – ends up in the background or even gets lost. Part of this problem is that Heymericus is extremely careful in his definitions, which results in many qualifiers, such as adjective attributes, genitive attributes and other qualifiers. Often Heymericus finds it necessary to define these qualifiers in their turn. The definitions do not however give the impression of being unnecessary digressions but are surely a result of Heymericus' ambition of being exact and leave absolutely no room for doubt.

If one takes a look at how Heymericus constructs and lines up his definitions, one finds that taken separately they are quite unproblematic, as they follow the general rules of grammar. Instead, as I see it, the difficulty of Heymericus' language lies not in the definitions themselves, but in their number and the intermingling of them.

One example from *Dyalogus*:

H [viii]: *Sicut Christus est gracia et veritate sacerdocii regalis plenus principaliter, sic exigit monarchia ecclesiastica esse plenitudinem apostolicam seu ministerialem in summo et generali Christi sue ecclesie militanti visibiliter absentis vicario.*⁴⁶⁵

In this short sentence, which is a part of one of Heymericus' answers to an article, we have examples of word pairs (*gracia et veritate*; *apostolicam seu ministerialem*; *summo et generali*), adverbs qualifying adjective or participle (*plenus principaliter*; *visibiliter absentis*), abstract nouns as qualifier or with qualifier (*veritate sacerdocii regalis*; *exigit esse plenitudinem apostolicam seu ministerialem*), at least one adjective attribute to every noun, genitive attribute with additional qualifier (*sacerdocii regalis*), and lastly one genitive attribute with an adjective or participle as qualifier, which as opposed to classical standards governs a dative with its own attribute (*Christi sue ecclesie militanti visibiliter absentis*).

⁴⁶⁵ The [order of the] ecclesiastical monarchy demands that, in the way that Christ above all is full of the grace and truth of the kingly priesthood, the apostolic or ministrating fullness is extant in the highest and most general vicar of Christ, who is visually absent from his militant Church.

The use and heaping of genitives

Heymericus' heaping of genitives⁴⁶⁶ sometimes seems excessive both in number and construction. Some types of constructions with genitives recur more often than others in the text.⁴⁶⁷

- 1) the noun, often in an oblique case, is qualified by one genitive attribute qualified by an adjective or participle, for example:

Prologus: 7: *de fauore doctrine suspecte*

- 2) the noun, often in an oblique case, is qualified by one adjective attribute and one genitive attribute qualified by an adjective or participle.

Examples are:

A vi: *de (x)disparencia (y)rei (y)consecrate (x)substanciali*

H [iii]: *non representans (x)inuisibilem (y)panis (y)supersubstantialis (x)essenciam*

H [vi]: *(x)efficacio (x)carecteristica (y)ordinis (y)sacerdotalis*

- 3) the noun, often in an oblique case, is qualified by one genitive attribute qualified by an adjective attribute or participle **and** another genitive attribute.⁴⁶⁸ Examples are:

Prologus:2: *in (x)domo (y)sapiencie (z)Dei (y)incarnate*

H [vi]: *inducit (x)exterminium (y)veritatis (z)rei (y)substantialis aut (y)boni (y)formalis*

- 4) the noun, often in an oblique case, is qualified by one genitive attribute qualified by one adjective attribute **and** one genitive attribute, which is qualified by an adjective attribute, for example:⁴⁶⁹

H [i]: *ex iudicio (x)famossissimorum (x)doctorum (y)sacre (y)pagine*

In the Prologue and paragraph A i – H [viii] these types of heaping appear no fewer than 20 times.

Among these features, which in fact accord with general rules of grammar,⁴⁷⁰ there are also some examples of inversion:⁴⁷¹

A vii: *Errare videris improbe, siquidem experimur vniuersalitem potestatis (...)* *in bonis sacerdotibus, ne exorbitent, restringi (...)*.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*. Bd. 2, §55 β.

⁴⁶⁷ The examples are taken from the Prologue and § A i-H [viii] in *Dyalogus*.

⁴⁶⁸ Strangely enough I did not find any examples of a noun qualified by one genitive attribute qualified by another genitive attribute only, without an adjective as qualifier (of the type *in domo sapiencie Dei*.)

⁴⁶⁹ Perhaps *sacre pagine* should be regarded as one word.

⁴⁷⁰ One interesting feature is that Heymericus does not use a certain genitive construction typical of this kind of texts (Cf. Hedlund and Hårdelin, *Lollarden och katoliken*, p. 189), namely the construction with an adjective with the ending *-ivus* + objective genitive, to the extent that one would have expected. *Dyalogus* naturally does have adjectives ending with *-ivus*, but Heymericus almost never gives them an objective genitive. (Five times in the whole text, of which three contain the same words).

⁴⁷¹ The type *longinquitas morborum*. Cf. Helander, *On the function of abstract nouns in Latin*, p. 117, Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*. Bd. 2, p. 152¹⁻³, 437², 439³⁻⁴, Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters* IV, § 12 p. 448-451.

A viii: *Si hec fuisset fides Birgitte, non dixisset (...) papam fidelem (...) plenitudinem potestatis habuisse (...)*

Because of this multitude of genitives, in my experience an analysis of the sentence should, after the main clause has been located, start with a sorting out of the genitives, their grouping and their relations. After that, it is a good thing to analyse the role of the participles, which often carry a lot of the weight in the sentences of Heymericus.

The construction of the sentences and rethorical ornament

In what follows will be given two examples of how Heymericus sentences are diligently composed. Each sentence is analysed in a graphic representation, translated and then commented upon.

Example number one, *Dyalogus super Revelacionibus beate Birgitte* § H [lxxxii], (main clause in bold type):

Etsi tedeat me (...)

remitto te ad prehabita,

vbi dictum est,

(1) quod

licet Domino increpare suos transgressores seruos per cuiuscumque sibi (x) placiti vel (y) accepte

(x) nuncii vel (y) nuncie (x) ministerium siue (y)organum,

(2) et quod, quia *non est consensus templo Dei et ydoli*,

nimirum contingit

(1) (xy) accessum et recessum (p) Christi et (q) Dyaboli circa eundem sacerdotem

vicissim (p) bonum et (q) malum renouari

(2) ne non Christum adesse sacerdotibus

(a) per graciam sacramentalem suscepti **ordinis**,

qui tamen ab eis,

dum fuerint (1) mali

(2) nec ad predicandum (2a) missi (2b) vel

licenciati,

deest (b1) per graciam gratum facientem virtutis **salutaris**

(b2) et eciam per

graciam

gratis datam ierarchie **iurisdicciois**,

vnde elicitur facultas

libera **predicacionis**.

Word- to- word translation of the phrase quoted above:

Through anyone to him (x) pleasant
(x) male messenger's
(x) administration /management
(=the priestly, active administration,
which includes preaching)

or through anyone to him (y) acceptable
(y) female messenger's
(y) instrument
(=a passive mediation, like a channel).

There is also an allusion on Phil. 4, 18 "acceptum et placitum Deo" (non-vulgate version), and variation in *vel – vel – siue*.

Another "cell" is Heymericus' definition of the three types of grace – *gracia*. In respect of the first Christ is present in the bad priests, in respect of the other two he is absent. The types have to be defined in detail in order to display their different conditions and meanings. Since the construction is already very full, Heymericus chooses not to use full clauses but instead adjective attributes, genitive attributes and participia coniuncta:

necnon (contingit) Christum adesse sacerdotibus
(x) *per gratiam sacramentalem suscepti ordinis,*
qui tamen ab eis (...) deest
(y1) *per gratiam gratum facientem virtutis salutaris*
et etiam (y2) per gratiam gratis datam ierarchice iurisdictionis,
vnde elicitur facultas libera predicacionis.

This passage also displays a division in two, parallelisms and rhyme. The definitions of the three types of grace, every time with exactly two genitive attributes, feel almost affected, and one gets the impression that Heymericus gladly sacrifices clarity for effects.

Example number two, *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte* § H [i] (main clause in bold type):

H [i]:

Licet [sc. hic liber] a quibusdam doctoribus ipsum perfunctorie sine maturo examine
percurrentibus
videatur in certis passibus iuxta corruptum littere,
quam [sc. litteram] forsitan viderunt incorrectam,
tenorem
pocius mendax et illusorius quam verax et catholicus,
tamen **conferenti fideliter textum textui**
et litteram correctam
cum studio digesto
percunctanti
non apparet alicubi tam absonus,
quin possit reduci ad consonanciam catholice veritatis,
prout patet ex iudicio famosissimorum sacre pagine doctorum
post diuturnum examen ipsis in hoc concilio Basiliensi
vna mecum (1) mutuis commissum colloquis
et deinde (2) propriis suis scriptis
(a) digestum et
(b) resolutum.

Concluding comment

Many of the stylistic features commented upon above may surely have contributed to many people feeling so dispirited at interpreting or translating Heymericus' texts, that they either did not read the text at all or found it necessary to, perhaps by way of precaution, comment upon the language as difficult to understand. Still the articles, editions and translations that have appeared in recent decades show that anyone who works through Heymericus texts and analyses them will find herself or himself richly rewarded. This is indeed also true of his *Dyalogus*, which is pregnant with significance. Especially if read parallel with the *Reuelaciones*, Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones*, or with Heymericus' own *Declaraciones* and other writings, I believe an analysis of *Dyalogus* would be perfectly feasible even for a Latinist without any previous acquaintance with Heymericus' writing. I hope that this chapter will serve as an introduction and an encouragement to tackle this task.

5. Description of the manuscripts and how they are related

5. 1 Description of the extant manuscripts

Introduction

The existence of *Dyalogus* among Heymericus de Campo's literary remains was first reported in 1969 by Zénon Kaluza, who had found a manuscript copy of the text in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Brussels, MS 1451-53.⁴⁷⁴ A search for other copies in the manuscript catalogues (which I regrettably did not have the possibility to make as thoroughly as I had wished), and study of the relevant literature⁴⁷⁵ resulted in the locating of 5 other copies of the text, making a total number of 6.⁴⁷⁶

The copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Brussels, MS 1451-53, I call **A**. Another copy in Uppsala University Library MS C 518 I call **B**. Then there are three copies in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, namely one in MS Clm. 8046, which I call copy **C**, one in MS Clm. 27047a, which I call copy **D**, and one in MS Clm. 27047b, which I call copy **F**. Finally, there is one copy in the Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan in Augsburg in "MS. lat. 1", which I call copy **E**. Apart from these extant manuscripts, I have found information about other manuscripts which once existed and contained copies of *Dyalogus*. The information has made it possible to identify some of these once existing copies as ancestors or source manuscripts of the copies existing today.

In this chapter I will describe and discuss the single copies of *Dyalogus* in the codices, as well as the codices themselves. When writing "copy **B**" or "**B** copy" I refer to the copy of *Dyalogus* in the codex. When writing "codex **B**" I refer to the whole codex, and occasionally the term "defence corpus **B**" is used. The same goes for the other copies and codices.

⁴⁷⁴ Kaluza, *Les écrits de Heimeric de Campo sur Sainte Brigitte de Suède*.

⁴⁷⁵ A survey of extant manuscripts and prints of Heymericus' writings is made by Luc Burie in *Proeve*, and new findings are regularly reported by scholars on Heymericus. A complete examination of all existing manuscript collections is not within the scope of my dissertation and would scarcely even be a realistic task. However, the libraries that would be the first-hand repositories of an autograph have been searched through, and we have a very good copy in MS **B**, as shall be described below.

⁴⁷⁶ There do exist copies of parts of *Dyalogus* in other MSS: A copy of a couple of articles from *Dyalogus*, namely H [ix] and H [lxxxiii], is extant in UUB MS C 31, fol. 335r-335v. (Cf. chapter 2. 3, footnote 201 and 3. 2, footnote 313. The poem in the end of *Dyalogus* exist also free-standing in a *Reuelaciones* manuscript, namely New Haven, Yale University Library, MS. Z. 109.031, in a version different from the version of copy **A**. (Cf. Undhagen, *Reu. I*. p. 179, footnote 7.) I have not had the possibility to check which version that would be.

I will start the description of the different manuscripts containing a copy of *Dyalogus* with codex **B**. Copy **B** is chosen as the base manuscript for the edition, and I will argue in favour of that below. Codex **B** is a corpus of defences of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*,⁴⁷⁷ and apart from *Dyalogus* the codex contains a certain set of texts that appear, part of it or the whole of it, sometimes in another version, in codices **A**, **C**, **D**, **E** and **F**. Therefore, I will relate the descriptions of all the copies and codices to the description of codex **B**. A plan of the order of the texts in the codices is inserted below, Table 2.

Copy **B** in codex **B**, Uppsala University Library MS C 518

Copy **B** is extant in Uppsala University Library (UUB) MS C 518. The codex is described in the catalogue of the so called C collection of the library.⁴⁷⁸ This parchment codex of 310 folia was made in Vadstena Abbey, the mother house of the Birgittines in the diocese of Linköping, Sweden, and part of it was written between 1436-38,⁴⁷⁹ another part after 1446 in two columns and 37 lines. Several scribes can be discerned and the redaction work on the volume has left clear traces. One scribe copied all of Heymericus' texts in this manuscript, and it looks as if the same person wrote the introductory parts of the volume as well.

UUB MS C 518 is a collection of defences for St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* containing texts written before the Council of Basle as well as texts written at the Council of Basle. The volume, or the defence corpus, had the function of commenting upon and explaining difficult or criticised passages in the *Reuelaciones*, and it was used daily when passages from St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* were read at the table, a conduct making the community act according to the judgement on the *Reuelaciones* in Basle.⁴⁸⁰

The contents of the codex are the following (the description is an abbreviated version of the one in the manuscript catalogue of UUB, with my additions in bold type):⁴⁸¹

Fol. 1r-v Instructions for the reading of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*

Fol. 2r-21r Directory to discussed articles in St. Birgitta's texts

2r-8v "**Introductory history**"

8r-20v "**Registrum**"

20v-21r "**Introduction to the defence corpus**"

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. chapter 2, passim and chapter 3. 2.

⁴⁷⁸ *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*. Bd. V, p. 307-312. More than half of the C collection is made up of the remains of the former library of the brethren in the mother house of the Birgittines in Vadstena.

⁴⁷⁹ It has been suggested (cf. Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 88 and footnote 59) that Ludovicus de Pirano's and Johannes Roberti's texts, supposed to have been brought to Vadstena 1436 (cf. chapter 2. 2) were copied by brother Petrus Olavi, who died in 1438.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. chapter 2. 3.

⁴⁸¹ The different manuscript catalogues have different orthographical principles. In direct quotations, I will not change the orthography of the catalogue.

Fol. 23r-96r Johannes de Turre Cremata:

Declarationes pro defensione scriptorum Birgittae

23r-23va "Prologus 1446 Johannis"

23va-94rb "Declaraciones Johannis (1435)"

94rb-96ra "Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446"

Fol. 96v-97v Blank

Fol. 98r-140v Heymericus de Campo: *Declarationes pro defensione scriptorum Birgittae*

98r-98va "Prologus 1446 Decl."

98va-103ra "Prologus 1435 Decl."

103ra-137ra "Declaraciones Heymerici"

137ra-138va "Resoluciones 14 dictorum"

138vb-140vb "Littera testimonialis 1446 Decl."

Fol. 141r-v Blank

Fol. 142r-178r Heymericus de Campo: *Tractatus de discretione spirituum*

142r-142va "Prologus 1446 Tract."

142va-178r "Tractatus text group"

163r-175v "Dyalogus"

175v-178r "Littera testimonialis 1446 Tract."

Fol. 178v Blank

Fol. 179r-188r Heymericus de Campo: *Epistula super articulis Revelationum beatae Birgittae, "Epistula"*

Fol. 188v-190v Blank

Fol. 191r An erased text

Fol. 191v-202r Johannes Roberti Bonaevallensis: *Declarationes pro defensione Revelationum Birgittae*

Fol. 202r-210v Ludovicus de Pirano: *Declarationes pro defensione Revelationum Birgittae*

Fol. 211r-215v *Declarationes pro defensione Revelationum Birgittae*

Fol. 216r-218r *Avisamentum super libris Revelationum Birgittae, "Avisamentum"*

Fol. 218v Blank

Fol. 219r-231v Gaufridus de Bellaland: *Declarationes pro defensione Revelationum Birgittae*

Fol. 232r-246v *Declarationes pro defensione Revelationum Birgittae cuiusdam doctoris anglici*

Fol. 247r-v Blank

Fol. 248r-273r Adam Eston: *Defensorium beatae Birgittae*

Fol. 273r-v The beginning of Johannes de Turrecremata's *Declarationes* crossed out

Fol. 274r-280r Johannes de Basilea: *Dictamen de Sermone angelico Birgittae*

Fol. 280v-281v Blank

Fol. 282r-293v Alphonsus de Jaen: *Epistula solitarii ad Reges*

Fol. 294r-309v *Declaratio pro defensione Revelationum Birgittae*

The texts of importance for the discussion of the transmission of Heymericus' *Dyalogus* are primarily those on fol. 1r-188r, and *Auisamentum* on fol. 216r-218r. To begin with, I will give a very brief description of these texts.⁴⁸²

The introductory texts, fol. 1r-21r, form a well composed introduction to the whole defence corpus. The texts on fol. 2r-8v in the manuscript are said to constitute an introduction to the *Registrum*, which follows 8r-20v. On fol. 20v-21r there is a small text,⁴⁸³ which is said to be an introduction to the *defensorium*, that is the defence corpus.⁴⁸⁴ To go back to the text on fol. 2r-8v, this text gives the whole history, from a Birgittine point of view, of the defence for St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* from the time when she was still among the living up to the time of the Council of Basle. In this, we get a presentation of the different defenders and their texts. I call this part "Introductory history". The *Registrum* that follows on fol. 8r is virtually a collection of text passages in the *Reuelaciones* that were criticized on different occasions. To each passage are added references to the defenders and their texts extant in the defence corpus.

After the introductory texts the collection of defences itself begins with Johannes de Turre Cremata's defence, called *Declaraciones*, which according to himself was written in 1435. The copy in UUB MS C 518 begins with a preface written by Johannes de Turre Cremata when he authenticated his writings in Rome 1446 at the request of the Birgittines.⁴⁸⁵ Then follows the *Declaraciones* in six chapters, of which the sixth chapter contains the recapitulation of the 123 articles of the indictment with Johannes' answers.⁴⁸⁶ As a part of chapter five, Pope Boniface IX's canonization bull for St. Birgitta and Pope Martin V' confirmation bull are inserted. After *Declaraciones* follows the authentication from 1446. These texts will in what follows be called *Prologus 1446 Johannis*, *Declaraciones Johannis (1435)* and *Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446* respectively.

On fol. 98r-188r all texts of Heymericus come one after the other. The texts have been described above in chapter 3. 2, but it will be necessary here to give a short repetition. The collection of Heymericus' work in UUB MS C 518 is divided into three parts. The first part, which I call the *Declaraciones* text group, on fol. 98r-140v, begins with a prologue written by Heymericus when he authenticated his

⁴⁸² Cf. the full description of Heymericus' texts in chapter 3. 2.

⁴⁸³ Part of the text is translated and quoted above in chapter 2. 2. "The story of the 'introduction to the defence corpus'", and the Latin text is inserted as Appendix 2. 4. 6.

⁴⁸⁴ The Birgittines in Vadstena use the term *defensorium* for the defence corpus now UUB MS C 518, codex B, as well as for the defence text written by Adam Easton. The term *defensorium* has also been used in the previous literature. To avoid misunderstanding, I will not use the term *defensorium* in this discussion. Instead I will use the term "defence corpus" for the collection of the defences in its different versions in the Birgittine houses.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. chapter 2. 2, "Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement".

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. chapter 2. 1. The different parts of Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones* have been considered in different ways by different redactors, for example, in the edition of 1680 chapters I-V are called "Prologus".

writings in Leuven 1446 on the request of the Birgittines. Then follows the original prologue to the *Declaraciones* in two parts from 1435. After the *Declaraciones* comes a shorter text called *Resoluciones 14 dictorum*, and then the first part is ended by the authentication from 1446. I here call the prologues and the authentication *Prologus 1446 Decl.*, *Prologus 1435 Decl.* and *Littera testimonialis 1446 Decl.* respectively. The second part, which I call the *Tractatus* text group,⁴⁸⁷ on fol. 142r-178r, begins with a prologue from 1446 too (*Prologus 1446 Tract.*). The group consists of six-seven texts, the first being the text *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum*. Last within the group comes *Dyalogus* on fol. 163r-175v. The *Tractatus* text group ends with an authentication from 1446, *Littera testimonialis 1446 Tract.* The third part consists of Heymericus' *Epistula super articulis Reuelacionum beate Birgitte* only, a text he composed in 1446. *Auisamentum*, finally, on fol. 216r-218r is a text said to be composed by the four defenders in Basle together in connection with the proceedings.⁴⁸⁸

All copies of Heymericus' texts in UUB MS C 518 are thus made after 1446. It has not been possible to establish exactly when after 1446, but it would in any case be before the year 1500.⁴⁸⁹

Copy A in codex A, Koninklijke Bibliothek, Brussels MS 1451-53

Codex A containing copy A of *Dyalogus* is to be found in Koninklijke Bibliothek in Brussels (henceforth KBR) as MS 1451-53. The codex is described in van den Gheyn's catalogue of the manuscript collection of KBR⁴⁹⁰ and in *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique*.⁴⁹¹ The scribe, seemingly the same throughout the whole volume, gives us the date 1490 on fol. 264v. *Manuscrits datés* suggests the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon in Dendermonde as the place of origin.⁴⁹² The codex consists of 292 paper folia, and it has come to KBR via Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The cover was made in 1985. The text is written in two columns in a Flemish *hybrida*. The number of lines varies between 42 and 44. A *corrector* has gone through the whole volume and mainly has changed the orthography of the text, but he has also made other, unusually many, minor and major changes.

As van den Gheyn's description does not clarify the structure of the codex so much as to make the contents easily comparable with the contents of codex B, I have chosen to revise his description:

⁴⁸⁷ In the manuscript catalogue it is named *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum* after the first text in the group.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. chapter 2. 1, "The setting up of two subsequent commissions"

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. chapter 2. 2., "The story of the 'introduction to the defence corpus'" and footnote 170)

⁴⁹⁰ *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, T. III, no. 2099, p. 290-291.

⁴⁹¹ *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique*, T. V, no. 639, p. 35 and Pl. 1015. Cf. also Sander Olsen, *Handschriften en boeken uit het Birgittinessenklooster Maria Troon te Dendermonde* (1990), p. 94.

⁴⁹² The abbey was founded around the year 1466 according to Nyberg, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen*, p. 204, footnote 2a.

Fol. 1r-3v *Prohemium defensorii tocus libri celestium Reuelacionum Dei beate Birgitte diuinitus reuelatarum* [=“**Introductory history**”]

Fol. 3v-4r *Epistola domini Iohannis (...) in declaraciones quas edidit ipse super nonnullis articulis ex libris Reuelacionum beate Birgitte in concilio generali Basiliensi extractis* [=“**Prologus 1446 Johannis**”]

Fol. 4r-14r *Dicta domini Iohannis cardinalis* [=“**Declaraciones Johannis (1435) chapters I-V**”]

Fol. 14r-15v *Littera testimonialis et decretum domini iudicis camere apostolice super premissis Declaracionibus domini Iohannis cardinalis de Turre Cramata (sic) vulgariter appellati* [=“**Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446**”]

Fol. 15v-28r *Prohemium et prologus magistri Heymerici de Campo in quendam dyalogum de et super articulis ex libro Reuelacionum beate Birgitte in concilio Basiliensi (...) extractis (...)*

[= “**Dyalogus** ”]

Fol. 28v-31v *XXXVIII articuli (...) quos (...) doctores, qui (...) in concilio basiliensi deputati fuerunt unanimiter composuerunt* [=“**Auisamentum**”]

Fol. 32rv Blank

Fol. 33r-45v *Tabula super quattuor primos libros divinarum seu celestium revelationum ad sanctam Birgittam*

Fol. 46r-v Blank

Fol. 47r-48v *Prologus libri celestium Reuelacionum beate Birgitte de regno Swetie*

Fol. 49r-92v **Reuelaciones, Liber I**

Fol. 93r-v Blank

Fol. 94r-102v *Articuli ex precedenti primo libro celestium Reuelacionum Dei extracti et velut erronei accusati cum suis replicis defensiuis*

[“**Declaraciones**

Johannis (1435)” to Reuelaciones, Liber I + reference to Heymericus’ Dyalogus]

Fol. 103r-134v **Reuelaciones, Liber II**

Fol. 135r-138r *Articuli ex precedenti secundo libro celestium Reuelacionum Dei extracti et velut erronei accusati cum suis replicis defensiuis*

[“**Declaraciones Johannis (1435)” to Reuelaciones, Liber II + reference to Heymericus’ Dyalogus]**

Fol. 138v Blank

Fol. 139v-164v **Reuelaciones, Liber III**

Fol. 165r-v *Articuli ex precedenti tercio libro celestium Reuelacionum Dei extracti et velut erronei accusati cum suis replicis defensiuis*

[“**Declaraciones**

Johannis (1435)” to Reuelaciones, Liber III + reference to Heymericus’ Dyalogus]

Fol. 166r-257v *Reuelaciones, Liber IV*

Fol. 258r-264v *Articuli ex precedenti quarto libro celestium Reuelacionum Dei extracti et velut erronei accusati cum suis replicis defensiuus*

[*"Declaraciones Johannis (1435)" to Reuelaciones, Liber IV + reference to Heymericus' Dyalogus*]

Fol. 265r-v Blank

Fol. 266r-278r *Vita sive legenda cum miraculis domine Katherine sancte memorie filie sancte Birgitte de regno Swetie*

Fol. 278r-279v [*Miracula post mortem*]

Fol. 279v-292v *Tenor littere commissionis reuerendi patris et domini domni Henrici (...) episcopi Lyncopensis super miraculis (...) domne Katherine, filie sancte Birgitte*

The codex brings part of the defence corpus, as we see it in codex **B**, together with the first part of the *Reuelaciones* corpus.⁴⁹³ It is probable that codex **A** is the first part of a defence corpus in three volumes, and that two volumes to follow once existed or at least were planned, in which *liber V–VIII* and *Opera minora* were brought together with their particular defences.⁴⁹⁴

The major part of the volume, fol. 1r-264v, is made up of the *Reuelaciones* I-IV and their defences. The only defenders represented in this reduced defence corpus is Johannes de Turre Cremata with his *Declaraciones* and Heymericus with his *Dyalogus*, and then *Auisamentum*.

In the beginning of the codex there is the "Introductory history" on fol. 1r-3v, being an abbreviated version of that history in codex **B**. Then *Prologus 1446 Johannis* comes together with the first five chapters of Johannes' *Declaraciones*. Chapter six of *Declaraciones*, containing the 123 articles, is separated from the first five chapters and placed further down in the codex. After *Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446* follows immediately Heymericus' *Dyalogus* fol. 15v-28r. In this codex, *Dyalogus* does not come as a part of any *Tractatus* text group, but is free-standing. *Dyalogus* is not followed by a *Littera testimonialis Tract.* from 1446 either, as it is in codex **B**, where *Dyalogus* is the last text in the *Tractatus* text group. Further in codex **A** *Auisamentum* follows on fol. 28v-31v. The secondary preface as we know it in codex **B** to *Auisamentum* is lacking, and instead a bit of "history" that does not exist in any of the other defence corpuses found is inserted after *Auisamentum* on fol. 31r-v.⁴⁹⁵ Then, after a word or subject index, come the first four books of the *Reuelaciones* fol. 47r-264v with the 123 articles of Johannes de Turre Cremata. After each book of the *Reuelaciones* we get to know which passages were criticized in that book (as a kind of a mutilated *Registrum*), then we

⁴⁹³ I have no explanation for the insertion of the part dealing with St. Katarina.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. below, description of copy **E** in codex **E**.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. chapter 2. 2, "The story of the judgement in codex **A**". The Latin text is inserted as Appendix 2. 4. 7.

get Johannes de Turre Cremata's defence of each of the passages and a reference to the relevant article in *Dyalogus* in codex A.

Copy C in codex C, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich MS Clm. 8046

The manuscript codex Clm. 8046 in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (henceforth BSB), which contains copy C, is briefly described in the manuscript catalogue of the library.⁴⁹⁶ The codex has come to BSB from the library of the Cistercian monastery of Kaisheim and is a large-sized volume of 205 fol. Ulrich Montag has suggested that the manuscript was written in the middle of the 15th century in the area of Nürnberg.⁴⁹⁷

I have only had access to this manuscript on microfilm. The microfilm confirms the manuscript catalogue as regards the contents of the manuscript, which catalogue describes the contents as follows (my additions in bold type):

Fol. 1 *Regula Saluatoris nostri Brigittae reuelata*

Fol. 9 *Homerici (sic) tractatus de Brigittae reuelationibus* [= "**Dyalogus**"]

Fol. 18 *Johannes de Turre Cremata de eisdem ad monachos Watzstenenses*
[= "**Declaraciones Johannis (1435)**"]

Fol. 57 *Johannis Polamar (sic) etc. responsio in conspectu S. Basiliensis Concilii ad ambasiatores regni Bohemiae*

Fol. 144 *Sessiones et decreta Basiliensis concilii*

MS Clm. 8046 differs from the codices containing copies A, B, D, E and F of *Dyalogus* in that the contents are not solely Birgittine. It is possible that the codex was produced in a Birgittine abbey, but this is not an established fact.⁴⁹⁸ Rather, the contents relates to the Council of Basle and the disputes about *Regula Saluatoris*.

It looks like the volume was once two separate volumes. An owner's note is written on fol. 1r: "*Johannes Scheve contulit s:to Georgio in Nurnberg(?)*". The same note appears on fol. 144r after what looks like a couple of blank leaves, the first of which is numbered "1". The former "volume 1" would then be made out of the folia now 1-143, and "volume 2" the folia now 144-205. According to a note on the back cover the cover was restored in October 1921.

Four different scribes can be discerned: hand 1 for *Regula Saluatoris*, hand 2 for Heymericus' and Johannes de Turre Cremata's texts, hand 3 for Johannes Polomar's text and hand 4 for *Sessiones*. Johannes de Turre Cremata's text is given the date 1435⁴⁹⁹ on fol. 56v, which would refer to the date of the text being

⁴⁹⁶ *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibl. Reg. Monacensis* III:III, p. 217 (no. 1799). Cf. also Montag, *Das Werk der heiligen Birgitta*, p. 129 and 148-149.

⁴⁹⁷ Montag, *Das Werk der heiligen Birgitta*, p. 148.

⁴⁹⁸ Montag mentions Gnadenberg as a possible place of origin; cf. *Das Werk der heiligen Birgitta*, p. 148-149. The first Birgittine nuns moved into the abbey in 1438.

⁴⁹⁹ The dating note seems to be written by yet another hand than the one that wrote the *Declaraciones*.

composed, not copied. Heymericus' and Johannes de Turre Cremata's defences are written in one column, 43-45 lines, in a gothic cursive.

The volume does not correspond to the name "defence corpus". Apart from the fact that the two defences here stand free from the context of a defence corpus, they also lack the authentications and prologues from 1446.

Copy **D** in codex **D**, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich MS Clm. 27047a⁵⁰⁰

Codex **D** containing copy **D** of *Dyalogus*, MS Clm. 27047a in BSB in Munich, is very briefly described in the manuscript catalogue of the library as being a *Defensorium reuelationum S. Brigittae*.⁵⁰¹ Further the manuscript is said to originate from the Birgittine abbey of Altomünster in Bavaria, to consist of 526 pages (263 leaves) and to have been written in the 18th century.

By studying the manuscript itself it is possible to narrow the dating, as will be described below, and by a stamp on the inside of the cover we get to know that the volume came to BSB via "*Tabularium Regium*".

The title *Defensorium* in this case stands for a complete collection of defences for St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* together with the criticized articles extracted from the *Reuelaciones*.⁵⁰² This particular defence corpus shows similarities with and differences from the defence corpuses **B**, **A** and, as we shall see, **E**. I will now try and describe the contents of the codex using the microfilm accessible to me. Please note, though, that the microfilm does not cover the whole of the contents of the codex, but pages only 1-151, plus some thirty pages in the middle and the end of the codex. However, we get sufficient information about pages 151-526 from the indices in the beginning of the codex, and from a description of the disposition of the codex on its page 37.

The whole codex seems to be written by one person in a humanistic hand. The line number varies depending on the amount of space allowed for chapter headings; *Dyalogus* is written in one column of 50-54 lines per page.

On pages 36-37 is inserted a description of the codex itself. Here one of the ancestors to codex **D** is said to be written after 1690. On page 36 the prior in Altomünster at the time, Simon Hörmann, has made notes in the margin saying that the abbey in 1699 acquired an ancestor of codex **D**.⁵⁰³ In a couple of other places in the codex, another(?) hand has made notes of how codex **D** should be corrected according to this ancestor.⁵⁰⁴ This indicates that codex **D** was already finished when the ancestor was acquired. Thus, the manuscript can be dated to between 1690 and 1699.

⁵⁰⁰ About the shelfmark, cf. below in this chapter, description of copy **F** in codex **F**.

⁵⁰¹ *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibl. Reg. Monacensis* IV:IV, 237 (no. 2528).

⁵⁰² Cf. footnote 484.

⁵⁰³ See further below in this chapter, "D, d1, d2 and d3".

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. footnote 553.

Contents according to the microfilm:⁵⁰⁵

Pag. 1- 28 Indices

Pag. 1-8 *Index auctororum. Index articularum quos singuli Doctores scripserunt (...)*

Pag. 8-28 *Articuli adversariorum* [=”**Registrum**”]

Pag. 28-37 *Prologus in Defensorium (...)* [=”**Introductory history**”]

Pag. 37-38 *Totius operis partitio proponitur*

Pag. 38 *Liber Primus Defensorii Revelationum sanctae Matris Birgittae*

Pag. 38-42 Johannes de Turre Cremata: ”**Prologus 1446 Johannis**” and ”**Declaraciones Johannis (1435)**” chapters I-V, incomplete and without bulls⁵⁰⁶

Pag. 42 Reference to ”**Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446**”⁵⁰⁷

Pag. 42-52 Heymericus de Campo: ”**Prologus 1446 Decl.**” and ”**Prologus 1435 Decl.**”

Pag. 53 Prologue to *Resoluciones 14 dictorum*

Pag. 53-54 Heymericus de Campo: ”**Prologus 1446 Tract.**”

Pag. 54-125 The **Tractatus text group**

pag. 100-123 *Dyalogus*

pag. 123-125 ”**Littera testimonialis 1446 Tract.**”

Pag. 125-143 Heymericus de Campo: *Epistula super articulis Revelationum beatae Birgittae* ”**Epistula**”

Pag. 143-149 Johannes Roberti: Prologue to *Declaraciones*

Pag. 149-150 Ludovicus de Pirano: Prologue to *Declaraciones*

Pag. 150-151 *Prologus Auisamenti*

Pag. 151 *Prologus duorum doctorum ignotorum*⁵⁰⁸

Pag. 151-195(?) According to the indices, on these pages will follow the prologues of the rest of the defenders (cf. codex **B** and **E**), whose actual defences are inserted further down in the codex (cf. below).

Pag. 195(?) -526 According to information given in the codex, page 37 and the indices, after the prologues as above we are to expect the criticized articles from the *Reuelaciones*. After each criticized article follow the answers to each article by all defenders. That this is the case is confirmed by the microfilm of page 204-237 and page 526.

The contents of codex **D** are almost identical to those of codex **B**. Codex **D** however has some additions, seemingly in the introduction only, namely the two

⁵⁰⁵ The orthography in **D** follows the standards of humanist Latin.

⁵⁰⁶ The redactor of codex **D** makes reference to the printed edition of 1680 of the *Reuelaciones*, where the bulls are edited. This edition was procured by Simon Hörmann himself.

⁵⁰⁷ The redactor of codex **D** makes reference to the printed edition of 1680 of the *Reuelaciones*, where the authentication is edited.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. this text in codex **B**, fol. 211r-215v.

first indices, a copy of two medieval letters⁵⁰⁹ p. 33-36 and the story about the codex itself referred to above. Otherwise the differences between the defence corpuses lie in the arrangement of the material.

The redactor of the texts describes his work on page 37 as a re-arrangement.⁵¹⁰ He writes that he has divided the material into two books, of which the first contains the "defences in general" for the *Reuelaciones*, and the second "defences in particular"⁵¹¹. By the term "defences in general" the redactor obviously means the prologues to the actual defences, in the case of Johannes de Turre Cremata, the prologue and the first five chapters of his *Declaraciones*, and in the case of Heymericus the prologues to his *Declaraciones* and the *Tractatus* text group. These prologues he separated from the defences of the articles and made the prologues part of the Introductory history. The Introductory history is mixed together with the prologues so that the prologue(s) of each defender is put together with the introductory description of the contribution of that defender. This extended version of the Introductory history forms part one of the codex. Part two of the codex, or the "defences in particular", would according to the index begin at page 195. Part two is made up from a divided up *Registrum* (extant in its original form p. 8-28), that is, compared to codex **B**, the redactor, instead of only inserting a reference to the defenders after each article, inserted the whole defence of each defender of that particular article. This way, all of the defences, prologues and Introductory history in codex **B** exist in codex **D** too, but in a different order.

Copy **E** in codex **E**, Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan, Augsburg, MS lat. 1.

The codex containing copy **E** of *Dyalogus* is kept in the Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan in Augsburg. The codex, not previously known to scholars of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*, was discovered by Ulla Sander Olsen,⁵¹² who identified it as being produced in the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon in Dendermonde and showing

⁵⁰⁹ The letters of Eric of Pomerania, King of Sweden and the Scandinavian bishops are letters of recommendation for St. Birgitta's order and the *Reuelaciones* to the Council of Basle. The letters are edited in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* 6:2, the letter of King Eric on p. 483-484 (no. 454) being a transcription of RA Cod. A 20, fol. 274r-v, the letter of the Scandinavian bishops on p. 480-482 (no. 453) being a transcription of the copy in RA Cod. A 20 fol. 273v-274r.

⁵¹⁰ This redactor could have been the scribe of codex **D** itself or the scribe of some of its ancestors. That the redaction is secondary is obvious from the note (of scribe 1) on page 28 of the codex: "*Nota, quod hic sequens titulus, uti et alii in progressu, non sint in autographo, sunt tamen appositi pro maiori luce, (...) addito tamen asterisco**."

⁵¹¹ Codex **D**, page 37: "*praesens opus universim in duos libros distribuam, in quorum primo fere generalia, in secundo vero specialia Revelationum S. Matris Birgittae defensoria comprehensa sunt, ex quibus singulis ceu partialibus Defensoriis Defensorium praesens conflatum est.*" Both Johannes de Turre Cremata and Johannes Roberti themselves divided their work in defences *generaliter* and defences *particulariter*, cf. Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones*, beginning of chapter VI (in Mansi's edition col. 699) and Johannes Roberti's preface to his *Declaraciones* (UUB C 518, fol. 191vb).

⁵¹² Sander Olsen, *Handschriften en boeken uit het birgittinessenklooster Maria Troon te Dendermonde: Supplement* (1997), p. 219-221, with further references.

similarities with KBR MS 1451-53, codex A. She also identified it as the first volume in a three-volume work containing a complete collection of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones* with their defences added to them in the same volume. Codex E contains Book I-IV of the *Reuelaciones* and their defences. The two other volumes, which contain books V-VIII of the *Reuelaciones* and *Opera minora* respectively with their defences, Sander Olsen has located as extant in the Birgittine abbey of Altomünster.

I will use Ulla Sander Olsen's description of the manuscript with some additions, and make a preliminary description of the contents of the manuscript using a microfilm copy.⁵¹³

The front and back covers are covered with blind stamps. There are four metal bosses in a square on both covers. The pages measures about 28 x 40 cm. A date is given in the colophon, June 7, 1488, which according to Sander Olsen is the date when the manuscript was finished. The text is written in the same type of Flemish hybrida as codex A in two columns. The line number varies somewhat; 68-69 lines in the Introductory history and in the defence texts (see below) and ca 48 lines in the text of the *Reuelaciones*. The manuscript is richly illuminated in paint and gold, and has historiated initials and also illuminated margins in the first pages of the *Reuelaciones* in book I and IV.⁵¹⁴ The volume has an old (late medieval?) pagination, but the page numbers are partly cut off. The original format of the manuscript must therefore have been somewhat larger, and the cover must be younger than the pagination. I have counted the number of pages to 415 using the microfilm, however, the reproduction departement of the library states that it is 422. On the inside of the front cover is an owner's mark: *Quattuor primi libri celestium Reuelacionum Dei cum articulis notatis et replicis defensiuus. Pertinet liber iste Monasterio ad Thronum Marie Ordinis sancti Saluatoris alias sancte Birgitte in Teneramunda.*

This owner's note has on some occasion been covered by a paper leaf, glued on with six spots of glue. The paper leaf is now torn away, leaving marks of the glue and some paper too around the owner's mark. In the upper left-hand corner another paper leaf has been glued and later on torn away.

Contents:

Pages without pagination [i-ii] Blank

[iii]- [vi] *Bulla canonizacionis beate Birgitte* [=Boniface IX's
canonization bull]

[vi] – [vii] *Confirmacio eiusdem (...)* [=Martin V's

⁵¹³ Dr. Ulla Sander Olsen has been so kind as to lend her microfilm copy of this MS to the Department of Classical Philology in Uppsala.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Sander Olsen, *Handschriften en boeken (...): Supplement*, p. 220-221.

confirmation bull]⁵¹⁵

[viii] Blank

Pag. 1-3 *Sequuntur declarationes et defensoria (...)* [=Introductory history]

Pag. 3-7 Johannes de Turre Cremata: "Prologus 1446 Johannis" and "Declaraciones Johannis (1435)", chapters I-V, without bulls

Pag. 7-8 "Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446"

Pag. 8-11 Heymericus de Campo: "Prologus 1446 Decl." and "Prologus 1435 Decl."

Pag. 11: Prologue to *Resoluciones 14 dictorum*

Pag. 11-12 Heymericus de Campo: "Prologus 1446 Tract."

Pag. 12-37 The *Tractatus* text group

Pag. 28-36 *Dyalogus*

Pag. 36-37 "Littera testimonialis 1446 Tract."

Pag. 37-44 *Epistula super articulis Reuelacionum beate Birgitte* "Epistula"

Pag. 44-46 Johannes Roberti: Prologue to *Declaraciones*

Pag. 46-47 Ludovicus de Pirano: Prologue to *Declaraciones*

Pag. 47 *Prologus Auisamenti*

Pag. 47 *Prologus duorum doctorum ignotorum*⁵¹⁶

Pag. 47-48 *Prologus doctoris anglici*⁵¹⁷

Pag. 48 *Prologus domini Ade cardinalis de Anglia*⁵¹⁸ + *Epistula domini Ade cardinalis ad conuentum in Wadstenis*

Pag. 49-52 *Prologus seu tractatus magistri Joannis de Basilia*⁵¹⁹

Pag. 52-53 *Prologus Galfridi de Bellaland*⁵²⁰

Pag. 53-63 *Solemnis declaracio Reuelacionum beate Birgitte*⁵²¹

Pag. 64-65 *Prologus libri celestium Reuelacionum Dei*

Pag. 66 Blank

Pag. 67-122 *Reuelaciones*, liber I [with *Auisamentum* as a commentary in the margins at appropriate places]

Pag. 122-154: *Articuli accusati cum defensoriis eorundem* [=The criticized articles of *liber I* followed by every defender's answer to each of them]

Pag. 154-199 *Reuelaciones*, liber II

Pag. 199-207 *Articuli accusati cum defensoriis eorundem*

Pag. 207-242 *Reuelaciones*, liber III

Pag. 242-246 *Articuli accusati cum defensoriis eorundem*

Pag. 247-392 *Reuelaciones*, liber IV

⁵¹⁵ The bulls are seemingly picked out from their place in chapter V of Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones*.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. this text in codex B, fol. 211r-215v.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. this text in codex B, fol. 232r-246v.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. this text in codex B, fol. 248r-273r.

⁵¹⁹ Cf. this text in codex B, fol. 274r-280r.

⁵²⁰ Cf. this text in codex B, fol. 219r-231v.

⁵²¹ Cf. this text in codex B, fol. 294r-309v.

This *Reuelaciones* manuscript, together with the two other codices containing the remaining books of the *Reuelaciones* corpus, is equipped with a complete defence of the *Reuelaciones*. We see here the same type of bringing together the *Reuelaciones* and the material for its defence as we see in codex **A**. Thus, every book of the *Reuelaciones* is followed by a defence of the passages criticised in that very book. One difference between codex **A** and codex **E** is that in **E** we have all the defences, not just those of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus. Another difference is that **E** has an (almost) complete Introductory history, with prologues inserted just as in codices **D/F**. In codex **E** the *Registrum* is divided up and its articles placed after the appropriate book of *Reuelaciones*. The defence material in codex **E** is thus complete and as regards the contents almost identical with codex **B** and codices **D/F**. In addition, **E** has a peculiarity: The redactor of the manuscript has put the answers to the articles of *Auisamentum* like a commentary in the margins to the text of *Reuelaciones*.⁵²²

Copy **F** in codex **F**, BSB Munich MS Clm. 27047b

In BSB in Munich another copy of a defence corpus of the codex **D** type is extant, but only half of it. I will call the codex **F**. In the printed manuscript catalogue its existence is announced in the description of MS Clm 27047 with the words "*Adiacet apographum eiusdem libri paginarum 1-220*". This note wants to say that beside codex **D** on the library shelf stands a copy of the same, only pages 1-220 though. According to the department of manuscripts of the library these two volumes, which in the catalogue bear the same shelfmark, Clm 27047, later on got separate shelfmarks, MS Clm. 27047a for codex **D** and MS Clm. 27047b for the presumed copy of it. Copies of parts of codex **F**, which copies I received at the final stages of my dissertation, show that codex **D** and **F**, as far as the text goes in **F**, are identical as to the arrangement of the texts, the contents and layout. Codex **F** contains a copy of *Dyalogus* too, but a comparison of the manuscripts shows that copy **F** cannot be a copy of copy **D** (cf. chapter 5. 2). Codex **F** in all probability was produced in the abbey of Altomünster, and was perhaps even written by the same scribe as codex **D**. Codex **F**, like codex **D**, has a reference by a later hand to the "Anglicanus", namely on page 36. Therefore, codex **F** should be dated 1690-1699 on the same grounds as codex **D**. There has not been time to make a full description of the contents of codex **F**. However, the contents are the same as those of codex **D**, only that codex **F** only contains pages 1-220 and that the pagination differs due to smaller script in codex **F**.

⁵²² Cf. the discussion in chapter 2. 1 "The setting up of two subsequent commissions" with footnote 67 and chapter 2. 2 "Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey" with footnotes 137, 138 and 139.

Major differences between the MSS and their copies of *Dyalogus*⁵²³

The fact that the defence corpuses, that in the case of **A**, **B**, **D/F** and **E** make up the transmissional context of *Dyalogus*, are so different is symptomatic of the history of the text. Every redactor seems to have had the idea of making the perfect, most practical disposition of the material. This of course has to do with the role of the defence corpuses within each abbey and the apparently different views of which texts had the highest priority.⁵²⁴ Codex **C** volume is not a defence corpus, and will not be considered as such.

The different contexts have had an effect on the form of *Dyalogus* as regards the first and the last part of the text. In codices **B** (UUB MS C 518), **D/F** (BSB MS Clm. 27047a and b) and **E** (MS Benedictine monastery St. Stephan MS lat. 1) *Dyalogus* is preceded and followed by other texts of Heymericus. For example, in the four codices *Dyalogus* is followed by a copy of the *Littera testimonialis Tract. 1446*.

The Introductory history of the different defence corpuses are similar and different in many ways. The **E**, **A** and **D/F** codices have in common, that the prologues are separated from their main texts and are inserted in the Introductory history. *Dyalogus*, probably because it forms a defence both “in general” and “in particular” has been made a part of the introduction. The **E**, **B** and **D/F** codices have in common that they contain the texts of all the defenders.

Codex **A** (KBR MS 1451-53) and codex **C** (BSB MS Clm. 8046), are quite different but have that in common that the only defenders represented are Johannes de Turre Cremata with his *Declaraciones* and Heymericus with his *Dyalogus*. Codex **A** however has “*Prologus 1446 Johannis*” and “*Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446*” and *Auisamentum*, which codex **C** does not have.

In codices **D/F** and **E** the texts of the different defenders are divided up and presented together with each article in question from the *Registrum*, except for the *Tractatus* text group of Heymericus including *Dyalogus*. The same goes for codex **A**; the only defences here being Johannes de Turre Cremata’s *Declaraciones*, Heymericus’ *Dyalogus* and *Auisamentum*.

The references to the *Reuelaciones* look different in the six manuscripts, not surprisingly, since the defence texts were for everyday use and the references were thus adapted to that specific copy or copies of the *Reuelaciones* owned by the abbey.⁵²⁵ **C** differs from the other five in its total lack of references to the *Reuelaciones* in paragraphs A i – H [xxix]. In the other five manuscripts the references in paragraphs A i – H [xxix] exist in the current text, but do not fit very well and give the impression of being inserted marginal notes.⁵²⁶

⁵²³ Cf table 2 on p. 142.

⁵²⁴ *Auisamentum*, for example, seems to have prime importance in the **E** volume.

⁵²⁵ The references are mostly the same as regards chapter numbering, but they are formulated in different ways.

⁵²⁶ Some cases where it has been necessary to put the references in brackets in the current text are A iiiii, H [iiii], A v, A vi, H [ix], H [x], A xv, A xx, A xxi and A xxii.

In codices **B**, **C**, **D/F** and **E** *Dyalogus* is preceded by a short text starting with the words *Quid itaque de prememoratis* (here called the *Quid itaque* text or *QI*).⁵²⁷ In the case of codices **B**, **D** and **E** this text should be regarded as a text quite loosely attached to *Dyalogus*, as *QI* makes up a just another part of the *Tractatus* text group together with *Dyalogus*. *QI* then gives the conclusion of a discussion going on in the texts preceding *QI*. In comparison, in codex **C** *Dyalogus* is not preceded or followed by any other text of Heymericus than *QI*; it is attached to *Dyalogus* as a sort of extra prologue and has no doubt been regarded as part of *Dyalogus*.⁵²⁸

In codex **A**, on the other hand, the *Quid itaque* text forms the closing paragraph of *Dyalogus*. Thus the closing paragraph of copies **B**, **C**, **D/F** and **E** (a text I call *Non omni spiritui* or *NOS*) is left out. Further, none of the closing paragraphs, neither *NOS* nor *QI* correspond perfectly to any problem presented in *Dyalogus* itself.⁵²⁹ Instead, both final comments correspond to the overall aim of the *Tractatus* text group and the examination of the *Reuelaciones*. In the case of **C**, where *Dyalogus* is not preceded by the *Tractatus* text group, the closing paragraph, *NOS*, looks a bit awkward.⁵³⁰

Another short comment, which looks like an addition by Heymericus, appears after *NOS* but before the poem that ends *Dyalogus*. The comment is untouched in **D/F** and **E** but erased in **B**. The text starts with the words *Elicio ex omnibus premissis corollarium*, and I will comment upon this text below, in the chapter "Relations".

The details of how *Dyalogus* was first presented are still unknown, and therefore it is difficult to say how the beginning and the end of the text looked originally. What we do know is that Heymericus re-wrote and redacted his texts in 1446. It is not clear whether *Dyalogus* on this occasion was altered in any way⁵³¹ – however, he then approved of the version we have in **B**, **D/F** and **E**.

As for the version of copy **A**, at least it cannot be the original. Copy **A** of *Dyalogus* is below showed to be a copy of the copy **E**, although **A** has readings, additions and its own disposition independent of **E**.

⁵²⁷ Cf. chapter 3. 2., description of *Quid itaque* with footnote 350.

⁵²⁸ It could also be that *Dyalogus* was part of the *Tractatus* text group in some of the ancestors of copy **C**.

⁵²⁹ Cf. chapter 4. 1, "The aims of *Dyalogus* in relation to the other defences". Both final comments answer the question whether the spirit at work in the *Reuelaciones* is divine or not, a question which is not posed expressly in *Dyalogus*.

⁵³⁰ Perhaps Heymericus, in the revision of his text in 1446, wrote *NOS* as a final comment to the whole of the *Tractatus* text group? It is worth noticing, that *NOS* makes up the odd 151th article to the other 150. Article 150 and its concluding quotation of the words of St. Peter: (Vulg. II Petr. 1, 5) with the exhortation to love one's neighbour, would be quite suitable as concluding the whole of *Dyalogus* and its overall message about a benevolent and generous reading of the *Reuelaciones*.

⁵³¹ Interestingly enough the analysis of the relations between the manuscripts shows that copy **C** may give a version prior to the redaction of 1446.

Despite the role of the *Quid itaque* being undefined we cannot disregard the text, and therefore it will be inserted in my edition of *Dyalogus* as an Appendix.

Here follows a plan of the texts in question and the order of them in the different manuscript codices.

Table 2, Plan of the order of the texts in the different manuscript codices

UUB MS C 518 (codex B)							
Introductory history + <i>Registrum</i>	Johannes de Turre C.: <i>Prologus 1446</i> <i>Johannis</i> and <i>Declaraciones</i> <i>Johannis (1435)</i> (intact) <i>Littera test. Johannis</i> <i>1446</i>	Heymericus: <i>Prologus 1446</i> <i>Decl.</i> and <i>Prologus</i> <i>1435 Decl.</i> <i>Declaraciones</i> text group (intact) <i>Litt. test. 1446</i> <i>Decl.</i>	Heymericus: <i>Prologus 1446 Tract.</i> <i>Tractatus</i> text group. <i>QI – Dyalogus – NOS</i> <i>Littera test. 1446 Tract.</i>	Heymericus <i>Epistula</i>	Other defences written at the council of Basle	<i>Auisamentum</i> with prologue	Other defences
KBR MS 1451-53 (codex A)							
Introductory history	Johannes de Turre C.: <i>Prologus 1446</i> <i>Johannis</i> and <i>Declaraciones</i> <i>Johannis (1435)</i> chapters I-V <i>Littera test. Johannis</i> <i>1446</i>	Heymericus: <i>Dyalogus – QI</i>	<i>Auisamentum</i> +epilogue	<i>Reuelaciones I-IV +</i> <i>Johannes de Turre C.:</i> <i>Declaraciones</i> <i>Johannis (1435)</i> chapter V (the articles divided up as described above)	Other texts, not defences	Other texts, not defences	Other texts, not defences
BSB MS Clm. 8046 (codex C)							
<i>Regula Saluatoris</i>	Heymericus: <i>QI – Dyalogus –</i> <i>NOS</i>	Johannes de Turre C.: <i>Declaraciones</i> <i>Johannis (1435)</i> (intact)	Other texts, not defences				

BSB MS Clm. 27047a (codex D) and BSB MS Clm. 27047b (codex F)					
<p><i>Registrum</i> + Introductory history</p>	<p>Johannes de Turre C.: <i>Prologus 1446 Johannis</i> and <i>Declaraciones Johannis (1435)</i> chapters I-V. Ref. to <i>Littera test. Johannis 1446</i></p>	<p>Heymericus: <i>Prologus 1446 Decl.</i> and <i>Prologus 1435 Decl.</i></p>	<p>Heymericus: <i>Prologus 1446 Tract. Tractatus</i> text group. <i>QI – Dyalogus – NOS Littera test. 1446 Tract.</i></p>	<p>Heymericus <i>Epistula</i></p>	<p>Prologues to other defences</p>
<p><i>Registrum</i> + Johannes de Turre C. + Heymericus m. fl. <i>Declaraciones</i> + <i>Auisamentum</i> divided up</p>					
Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan MS. lat. 1 (codex E)					
<p>Bulls from <i>Declaraciones Johannis (1435)</i> chapter V + Introductory history</p>	<p>Johannes de Turre C.: <i>Prologus 1446 Johannis</i> and <i>Declaraciones Johannis (1435)</i> chapters I-V without bulls. <i>Littera test. Johannis 1446</i></p>	<p>Heymericus: <i>Prologus 1446 Decl.</i> and <i>Prologus 1435 Decl.</i></p>	<p>Heymericus: <i>Prologus 1446 Tract. Tractatus</i> text group <i>QI – Dyalogus – NOS Littera test. 1446 Tract.</i></p>	<p>Heymericus <i>Epistula</i></p>	<p>Prologues to other defences</p>
<p><i>Reuelaciones I-IV</i> with <i>Auisamentum. Registrum</i> + Johannes de Turre C + Heymericus m. fl. <i>Declaraciones</i> divided up</p>					

5. 2. The tradition of the text and tentative stemma codicum

Manuscripts to consider

In some of the manuscript sources at my disposal information is to be found about manuscripts that once existed and which contained a copy of *Dyalogus*. I will now enumerate every copy of *Dyalogus* known to me, the ones extant today as well as the ones now lost or not yet found.

All in all we are dealing with fifteen manuscripts: the lost autograph, **H1**, the six copies existing today, **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, **E**, **F** and eight others, namely

- 1) the lost source manuscript of **B** – called **b2**,
- 2) an early copy made in Basle for Vadstena Abbey – called **b1**,
- 3) the lost source MS of **D** and **F** – called **d3**,
- 4) the lost source MS of **d3** – called **d2**,
- 5) the lost source MS of **d2** – called **d1** or "The Syon copy",
- 6) a copy which the corrector of **A** used when correcting **A**; this copy is called **Y**,
- 7) one which is assumed to have existed, a fair copy of the autograph **H1**, called **X**,
- 8) one which is assumed to have existed, a working copy of either one, some or all of **b1**, **X** and **H1** which served as the source MS for **b2** – the working copy is called **H2**.

Please observe, though, that in the making of the stemma the extant copies primarily have been considered, together with the autograph **H1** and copy **b2**, about which we have so much information that it can be used in the comparison and the evaluation of the manuscripts.

Numbers 1-5 above are mentioned in the sources and have to be considered as well. They demand a place in the stemma, and I have been able to give them a place, with some question marks, though.

In the making of the stemma it has also been necessary to in addition assume three manuscripts, number 6-8 above.

I will below, after a comment on Heymericus' handwriting, describe the lost manuscripts more closely.

Heymericus' hand and Heymericus' scribe

None of the extant copies of *Dyalogus* is Heymericus' autograph. This can be established from what we know of the tradition of the manuscripts and also from the fact that his own hand now in all probability can be identified. Heymericus' handwriting has been said to be represented in Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Brussels MS 11571-75 (dated ca. 1453 - ca. 1460) and MS 893-98 (dated ca. 1452 – ca.

1460), an assertion which the Belgian *Manuscripts datés* confute.⁵³² It is more likely that the manuscripts in question were written down by a professional scribe on Heymericus' request. The handwriting in the two Brussels manuscripts looks very much the same as the handwriting in UUB MS C 91, the authenticated manuscript of Heymericus' *Epistula* from 1446,⁵³³ written in Leuven. Just like in the two Brussels manuscripts, corrections are made throughout the whole of Heymericus' *Epistula* by another hand, and in the end, in the same hand, considerably less professional from the point of view of calligraphy, comes Heymericus' subscription together with traces of his minor seal. The corrections as well as this subscription are in all probability written by Heymericus himself.

The Autograph (H1)

Heymericus' first writing or dictating of *Dyalogus* would, as suggested above in chapter 3. 3, have taken place at the Council of Basle.⁵³⁴ During Heymericus' time there he at least wrote his *Declaraciones*, *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum*⁵³⁵ and perhaps *Auisamentum*. We know from other sources, that Heymericus usually had fair copies made of his work.⁵³⁶ It is very probable that Heymericus in this case as well let a professional scribe make a fair copy of his texts before he approved of them being copied by others. This fair copy gets its denomination **X** above. What happened to Heymericus' autograph and the fair copy, if there was one, is not known to me. The most natural scenario would be that Heymericus took them with him when he left Basle and that they then via Cologne came to Leuven. In Leuven in the year 1446 a considerable amount of work was put into the revision and authentication of Heymericus' texts on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*. The value of the autograph or the fair copy, if there was one, would then have decreased. Still, there is a possibility that Heymericus' private copy made its way to the Birgittine abbey of Heymericus' liking, Mariënwater in Rosmalen close to 's-Hertogenbosch

⁵³² *Manuscripts datés conservés en Belgique*, T. III, p. 116 and 121 (MS 11571-75) and p. 119 (MS 893-98). Cf. also the discussion about Heymericus' handwriting in Caviglioli, *Les écrits*, p. 324.

⁵³³ *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*, Vol. II, p. 119, and with an illustration in *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift vor 1600 in Schweden*. Bd. I. 2. Tafeln. Abb. 105.

⁵³⁴ Cf. however the discussion in chapter 3. 3, "Dating of *Dyalogus*".

⁵³⁵ This is clear from Heymericus' prologues to *Declaraciones* and the *Tractatus* text group (UUB MS C 518, fol. 98r-v and 142r-v. Cf. chapter 3. 2, "The commission in Basle and Heymericus' writing of *Dyalogus*").

⁵³⁶ Heymericus refers to his own handwriting as "illegible" in his testament, and talks about what should be done with the works already in fair copy, and says that the ones still in his own handwriting should be transcribed. Cf. the testament (Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Best. 1. Nr. 2/ 12756): "*Necnon volo quod (...) reliqui vero libri manu mea (...) scripti et in forma munda transcripti vertantur in usum noui studencium Louanii theologiam collegii (...) ad hoc adiciens quod, si commode fieri possit, libri sic non de scriptura mea illegibili ad legibilem translati, per scriptores ydoneos, expensis meis, iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum desuper bene informatorum transscribantur et commodoso studencium in universitate Coloniensi usui adaptentur.*"

in the Netherlands,⁵³⁷ or the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon in Dendermonde in Flanders, founded six years after the death of Heymericus.⁵³⁸ Another possibility is that his private copy was among the books he bequeathed to the faculty of Arts of the University of Cologne.⁵³⁹

b1

At the Council of Basle copies of the writings of the defenders were made for the representatives of Vadstena Abbey.⁵⁴⁰ We do not know exactly which writings were copied then, and it is not stated that *Dyalogus* was among the copies. However, supposing that *Dyalogus* was written in Basle in 1435, there would have been no reason for leaving it out from the others. That copies of Heymericus' defences existed in Vadstena Abbey before 1446 is implied by the sources.⁵⁴¹ It is not necessary to assume a Vadstena copy of *Dyalogus* for the further discussion, still, as one probably existed, we can call it copy **b1**. If a copy **b1** existed, it could have been a direct copy of the autograph, **H1**, but just as well or even more probable, of a fair copy **X** of the autograph. Heymericus' texts were re-disposed, revised and authenticated by Heymericus himself and his scribe in Leuven in July 1446 at the request of the Birgittines.⁵⁴² Some of the copies **b1** (the Vadstena copy), **H1** (Heymericus' presumed autograph) and **X**, a fair copy of **H1**, or all of them, would then have been used as source manuscripts. The work resulted in two volumes, said to be red in colour, and one of them contained a newly written copy of *Dyalogus* – **b2**.⁵⁴³ If a copy **b1** existed, the old Vadstena copy, it would then have been considered obsolete.

H2

Since such a thorough revision and re-arrangement of the texts was done as is evident from the sources, it is necessary to assume a working copy between the

⁵³⁷ Cf. chapter 3. 3, "Heymericus' relations to the Birgittine order". Mariënwater, founded about 1437, was the only Birgittine monastery in the Netherlands in 1446. According to Nyberg, *Vadstena klostets biktprivilegier 1446*, p. 337-338 it is likely that the legation from Vadstena paid Mariënwater a visit on their way home from Leuven in 1446. However, Mariënwater as late as 1456 made copies of Johannes de Turre Cremata's authenticated writings from the Gnadenberg copy (Bibliotheca Birgittina, Birgittastiftelsen, Vadstena).

⁵³⁸ Sander Olsen, *Handschriften en boeken (...): Supplement*, p. 215.

⁵³⁹ Heymericus willed the books he had written as a representative of the University of Cologne in Basle to the University of Cologne, cf. the reference in footnote 536. The titles of the books however are not given in the testament, and according to the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, which keeps the old library of the Faculty of Arts, there are no writings by Heymericus in their collections.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. footnote 100.

⁵⁴¹ We have what is probably a description of *Declaraciones* in its pre-1446 version in the Introductory history in codex **B** (cf. chapter 3. 2, "The commission in Basle and Heymericus' writing of *Dyalogus*" with footnote 373).

⁵⁴² Cf. chapter 2. 2, "Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected with the judgement".

⁵⁴³ Cf. chapter 3. 2, "Heymericus' contributions in the field of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*".

source manuscript or manuscripts, (Heymericus' autograph **H1**, **b1** and **X**) and the new, official copies in the two red volumes. If such a copy was made, it could have replaced **H1** or **X** as Heymericus' private copy of the texts, but of course it is possible that the old version was saved as well.

b2 and B

The new redaction of all of Heymericus' texts on St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*, corrected and equipped with authentications of the University of Leuven and subscriptions by Heymericus himself thus once existed in two red volumes. These two red volumes were brought to Vadstena Abbey in 1446.⁵⁴⁴ One of the volumes contained copy **b2** of *Dyalogus*. In Vadstena Abbey Heymericus' texts were copied again to be inserted in the big defence corpus made there, which today is UUB MS C 518, codex **B**. Thus the **B** copy of *Dyalogus* was made. In all probability no copies existed between **b2** and **B**; there would have been no reason for that. On the contrary the Birgittines in Vadstena would have been anxious to have as close a copy as possible. Copy **b2** has not been found in the remains of the former book collection of Vadstena Abbey and must be considered lost.⁵⁴⁵

D and F, d3, d2 and d1

Copies **d3**, **d2** and **d1** of *Dyalogus*, ancestors of three generations to copies **D/F** of *Dyalogus*, are described in some marginal notes and in a description in MS Clm. 27047a and b, codices **D/F**.⁵⁴⁶ The latter part of the description seemingly is composed by a member of the Birgittine abbey of Altomünster,⁵⁴⁷ and the description (cf. below) is identical in **D** and **F**, which indicates that it existed in a common ancestor, made in Altomünster, of the two codices.

To start in chronological order, the defence corpus containing copy **d1** was owned by the Birgittine abbey of Syon in England (founded in 1415). This defence corpus is in codex **D/F** described as an illuminated treasure which the nuns of Syon brought with them to the continent in their first exile around the year 1539.⁵⁴⁸ The nuns of Syon found refuge in the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon in Dendermonde.⁵⁴⁹ On one occasion the Syon defence corpus was kept in the Birgittine abbey of Koudewater, that is Mariënwater in Rosmalen.⁵⁵⁰ At that time a

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. chapter 3. 2, "Heymericus' contributions in the field of St. Birgitta's *Reuelaciones*".

⁵⁴⁵ The authenticated copy of Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones*, on the other hand, is preserved in the Royal Library, Stockholm, shelfmark MS A 24b.

⁵⁴⁶ The background to and the making of codex **D** is described in a detailed account in codex **D**, page 36-37, and in codex **F**, page 39-40. Cf. the description of codex **D**.

⁵⁴⁷ The first part seems to have been composed in the Birgittine abbey of Marienbaum, because of a reference to "our own monastery of Marienbaum". The words "our own" is ruled out in **D**.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. de Hamel, *Syon Abbey*, p. 7-8. The MSS give the date 1549.

⁵⁴⁹ Codex **A** existed in Maria Troon since 1490, cf. the description of the codex above.

⁵⁵⁰ The denomination in codex **D**, p. 36-37: "*monasterium vulgo ad aquas frigidas nuncupatum prope Sylvam Ducis situatum*" would refer to the abbey of Mariënwater in Rosmalen close to s'Hertogenbosch, in Latin "*Maria ad aquas frigidas*".

visiting priest, Dominicus Falck, made a copy of it, the defence corpus codex **d2**, which contained copy **d2** of *Dyalogus*, before the year 1690. Back in the Birgittine abbey of Marienbaum, his own monastery, Dominicus Falck made yet another copy of the defence corpus, codex **d3**, which contained copy **d3** of *Dyalogus*. According to the Altomünster writer, this codex (**d3**) was later on lent out to the Birgittine abbey of Altomünster. The writer now claims that he is about to make yet another copy from the copy (**d3**) that Altomünster has on loan from Marienbaum. This assertion exists in both **D** and **F**, which could mean that either 1) both **D** and **F** are copies of **d3** or 2) **D** and **F** are both copies of the copy of **d3**. It is confirmed by the evidence of the stemma that the copies had a common ancestor.⁵⁵¹

To the story in codex **D** Simon Hörmann, prior in Altomünster at the time, made a note in the margin, saying that the defence corpus of Syon Abbey (codex **d1**) in three volumes was given to Altomünster Abbey in 1699 by the prioress of Maria Troon in Dendermonde.⁵⁵² This note should be connected with those notes in the margin of codex **D** and **F** that make reference to “anglicanus” or “libri anglicani”,⁵⁵³ a title that would be consistent with Hörmann’s identification of the three-volume defence corpus, which Altomünster acquired in 1699, as being the Syon defence corpus.

I will question this identification below.

Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan MS lat. 1 (codex **E**) and the Syon defence corpus (codex **d1**)

Simon Hörmann’s note that the Syon defence corpus in three volumes came into the possession of Altomünster in 1699 calls for a minor analysis. One wonders, is this magnificent exemplar still extant? And would it be possible to identify it as the richly illuminated three-volume defence corpus, whose first volume is now kept in Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan, codex **E**, and whose other two volumes are kept

⁵⁵¹ The fate of copies **d2** and **d3** is not known to me.

⁵⁵² Codex **D**, page 36. “*Hoc defensorium in tribus libris, modo est in Monasterio Altomünster, Ord. S. Birgittae in Bavaria, dono donatum est mihi F. P. S. Simoni Hörmann, praefati Monasterii S. Altonis et Ordinis priori et confessori generali a veneranda domina abbatissa moderna Sorore I. I. [Joanna Isabella in marg.] Desmaystres in Teneramunda a Domina Priorissa [Maria Eugenia in marg.] et conventu Anno 1699.*”

⁵⁵³ Codex **D**, page 28, 40 and 42 and codex **F**, page 36. The “Anglicanus” had at least the beginning of the Introductory history. In the margin of page 28 is written: *Hic incipiunt Libri Anglicani MM SS*. Further, on page 40, Johannes de Turre Cremata’s *Declaraciones* (1435) chapters I-V come heavily abridged. In the margin is written: *NB Sequentia omnia ad integrum debent scribi, sicut scripta sunt in autographo Anglicano et nec abbreviari sicuti hic est factum*. On page 42, where one would have expected *Littera testimonialis 1446 Johannis* there is only a reference to the edition of the text in St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones*. In the margin is written: *Etiam hoc debet integre huc poni ut in Anglicano*. Thus, the “Anglicanus” seems to have been more like codex **B** than codices **D/F** and codex **E** as regards the copy of Johannes de Turre Cremata’s texts. In codices **D/F** asterisks and red lines marks out passages not extant in the “autograph” (**d3**) and the “Anglicanus”.

today in the abbey of Altomünster? The answer would be: yes, it is possible if one only considers the description of the transmission of the defence corpus and the comments in the margin about the so called "Anglicanus" in codices **D** and **F**.⁵⁵⁴ However, this is contradicted by the relationship between the existing manuscripts that can be established in the stemma. If codex **E** is identical with the Syon defence corpus, it has to be the ancestor of **D/F** too. That this is not the case will be shown below. It is also contradicted by the fact that the red lines in the margins of codex **F**, lines that mark out passages not extant in "Anglicanus", do not correspond with the contents of **E**.

Therefore we must assume that the real Syon defence corpus was lost, and that Simon Hörmann, when he read the description of the Syon defence corpus in what I now call codex **D/F**, by mistake connected this description with another illuminated copy of the same defence corpus recently acquired by Altomünster. Thus, the three-volume defence corpus extant today in Augsburg and Altomünster, codex **E**, could not be the Syon defence corpus, and it seems that it isn't even the defence corpus that Hörmann describes.

Dyalogus: Relations between the MSS

One thing important to consider in the question of the stemma is the fact that when writing down the lines of the adversary in *Dyalogus* (that is in paragraphs A xxx – A cxlvii), Heymericus without a doubt took the words from another already existing text, put together by someone else. The lines of the adversary, "A", are found today in a "pre-*Dyalogus*-form" among other places in the printed defence of Johannes de Turre Cremata and in an authenticated manuscript copy of 1436,⁵⁵⁵ and they exist also in *Registrum*. In addition to this, one finds the original wording of the extracted text passages in the *Reuelaciones*. Therefore, variants in these lines of

⁵⁵⁴ 1) In the description of the transmission of the defence corpus nothing is said about where the Syon copy was made. It could very well have been made in the prominent scriptorium in Maria Troon, as was codex **E**, on request or given as a gift to Syon from Maria Troon. Maria Troon had close contacts with Syon and there was an exchange of books between the two monasteries. Cf. Sander Olsen, *Handschriften en boeken (...): Supplement*, p. 217-218.

2) Codex **E** does not have an owner's note or shelfmark from the Syon library. Instead there is an owner's note from Maria Troon that looks original. There is however the possibility that there was a note from Syon on the paper leaves that are now torn away.

3) The manuscript in its three volumes is a complete defence corpus, just like codex **dI** would have been.

If we use only these criteria, it would be possible to identify codex **E** as the magnificent defence corpus of Syon Abbey. The defence corpus would have been made in Maria Troon and been added to its book collection (cf. the original owner's note), after which it would have been given as a gift to the close friends in Syon Abbey (Maria Troon had codex **A** from year 1490 and probably subsequent volumes to replace it.). The new owner's note would have been written by Syon on a paper leaf and glued over the old one. The paper leaf was easily taken away when the manuscripts was given back to Maria Troon. Probably, volumes 2 and 3 of defence corpus **E** contain information to settle this question, however, I have not had the opportunity to examine them.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. chapter 2. 1, "The legal proceedings" and footnote 27.

the adversary have less value, since there were good possibilities for a copyist to correct dubious readings using an independent source.

None of the extant manuscripts is a direct copy of the autograph

I will start the description of the stemma by repeating that none of the six existing copies of *Dyalogus* is an autograph. None of them is a direct copy of the autograph either. Errors or peculiarities that the six manuscripts have in common clearly indicate that they all have a common ancestor which is not the autograph. In this, I presuppose that Heymericus would not have made these errors in his autograph. At the same time they are insignificant enough for Heymericus to have overlooked them when he checked the copy of his revised writings in 1446.

Common errors and problematic readings in **ABCDEF**, and emendations made in the edition

Prologus:2: The clause contains an enumeration, the last item of which must come after the words *ac per hoc* (...) and be an adjective or participle in the feminine accusative. One such item is missing here, and therefore one would suppose that one of the words *reproba* or *suspecta* lost an original *linea nasalis* for the final *m* as the various copies were made. Asyndeton does not occur anywhere else in Heymericus' text, and therefore only one of the words would lack a final *m*. It would have contributed to the mistake that one of the words correctly ends with *a*. The place of *suspecta* in the clause makes *suspecta* suspicious of being the former accusative. Thus, *suspecta* is emended to *suspectam* in the edition. *reproba* goes with *falsitate* or *impietate*.⁵⁵⁶

Prologus:4: The problem about the clause can be found in the reading of *obligate* in the six manuscripts. The form *obligate* is surprising, since one would have expected the masculine genitive to go with the assumed headword *gradus* in the genitive. If one accepts *obligate*, the clause is anacoluthic (*tum* lacks a corresponding word) and asymmetrical. In addition, the words in the clause are connected in a way which is, even for this author, incredibly strained.⁵⁵⁷ A symmetrical and not anacoluthic clause (*tum ratione* corresponds with *necnon ratione*) is obtained by an emendation of *obligate* to *obligati*. The resemblance between the *e* and *i* in the Flemish *hybrida* makes a mistake very probable. The preceding enumeration of words in the feminine genitive would have contributed

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. Heymericus de Campo, *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum*, fol. 146va: “Itaque (...) non videntur hec (...) sufficere ad (...) ostendendum supradictum librum Reuelacionum fore tanquam erroneum, hereticum aut de impietate supersticionis (...) suspectum”.

⁵⁵⁷ If *obligate* is correct, the meaning of the sentence would be that Heymericus is bound (*teneri*) as well by his profession (*tum ratione professionis*) of the orthodox faith, etc. which was born (*genite*) in his baptism etc. and (*necnon*) obligated (*obligate*) to defend the saving faith by a special oath that Heymericus took in receiving his doctoral degree in theology (*ratione gradus doctoralis*).

to the mistake. The emendation *obligati* goes with *gradus* without any problems, and the reading becomes plausible as regards content as well as language.⁵⁵⁸

H [vii:2]: Paragraph H [vii:2] is difficult as regards the contents and seems to have been subject to emendation. The problems seem to arise from the construction *sine circumstanciarum particularium fine*.⁵⁵⁹ In the edition a reconstruction of the passage is given, on the grounds of the assumption that a common ancestor of **ABCDEF** dropped *fine* because of the paleographically almost identical *sine* (the two words may originally have come one after another). The scribe of the common ancestor of **D** and **F**, being clever and even manipulative, has observed that there is an ablative missing and emended by adding *fine*. The scribe of **B** seemingly tried to get the text together by adding the word *et* before *non*.⁵⁶⁰

A Ixiii: This passage Heymericus probably copied directly from the indictment.⁵⁶¹ The scribe of the indictment seems to have made an addition to correct a supposed inconsistency in the article. Virgin Mary makes a speech, talking about the *humanitas* of Christ, and says that *Ideo ipsa est res preciosissima que unquam fuit et est*. The *res preciosissima* refers to *humanitas*, but, perhaps because epithets like *preciosissima* about Mary are frequent in the *Reuelaciones*, the scribe has taken the adjective *preciosissima* as qualifying Mary. It has then appeared to him as a strange thing that the opinion is expressed in Mary's line, and subsequently added *loquitur Christus*. **C** kept this reading which has survived in parts in **ADEF**. The scribe of **B**, a Birgittine in Vadstena, took this unnecessary addition away in accordance with the contents of the *Reuelaciones*.⁵⁶²

What looks like other common errors of **ABCDEF** emended by **D** or the common ancestor of **D/F** we see in A vii: videtur] **DF** videntur **ABCE**, H [xxvii:3]: talia] **DF** talem **ABCE** and A lix: in] et **AD** (*ex in in et corr. A*).

Preliminary remarks on the stemma

D and **F** are written at the end of the 17th century, and can therefore not be the source manuscript of any of the other copies, as they are all written in the 15th century. We also know that neither **A**, **C** or **E** is the source manuscript of **B**, since

⁵⁵⁸ Heymericus is bound (*teneri*) as well by his profession (*tum ratione professionis*) which was born (*genite*) in his baptism etc. as by his doctoral degree (*necnon ratione gradus doctoralis*) which is obligated (*obligati*) to defend the saving faith by a special oath.

⁵⁵⁹ Heymericus makes reference to Aristotle. Cf. the wording in a commentary attributed to Bede Venerabilis to the passage in Aristotle that Heymericus would refer to (Cf. the edition, § H [vii]): "Cuius finis bonum est, ipsum quoque bonum est". *Intelligitur de bonitate morali et particulari, ut patet; sic cuius finis particularis cum debitis circumstantiis est bonum, ipsum quoque moraliter est bonum.*"

⁵⁶⁰ The reconstruction comes close to the reading of **C**.

⁵⁶¹ The passage in the copy of the 123 articles of the indictment (cf. above, "The legal proceedings" and footnote 27) goes: "*Ideo ipsa <est res pre>ciosissima que unquam fuit et est loquitur Christus statim post d c licet deitas est in tribus personis*". (There are stains on the document).

⁵⁶² This error cannot be used as an indication of **ACDF** constituting a group, since it must have been very easy for the scribe of **B** to correct the error, even if it existed in the source manuscript of **B**.

the source manuscript of **B** is known as **b2** with special features that no existing copy has (cf. below)⁵⁶³, and because it is not likely that Vadstena Abbey would have used a copy from another Birgittine abbey instead of the authenticated copy in Vadstena. The relationship between **A** and **E** as well as **D** and **F** will be analysed below. As manuscript copy **F** came to me at the very final stages of my dissertation, there has not been time to make a complete collation of this MS with the others. However, a collation is made for ca 25% of the manuscript and all the passages used in the argumentation in this chapter have been checked. This procedure has given sufficient evidence to give **F** a place within the stemma.

ABDEF form a group

It has been stated above that the source manuscript of copies **D** and **F** of *Dyalogus* was part of a defence corpus. The copies **A**, **B**, **D**, **E** and **F** are parts of different types of defence corpora. We do not know whether the source manuscript of copy **C** was part of a defence corpus too, but it is to be observed that the texts of Heymericus and Johannes de Turre Cremata here make up a unit.

There are some things to indicate that **C** is of a different tradition than the others, more exactly that it is of a pre-1446 redaction, which did not go through the process of revision and authentication in 1446.

It should be stated first that a model defence corpus with an Introductory history, *Registrum* and combining texts such as rubrics of the defences, with all probability was made in Vadstena Abbey by a Birgittine brother. The whole process of composing e.g. the Introductory history, can be traced back to originals still among Vadstena documents,⁵⁶⁴ and the work would have been finished after 1446.⁵⁶⁵ The opinion that the combining texts were written in Vadstena is supported by the fact that there is an introduction to Heymericus' *Epistula* in codex **B**. This introduction does not exist in Vadstena's authenticated source manuscript, now UUB MS C 91, of the text. The defence corpora containing **B**, **D/F** and **E** have this introduction in common.⁵⁶⁶

If codex **B** is not that model defence corpus itself, the material of defence corpus **B** would have been arranged in the same way as the Vadstena model defence corpus. There could of course have existed a preliminary version or other copies of the model defence corpus in Vadstena, and this is not the place to analyse whether codex **B** is the direct source manuscript of defence corpora **A**, **D/F** and **E**. However, it would be safe to assume that the Introductory history, *Registrum* and rubrics in the defence corpora containing **A**, **D/F** and **E** derive from the **version** of

⁵⁶³ "Errors and peculiar readings not binding **C** to the **ABDEF** group".

⁵⁶⁴ This is discussed in various places in chapter 2. 1.

⁵⁶⁵ The texts of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus in codex **B** are of the 1446 version.

⁵⁶⁶ The text is missing in **A**, but it will be shown below that **A** is a copy of **E**. There is of course the possibility that in the case of the *Declaraciones* text group and *Tractatus* text groups, the rubrics were written by Heymericus himself, or added by his scribe, in 1446 to bind the different texts together in the two red volumes.

defence corpus **B** as being the Vadstena model **version**. We don't know how this version was transmitted, but there are many examples showing that the mother house furnished daughter houses, especially the newly founded ones, with necessary basic reading.⁵⁶⁷ The defence corpus, as we remember, became essential in 1487 for the daily practice of the male convents.⁵⁶⁸ In contrast, in the case of **C**, there is nothing to bind it to the Vadstena model defence corpus version.

Another thing that separates codex **C** from the **ABDEF** group and the Vadstena model defence corpus version (post 1446) is the rubrics of *Dyalogus*.⁵⁶⁹ The wording of the rubrics is exactly the same in **ABDEF**, and in all of these copies the rubrics are placed before Heymericus' prologue to *Dyalogus*. In **B**, **D/F** and **E** this means that the rubrics are placed between *QI* and the prologue.⁵⁷⁰ Just like **B**, **D/F** and **E**, copy **C** has *QI* before the prologue, but in **C** there are no rubrics in between. It would be strange, if the scribe of **C** took this passage away, if it appeared in the current text of his source manuscript. Therefore, the lack of the rubrics is a good indication of the **C** copy being a pre-1446 version.

The following things point in the same direction:

1) Johannes de Turre Cremata's *Declaraciones* in codex **C** lacks the *Prologus 1446 Johannis* and *Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446*. If this means that this copy of Johannes' texts did not pass through the process of authentication 1446, this holds good for the **C** copy of Heymericus' *Dyalogus*, too.⁵⁷¹

2) Codex **C** lacks the additional comment appearing after *NOS* in **B**, **D/F** and **E**, (erased in **B** though).⁵⁷² By its formulations, the comment *Elicio ex omnibus*

⁵⁶⁷ For example, this could be arranged by Vadstena making copies that were given to the daughter house: Cf. Hedlund, *The Ordinal of the Vadstena Nuns*, p. 135, Helander, *Ordinarius Lincopensis c:a 1400 och dess liturgiska förebilder*, p. 27 and footnot 9, and Sander Olsen, *Hanskriften en boeken (...): Supplement*, p. 217, further Silfverstolpe, *En blick i Vadstena klosterns arkiv och bibliotek*, p. 104-105, and de Hamel, *Syon Abbey*, p. 55-59. There are however also examples of daughter houses making copies of Johannes de Turre Cremata's authenticated text only, and being offered to make copies of Heymericus' authenticated texts in addition to those by Johannes. Cf. the copying made by the abbey of Gnadenberg of the authenticated defences after 1446 (RA Cod. A 21, fol. 102r-v, ed. by Nyberg in *Dokumente und Untersuchungen*, Teil I, no. 142, p. 332-334), and the letter of Vadstena Abbey to the daughter house, Syon, in which letter Vadstena offers Syon the opportunity to come and make copies of the texts of the two defenders (RA Cod. A 21, fol. 83r).

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. chapter 3. 3, "The role of the defences".

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. the edition and chapter 3. 2, the descriptions of *QI* and *Dyalogus*.

⁵⁷⁰ In copy **A**, *QI* is placed **after** *Dyalogus*, cf. chapter 5. 1, "Major differences between the MSS and their copies of *Dyalogus*".

⁵⁷¹ It is less probable that a scribe of Johannes' text in codex **C** (the same person who copied Heymericus' text) would have chosen to omit the *Prologue 1446 Johannis* and *Littera testimonialis Johannis 1446* if these texts had existed in the source manuscript. It is further not probable that the scribe of the source manuscript of **C** had access to the texts of Johannes and Heymericus from different sources, so that Heymericus' *Dyalogus* is of a version from **after** 1446 (**b2**), and Johannes *Declaraciones* is of a version from **before** 1446. I believe that if a person had access to the post-1446 version of *Dyalogus* **b2**, the Vadstena copy, he would also have had access to the post-1446 version of Johannes' *Declaraciones* and the important authentication too.

⁵⁷² **A** does not have *NOS*.

premissis (...) gives the impression of being a later addition to *Dyalogus* by Heymericus.⁵⁷³ If the comment was written in 1446, this could be the reason for it lacking in **C**.

One should also note that **C** lacks the references to the *Reuelaciones* in the paragraphs A i – H [xxix] which **ABDEF** have, and that these do not at all fit in well in the current text of **ABDEF**.

There are a few things that at first sight seem to bind **C** to the **ABDEF** group, but in fact they do not:

Errors and peculiar readings not binding **C** to the **ABDEF** group

One thing that looks as if it binds **C** to **ADEF** is that the copies all lack a certain line in *Dyalogus*. The line in question, H [xxiii]: *sed sapienter exhortatoriis ... Jer. xviii* is special, because it is described in the *Littera testimonialis 1446 Tract.*, i. e. the authentication of the *Tractatus* text group, as being one of the many corrections that were made in the copy of *Dyalogus* in **b2**.⁵⁷⁴ This particular correction is described as having been made in the margin of **b2** by Heymericus' own hand. The line appears in the current text in **B**, but is missing in **ACDEF**. This does not necessarily imply that **ADEF** and **C** have a common ancestor. If the common ancestor of **ADEF** was a copy of **b2**, the scribe of that ancestor could have missed the addition because it was written in the margin. The fact that Heymericus added the line in the margin in the revision of 1446, could mean that it was not there in the pre-1446 redaction, and that would explain the fact that it is missing in **C**.

To return to the references to the *Reuelaciones* in paragraphs A i – H [xxix], that are missing in **C** but existing in **ABDEF**, they too would be missing in the "pre-1446-redaction". The character of the references are that of inserted marginal notes. Presumably these references were written in the margin of one of the source manuscripts of **b2**,⁵⁷⁵ whereafter the references were copied into the current text in

⁵⁷³ Cf. the edition. The first words of the comment and the fact that Heymericus modifies the final opinion made just before in *NOS* indicate that Heymericus has read his texts over once more and wants to give his opinion of the day.

⁵⁷⁴ In the authentication of **b2**, copied to **B**, one of the notaries, Johannes Pauli, describes errors that existed in **b2**, which errors were corrected in **b2** itself. Cf. Codex B, fol. 177r (=Rodolphus de Beringhen, *Littera testimonialis*, #23): "In folio decimo octavo in secundo latere hec verba: 'loquebatur sic auidi' etc. In folio decimonono in primo latere hec verba: 'veritate reuelacionis diuine' etc. In folio vicesimo in primo latere in margine scriptum est de manu magistri Heymerici supradicti: "sed sapienter exhortatoriis, vnde scriptum est 'non peribit consilium a sapiente" (Jer 18). In folio vicesimosecundo in primo latere 'inferno' vsque ibi 'dampnatis christianis' etc. In eodem folio et latere hec verba: 'vicarius cui credita' vsque ibi 'misericordie' etc. In folio vicesimotercio in primo latere hec verba 'contra voluntatem eorum' etc." This refers to articles A v, H [x], H [xxiii], H [lxv], H [lxviii] and A lxxxvii in *Dyalogus* respectively. Not all of this information helps us to control whether all the corrections were transferred to **ABCDE**: In one case only, in H [xxiii] (*sed sapienter exhortatoriis*), it is expressly stated what the sentence looked like before and after the correction.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. the pre-1446 Vadstena copies of the texts of Johannes Roberti and Ludovicus de Pirano (Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 88) both with references to the *Reuelaciones* in the margin.

b2. Another probable scenario would be that the references were added in the making of **B**.⁵⁷⁶

This is the place to mention that **BC** have an error in common, which however is not a binding error: In **A cxxxix**, **BC** have *translacionem* instead of *transsubstantiationem*. This error could easily have been made independently in **B** and **C** because the abbreviated forms of the words are very much alike.⁵⁷⁷

CE have some errors in common too.⁵⁷⁸ These errors are too insignificant to bind **C** to **AE** and they almost exclusively regard references to the *Reuelaciones*. The errors also originally appeared in **A**, but were corrected by the corrector of **A**.⁵⁷⁹ As mistakes in the references would be subject to correction, these errors could have existed in one of the early versions, but would have been corrected independently after the *Reuelaciones* or *Registrum* in the source manuscripts of **B** and **D/F**:

A xlvi: non] *supra lin.* **A deest CE**

A cvi: Libro vi capitulo xxiiii] libro iiii (*supra lin. manu II*) capitulo xviii (*ex xx.iiii(?)*) **A capitulo xxiiii CE**

A cxxi: lxxii] *ex lxxiiii in lxxii* **A lxxiiii CE**

A cxxiii: lxxix] *ex ? in 79* **A lxxx CE**

A cxxxviii: xlvii] *ex ? in xlvii* **A xxix CE**

H [cxlix]: desponsacionem fecisse] desponsacionem se fecisse **AC se post desponsacionem del. E**

C is not the source manuscript of any of the other copies

C has a lot of errors, of which some would be possible to correct for an observant scribe, whereas others constitute errors that exclude **C** as source manuscript to any of the other MSS.⁵⁸⁰ **C** has some major omissions, and these support the suggestion that **C** is of a pre-1446-redaction. The omissions in **C**, or rather, the additions in **ABDEF** are such that they hardly could have been made by anyone else than Heymericus himself. The additions and reformulations seem to have been made in order to, by using more words, make the contents easier to understand.

⁵⁷⁶ This has been done in the copying of Heymericus' *Epistula*, UUB MS C 91, to codex **B** (Perhaps via UUB MS C 31, cf. Fredriksson Adman, *Striden*, p. 87.)

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviaturarum*, p. 378.

⁵⁷⁸ In the case of copy **F**, the collation is not complete.

⁵⁷⁹ The original readings of **A** are often easy to reconstruct.

⁵⁸⁰ Examples:

A i: approbando] *deest C* (*ex approbando in approbando* **A**) approbando **E**

A xiiii: impossibiliaque] incompassibilia **C** (*ex impossibiliaque in impossibiliaque* **A**) impossibiliaque **DEF**

H [xiiii]: ab re dicitur prouerbialiter] ab re prouerbialiter dicitur **AEF** abreprobaliter dicitur **C**

H [xci]: nature] naturaliter **C**

H [xcvi]: quantitatie] quantitatum **C**

H [xcvii]: per] *deest C*

H [ciii]: nescio aliter] et testimonialiter **C**

Undoubtedly Heymericus made these additions in the revision of his texts in 1446, in the source manuscript of **b2**, i. e. the working copy **H2**. Cf. for example the readings in H [xii], H [xiii] and A lii and the lack of references to the *Reuelaciones* paragraph A i – H [xxix].

About the redaction of C

It has been presumed above, that copy C is of a pre-1446 redaction. If we go back to the common ancestor of **ABCDEF**, this is presumed to not be the autograph. If the common errors of **ABCDEF** were made in a fair copy X of the autograph, X would be the common ancestor of **ABCDEF**. But it has been presumed that there were other pre-1446 copies too, possibly one **b1**, the Vadstena copy, and by necessity one working copy named **H2**, made from **H1 / X / b1** and being the source manuscript of **b2**. Considering the “omissions” in C or the “additions” in **ABDEF**, it is more likely, that C derives from X than that C derives from **H2**, since in **H2** Heymericus must already have made those additions.⁵⁸¹

Thus, it is probable that C represents the pre-1446 version of X, the fair copy of the autograph. I have not yet found anything to contradict this.

ADEF form a group

ADEF have peculiar readings and significant errors in common, which indicate that they have a common ancestor. This ancestor could very well be the Syon defence corpus known to be the ancestor of **D/F**, but there is nothing to establish such a relation. The errors of the group also rule out the group as a possible ancestor of **B** or **C**. Apart from readings in common, like the same word order for more than three words (12 times), and readings in common which are not errors (one example of many in H [cxii:2]), **ADEF** have significant errors in common, of which the most interesting ones we see in the following places:

H [x]: *interrogacione* instead of *intentione* is an error, since it is not at all the **question** of St. Birgitta that is the topic here.

H [xxxiii]: *reprobatus* instead of *reprobus* is incorrect. If *reprobatus* was accepted the meaning of the sentence would be “because of that, this article is not accused by anyone”. Such a meaning would be self-contradictory, as the article would not be part of *Dyalogus* if it had not been accused.

H [xlvii]: *concupiscencie* instead of *consciencie* is incorrect, since it is not the flame of concupiscence that “vexes the evil”.

A lxxvi: *dic* instead of *dat*: An error (and a variant) easily made due to the abbreviated form of *dicit*, an error accepted by the scribes of **A**, **D/F** and **E**.

H [lxvii]: *offuscate* is missing in **ADEF**. *Offuscate* is however necessary for the argumentation: St. Birgitta talks of a soul which does not have knowledge

⁵⁸¹ There probably existed several pre-1446-copies: Among the Birgittine monasteries (apart from Vadstena) at least Marienwold Abbey was represented at the council (cf. the subscription to RA, parchment letter of March 23, 1436). Marienwold would naturally want copies of the defences.

about its future peace. “A” is of the opinion that every soul would have this knowledge. “H” states that St. Birgitta’s saying is correct to the extent that (presupposing that knowledge is twofold) the soul in question lacks half of the knowledge: The soul has the “habitual knowledge”, while the other half part of full knowledge, i. e. the “knowledge of actual consideration”, is temporarily obscured by the pressure of the punishment. If one takes away *offuscate*, one also takes away the negation of the knowledge of the actual consideration, which is necessary to defend St. Birgitta’s statement.

A cxxxix: *consedebat* or *considebat* instead of *sedebat in*: The scribe of the ancestor of **ADE** has changed after the *Reuelaciones* to *sedebat in agno*, without noticing that the answer of “H” is founded on the fact that “A” misquoted and wrote *consedebat agno*.

DF form a group

I have made a partial collation of **F** and checked all important text passages,⁵⁸² and I have found a couple of especially peculiar readings and a couple of manifest errors that indicate that **D** and **F** have a common ancestor, which they do not have in common with **A** and **E**. Firstly, it is worth noting that **D** and **F** have at least one or two peculiar readings in common in every paragraph. One of the binding errors is found in H [xv]: In this paragraph the common ancestor of **ADEF** wrote *plenitudinem* instead of *pleniformem*, which is an error, as is obvious from the preceding lines. However, this error *plenitudinem* does not go well together with *prescenciam* in the next line. The good Latinist that copied the source manuscript of **D** and **F** discovered that the sentence was erroneous and emended *prescenciam* to *prescencie*. The second binding error is found in *NOS*, the final comment of *Dyalogus* in **BCDEF**, where **D/F** have the reading of *humilitatem* instead of *humiliter*. Other passages, which do not constitute errors in the strict sense, are:

H [vii:2]: ordinata] ordinaria **DF**

H [vii:2]: fine] *cum* **DF scripsi, deest ABCE**

H [viii:3]: boniformiter] vniformiter **DF**

H [viii:3]: antea] ecclesia **DF**

H [xvi:2]: affeccio] affliccio **DF**

The relation between **D** and **F**

Further, there is one erroneous reading in copy **F** of *Dyalogus* that indicates that copy **F** is not the source MS of copy **D**: In A xvi, the scribe of **F**, seemingly by inserting a marginal note, made the first sentence an anacoluthon. In this sentence, **D** has the same reading as all other MSS.

That **D** is not the source MS of **F** is established by, among other things, the omissions in **D**. In these places **F** has the same reading as all the other MSS. The best example is found in H [lxviii]; another example we have in H [ii] (cf.

⁵⁸² Cf. above, “Preliminary remarks on the stemma”.

apparatus *ad loc.*). The above seems enough to show that **F** is a sister MS of **D**. Therefore the readings of **F** are not recorded in the apparatus (cf. chapter 6).

AE form a group

AE form another subgroup to **ADEF**. **AE** has many readings and errors in common. The errors rule the group out as a possible ancestor of **D/F**. The common readings and latent errors run up to ca. 25, the significant errors to ca. 30. Half of the significant errors occur in the lines of “H” which are difficult to correct independently. Some examples of significant errors are.⁵⁸³

Prologus 4: iureiurando] iurisiurando **AE**

H [ix]: tollendi] tollenda **AE**

H [lxvii]: purgatorio] purgatorie **AE**

H [lxxxvii]: supposita] sumpta **AE**

H [xciii]: incorruptionem] incorporacionem **AE**

H [cxii]: virtutis] veritatis **AE**

H [cxxxix]: prefigurat] prefigura **AE**

A copy of E

There are clear indications that all the many errors common to **AE** were copied from **E** to **A**. Firstly, **E** does not have any error which is not shared by **A** or coincides with a correction in **A**. Secondly, some of the insignificant errors form a pattern to indicate that **A** is a direct copy of **E**.⁵⁸⁴

As stated above, a *corrector* has gone through **A** and made a great number of changes regarding word forms as well as orthography.⁵⁸⁵ Some corrections can easily be distinguished as having been made by this second hand; other corrections could as well have been made by the scribe of **A**. If one does not count the corrections of the orthography, the conspicuous corrections in **A** amount to about 120. While these corrections occasionally coincide with variants, errors or paleographical difficulties in **B**, **C**, **D** and **F**⁵⁸⁶ (ca. 5 times per manuscript), they

⁵⁸³ These errors are so obvious that they do not need any explanation. I kindly ask the reader to check the text of the edition.

⁵⁸⁴ The description of the source of **A** in codex **A** supports the assumption of the relation between **A** and **E**: 1) The source manuscript or ancestor of **A** had a *Registrum* (codex **A**, fol. 2va.).

2) The source manuscript or ancestor of **A** contained texts of all the defenders in Basle and other writings of Heymericus than *Dyalogus* (codex **A**, fol. 3rab-3va).

3) The order of the texts in the source manuscript or ancestor of **A** would have been a different one than the one in the manuscript containing **A** (codex **A**, fol. 31rab):

4) The source manuscript would at least have been planned to contain all eight books of the *Reuelaciones* and *Opera minora* (codex **A**, fol. 31vb).

5) The source manuscript would have existed in a Birgittine monastery (codex **A**, fol. 3rb, bottom lines).

⁵⁸⁵ The orthography has been changed throughout the whole of codex **A**, cf. chapter 6. 1, “Orthography” and footnote 604.

⁵⁸⁶ In the case of copy **F**, the collation is not complete.

coincide in almost 60 cases with variants and errors, some of which are given as examples above, and with paleographical difficulties in **E**. The paleographical connection shows that **A** is a copy of **E** without intermediates:

Corrections in **A**

Most of the errors that arose from paleographical difficulties in **E** have been corrected either by the scribe of **A** or by the *corrector* of **A**. The corrections are conspicuous and sometimes it is possible to see that the original reading was that of **E**. There are many examples of minor errors in **A** which are due to paleographical obscurities in **E** and which were not corrected,⁵⁸⁷ and many such errors which were corrected,⁵⁸⁸ among which the following two are the most significant ones:

H [lvi]: et¹] capitulo xi dicit Christum *post et del*. The scribe of **A** accidentally skips exactly one line in **E**, but discovers his own mistake

A lxxiii: The scribe of **A** misread *6l* in **E** and wrote *vi*, which is corrected to *lxi* by the *corrector*.

The corrector of **A** and his source manuscript(s)

The question of course arises if the *corrector* of **A** used **E** while correcting, if he used another manuscript or if he made the corrections independently. An analysis shows that most of the corrections could very well have been made independently or by using the *Reuelaciones* or the Bible. This can be the explanation to the scribe or corrector of **A** changing the reading of **E** to a reading that agrees with **BCDF**,⁵⁸⁹ as well as changing a reading that agrees with **BCDEF** to something else.⁵⁹⁰ The

⁵⁸⁷ Some examples:

H [xvii]: experimentalis] expimentalis **A** (the abbreviation mark of *per* in **E** was blurred with a paragraph sign under the word *experimentalis*).

H [xxii]: religione] religionem **A** (the abbreviation mark of *per* in **E** above the word *religione* was mistaken for a *linea nasalis* by **A**).

H [lxxxvi]: Bene] Unde **A**. The *Bene* in **E** would easily be misread.

H [cxxii]: tolli] tollit(?) **AE**. The last letter of the word is very weak in **A** and **E**.

⁵⁸⁸ Some examples:

H [xiii]: oppositi] (*ex appositi in oppositi* **A**) It actually looks like *appositi* in **E** when *o* happens to bind with *p*.

H [ci]: redemptium et translaticium] redempcium et translacium **AE** (*ex translaticium...?* in translaticium **A**).

A cxxvi: scripsit] fl(?) *ante scripsit del*. **A** It is easy to misread **E** here.

H [cxlx]: vt supra] *ex vis in vt supra* **A**. Probably due to the tricky abbreviation in **E**.

⁵⁸⁹ Some examples:

A i: approbando] (*ex approbade in approbando* **A**) *deest* **C** *approbande* **E**.

A vii: que] (*ex quo in que* **A**) *quo* **E**.

A lxvii: an] (*ex aut in an* **A**) *aut* **E**.

A lxxxiii: sequenti] *ex sequen...?* in *cxxxiiii manu II* **A** *sequenti* *cxxxiiii* **DF** *sequente* **E**.

H [cviii]: symbolo] **ACDF** (*ex symbalo in symbolo* **A**) *symbalo* **BE**.

H [cxiii]: mensura] (*ex ? in mensura manu II* **A**) *mensatur* **E**.

⁵⁹⁰ **P: 8:** collati] *ex collati(?) in collecti* **A**.

H [ii]: illud dictum est superius non intelligi] *non debet intelligi* (*ex saper...(?) non in non debet* **A**).

errors in **A** that coincide with corrections in **E** and /or **A** are of a special kind, where **A** has or had the original reading of **E**.⁵⁹¹ The reason could be that the correction in **E** was made after copy **A** was made, or that the scribe of **A** preferred the reading crossed out by the scribe of **E**.

Still there remain a number of errors and corrections that cannot be explained by anything else than that the corrector of **A** had before him **E** and /or another copy:

A x: axiomata ... magis] *in marg. manu II A*. (Exactly one line in **E**.)

H [xlvii]: lapsum] *in marg. manu II A*.

A cxv: differencia] *in marg. manu II A*.

A cxxv: esset] *in marg. manu II A* esse **C**

A and Y

Finally, there are corrections that change the reading of **ADEF** to agree with the manuscripts outside the group, **B** and /or **C**. Even in such cases, all of them would have been possible to make independently,⁵⁹² except for one single case in **H** [xc]: The words *continue motus*, extant in **B** and **C**, are written in the margin by the corrector of **A**, while both **D/F** and **E** lack the word *motus*. This correction must mean that the corrector of **A** used a source for his corrections that was of an earlier version than the common ancestor of the group **ADEF**. Since *motus* is lacking in **D/F** (and **E**), *motus* would also have been lacking in **d1**, the Syon defence corpus, wherefore the source manuscript of the corrector must have been an earlier version than the Syon defence corpus. I have named this copy **Y** above.⁵⁹³

By what is said above, it is possible to conclude that **A** is a copy of **E**, and that the corrector of **A** in making his corrections had a source manuscript of an earlier version than the common ancestor to the **ADEF** group and the Syon defence

A lix: in consciencia] et **AD** (*ex in in et A*).

A xcii: ad mixtionem] *ex admixtionem in adcommixtionem manu II A* ad commixtionem **C**.

A c: celebranti peccatori] celebrante peccatore (*ex peccatori in peccatore(?) manu II A*).

A cxxiii: A cxxiii In lxxix capitulo] (*lxxix ex ? in 79 A*) In lxxx **C** A cxxxiii. in lxxx c. **E**.

A cxliiii: dignum] dignum esse (*esse in marg. manu II A*).

⁵⁹¹ **H [xx]**: testimonium de huiusmodi] testimonium Dei huiusmodi **A** (*ex Dei in de E*).

H [xlix]: Hoc concordat] *ex huius concordat in hoc concordat AE*.

H [lxxxv]: contractum est] *est supra lin. A contractum et C contractum (aut?) post contractum eradit?) E*.

H [xcvii]: ponit] (*ex potuit(?) A po ut (ex pocuit(?) E*).

H [cxxxv]: impossibile] possibile **DE** (*ex impossibile in possibile E*).

⁵⁹² **A xliiii**: impossibiliaque] *ex impossibiliaque in impossibiliaque A impassibilia C impossibiliaque DEF*.

A lxiii: audiendum et videndum] *et supra lin. A deest DEF*.

A lxxxii: In capitulo cxxxiii] (*ex cxxxii in cxxxiii A cxxxii DEF*).

H [lxxxii]: placiti vel accepte] placiti vel accepti (*ex placite in placiti A placite vel accepti DEF*).

⁵⁹³ Cf. the “independent” corrections in **A** described above in footnotes 589 and 590.

corpus, and that he possibly also used **E** as an additional source manuscript for his corrections.

In the apparatus of the edition I will give an account of the changes in **A** discussed in this chapter, but I would like to repeat that in addition there are ca. 60 conspicuous changes in **A** that do not coincide with variants or paleographical difficulties in any of the other five manuscripts, corrections which make **A** agree with the text of the edition. I will not give an account of these changes.⁵⁹⁴

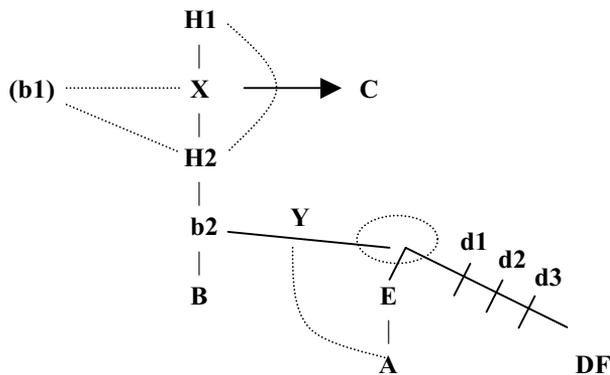
The transmission of the text of copy **B** and **b2**

The errors of **B** are too insignificant to form evidence for the stemma. However, there is one reading in **B** that excludes **B** as the ancestor of **ADEF**, namely the line in H [xxiii], *sed sapienter exhortatoriis (...) Ier. xviii* mentioned above. As we remember, this line, which is quite long, was written in the margin of **b2** in Heymericus' own hand, and appears in the current text of **B**, but is lacking in **ADEF**.⁵⁹⁵ Now it would be quite a coincidence, if this exact line was omitted by mistake by the scribe of the common ancestor of **ADEF**, if the line in his source manuscript appeared in the current text as it does in **B**. If on the other hand the scribe had **b2** as his source manuscript, an omission by mistake would be understandable, since the line here is an addition in the margin in a hand that is perhaps difficult to read.

Thus it is suggested that copies **ABCDF** of *Dyalogus* all have the common ancestor **b2**.⁵⁹⁶

Conclusion

Taking all of the above into account, the following stemma of the copies of the text *Dyalogus* is suggested:



⁵⁹⁴ Cf. chapter 6. 1, “Changes/ corrections” and footnote 609.

⁵⁹⁵ As for **C**, cf. above in this chapter “Errors and peculiar readings not binding **C** to the **ABDEF** group”.

⁵⁹⁶ When making copies, one seemingly preferred the authenticated sources. Cf. the copy of some paragraphs of both Johannes' and Heymericus authenticated writings described in UUB MS C 31, “*Rubrica et reuelacio (...)*”, fol. 327r-335v.

I have chosen to edit Heymericus' *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte* based on copy **B**, on the grounds that this copy without a doubt is a copy of a manuscript **b2**, which was written under the supervision of Heymericus himself and was corrected and authenticated by him. It is suggested above that copies **ADEF** of *Dyalogus* derive via a common ancestor from the same authenticated manuscript, **b2**. In the course of copying, however, a great number of errors appeared in **AE**. **D/F** often offers very attractive readings, which in several cases appear to be emendations.⁵⁹⁷ We also know that **D/F** is written at the end of the 17th century and that it is a copy of many generations of a copy known to us, but not extant.

The position of **C** is somewhat uncertain; It is suggested that the copy derives from a redaction previous to the one of **B** and **b2**, i. e. before 1446. However, copy **C** contains a great number of errors. Before more is known about the transmission of **C** and its redaction, **B** must be considered to be the copy offering the most secure version of *Dyalogus*⁵⁹⁸ and indeed the version that Heymericus de Campo himself wished to leave to posterity.

⁵⁹⁷ The readings of **D** often give a more classical and elegant solution for an awkward formulation. Cf. above, "**DF** form a group".

⁵⁹⁸ It is to be considered, too, that Heymericus and his text were held in great esteem in Vadstena . This would work as a certain guarantee for careful copying.

6. Principles of edition

General remarks

The base manuscript for the edition of Heymericus de Campo's *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte* is to be found in UUB MS C 518, fol. 163r-175v. In the introduction above the copy is denominated the **B** copy.⁵⁹⁹ The edition is based on the reading and the orthography of **B**. Since **B** is made in Vadstena Abbey in the second half of the 15th century, I have found it convenient to apply the basic principles used in the editions of other texts produced in Vadstena Abbey in the Middle Ages.⁶⁰⁰

An aim of the edition is to give the reading of **B** as far as possible, but not if the reading of **B** is a manifest error. In these places the text of **B** is corrected according to **A**, **C**, **D/F** and **E**. At some places all MSS except **D/F** has a manifest error, whereas the reading of **D/F** is probably an emendation. In these cases the edition gives the reading in **D/F**. The readings divergent from the reading of the edition are recorded in the apparatus, with some exceptions listed below in this chapter. On some occasions it has been necessary to make an emendation against the readings of all six manuscripts. The emendations are described and discussed above, in chapter 5. 2.

There is one exception to the principle that the edition is based on the reading of **B**: Between paragraph H [cli] and the verse at the end of *Dyalogus* is a short passage, an additional comment, which is erased in **B**. The comment begins with the words *Elicio ex omnibus premissis corollarium*. In **D/F** and **E** the comment is extant, but is lacking in **A** and **C**. It is possible by using ultraviolet light to read the erasure in **B** well enough to identify the text in the erasure as being the passage extant in **D/F** and **E**.⁶⁰¹ The erasure in **B** is however partly difficult to read, and the readings are in many places unclear. Therefore, the edition of the additional comment is based on the readings of **E**.

Although manuscript copy **F** has been considered in the discussion of the stemma, the readings of **F** are not recorded in the apparatus. It is my opinion that the readings of **F** will not contribute considerably to making the edition better, as **F** is already represented by the **ADEF** group and the **DF** group. In the case of **A**, on the other hand, although it is a copy of **E**, it is suggested above that **A** is corrected with the help of an early copy of *Dyalogus*, which makes the divergent readings of **A** more interesting. Therefore the readings of **A** are recorded in the apparatus, with some exceptions (cf. below).

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. chapter 5. 1, the description of codex **B**.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. Gejrot, *Principer för transkribering / edering av texter inom projektet*.

⁶⁰¹ Håkan Hallberg, assistant librarian at the department of manuscripts, Uppsala University Library, has been so kind as to assist me in this.

Quotations

Regarding biblical quotations and reminiscences in the edition of *Dyalogus*, the edition of Stuttgart 1969 of the Vulgate has been used.⁶⁰² Regarding other quotations, see “Sources and literature”.

Normalization

The numbering of the paragraphs has been normalized to Roman capitals and numerals, for example. ”A i”. In the manuscripts the answers of “H” are not numbered, and consequently they are not in this edition either. Arabic or Roman numerals in the manuscripts have been normalized to Roman numerals, except in cases where the original numeral is of interest as regards the relations between the manuscripts. When numerals are given, the ending of the ordinal numbers have been omitted. Initial capital letters have been used in *Dominus, Pater, Deus, Christus, Virgo, Spiritus, Creator, Dyabolus* and in personal names and in epithets, such as *Sapiens* (=Salomon) and *Philosophus* (=Aristotle). For *Reuelaciones* the initial capital letter has been used whenever St. Birgitta’s *Reuelaciones* are meant.

The punctuation is modern.

Ortography

In the edition the orthography of **B** is normalized as follows: The orthography of the individual words sometimes differs within manuscript **B**. In these cases, if a word occurs frequently, the dominating spelling of the particular word has been chosen. This principle has been used for names, too. For example, throughout the dissertation I spell *Heymericus* following manuscript **B**. The scribe of **B** in some cases spells a word in a somewhat unusual way. It has however been possible to find all of these spellings in common dictionaries recorded as equivalent spelling variants.⁶⁰³ According to the standards for editions of other Vadstena manuscripts *e* is used for *ae* and *oe*, *ci* is used for *ti* before a vowel (except when *ti* is preceded by *t* or *s*), *v* is used for the initial, otherwise *u* both for the consonant and the vowel. However, double *i* in the *ij* form and *w* instead of *vu* has not been recorded.

The orthography of **C** and **E** is much the same as that of **B**. In **A**, a *corrector* has changed the orthography (which used to be like that of **B**) throughout the whole volume.⁶⁰⁴ The changing of the orthography in **A** is not recorded in the apparatus. The orthography of **D(F)** follows the standards of humanist Latin.

⁶⁰² *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem / adiuvantibus Bonifatio Fischer ...: recensuit et brevi apparatu instruxit Robertus Weber. Stuttgart 1969.*

⁶⁰³ *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae medii aevi. Examples: carecteristica – caracteristica; indelibile – indelebile; apostatare – apostotare; actor – auctor; beniuolencia - beneuolencia.*

⁶⁰⁴ More or less consistently words like *characterem* have been changed to *characterem*, *ypotesis* to *hypotesis*, *dialogus* to *dyalogus*, *abominatur* to *abominatur*, *archana* to *arcana*, *Dyabolus* to *Diabolus*, and *c* before *i* and *e* to *s*. Further, the *corrector* changed the abbreviations of *quod* and *quam*, so that the abbreviation for the relative pronoun looks different than the subjunction *quod*, just as comparative *quam* looks different than the relative pronoun.

The normalization of the orthography includes the apparatus. The orthography of **B** for practical reasons therefore dominates the apparatus. However, on occasion some especially interesting orthographica are recorded.

Some remarks on the transcription of **B**

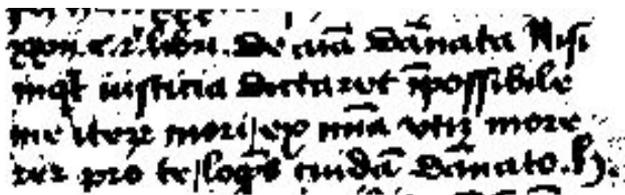
Copy **B** was written at Vadstena Abbey in Sweden; however, its source manuscript was a Flemish manuscript.⁶⁰⁵ Some errors which would be due to the scribe of **B** being unused to the Flemish script are distinguishable in copy **B**.

Often occurring in **B** is an obvious mix-up between the final letters *-i* and *-e*, a confusion probably due to the Flemish way of writing *e* very much like *i*. The same confusion can be seen in the copying of the ending *-ris*, which for example in the Flemish manuscript **A** is confusingly similar to the traditional "Swedish" abbreviation for *-rum*. The abbreviation *-rum* looks a bit different in the Flemish manuscripts: the line going downwards crosses the horizontal line without a connecting curve, for example **A** xxx *me iterum mori*. Examples where the abbreviation that looks like the traditional Swedish *-rum* actually is to be read *-ris*, are to be found in **A** in **A** xxix *veris*, **H** [xxiii] *salutaris*, **H** [xxxiii] *particularis*. The origin of these two types would be the fact that **A** almost exclusively uses *r* rotunda (straight *r* is never used except for cases with double *r*), which leads the *-rum* / *-ris*- abbreviation below the line. A straight *r* on the other hand makes the abbreviation *-ris* start from the upper part of the minims. This had an effect in **H** [vii] and **H** [cxlv] in *temporum* / *temporis*. Confusion and hesitation is also obvious in the endings of the gerund *-dum*, *-do* and *-di* in all manuscripts.

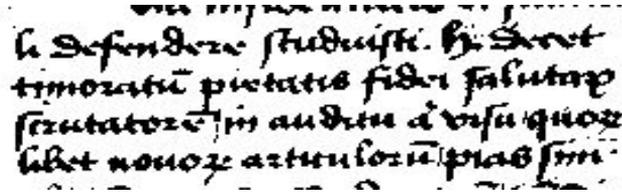
The Flemish *d* = *-dum* seems often to have been expanded *-di* by the scribe of **B**, the *n* sometimes seems to denote *-ns*, sometimes *-ndo*, which has left the scribe of **B** at a loss. It would however be quite common that a copyist just copied the abbreviation and left his reader to decide how the endings should be expanded.

Examples from copy **A** of the Flemish types discussed above:

Fol. 19v, **A** xxx:



⁶⁰⁵ Cf. chapter 5. 2, "b2 and B". Codices **A** and **E**, for example, are written in this script (Cf. also UUB MS C 91).



Readings not recorded in the apparatus

In order to make the apparatus of the edition as readable as possible, I have adopted the principle that some particular types of readings, which with all certainty cannot be used as evidence for establishing relations between the manuscripts or to give a reading of the autograph, are not recorded. These particular types of readings are described below. In the cases where a "divergent" way of writing has been consistent, and I have analysed the case in search for a pattern according to what follows:

1. References

References to the *Reuelaciones*, the Bible, theologians, Aristotle and other persons look a bit different in the six manuscripts. To save space, such differences as different word order or omission of some standard word or another have not been recorded, as long as the references in the MSS are to the same passage. The edition gives the reading of **B** as usual. Regarding the references there is a consistent divergence in the manuscript **D(F)**, which in its references to the *Reuelaciones* specifies not only book and chapter, but also column and paragraph in the 1680 edition of the *Reuelaciones*. The references to column and paragraph are not included in the apparatus. The same goes for the full references in **D(F)** to other writings, for example the Bible. For references in the apparatus, the Stuttgart 1969 edition of the Vulgate has been used.⁶⁰⁶

A couple of other characteristic features as regards the references can be observed in the different manuscripts: Copy **A** contains strikingly many incorrect references to the *Reuelaciones*.⁶⁰⁷ **D(F)** consistently uses *capite* instead of *capitulo* – this has not been recorded in the apparatus. The references in **A** and **C** are cut

⁶⁰⁶ *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* / adiuvantibus Bonifatio Fischer ...: recensuit et brevi apparatu instruxit Robertus Weber. Stuttgart 1969.

⁶⁰⁷ Some of the incorrect references were changed by the *corrector* of **A**, others were not, some of them were copied from **E**, the source manuscript of **A**, some were not. It would be interesting to study the work of the corrector more closely, but here is only place to give the incorrect references. They appear in H [xxiii], A xxx, A xxxvi, A xxxix, A xlvi, A xcii, A ciii, A cv, A cxx (perhaps also in A lii and A cx). Corrections of references are made in A lxxiii, A cvi (error), A cxxi, A cxxvii, A cxxviii, A cxxxviii.

short: For example, when **B** gives *In eodem libro* **AC** gives *eodem*, when **B** gives *in eodem capitulo* **AC** gives *eodem*, when **B** gives *89 capitulo* **AC** gives *89*.

As stated in chapter 5. 2, the manuscript **C** lacks references to the *Reuelaciones* in paragraphs A i – H [xxix]. They generally are extant from H [xxix] forward, but the references to certain books (book V and *Sermo Angelicus*) differ from the other manuscripts in wording as well as contents. Since the lack of references in **C** in paragraphs A i – H [xxix] is consistent, I have chosen not to record it in the apparatus. The evidence it forms for analysis of the relations between the manuscripts is discussed in chapter 5. 2. The lack of references after H [xxix] on the other hand, which is sporadic, I have recorded as a divergence in the apparatus.

2. The numbering of paragraphs

From paragraph 5 onwards the scribe of **D** has changed the order of the letter and the numeral, and gives "5 A" and so forth, perhaps to make the number comprehend the answer of "H" also. There is a consistent lack of numbering of paragraphs in **C**.

3. Birgitta/ beata Birgitta/ sancta Birgitta

The six manuscripts name St. Birgitta in different ways. **B**, **A**, **D(F)** and **E** agree in most cases. **C** more often than the others has *beata Birgitta* instead of *Birgitta*.⁶⁰⁸ The reading of **B** is given in the edition and no variants are given in the apparatus.

4. Changes/ corrections

There are a great number of changes meant to be corrections in manuscript **A**, amounting to about 120, orthographical corrections not included. Most of them are of a kind that does not contribute to the discussion about the stemma.⁶⁰⁹ An account of these would lengthen the apparatus unreasonably. Therefore, the corrections, if they have come to agree with the readings of **B**, are not recorded in the apparatus, except in the cases where it is necessary to elucidate difficult text passages or has been used as an indication of a relation between **A** and **E**.⁶¹⁰ Changes or corrections in **C** on the other hand, as **C** is a manuscript especially valuable for the discussion about the transmission of the text, have been recorded. So have the corrections of **D(F)**, which are very few.

⁶⁰⁸ **C** has *beata Birgitta* in 31 out of 69 cases.

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. chapter 5. 2, "The corrector of **A** used **Y** as one source manuscript". The *corrector* of **A** in most cases corrects individual letters in individual words (examples: *saca* to *sacra*, *pronotata* to *prenotata*, *concidit* to *coincidit*, *legists* to *legisti*, *ecitur* to *eicitur*). On some occasions such a correction coincides with a variant reading in some of the other manuscripts. These occasions are, in the case of **B**, **C** and **D(F)**, very few (not more than five per manuscript) and the changes now make the word agree, now disagree with the reading of another manuscript.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. chapter 5. 2, "AE form a group" and the passages following.

5. Transpositions

Transpositions are not recorded unless they consist of three words or more.

6. Dicitur/dicit

There is often disagreement among the manuscripts as to the forms *dicitur* and *dicit*. In places where the words are interchangeable syntactically or are part of a reference to the *Reuelaciones* these differences are not recorded in the apparatus. Regarding *dicitur* / *dicit* we have a consistent divergence in manuscript **D(F)**, which more often has *dicitur* than *dicit*.⁶¹¹

7. Punctuation

The punctuation of the editon is my own. I have refrained from punctuation in the apparatus.

List of abbreviations used in the edition

<i>add.</i>	addidit
<i>cod., codd.</i>	codex, codicis etc
<i>del.</i>	delevit
<i>exp.</i>	expunxit
<i>in.</i>	initialis
<i>ind.</i>	indicavit
<i>lin.</i>	linea, -ae etc.
<i>marg.</i>	margo, -inis etc.
<i>scr.</i>	scripsit
<i>vid.</i>	videtur

⁶¹¹ Dicitur] dicit **D(F)** =24 times; dicit] dicitur **AD(F)** = once; dicit] dicitur **AE** = once; dicitur] dicit **A** = twice. It is sometimes difficult to see which form is meant when the word is abbreviated.

PART II:

Critical edition of *Dyalogus super*
Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte magistri
Heymerici de Campo

DYALOGUS SUPER REUELACIONIBUS BEATE BIRGITTE MAGISTRI HEYMERICI DE CAMPO

SEQUITUR PROHEMIUM ET PROLOGUS IN QUENDAM DYALOGUM DE ET SUPER
ARTICULIS EX LIBRIS REUELACIONUM BEATE BIRGITTE IN CONCILIO
5 BASILIENSI PER QUOSDAM IPSARUM REUELACIONUM EMULOS EXTRACTIS
ET CORAM IUDICE FIDEI DE ERRORE ACCUSATIS, NECNON SUPER QUIBUSDAM
ALIIS DUBIIS CIRCA MATERIAM ARTICULORUM ET REUELACIONUM
HUIUSMODI INCIDENTIBUS INTER A VT DISCIPULUM ET H VT MAGISTRUM
COLLATUM.

10

<PROLOGUS>

1 Porro: Timor est in foribus, ne forte michi, sic vt prefertur, contra
sentencias plerorumque sacre pagine doctorum me seniorum et periciorum
librum Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte iustificanti quisquam obiciat et in
faciem resistat in hac forma: 2 "Tu quis es, qui audes doctrinam
15 presumptuosam, temerariam, scandalosam, sediciosam, nedum piarum
aurium sed et doctissimorum intellectuum offensiuam ac per hoc in domo
sapientie Dei incarnate, que est ecclesia, merito de impietate et falsitate in
fide christiana reprobata suspecta<m> approbare? 3 An quia amore, odio et
proprio commodo, quibus teste Philosopho seducitur iudicium, allectus?
20 An more Balaam ad maledicendum filiis Israel, id est fidelibus veritatis
diuine doctoribus, conductus? An de ingenio sentencie singularis improbe
confisus? An pietate muliebri ad vocem flencium in preceps deflexa
effeminatus?" 4 Quibus inueccionibus ita compellor satisfacere, quod
fateor me tum racione professionis fidei orthodoxe in meo baptismo

11 sic...prefertur] *locum non inveni* 18–19 amore...iudicium] *cf.* AA op. 16, sent. 4
(Aristoteles, Rhetorica I): Amor, odium et proprium commodum saepe faciunt iudicem
non cognoscere verum. 20–21 more...conductus] *cf.* Vulg. Ios 24, 9

3 Sequitur...9 collatum] *Rubrica fortasse ab redactore Vadstenensi inserta (deest C)*
prologus] *verba magistri Heimerici de Campo in marg. add. et inserenda post verbum*
prologus *ind. manu II(?) A* 4 libris Reuelacionum] *li. re. AE libro Reuelacionum D*
8 vt²] *mag post ut del. A* 9 collatum] *familiariter collectum ADE* 10 PROLOGUS]
cum D scripsi, deest ABCE 11 Porro] *orro (littera in. deest) C* | sic...prefertur] *deest*
A 12 plerorumque] *plerumque AE plurium D* 13 quisquam] *quisque C* 14 quis] *qui*
C | audes] *audis AE* 18 suspectam] *scripsi, suspecta ABCDE* 23 compellor] *ex*
compellar in compellor ut vid. B 24 meo] *mee(?) D me E ex me in meo manu II A*

spiritualiter genite, in mea confirmacione roborate et in meo ordine sacerdotali per officium coniuncte sibi animarum cure ad propagacionem eius ewangelicam ordinate necnon ratione suscepti gradus in sacra pagina doctoralis iureiurando speciali obligati ad defensionem fidei salutaris et impugnacionem cuiuslibet doctmatis huic fidei offendiculum obicientis multipliciter teneri nec posse huiusmodi debitum per qualencumque dissimulacionem sinistram sine periculo mee salutis eterne transgredi. **5** Fateor eciam, quod non caret scrupulo suspicionis temerarie velle senioribus et pericioribus contradicere. De quibus scriptum est, quod *in antiquis est sapiencia* et quod preceptum est iuueni *in medio seniorum ne adicias loqui sed sta et sapiencie eorum ex corde coniungere*. **6** Fateor preterea, quod nedum doctrina formaliter infidelis et heretica sed eciam queuis alia edificacioni corporis Christi mistici in pace, fide et moribus noxia est in religione christiana inutilis et illicita ac ex hoc repudio digna et per consequens doceri aut scribi prohibenda. **7** Fateor denique, quod, si prece, precio, amore vel timore inductus a iudicio sano voluntarie declinarem, nedum simpliciter redargui ymmo et de fauore doctrine suspecte reus comprobari iuste possem. A qua ignominie nota meam, vt confido, in predictis interrogatoriis innocenciam seruabit illesam Dei gracia, militum sue veritatis salutifere protectrix et liberatrix indubia. **8** Attamen, ne sic quasi tacite reus videar laqueos predictae redargucionis velle sine responsione euidenti effugere, satagam prefate absurditati obiecte per modum dyalogi inter A et H collati familiariter omnibus intelligibilis respondere.

9–10 in...sapiencia] Vulg. Iob 12,12 10–11 in...loqui] Vulg. Sir 11, 8 (seniorum: sermonum Vulg.) 11 sta...coniungere] Vulg. Sir 6, 35

1 mea] ea C 2 sibi] videlicet D 4 iureiurando] iurisiurando AE | obligati] scripsi obligate ABCDE 8 eciam] ACDE enim B 11 adicias loqui] adicias est loqui C 13 fide] fidei C 14 ac...consequens] in marg B 15 doceri aut] doceri et ADE 16 inductus a] inductus aut C 19 interrogatoriis] terrogatoriis C 22 euidenti] euidente D | satagam] satagauit A | prefate...obiecte] ACDE prefati absurditati obiecti B 23 collati] ex collati(?) in collecti A 24 intelligibilis] intelligibiliter C

<DYALOGUS>

A i: Quis te fascinavit a sententia seniorum librum "De Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte" intitulatum velut illusionibus dyabolicis plenum reprobatum approbando deuiare?

5 **H:** Licet a quibusdam doctoribus ipsum perfunctorie sine maturo examine percurrentibus videatur in certis passibus iuxta corruptum littere, quam forsitan viderunt incorrectam, tenorem potius mendax et illusorius quam verax et catholicus, **2** tamen conferenti fideliter textum textui et litteram correctam cum studio digesto percunctanti non apparet alicubi tam
10 absonus, quin possit reduci ad consonanciam catholice veritatis, prout patet ex iudicio famosissimorum sacre pagine doctorum post diuturnum examen ipsis in hoc concilio Basiliensi vna mecum mutuis commissum colloquiis et deinde propriis suis scriptis digestum et resolutum.

A ii: Quomodo, queso, id non vereris conicere, cum videatur
15 creaturam Creatori equiparare dicens libro viii capitulo xlvi ubilibet Dei matrem cum Patre, Filio et Spiritu sancto inseparabiliter ingredi seu circumincedere?

H: Illud dictum est superius non intelligi essentialiter et absolute sed obiectaliter et correlatiue.

20 **A iii:** Ymmo videtur intelligi essentialiter et per se, ex quo libro viii capitulo lvi visam insinuat hanc matrem sub tipo virginis coronate cum agno, id est suo Filio, in eucharistia, vbi creatura transsubstanciatur in esse increatum, sedere.

15–17 ubilibet...circumcedere] cf. Reu. VIII, 47, 30-32 18–19 Illud...correlatiue] cf. Declaraciones, art. 72 (UUB MS C 518 fol. 131r-131v) 21–23 visam...sedere] cf. Reu. VIII, 56, 75

1 DYALOGUS] cum **D** scripsi, deest **ABCE** 2 Quis] vis (littera in. deest) **C** seniorum] senioris **C** 3 Reuelacionibus beate] Reuelacionibus celestibus **AE** Reuelacionibus celestibus beate **CD** 4 approbando] ex approbando in approbando **A** deest **C** approbando **E** 7 quam...incorrectam] quam forsitan viderunt et correctam (ex fuerunt in viderunt) **C** 9 digesto] digesti **ADE** digeste **C** | alicubi] alicui **C** 12 mutuis...colloquiis] **ADE** commissis colloquiis mutuis **B** commissum mutuis colloquiis **C** 14 vereris] verearis **D** 15 ubilibet] videlicet **ADE** 18 est...intelligi] non debet intelligi (ex saper...?) non in non debet) **A** | et absolute] deest **D** | sed] et **C** 19 obiectaliter et] obiectaliter **ACDE** 22 suo] cum suo **ADE** | transsubstanciatur] transsubstanciabatur **D**

H: Huiusmodi consessionis apparencia fuit simbolica non representans inuisibilem panis supersubstantialis essenciam sed relatiuam sue originis temporalis dependenciam, vtputa quod huiusmodi panis transsubstanciatur in Christi carnem de Virgine iam glorificata in celo temporaliter et visibiliter natam.

5

A iiiii: Non sic poteris euadere, cum in eodem libro profiteatur Birgitta hoc esse verum Deum et hominem, quod vidit in manu sacerdotis (libro ii capitulo xvii) per hoc innuens illud esse transsubstanciaturum fore visibile.

H: Si hoc intelligeret de re consecrata, tamquam de sensibili per se, non diceret in loco alio eiusdem libri (libro vi xxix capitulo) sacramentum eucharistie sensum latere. Intelligit itaque illud de sensibili per accidens sub speciebus per se visibilibus contento.

10

A v: Hec euasio non videtur interpretari eius mentem vniuersaliter, cum dicat in eodem libro, quod malo sacerdote applicante eucharistiam ad os recedit Christus et manet sola species panis (libro iiiii capitulo lxi et post iiiii in Reuelacione "Mater Dei loquebatur: 'Sic auidi'" etc).

15

H: Per hoc non vult intelligere substantialem sed effectuaalem veritatis consecrate disporenciam, eo modo quo dicit Apostolus, quod indigne manducans iudicium manducat, vtputa, quod sumpcio eucharistie est vita bonis et mors malis.

20

A vi: Ymmo videtur illud intelligere de disporencia rei consecrate substantiali, cum dicat alibi, quod mali sacerdotes perdiderunt clauem regni celorum (in Reuelacione post iiiii "Ego sum quasi homo decessurus"),

7 hoc...sacerdotis] cf. Reu. II, 17, 2 11-12 sacramentum...latere] cf. Reu. VI, 29, 7
15-16 malo...panis] cf. Reu. IV, 61, 19 et Reu. IV, 133, 21sq
20 indigne...manducat] cf. Vulg. I Cor 11, 29 23-24 mali...celorum] cf. Reu. IV, 132, 5

2 supersubstantialis] substantialis ADE | essenciam] essencia C 3 panis
transsubstanciatur] transsubstanciabatur D 4 iam glorificata] glor. iam C 7 manu]
manibus C 8 illud esse] id est C 10 intelligeret] intelligeretur D 15 malo] a malo
ADE 16 lxi] vi A 17 Reuelacione] extrauagan. AE ex ? in Reuelacione manu II B
(deest C) extrauagante D | loquebatur] loquitur AE 22 videtur...175,1 sacerdotalem]
deest C | illud] id est AE 24 Reuelacione] extrauagan. AE ex ? in Reuelacione manu II
B (deest C) extrau. D | decessurus] discessurus AE (deest C) discessurus D

que, quia consequitur characterem sacerdotalem, videtur non posse tolli sine potestate consecrandi.

H: Ex quo clavis est auctoritas sciencie et potestatis ecclesiastice officandi, eo modo dicitur "clausperdi", quo opus frustratum a fine
5 intento appellatur "officiperdi". Iuxta quem modum loquendi dicit propheta: *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium* et fornicantur abs te et Dominus Ezechielis xxviii: "*Perdidi te o cherub.*" **2** Que perditio boni finaliter utilis non inducit exterminium veritatis rei substantialis aut boni formalis, cuiusmodi est misterium consecracionis dependens ab efficacia
10 carecteristica ordinis sacerdotalis, que, cum sit signaculum christiforme et indelibile, manet equipotenter indifferens in bonis et malis sacerdotibus, quemadmodum dicta Birgitta euidenter fatetur in alio loco.

A vii: Errare videris improbe, siquidem experimur vniuersalitem potestatis, que confertur cuilibet sacerdoti tempore sue ordinacionis ad
15 ligandum et soluendum atque omni creature ewangelizandum, in bonis sacerdotibus, ne exorbitent, restringi, quare videtur in malis merito suspendi et irritari. Aut certe consimiliter poterit potestas consecratiua limitari.

H: Quia teste Apostolo nichil possumus aduersus veritatem et credita
20 est ministris ecclesie dispensacio sui ministerii ad sui et aliorum vtilitatem in ecclesie edificacionem, ideo exigit immobilis verborum sacramentalium veritas illud vere consecrari, quod secundum intencionem Christi et ecclesie contigerit eisdem verbis obiectaliter applicari, ex quo per mutuam actiui et sui proprii passiui applicacionem necessario sequitur accio. **2**
25 Exigit eciam variabilis secundum condiciones temporum, loci et personarum ecclesie vtilitas et ordinata sue prouidencie regalis iusticia

5 officiperdi] cf. Gl. Isid. 6 Perdes...mendacium] Vulg. Ps 5, 7 (iuxta LXX) | et!...te] cf. Ps. 72, 27 (iuxta LXX) 7 Perdidi...cherub] Vulg. Ez 28, 16 11 manet...sacerdotibus] cf. Reu. VII, 7, 17 19 nichil...veritatem] cf. Vulg. II Cor 13, 8

1 consequitur] sequitur ADE 4 fine] ex fide in fine C 5 officiperdi] officio perdi CD | quem modum] quemadmodum C 6 propheta] deest C | fornicantur] qui fornicantur ACDE | abs] ab E 7 Ezechielis xxviii] ACDE Ezechielis etcetera B 8 exterminium] ACDE exterminum B | veritatis] veri C 14 que] ex quo in que A quo E 15 ewangelizandum] ADE ewangelizandi BC 16 videtur] cum D scripsi, videntur ABCE 17 et] aut D | Aut] A C | consimiliter] similiter ADE 19 Apostolo] amplo C 22 illud] id ADE 23 contigerit] contingerit C 24 proprii] deest C 25 temporum] temporis ADE 26 ordinata] ordinaria D | regalis] legalis D

dictam clauium penitencie et legis plenitudinem passim sine circumstanciarum particularium fine, in quibus teste Aristotele est actus moderamen, non debere exsequi sed, vt dicit Apostolus: *Omnia honeste et secundum ordinem* fieri. **3** Quod perpendens Birgitta in quodam loco, scilicet libro vi capitulo lxxi, vbi loquitur de hac sacerdotali plenitudine, subdit preiudicium ecclesie debere caueri. 5

A viii: Si hec fuisset fides Birgitte, non dixisset libro vii capitulo vii papam fidelem, siue sit bonus siue malus, plenitudinem potestatis habuisse, cum contingat eum hac inutiliter in destruccionem ecclesie fungi et ita ecclesiam per suum papale ministerium preiudicium, quod eadem Birgitta dicit fore cauendum, pati. 10

H: Sicut Christus est gracia et veritate sacerdocii regalis plenus principaliter, sic exigit monarchia ecclesiastica esse plenitudinem apostolicam seu ministerialem in summo et generali Christi sue ecclesie militanti visibiliter absentis vicario. **2** Que, vt conformetur legi regali et sacerdotali sui principis, eget sacris Spiritus sancti dirigi et moderari canonibus in via regia pacis, iusticie et veritatis. Contra que tria non potest quicquam Christus noster, lapis angularis seu rex pacificus, actor fidei siue magister celestis et sanctus sanctorum, sol iusticie; quantum eius vicarius, qui more instrumenti vtitur sub auctoritate sui principalis rectoris. 15
3 Nisi enim sic ipsa Birgitta intellexisset huiusmodi plenitudinem debere boniformiter restringi, non dixisset in quodam alio passu sui libri, scilicet libro vii capitulo x, non posse post insinuatam cuidam pape voluntatis diuine de continencia sacerdotali in antea seruanda prouidenciam ipsis 20

1-3 sine...moderamen] *cf.* Beda, Pars prima, Sectio 2. Sectio prima. Sententiae ex Aristotele collectae. "Cuius finis bonum est, ipsum quoque bonum est." *et* AA op. 36, sent. 45 (Aristoteles, Topica III) 3-4 Omnia...ordinem] Vulg. I Cor 14, 40
5-6 de...caueri] *cf.* Reu. VI, 71, 1 8-9 papam...habuisse] *cf.* Reu. VII, 7, 15
10-11 preiudicium...cauendum] *cf.* Reu. VI, 71, 1 *cum* declaracio
23-177,1 non...indulgeri] *cf.* Reu. VII, 10, 16-18

1 passim sine] passiu siue AE 2 fine] *cum* D *scripsi*, *deest* ABCE 3 non] ACD *et* non B 4 fieri] *deest* ADE 8 papam] papam (qui non iudicatus est) A papam (glossa: qui non iudicatus est) D papam (qui non iudicatus est) glossa (glossa *in marg.*) E | siue malus] siue sit malus ADE 9 eum] eam A | destruccionem] detraccionem A 15 Que vt] quo vt C | legi] lege AE 18 siue] seu AE sui C 19 magister] magistri C 20 more] ministri *post* more *del.* B 22 boniformiter] vniformiter D 24 antea] ecclesia D

sacerdotibus coniugium per sedem apostolicam indulgeri, ex quo seruus tenetur sui domini et non suam propriam exsequi voluntatem.

5 **A ix:** In hoc videtur errare a fide ecclesie, que tenet matrimonium carnale non esse prohibitum sacerdotibus a iure diuino ymmo esse indultum a canone Pauli apostolico.

10 **H:** Eodem Paulo suadente et exhortante emulanda sunt carismata meliora vacandi Deo et tollendi offendicula proximi aperciora. Ergo sicut illud "non nubere", quod fuit tempore Pauli consilium, fiebat auctoritate apostolica Calixti diuinitus instructi preceptum, ita post hoc tempus non
15 currit libere ipsius pape contra hanc institutionem dispensandi arbitrium, 2 sicut non potest indulgencias (de quibus in Reuelacione post iiii "Filius Dei loquitur 'Qui habet glomeracionem'" etc) auctoritate immediata Christi concessas restringere, suspendere vel irritare sine familiari consilio Spiritus sancti, cui proprium est distribuere gracias salutari ecclesie edificacioni necessarias.

A x: Allegare inconueniens non est soluere et inducere anxiomata non est difficultati propositae satisfacere sed eam magis confundere et inuoluere. Dic ergo plane et cathogorice, si liceat pape et vniuersali concilio castimoniam sacerdotalem ad prisca coniugia relaxare?

20 **H:** Iam respondi vobis ex intencione Birgitte (libro vii capitulo x), quod stante veritate reuelacionis diuine de abstinentia nupciali: Minime!

A xi: Nonne stante hac voluntate creditum est pape et ecclesie in casu particulari contra eandem dispensare?

25 **H:** Non est hoc magis dubium, quam quod experimur in dies per ecclesie Romane consuetudinem tacite dispensari contra illud, quod quidam aiunt preceptum Christi et Apostoli de communionem calicis et panis eucharistie, in casibus particularibus epykeyie iustificantis

6-7 emulanda...meliora] cf. Vulg. I Cor 12, 31 7 vacandi...aperciora] cf. Vulg. Sir 17, 22-23 11 indulgencias] cf. Reu. IV, 137, 5 21 stante...Minime] cf. H [viii] et Reu. VII, 10, 16sq

2 suam...voluntatem] propriam exsequi voluntatem suam C 7 tollendi] tollenda AE proximi aperciora] ADE Christi apciora B proximi apciora C 8 Pauli] apostoli Pauli D 11 non] nec ACDE | Reuelacione] extrauagan. AE ex ? in Reuelacione manu II B (deest C) extrauagante D 16 anxiomata...magis] in marg. manu II A, eam deest ACE axiomata ... magis (eam deest) D 19 prisca] pristina C 20 intencione] interrogacione ADE 22 Nonne] non C 24 quod] deest C 26 quidam] quedam C

huiusmodi formam imminenti periculo veri et boni salutarium ecclesie. Que quidem dispensacio non est aliud quam dicti precepti, cui videtur formaliter derogare, finalis interpretacio.

A xii: Bohemizas impie dicens communionem eucharistie sub specie duplici de precepto Christi et Apostoli fuisse. 5

H: Estimo, quod si ita intelligerent huiusmodi dictum esse preceptum Bohemi, vt ego, non possent notari de errore aliquo. Siquidem ego pie credo huiusmodi dictum non proprie fuisse preceptum sed fuisse pocius docma veridicum ad edificacionem et nutricionem ecclesie in fide et moribus datum et ex hoc, dum communitas, ad quam preceptiua lex respicit, occasione speciei gemine cecidit in infirmitatem fidei et cautele debite irreuerenciam, subtrahenda erat illa occasionalis dicti periculi species liquida a plebeis in remedium huiusmodi offendiculorum salutare. 10
2 Nec puto illud fuisse preceptum seu docma cathegoricum sed enunciacionem seu insinuacionem ypotheticam pro tempore et loco et a personis ydoneis salubriter adimplendam. In signum cuius Apostolus illis predicat eterne mortis iudicium, qui presumunt accedere indigne ad hoc sacrosanctum mense dominice refectionem. 15

A xiii: Non sit tibi molestum ita in hoc dyalogo sentencie aliene interpretem ad iudicium sentencie proprie diuertisse! 20

H: Quia sic me inauisatum tentasti et a proposito disgrede coegisti, nolo hanc interpositam responsionis proprie sentenciam reputari diffinitiuam sed dumtaxat gracia exempli pro elucidacione dispensacionis quesite, sicut primo aspectu michi ex ypothesi opinionis aliene occurrit, introductam. **2** Siquidem illud non alia ratione dicitur "preceptum", quam quomodo iudicium discipline siue doctrina veritatis regularis solet dici "artis preceptum" secundum Tullium. 25

16-18 illis...refectorium] cf. Vulg. I Cor 11, 29 27 artis preceptum] cf. Cicero, De oratore 2, 157-158.

1 imminenti] inruenti(?) D innuenti AE 2 dicti] deest ACDE
6 dictum...preceptum] scriptum C 8 credo...edificacionem] credo huiusmodi opinatum preceptum ad edificacionem C 9 docma] veritatis post docma del. B
10 datum] fuisse datum C 14 seu docma] deest C 15 seu insinuacionem] deest C
16 adimplendam] ex adimplendum(?) in adimplendam B adimplendum ACDE 19 ita] ita te C
21 inauisatum] inauisarum C 24 occurrit] ACDE occurrat B
25 introductam] introductum C | Siquidem...27 Tullium] deest C

A xiiii: Si virtus consistit in medio, et Sapiens dicat: Noli esse nimis iustus, non videtur qualiter extrema impossibiliaque Christi, angelorum, Dyaboli et animarum, que fuerunt in lybo, amoris et doloris testimonia in dicto libro hincinde, sicut satis patet ex suprahabitis, descripta possunt astrui doctrine celestis eloquia.

H: Fateor, quod non ab re dicitur prouerbialiter: *Omne, quod est nimium, vertitur in vicium*, quodque lex, ars et virtus, pro eo, quod dependent ab eleccione, sunt respectu possibilium (loquendo de eis, vt sunt) habitus naturales et acquisiti; **2** secus est de affectionibus caritatis supernaturalis et odii sibi finaliter oppositi, quia affectiones caritatis transcendunt posse mensuratum nature et suspendunt animum ad gratuita eligibilia bonitatis Dei infinite iuxta illud: *Concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini*. Et per contrarium affectiones odii dyabolici se extendunt ad impossibilia eligibilia liberi arbitrii a summo bono finaliter auersi.

A xv: Valde absurdum est et, sicut testatur magister sententiarum ex sententia Augustini, impium videtur spiritus creatos in principio sue creacionis bonorum et malorum futurorum prescios fuisse, prout innuit beata Birgitta, dum inquit in sermone angelico capitulo iiii angelos bonos futuram supra se beate Marie gloriam exultanter preuidisse, demones vero cuiusdam futuram militis peccatoris iniquitatem cum affectu pene prenouisse (libro vii capitulo xiii).

H: Si fuerunt ab inicio plenitudine sciencie preediti, vt testatur Ezechiel de cherub, eo modo, quo actor libri causarum dicit intelligencias esse formis plenas, formis, inquam, intelligibilibus ordinis vniuersi futuri prenosticis, quid prohibet huiusmodi pleniformem futurorum bonorum et

1-2 Noli...iustus] cf. Vulg. Ecl 7, 17 6-7 Omne...vicium] WP, T. 3, p. 587
12-13 Concupiscit...Domini] Vulg. Ps 83, 3 (iuxta LXX) 16-17 impium...fuisse] cf.
Augustinus De Genesi, lib. 11, par. 17 - 19 et Petrus Lombardus, Sententiae in IV
libris distinctae lib. 2, dist 4, cap. 2-3. 18-21 angelos...prenouisse] cf. Reu. SA 4,
10-17 et Reu. VII, 13, 31 22 fuerunt...preediti] *locum non inveni*
23-24 intelligencias...plenas] cf. AA op. 11, sent. 10 (Anonymus, Liber de causis IX)

2 non] ne C | extrema] extrema AE | impossibiliaque] ex impossibiliaque in
impossibiliaque A incompassibilia C impossibiliaque DE 4 in] ex AD
6 ab...prouerbialiter] ab re prouerbialiter dicitur AE abreprobaliter dicitur C abs re
prouerbialiter dicitur D 8 eleccione] elcione E 10 oppositi] ex appositi in oppositi A
12 deficit] defecit C 16 Augustini] Augustinus C 17 futurorum...fuisse] prescios
fuisse futurorum ADE 21 prenouisse] preuidisse ADE 25 prenosticis quid]
prenostitis quam(?) C | pleniformem] plenitudinem ADE

malorum prescenciam fuisse in huiusmodi spiritibus nedum in plenitudine donorum naturalium sed eciam datorum gratuitorum conditis?

A xvi: Illud prohibet contraria Augustini sententia, que dicit sapienciam esse fructum pietatis. Cui pietati repugnat quemquam sue miserie future prescium fuisse, cum hec prescencia induxisset desperationem aut saltem tristicie penam ante peccatum.

H: Dicit Philosophus ii topicorum, quod contingit simul plura scire, sed tantum vnum intelligere, per hoc innuens, quod est duplex actus sciencie, scilicet primus, qui est habitualis exigens nil aliud quam formam intelligibilem rei scibilis habere, et secundus, qui est sciencia vti, id est per actualem consideracionem se supra scibile conuertere. **2** Vult ergo Augustinus angelos non fuisse prescios sui casus prescencia actualis consideracionis, quam sequitur affeccio tristicie, sed prescencia habitualis racionum intelligendi prehabicionis.

A xvii: Si spiritus boni et mali fuissent ita omnium futurorum prescii, non proficerent cotidie in cognicione experimentalis.

H: Ymmo nocionalis de tali habitu ad actum consideracionis exitus est in illis, sicut fuit in primo homine innocente et Christo profectus sciencie experimentalis, quam sibi inuicem communicant per exercicium collocucionis.

A xviii: Ergo Christus non fuisset ab inicio sue concepcionis plenus gracie et veritatis?

H: Absit hoc sentire contra dictamen Iohannis ewangeliste sed teste eodem cum hac veritatis plenitudine stat ipsum in sapiencia profecisse eo modo, quo thesaurus absconditus proficit in suorum occultorum reuelacione. Ex quo, secundum eloquium Apostoli, in Christo Ihesu fuerunt *omnes thesauri sciencie et sapiencie absconditi*.

4 sapienciam...pietatis] *cf.* Augustinus De Genesi, lib. 11, par. 23
7-8 contingit...intelligere] *cf.* AA op. 36, sent. 34 (Aristoteles, Topica II)
27 omnes...absconditi] Vulg. Col 2, 3

1 prescenciam] prescencie **D** **3** prohibet] perhibet **AE** | que] qui **D** **10** habere] haberi **C** | id est] scilicet **C** **13** affeccio] affliccio **D** **14** prehabicionis] prehibicionis **C** **15** futurorum] bonorum **C** **17** de] **ACDE** dicitur **B** **18** fuit...innocente] in primo homine innocente fuit **ADE** **19** experimentalis] expimentalis **A** **25** suorum] absconditorum *post* suorum *del.* **B** **26** reuelacione] reuelacionem **CD**

A xix: Si ignorancia est malum pene consequens reatum culpe, non potest sane dici Christum omnis peccati expertem fuisse quomodolibet ignorantem.

H: Verum est, proprie loquendo de ignorancia, que opponitur
5 habituali sciencie; sed constat ex multis sacrorum ewangeliorum testimoniis ipsum ex auditu et visu multa sibi prius actualiter incognita didicisse atque hoc modo futurum iudicium nesciuisse.

A xx: Non est verisimile, quod demon, qui est expers gracie, potuisset caritatis Christi ad beatam Birgittam conscius testis fuisse (libro primo
10 capitulo xxxiiii), ex quo sicut nichil videtur sine lumine, ita carismata gracie non possunt videri nisi in lumine gracie.

H: Verum est, loquendo de visione propria a priori et per se, eo quod teste Apostolo omne, quod hoc modo videtur, lumen est. Cui non obstat,
15 quin Dyabolus ex signo verisimili, cuiusmodi respectu caritatis fuit filum igniformiter aureum, quod cernebat a Christo in pectus beate Birgitte descendisse, potuerit testimonium de huiusmodi caritate experiencie coniecturalis habuisse.

A xxi: Hoc videtur a sententia textus prefati libri beate Birgitte delirare, in quo ponitur tunc tenebrosus cor demonis illuminatum fuisse
20 (libro i capitulo xxxiiii), ergo et sic dictam caritatem in lumine vidisse.

H: Id ipsa intelligit de lumine experimentalis noticie, quomodo illuminabantur oculi, quibus Adam et Eua se videbant post peccatum nudos fuisse.

A xxii: Si Deus vult suos ministros honorari, non videtur fuisse
25 reuelacionis diuine dictamen laycos contra clerum excitare, clerum diffamare et eius maliciam omni statui maligno, tam mundano quam infernali, detestabiliter postergare, sicut constat in dicto libro contineri (libro i capitulo lv et in Reuelacionibus post iiii).

8-9 demon...fuisse] cf. Reu. I, 34, 24 13 omne...est] cf. Vulg. Eph 5, 13
14-16 filum...descendisse] cf. Reu. I, 34, 9 19 tunc...fuisse] cf. Reu. I, 34, 24
25-27 laycos...postergare] cf. Reu. I, 55, 17sq et I, 56,7-29 (especially 17), further Reu. IV, *fortasse totam partem "de sacerdotibus"* = lib. IV, cap. 132-136

6 incognita] inkongnita E 14 verisimili] visibili D 16 de] Dei A ex Dei in de E
19 delirare] declinare D 21 Id] illud AE | quomodo] quo D 24 Deus] supra lin. B
25 clerum!] clericos D 28 Reuelacionibus] extrauagan. AE ex ? in Reuelacione manu II, in Reuelacionibus manu III(?) B (deest C) extrauag. D

H: Fateor nemini inferiori licere auctoritate propria suum superiorem, cui secundum legem diuinam debet obedienciam, timorem et honorem, verbis, scriptis aut factis irreuereri dicente Petro apostolorum principe: "Serui subditi estote dominis vestris quamuis discolis". **2** Tamen docet me multipharia viciorum cleri per prophetica Dei oracula increpacio, quod mulier layca diuinitus inspirata potuit esse organum Dei per eam detestantis et increpantis vicia cleri. Nec tamen legi in dicto libro laycos contra clerum concitari sed, vt congruebat Christo, qui sine acceptione personarum voluit omnes homines saluos fieri quemlibet statum, a religione sibi debita deuium exprobrari.

A xxiii: Valde inconstantem, quod non decet veritatis immobilis professorem te sencio, cum alias, quando extracti ex dicto libro articuli tibi fuerunt ostensi, eos suspectos plurimum habuisti, quos in hiis et supradictis tuis scriptis a nota infidelitatis et scandali defendere studuisti!

H: Decet timoratum pietatis fidei salutaris scrutatorem in auditu aut visu quorumlibet nouorum articulorum pias simplicium aures offendencium tam diu admirari, dubitare et suspensam in suspicione alicuius impietatis tenere sentenciam, donec clare luceat, quod prima facie sub velamine verborum incorrectorum aut imperfectorum latebat. **2** Vidi quippe plerosque articulos, salua reuerencia extractoris, contra euidenciam dicti libri textum et eius fidelem sentenciam elicitos, quos, priusquam vidissem sue extraccionis passus, detestabar et reprobos arbitrabar, donec ipsos per antecedencia et consequencia sui textus emendatos negare catholicos nequaquam potui.

A xxiiii: Qui fuerunt illi articuli?

4 Serui...discolis] *cf.* Vulg. I Pt 2, 18

1 Fateor] *ex* fateo *in* fateor *manu* II B | suum] quando C 3 irreuereri] irreueri C
4 subditi] *ex* subdite *in* subditi B 5 cleri] *deest* A | Dei] *deest* D 8 concitari] incitari
D | acceptione] excepcione ADE 10 religione] religionem A 16 simplicium]
supplicium C 19 imperfectorum] perfectorum C 20 quippe] *deest* C
23 consequencia] sequencia ADE

H: Primus est in sermone angelico capitulo iiiii, qui recitat demones in puncto sue creacionis cecidisse, secundus in sermone angelico capitulo xi, qui refert Filium Dei magis a Patre separatum quando Virgo eum corporaliter peperit, quam quando Pater eum sine corpore generavit,

 5 tercius in sermone angelico capitulo xx, qui dicit, quod demones vellent pocius omnes penas infernales pati, quam contradicere aliquibus preceptis Virginis, quartus libro primo in capitulo lv dicens militares aduersus clerum concitari, quintus libro iiiii in capitulo cxxix, quod credere mandatis Dei, honorare sacramenta ecclesie et dolere de peccatis sunt consilia

 10 etcetera. **2** Nam in primo horum articulorum omittitur ille terminus "inceperunt", quo ibidem posito articulus esset verus. Siquidem Dyabolus ab inicio in veritate non stetit, id est in puncto sue creacionis naturaliter et gratuite innocentis apostatare cepit. In secundo omittitur illa negacio "non" inducens sensum oppositum cum ibi vere ponatur, quod Filius Dei per

 15 incarnationem non magis recessit a Patre. In tercio non dicitur hoc de demonibus sed de angelis. **3** In quarto non reprehenduntur curiales, quia non corrigunt peruersum clerum sed eos qui violant ecclesiasticam cleri libertatem, et quintus articulus non intelligitur de consiliis ewangelicis sed sapienter exhortatoriis, vnde scriptum est: Non peribit consilium a sapiente

 20 (Ier. xviii). Pari modo nonnulli articuli alii, forsitan propter incorreccionem textus exemplaris, inueniuntur impertinenter et infideliter extracti.

1–2 demones...cecidisse] *cf.* Reu. SA 4, 4 *et infra*, A cxli 3–4 Filium...generavit] *cf.* Reu. SA 11, 20 *et infra*, A cxlv 5–7 demones...Virginis] *cf.* Reu. SA 20, 6 *et infra* A cxlvii 7–8 militares...concitari] *cf.* Reu. I, 55, 17-18 *et supra*, A xxii *et infra*, A liiii 8–9 credere...consilia] *cf.* Reu. IV, 129, 67sq *et infra*, A lxxix 19 Non...sapiente] *cf.* Ier 18,18

1 Primus...4 generavit] primus est in sermone angelico cap iiiii qui refert filium Dei magis a patre separatum quando Virgo eum corporaliter peperit quam quando eum Pater sine corpore generavit secundus in sermone angelico cap iiiii qui recitat demones in principio sue creacionis cecidisse **D** | qui] que **C** **2** puncto] principio **AE** **7** quartus] quartus est **D** **8** cxxix] lxix **A** *ex capitulo C29 in capitulo iC29 manu II B* (*deest C*) 69 **E** **10** omittitur...15 Patre] omittitur illa negacio non inducens sensum oppositum cum ibi vere ponatur quod filius Dei non magis a Patre separatus est etc in secundo omittitur ille terminus ceperunt quo ibidem posito articulus esset verus siquidem Dyabolus ab inicio in veritate non stetit id est in puncto sue creacionis naturaliter et gratuite innocentis apostotare cepit **D** **11** ibidem] ibi **C** **12** stetit] steti **C** **17** cleri] *deest ADE* **18** non] non *post* non *del.* **B** | sed...20 xviii] *deest ACDE* **20** alii] alii sunt **C** **21** impertinenter] impertinenter false **C**

A xxv: Nondum me simpliciter quietasti, ex quo ipsa Birgitta profitetur suas Reuelaciones esse claras et faciles, quas tamen, sicut satis liquet ex prehabitis suorum interpretum iudicii contrariis, constat quoad plura earum dicta esse valde obscuras.

H: Commune prouerbum est, quod ex improuiso fallitur omnis homo, eo quod teste Philosopho *difficile est simul multa conspicere* et festinacio seu precipitacio iudicii est occasio false sentencie. Quid ergo mirum, si eiusdem professionis magistri circa eandem materiam, quam illi vident diffuse, mature et resolutorie, isti vero raptim, fractim et transitorie, reperiuntur in suis iudiciis equiuoci? Siquidem talis equiuocacio accidit in eiusdem hominis iudicio. 5 10

A xxvi: In quo ergo stat finalis tua sententia?

H: Quia librum dictarum Reuelacionum studiose perlegi et articulos inde extractos pluries reuolui et vna cum textu, vnde sunt extracti, fidelius, quo potui, examinaui nec aliquem articulum inuenerim a veritate rationis naturalis aut legis diuine simpliciter dissonum, **2** non audeo os meum in celum ponere et dictas Reuelaciones tamquam illusorias exsecrare, ne videar legem timoris, qui est inicium sapiencie et humilitatis (de qua scriptum est, quod *vbi humilitas ibi sapiencia*) contra Dei in sua sancta honorem transgredi et sub specie pietatis impius inscrutabilium diuinorum iudex seu presumptuosus temerariusque interpres redargui. 15 20

A xxvii: Queso, dic michi, si dicta Birgitta fuit vera theologa?

H: Ita estimo ex eo, quod scriptum est, quod sapiencia *in animas sanctas se transfert, prophetas et amicos Dei constituit* (Sapiencie vii), quodque *theologia est triplex, scilicet mistica, simbolica et philosophica* (Dyonysius ad Titum) et quod agnicio veritatis in spem vite eterne est a 25

5-6 ex...homo] WP, vol. 1, p. 1046 6 difficile...conspicere] AA op. 37, sent. 16
(Aristoteles, De sophisticis elenchis I) 19 vbi...sapiencia] Vulg. Prv 11, 2
23-24 in...constituit] Vulg. Sap 7, 27 25 theologia...philosophica] cf. Dionysius,
Epistula 9 (ad Titum). pag. 637 colon. 1sq (sec. Hilduinum et Johannem Scotum)
26-185,1 agnicio...manifestata] cf. Vulg. Tit 1, 1-3

3 liquet] liquit A | suorum] suarum C 4 earum] eorum ADE 6 et festinacio] est
festinacio C 9 mature] matute C 15 inuenerim] inuenirem C inueni D
16 simpliciter] similiter(?) C 18 timoris] terminorum C | qui] que ADE 19 quod]
deest ADE 20 honorem] honore C 25 quodque] quod quia C | scilicet] deest ADE
26 ad] et C | Titum] deest C Timotheum D | et...manifestata] deest C

Deo per Filium suum manifestata (Titi i), quin eciam, quod spiritus Filii, per quem Filius docet omnem veritatem, constituit filios adoptionis, clamans in eis: Abba, Pater! **2** Ergo: Cum vnusquisque talis sit in modo sciendi qualia dicit, illa vere est censenda theologa, cuius doctrina purgat affectum, illuminat intellectum et deformat voluntatem instruens perfectos et spirituales homines mystice, imperfectos symbolicè et rationis capaces persuasive seu philosophice de hiis, que ordinant spem nostram ad vitam eternam et ordinant caritatem nostram in finale Patris celestis obsequium. **3** Talia autem patet seriose intuenti dicte Birgitte per lumen inspirationis diuine sanctificate, spiritu prophetico illuminate et per amorem singularem Christo desponsate fore dicta et scripta in libro suarum Reuelacionum celestium contenta. Ergo reputo eam fidelem sapientie Dei salutaris discipulam et per consequens veram theologam.

A xxviii: Vt hoc confidenter intelligam, opus est, vt quosdam extractos ex illo libro articulos de errore accusatos per ordinem proponam tuamque eorundem ab hac nota defensionem audiam succincte.

H: Si bene vidisses prenotata vicissim ad declaracionem huiusmodi articulorum accumulata, non renouares meum laborem illis nichil aut parum noui superadditurum, presertim, vt vitares fastidium ex iteratione eiusdem dicti preter necessaria verisimiliter oriturum dicente Philosopho quod *conturbat audientem, quod frequenter dicitur*.

A xxix: Scis ex sententia eiusdem Philosophi, quod in disputatione obuiatiua siue contradictorie ad hominem problematica quedam falsa sunt quibusdam veris probabiliora, quare nedum bene sed videri bene dicere est in huiusmodi disputatione necessarium et perutile. Licet ergo fortassis per ea, que in prioribus diffuse pertractasti dictis articulis, sit satis factum implicite et veridice ex parte rei, quia tamen non posuisti eos in forma, non videris satis respondisse opponenti.

1–3 spiritus...Pater] cf. Vulg. Gal 4, 5-6; Rm 8, 15 21 conturbat...dicitur] AA op. 36, sent. 74 (Aristoteles, Topica V) 23–24 problematica...probabiliora] cf. AA op. 36, sent. 121 (Aristoteles, Topica VII)

1 Titi i] Titum primo A Tytis i C ad Titum i D 4 theologa] theologia D 6 capaces] in marg. manu II A 7 que] qui B | ad] in C | vitam] nostram post vitam del. B 8 ordinant...in] caritatem nostram ordinant ad ADE ordinant caritatem vestram in C 9 Talia] cum D scripsi, talem ABCE 11 Christo] Christi A 16 eorundem] earundem AE | nota] vota C 17 vidisses] preuidisses C 18 aut] an A 19 superadditurum] superaddituris C 21 quod²] quicquid ACDE 23 contradictorie] ex contradicc...? in contradictorie B | problematica] problemata C

H: Ne propter hoc reputetur prefata discussio insufficientis et imperfecta, propone tu articulos, sicut extracti sunt, et non recusabo ipsos determinare per ea, que dicta sunt!

<RECAPITULACIO>

5

A xxx: In primo capitulo primi libri dictarum Reuelacionum dicitur Christum dixisse, quod tanta esset caritas eius ad animam beate Birgitte, quod mallet iterum crucifigi, si possibile esset, antequam ea careret. Idem habetur capitulo xxx eiusdem libri. Idem dixit xii capitulo libri ii de anima dampnata: "Nisi", inquit, "iusticia dictaret impossibile me iterum mori, ex misericordia vtique morerer pro te!" loquens cuidam dampnato.

10

H: Ille articulus coincidit cum sententia diuini Dyonyssii in quadam epistula ad Demophilum, vbi dicit, quod paratus est Christus denuo pati pro hominibus. Ergo est simpliciter catholicus.

A xxxi: In v capitulo dicit de beata Maria Christus: "Tu angelorum et omnium sanctorum gloria es, quia a te diuinitas consolata est".

15

H: Tali modo loquendi vtitur Apostolus, cum scribit: *Vos estis gloria mea et Nolite contristari Spiritum sanctum*. Ergo huiusmodi articulus est pie et fideliter verificabilis.

A xxxii: Iterum in x capitulo dicit, quod coronam spineam imposuerunt Christo iam crucifixo.

20

H: Hoc, si bene legisses textum, videres eam non intelligere de noua vel prima Christi coronacione sed corone sibi prius impositae et a situ sue

7–8 Christum...careret] cf. Reu. I, 1, 9 et I, 30, 5 9–11 de...dampnato] cf. Reu. II, 12, 28 13–14 paratus...hominibus] cf. Dionysius Epistula 8 (ad Demophilum) pag. 1570, colon. 1sq (secundum Hilduinum) 15–16 dicit...est] cf. Reu. I, 5, 8 17–18 Vos...mea] Vulg. I Th 2, 20 (mea: nostra Vulg.) 18 Nolite...sanctum] Vulg. Eph 4, 30 (contristari: contristare Vulg.) 20–21 coronam...crucifixo] cf. Reu. I, 10, 23 et VII, 15, 10

5 RECAPITULACIO] Recapitulacio articularum ex Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte extractorum ADE deest B Recapitulacio articularum contra librum celestium Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte obiectorum cum summaria et breuissima responsione ad eosdem C 6 In] n (littera in. deest) C 9 xii] xxii A 13 ad Demophilum] deest ACDE | pati...hominibus] pro hominibus pati ACDE 14 simpliciter] similiter C 16 diuinitas] deitas DE 18 contristari] contristare ACE 22 si bene] sibi C 23 coronacione] ex incarnatione in in coronacione C

impositionis deflexe directa adaptacione. Sic enim memini me in dicto libro legisse, quod est irreprobabile.

A xxxiii: In eodem capitulo dicit amicos Christi in eternum maluisse in inferno ardere quam eum sic cruciari.

5 **H:** Loquitur de mauolencia ex compassione nature vniuersalis celum et terram horribiliter mouentis subito orta. Qui motus sua excessiua supra posse nature particularis vehemencia vicit passionem affectus particularis, quo quisque talis optauit consummari talem mortem in precium sue de
10 captiuitate inferni liberacionis. Suntque alii huiusmodi articuli sensus verisimiles, sicut patuit supra, quare iste articulus non est in fide reprobus.

A xxxiiii: Item capitulo xviii secundi libri dicit: "Si sancti viderentur clare sicut sunt, nullus oculus ferre posset sed corporali lumine priuaretur".

H: Nimirum, si Aristotele iii De anima testante *excellens sensibile corrumpit sensum*.

15 **A xxxv:** In xxvii capitulo libri primi exponit illud dictum Christi ad Patrem: "Quare me dereliquisti?", id est "Pater, non est, qui misereatur mei, nisi tu."

H: Si Filius omnia, que habet, accepit a Patre et Deo sit proprium misereri et parcere, illud recte potuit dicere.

20 **A xxxvi:** Item capitulo xxx libri primi dicitur Christum dixisse, quod habitare vellet in corde Birgitte, quod non est nisi modicum frustum carnis.

H: Hoc verificatum est supra articulo iii loquendo de inhabitatione gracie gratum facientis animam residentem in corde, sicut rex in regno et motor in suo primo mobili.

3–4 amicos...cruciari] cf. Reu. I, 10, 30 11–12 Si...priuaretur] cf. Reu. II, 18, 2
13–14 excellens...sensem] AA op. 6 sent. 179 (Aristoteles, De anima III)
15–17 exponit...tu] cf. Reu. I, 27, 4 20–21 Christum...carnis] cf. Reu. I, 30, 7-8
22–24 Hoc...mobili] cf. Declaraciones, art. 3 (UUB MS C 518 fol. 103v-104r)

1 memini] nemini C 2 quod] ergo ADE *deest* C | quod...irreprobabile] *deest* C
3 in...maluisse] maluisse in eternum ACE 4 inferno] infernum C 6 terram] terra AC
7 passionem] mentis *post* passionem *del.* B 8 quisque] quis C 10 verisimiles]
verisimilis D | quare] qua C | reprobus] reprobatus ADE 11 xviii] xxviii A 12 clare]
clari C 19 parcere illud] partem illum C 20 xxx] 3° A | quod] qui C 21 frustum]
frustum C 22 articulo iii] *deest* ACDE | inhabitatione] *ex* habitacione *in*
inhabitatione C 23 et] *deest* C

A xxxvii: Eodem capitulo dicitur, quod Christus letus iuit ad passionem.

H: Letus et vsque ad mortem tristis diuersimode.

A xxxviii: In eodem capitulo dicitur, quod homo mortalis non potest videre immortalem. 5

H: Hoc dicit sub hac forma: "Quomodo mortalis potest videre immortalem?", quasi diceret non ex facultate proporionali sue corruptibilis nature sine beneficio adiuuantis graciae, que fecit Birgittam varias visiones Christi et beate Virginis corporales habere.

A xxxix: Capitulum xxxiiii habet multa: Primo adulationem Dyaboli factam Birgitte coram Deo ad iussum Dei. 10

H: Si seruus subicitur domino suo per timorem, iustum est, vt Dyabolus in seruitutem Christi per virtutem sue passionis redactus et sue diuinitati semper, vt quelibet alia creatura, seruiliter subiectus eiusdem sui Domini obtemperauerit iussioni. 15

A xl: Item dicitur ibidem, quod Dyabolus coram Domino dixit se habere vnum oculum corporalem et alium spiritualem et dicit simile de auribus.

H: Loquitur partim simbolice, partim mystice.

A xli: Dicitur ibidem Dyabolum ad iussum Dei perhibuisse testimonium caritatis eius ad beatam Birgittam hoc modo: "Si", inquit, "possibile esset, libentissime patereris vnam penam talem in quolibet membro tuo specialiter, qualem semel in cruce in omnibus membris passus es, antequam careres ea". 20

H: Loquitur ex ypothesi et ex iussu et denunciacione vera sui Domini, cuius caritas perpetua, qua in finem dilexit suos, incomparabiliter excessit et excedit finitam mortis temporalis passionem. 25

1–2 Christus...passionem] *cf.* Reu. I, 30, 4 4–5 homo...immortalem] *cf.* Reu. I, 30, 5
10–11 adulationem...Dei] *cf.* Reu. I, 34, 7-16 16–18 Dyabolus...auribus] *cf.* Reu. I,
34, 11-15 20–24 Dyabolum...ea] *cf.* Reu. I, 34, 24

1 quod] homo mortalis non potest videre immortalem *post* quod *del.* C 3 et] est C
7 quasi] AD q. BCE | diceret] d. ACE dicat D 10 xxxiiii] xxiiii AE 12 suo] *deest*
ADE | timorem] timorem mur(?) primo C 14 quelibet] *deest* C 15 obtemperauerit]
obtemperauit D 17 dicit] dixit A | simile] similiter ADE 19 partim mystice] mystice
C 23 membris] tuis *post* membris *del.* B

A xlii: In eodem dicitur Deum dixisse: "Nunc, Dyabole, illuminatum est cor tenebrosum tuum!"

H: Verisimile est ipsum illud de illuminatione cognicionis experimentalis intellexisse, sicut ars deluditur arte.

5 **A xliii:** Item dicitur ibidem Deum dixisse ad Dyabolum: "Pete et tu misericordiam humiliter a me, et dabo tibi". Et respondit Dyabolus: "Nequaquam! Antequam curuarem genu coram te, magis vellem inglutire omnes penas in me!".

10 **H:** Loquitur de petitione et genuflexione voluntatis sue proprie in odio Dei finaliter et ita immobiliter deprauate. Cui non repugnat illa genuflexio, quam exigit necessitas seruilis creature, de qua dicit Apostolus, quod *in nomine Ihesu omne genu flectitur*.

A xliiii: Item xxxix capitulo dicitur Christum habuisse fidem, spem et caritatem.

15 **H:** Loquitur effectualiter et eminenter eo modo, quo virtus superior elicit eminenter actum habitus inferioris.

A xlv: Ibidem dicitur Christum dixisse humanitatem suam ex iusticia sine ignominia passionis non posse introire in gloriam.

20 **H:** Loquitur ad intellectum illius ewangelii: *Oportuit pati Christum et ita introire in gloriam suam*.

25 **A xlvi:** Capitulo xli dicitur Christum distinguere quinque genera hominum. Primum dicit papam cum suo clero, secundum laycos, tercium iudeos, quartum paganos, quintum Dei amicos, quasi omnes quatuor distinguat contra Dei amicos. A paganis et iudeis fecit excepcionem, sed non a papa et clero, de quibus subdit conclusiue: "Tu es peior Lucifero, tu

1–2 Deum...tuum] cf. Reu. I, 34, 24 5–8 Deum...me] cf. Reu. I, 34, 25 et 27
12 in...flectitur] Vulg. Phil 2, 10 (flectitur: flectat Vulg.)
13–14 Christum...caritatem] cf. Reu. I, 39, 1 17–18 Christum...gloriam] cf. Reu. I,
39, 4 19–20 Oportuit...suam] Vulg. Lc 24, 26 (introire: intrare Vulg.)
21–190,3 Christum...temperamentum] cf. Reu. I, 41, 4–11

2 cor...tuum] tenebrosum cor tuum ADE cor tuum tenebrosum C 6 a me] deest
ADE | Et] deest C 7 coram] ante ACDE 10 deprauate] ex dampnate in deprauate B
11 qua] quo D 18 sine] siue(?) C 21 xli] xliii A 23 amicos] amicos electos ex omni
genere ADE amici C 24 fecit] facit D 25 non] supra lin. A deest CE

es iniustior Pilato, tu es immicior Iuda, tu es abhominabilior iudeis" sic blasphemando contra clerum indifferenter subdens, quod offensa Dei per clerum nullum inueniet misericordie temperamentum.

H: Lege litteram vnde hec extrahuntur diligentius et inuenies aliter. Recordare nichilominus Gregorii dicentis in Moralibus, quod sacra scriptura quandoque permiscet consolacionem cum desperatione in suo modo loquendi comminatorio. 5

A xlvii: Item ibidem dicitur spiritus malignos videre omne bonum et omnem iusticiam, licet non in luce, sed in consciencia sua.

H: Hoc concordat cum testimonio Dyonyssii dicentis iiii capitulo De diuinis nominibus, quod triplex est malum demonis, scilicet furor irrationabilis, fantasia proterua et demens concupiscencia, quibus deuiat a luce perpetua, et nichilominus naturalia demonum manent post eorum lapsum limpidissima, et Ysaie vltimo, quod *vermis eorum non morietur*, id est scintilla consciencie remordentis contra malum et eligentis bonum, que dicitur "synderisis". 10 15

A xlviii: Dicit in eodem beatum Petrum esse fundatorem fidei et ecclesie et quod papa est peior Lucifero.

H: Illud consonat verbis Apostoli dicentis ecclesiam supra fundamentum apostolorum, quorum Petrus fuit princeps, fundari. Cuiusmodi principatus apostolicus, sicut excedit dignitatem celsitudinis angelice in bono, ita eius casus excedit lapsum Luciferi in malo iuxta illud: *Quanto gradus alcius, tanto casus bassior*. 20

5-7 sacra...comminatorio] cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, Lib. 26 cap. 20
8-9 spiritus...sua] cf. Reu. I, 41, 31 11-12 triplex...concupiscencia] cf. Dionysius, *De diuinis nominibus*, cap 4, pag. 279 colon. 4sq (secundum Hilduinum)
14 vermis...morietur] Vulg. Is 66, 24 17-18 beatum...ecclesie] cf. Reu. I, 41, 34
18 papa...Lucifero] cf. Reu. I, 41, 11 19-20 ecclesiam...fundari] cf. Vulg. Eph 2, 20-22 23 Quanto...bassior] cf. WP Vol. 4, p. 101 (bassior: gravior WP)

1 iniustior] immicior C | immicior] inimicior ACDE 4 et] et ante et exp. E
5 Gregorii dicentis] Gregor. dicentem C 8 omne bonum] bonum esse C 11 diuinis nominibus] diuino C | furor] furia C 12 irrationabilis] irracionalis ADE | proterua] proterna C 14 lapsum] in marg. manu II A | vltimo] ACE vltimis(?) B lxvi v. xxiiii D
15 consciencie] concupiscencie ADE | remordentis] remordantis C | que] quod AE
21 dignitatem] dignitate C 23 tanto...bassior] etc C tanto lapsus bassior D

A xlix: In capitulo xlv dicitur, quod mens Christi turbabatur tempore passionis.

H: Hoc concordat Ysaie dicenti ipsum fore turbulentum, id est affectione propassionis, ut dicit magister sententiarum, "contristatum", ut sic lapsui hominis delectabili et secundum spiritum, animam et corpus naturali corresponderet tristitia omnimoda, tam scilicet secundum corpus, animam quam mentem, in qua habent esse nature. Itaque teste Alberto ratio superior Christi tristitiam et turbacionem paciebatur ut natura, licet delectabatur ut ratio.

A I: In capitulo xlvi dicitur Filium Dei fuisse creaturam dignissimam.

H: Et bene loquendo de ipso secundum naturam assumptam per gratiam vnionis ypostatice supra omnes choros angelorum in celum trinitatis eleuatam.

A li: Item capitulo lii dicitur Christum dixisse, quomodo proprio ore locutus sit Birgitte.

H: Quid mirum, cum scriptum sit Moysen ore ad os locutum fuisse cum Domino et animam deuotam osculum oris sui sponsi, id est Christi, optasse (Cant. i).

A lii: Dicit eodem capitulo libro primo et x capitulo libro secundo Christum precepisse ei, quatenus publicet ea, que ostenduntur, summo pontifici et ecclesie.

H: Hoc est verisimile, cum ita legatur prophetas a Domino ad reges et pontifices veteris testamenti missos fuisse.

1-2 mens...passionis] cf. Reu. I, 45, 3 3 ipsum...turbulentum] cf. Vulg. Is 42, 4
4 contristatum] cf. Petrus Lombardus, Sententiae in IV libris distinctae, Lib. 3 Dist. 15
Cap. 2 8-9 ratio...ratio] cf. AM T. XXI: II (Super Matthaenum) 26, 37 et T. XIX
(Postilla super Isaias) 42, 4 10 Filium...dignissimam] cf. Reu. I, 46, 1
14-15 Christum...Birgitte] cf. Reu. I, 52, 11 16-17 Moysen...Domino] cf. Vulg. Nm
12,8 17-18 animam...optasse] cf. Vulg. Ct 1, 1 20-21 Christum...ecclesie] cf. Reu.
I, 52, 11-16 et II, 10, 30

3 Hoc] ex huius in hoc AE | fore] ex forum in fore C 4 propassionis] ACDE passionis
B 5 delectabili] deliciabili D 7 animam] et animam D | qua] quantum ACDE 8 vt]
in C | licet] sed C 9 delectabatur] deliciabatur D 16 Quid] quam(?) C 17 cum]
deest ADE 19 eodem...et] deest C | x] ACDE iiii B 20 Christum...ecclesie] summo
pontifici et ecclesie Christum precepisse ei quatenus publicet ea que ostenduntur C
precepisse] precipisse AE 22 cum] et C

A liii: Capitulo liiii scribitur dixisse angelum de inuidia Dyaboli, quod Dyabolus mallet cencies mori, quam homo minimum bonum caritatis exhiberet Deo.

H: Loquitur ex ypothesi impossibili propter infinitum, quo apostatat, Dei odium. 5

A liiii: Capitulo lv concitat militares et curiales contra ecclesiasticos.

H: Non dicitur ibi contra "ecclesiasticos" sed contra "impugnatores ecclesie".

A lv: Secundo libro capitulo primo dicitur Christum dixisse, quod ex iusticia non plus facit contra naturalem dispositionem corporis quam anime. Subdit: "Ergo nullum contra dispositionem naturalem corporis subtrahit, ne Dyabolus occasionem habeat contra Deum". Concluditur in fine, quod si alicuius periodus naturalis preuenitur, hoc est ex caritate, quam Deus habet ad talem. 2 Ex iusticia tamen talis subtrahitur. Concluditur finaliter: "Ergo: Non plus facio contra naturalem dispositionem corporis quam anime." 10 15

H: Hoc superius articulo xi probatum est sentencie Aristotelis, Boecii, Sapientis et Apostoli consonare.

A lvi: In eodem libro capitulo vi dicit plures dampnari cotidie et in infernum descendere, quam sit arena dinumerata et lapilli riparum. 20

H: Verisimile est iuxta modum loquendi ignotum et innumerabilem quoad nos, quomodo predixit Ysaias infernum sine termino suum os aperuisse et Sapiens, quod *stultorum infinitus est numerus*, et Dominus in ewangelio, quod porta inferni est spaciosa et lata.

1-3 dixisse...Deo] cf. Reu. I, 54, 27 6 concitat...ecclesiasticos] cf. Reu. I, 55, 17-18
9-11 Christum...anime] cf. Reu. II, 1, 5 11-16 Ergo...anime] cf. Reu. II, 1, 6, 22 et
28sq 17 Hoc...est] cf. Declaraciones, art. 11 (UUB MS C 518, fol. 106v-107r)
19-20 plures...riparum] cf. Reu. II, 6, 29 22-23 infernum...aperuisse] cf. Vulg. Is 5,
14 23 stultorum...numerus] Vulg. Ecl 1, 15 24 porta...lata] cf. Vulg. Mt 7, 13

2 mallet] vellet C | quam] quam vt D 3 exhiberet] exhibent C 7 dicitur ibi] dicit D
contra¹] *supra lin.* B 11 naturalem...subtrahit] corporis naturalem subtrahit ADE
corporis subtrahit naturalem C 13 si] *deest* ADE 17 articulo xi] *deest* ACDE
22 quomodo] sicut C 23 Sapiens] Eccli. D | et²] capitulo xi dicit Christum *post et del.*
A

A lvii: Eodem libro capitulo xi dicit Christum dare eandem mercedem
volentibus suam dare vitam pro eo, sicut si darent et effunderent
sanguinem suum.

H: Si Deus respicit cor et *voluntas secundum illud, quod habet, fuerit*
5 *prompta*, vtique illud concordat sentencie Apostoli dicentis huiusmodi
promptitudinem pro opere reputari.

A lviii: In xiii capitulo dicit, quod deitas misit verbum suum Marie
virgini per angelum suum.

H: Quis illud dubitare poterit loquendo de ly "per angelum"
10 denunciatiue, sicut scriptum est: Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam
virginem desponsatam Iosep. Ad cuius auditum exterius ewangelium
missus est in vterum Virginis a sedibus regalibus Dei verbum.

A lix: In eodem capitulo inducitur Christus dicens Birgitte: "Licet
15 humanitas mea videatur esse iuxta te, verisimilius est tamen, quod anima
tua in consciencia tua mecum est in me."

H: Hoc, ni fallor, ideo dicitur, quia inspiracio celestis primo instruit
spiritum, deinde animam, deinde sensum corporeum sequendo ordinem
influencie perfectiue Dei et nature, secundum quem ordinem priora sunt
quoad nos posteriora teste Philosopho primo Posteriorum, Phisicorum et
20 Methaphisice.

A lx: In capitulo xvii in principio ipsa Birgitta exponens fidem suam
dicit: "Ego credo firmiter, quod sicut verbum missum Marie factum est in
vtero eius caro et sanguis, sic hoc, quod nunc video in manibus sacerdotis,
credo esse verum Deum et hominem." Dicit tamen libro vi capitulo xxix,
25 quod sacramentum latet sensum.

H: Ergo vides, qualiter exponit fideliter seipsam loquendo in dicto
primo de visibili per accidens et in secundo de inuisibili per se.

1-3 Christum...suum] cf. Reu. II, 11, 32 4-5 voluntas...prompta] Vulg. II Cor 8, 12
(fuerit: est Vulg.) 7-8 deitas...suum] cf. Reu. II, 13, 2 10-11 Missus...Iosep] cf.
Vulg. Lc 1, 26-27 13-15 inducitur...me] cf. Reu. II, 13, 6
18-19 priora...posteriora] cf. AA, op. 35, sent. 15-16 (Aristoteles, Posteriora analytica
I) 21-24 ipsa...hominem] cf. Reu. II, 17, 2 25 sacramentum...sensem] cf. Reu. VI,
29, 7

8 suum] *deest* C 10 denunciatiue] denunciatum C | ad...Iosep] etc. ADE 15 in¹] et
AD (ex in in et A) 16 quia] quod C 25 sacramentum] sacramentum eucharistie ADE

A lxi: In capitulo xviii scribitur Christum dixisse Birgitte: "Tu sentis corporali manu spiritum meum in tuo viuento corpore."

H: Si loquitur de sensu motus seu dyastoles cordialis ex hilaritate gaudii anime spiritualis redundantis, est huiusmodi locucio verisimilis.

A lxii: In iii libro capitulo xix dicit, quod modicum peccatum, quod intelligitur peccatum et delectat ex confidencia abstinencie et presumpcione gracie nec emendatur, posse fieri mortale. Idem expressius capitulo xxxii libri primi, quod minimum peccatum, in quo quis delectatur nec emendat, satis est ad perdicionem.

H: Illud est credibile secundum mentem Augustini dicentis nullum esse peccatum adeo veniale quin, si placet, fieri mortale loquendo de complacencia finali, eo quod creature in odium Dei facte sunt et *in muscipulam pedibus insipientium*, vt ait Sapiens, quare finaliter delectari in creatura est apostatare finaliter a Deo.

A lxiii: Libro iii capitulo v dicitur, quod Birgitta vocata sit in Spiritum sanctum ad audiendum et videndum voluntatem Dei et aliis publicandum.

H: Si fideliter exhortatur nos Apostolus: "*Spiritum nolite extinguere*" quodque Deus in ecclesia sua posuit prophetas etc., non est nobis ambigendum, quin Birgittam sic fuisse inspiratam fuit possibile. **2** Et ex hoc, quod scriptum est: "Iam non dicam vos seruos, sed amicos", "*quia omnia, que audiui a Patre meo, nota feci vobis et Si quid aliud sapitis, hoc vobis Deus reuelabit*" et "*vnccio docebit vos*" etc. hanc Dei amicam fuisse ad participacionem huiusmodi reuelacionis electam et assumptam

1–2 Christum...corpore] cf. Reu. II, 18, 1 5–7 modicum...mortale] cf. Reu. III, 19, 3
8–9 minimum...perdicionem] cf. Reu. I, 32, 10 10–11 nullum...mortale] cf.
Augustinus, In Joannis evangelium tract. CXXIV, Tractatus XII, §14.
12 creature...sunt] cf. Vulg. Sap 14, 11: creaturae Dei in odium factae sunt.
12–13 in²...insipientium] Vulg. Sap 14, 11 (muscipulam: muscipulum Vulg.)
15–17 Birgitta...publicandum] cf. Reu. III, 5, 8 18 Spiritum...extinguere] Vulg. I Th
5, 19 19 Deus...prophetas] cf. Vulg. I Cor 12, 28 21–22 Iam...vobis] cf. Vulg. Io
15, 15 22–23 Si...reuelabit] Vulg. Phil 3, 15 (aliud: aliter Vulg.) 23 vnccio...vos]
Vulg. I Io 2, 27 (docebit: docet Vulg.)

3 cordialis] cordiales AE 5 iii] ii A | xix] xxvii C 7 expressius] expressis AE
expressit D 9 est] esse C 10 Illud] id E | dicentis] *in marg.* A 11 fieri] fiat D
12 Dei] *deest* ACE 16 et¹] *supra lin.* A *deest* DE 18 exhortatur] hortatur ADE
19 quodque] quod quia C 20 quin] quia D 22 feci] *ex fecit in feci* C

verisimile, presertim cum dicit Sapiens, quod reuelare secreta est condicio amicitie.

5 **A lxiii:** In eodem libro capitulo xiii dicit beata Virgo: "Humanitas fuit in corpore meo et suscepit de me carnem et sanguinem. Ideo ipsa est res preciosissima que vnquam fuit et est". Statim post dicit: "Licet deitas est in tribus personis sine principio et sine fine in se, tamen, quando misit Filium suum ad me", dicit beata Virgo, "cum deitate et Spiritu sancto, tunc sumpsit corpus suum de me."

10 **H:** Amore Dei quid te fascinat huiusmodi veritatem planissimam in suspicionem falsitatis opponere? Numquid credis quod humanitas verbi incarnati accepit suum principium materiale, quod est caro, de corpore sue matris, sicut queque alia materna proles? Anne legisti, quod canit ecclesia: *O admirabile commercium, Creator generis humani animatum corpus sumens de Virgine?* An forte hesitas differentiam inter ypostaticam
15 assumptionem et materialem suscepcionem?

A lxxv: In capitulo xvii dicit mirabilia de ordine predicatorum, similiter xviii capitulo, mirabiliora in xxvi capitulo iudicium sine misericordia fieri christianis dampnatis.

20 **H:** Recte sunt mirabilia nobis inscrutabilia Dei iudicia ac per hoc a nobis irreprobabilia, ne incidamus in illam dampnabilem presumptionem: *Perscrutator maiestatis opprimetur a gloria*, sed potius dicamus cum propheta: *"Mirabilis facta est sciencia tua ex me! Confortata est, non potero ad eam."* **2** Scis etiam, quod ab apostolo Iacobo scriptum est: *Iudicium sine misericordia fiet ei, qui non fecit misericordiam.* Ad quem
25 sensum intellige illud secundum dictum seu obiectum! Est quippe

1–2 reuelare...amicicie] cf. Vulg. Prv 25, 9 3–5 dicit...est] cf. Reu. III, 13, 23
5–8 Licet...me] cf. Reu. III, 13, 24 13–14 O...Virgine] CAO nr. 3985
16 de...predicatorum] cf. Reu. III *tota capitula* 17 et 18
17–18 iudicium...dampnatis] cf. Reu. III, 26, 14 21 Perscrutator...gloria] Vulg. Prv
25, 27 22–23 Mirabilis...eam] Vulg. Ps 138, 6 (iuxta LXX)
24 Iudicium...misericordiam] Vulg. Iac 2, 13

1 verisimile] verisimiliter ACE veresimiliter est credibile D | dicit] dicat CD
5 Statim...dicit] vbi loquitur statim post dicit AE vbi loquitur Christus statim ptus dicit
C vbi loquitur statim post dicens D 14 hesitas] hesites C 16 predicatorum] fratrum
predicatorum C 18 misericordia] misericordie AE 19 inscrutabilia] ACDE
instructabilia B 20 presumptionem] presumptionem quia D 21 a] in E 22 est²] est
et ACDE 23 etiam] *deest* C | scriptum est] scriptum est quod ADE 24 fecit] facit A
25 Est] et C

multiplex misericordia, scilicet liberans, relaxans et supererogans. 3
Quarum prima deest omnibus dampnatis, ex quo in inferno nulla est
redemptio, secunda deest secundum communem legem dampnatis
christianis gratiam miseracionis diuine, in qua habundarunt, ingratanter
negligentibus, tertia deest omnibus existentibus in purgatorio, qui 5
decesserunt extra statum sanctimonie votiue alicuius approbate religionis,
pro quibus non fiunt singularia caritatis supererogantis suffragia.

A lxxvi: In iiii libro capitulo vii ponit tres partes purgatorii, in quarum
prima est maxima pena, quam anime possunt sustinere, in secunda non est
alia pena nisi defectus virium in fortitudine, pulchritudine et similibus, 10
sicut infirmus cessante infirmitate nichil habet de viribus, donec paulatim
recuperet, in tertia nulla est alia pena nisi desiderium veniendi ad Deum.
Dat simile de auro, quod primo purgatur, postea ponitur in alio loco, vbi
optineat veram formam in visu et tactu, tercio custoditur et datur
possessori. 15

H: Hoc concordat illi sacro eloquio Sapientis: *Tanquam aurum in
fornace probauit electos Dominus* et illi Malachie vaticinio: *Tanquam
ignis conflans purgabit filios Leui.*

A lxxvii: In viii capitulo dicit animas, que sunt in prima parte
purgatorii, non intelligere, vtrum venient ad requiem post purgacionem an 20
sint dampnate.

H: Textus loquitur de quadam singulari anima in reatu actualis
obliuionis Dei tormento tali delicto proporcionato dedita secundum illud:
Per que quis peccat, per hec torquebitur. Que ignorancia non opponitur
sciencie habituali, qua omnes anime existentes in purgatorio sunt certe de 25
earum futura salute, sed sciencie actualis consideracionis propter vim
tormenti offuscate.

8–12 ponit...Deum] cf. Reu. IV, 7, 53-55 13–15 Dat...possessori] cf. Reu. IV, 7,
55-58 16–17 Tanquam...Dominus] Vulg. Sap 3, 6 (electos Dominus: illos Vulg.)
17–18 Tanquam...Leui] cf. Vulg. Mal 3, 2-3 19–21 animas...dampnate] cf. Reu. IV,
8, 1 24 Per...torquebitur] Vulg. Sap 11, 17 (torquebitur: torquetur Vulg.)

2 ex quo] eo quod AD eo quo E 3 secundum...legem] deest ACDE 6 votiue]
votiue ADE 8 partes] deest D 11 infirmus] infernus (s post infernus del.) C
12 nulla] non A | veniendi] perueniendi C 13 Dat simile] dic similiter ADE 14 tactu]
in tactu C 16 illi] illud C 20 an] ex aut in an A aut E 24 hec] hec et C
25 purgatorio] purgatorie AE 26 futura] deest C 27 offuscate] deest ADE

A lxxviii: In ix capitulo ordinat xxx missas et multa alia. Finaliter dicit, quod viuentes possunt accedere papam pro salute existencium in purgatorio ac aperire peccatum illius anime et petere penitentiam sibi iniungi et illam perficiendo animam illam liberabit vel eius penam mitigabit.

H: Si verum dicit Dyonysius in suo libro Ecclesiastice ierarchie capitulo vi, quod vtiles sunt omnino in hoc seculo sanctorum oraciones, et quod papa est generalis Christi et ecclesie vicarius, cui credita est nedum iusticie sed eciam gracie seu misericordie nomine Christi et ecclesie ad vtilitatem viuorum et mortuorum dispensacio, non videtur absonum a fide, si dicto modo succurrat anime languentis in purgatorio miserie.

A lxxix: In capitulo x dicit habitatores Rome non habere maiorem caritatem ad Christum, quam demones, qui miserias suas et maliciam malunt sustinere eternaliter, quam se videre.

H: Quia caritas est forma indiuisibilis, in cuius priuacione non cadit magis vel minus, sed exterminium absencie totalis, ideo potest verificari prima pars illius articuli quoad eos Romanos, qui caruerunt amore Dei. **2** Et quoniam eadem est caritas Dei et proximi, sicut innuit Apostolus, dum ait, quod *qui diligit proximum suum implet legem*, cuius plenitudo est dileccio et Iacobus, quod *qui offendit in vno factus est omnium reus*, ideo eodem odio inuidet Dyabolus homini et Deo, quomodo potest verificari secunda pars illius articuli. Siquidem "inuidia" dicitur a "non videndo" quasi "inuite" felicitatem alienam "videndo".

1 ordinat...missas] cf. Reu. IV, 9, 16sq 2-5 viuentes...mitigabit] cf. Reu. IV, 9, 27-29 7 vtiles...oraciones] cf. Dionysius, De Ecclesiastica Ierarchia cap. 7, pag. 1444 colon: 2 (Secundum Iohannem Scotum) 12-14 habitatores...videre] cf. Reu. IV, 10, 12-14 19 qui...legem] Vulg. Rm 13, 8 (implet: implevit Vulg.) 19-20 cuius...dileccio] cf. Vulg. Rm 13, 10 20 qui...reus] Vulg. Iac 2, 10 (qui offendit: offendant autem Vulg.) 22 inuidia...videndo] cf. Gl. Isid.

2 possunt] possint D 3 ac] et ACDE 7 vi] vii D 8 et...Christi] deest D | credita] creditum C 9 gracie...nomine] misericordie AE nomine C | seu] ex et in seu B 12 Rome] deest C 15 caritas] Christus D 16 magis vel] maius et ADE magis et C 18 sicut innuit] innuit AE vt innuit D 19 implet] implevit ADE 20 factus] deest ADE | omnium] omnibus C 23 quasi] et quasi ADE

A lxx: Item xiii capitulo dicit, quod offerre pro anima alterius vnum paternoster est accepcius Deo magno pondere auri oblato. Exemplificat de anima Trayani, quam liberauit Gregorius de inferno.

H: Quis dubitat, quin secundum ewangelicam Christi sententiam anima est plus quam corpus, et, sicut dicit Philosophus i Ethicorum, bona corporis meliora sunt bonis exterioribus. Quanto magis oracio dominica, que est bonum spirituale mentis animam et corpus transcendentis, propter quod oracio humilis dicitur penetrare nubes, est iudicanda bonum auro melius.

A lxxi: In capitulo xvi dicitur, quod habenti propositum emende valeant indulgencie ad remissionem peccatorum, vt fiat sicut angelus in conspectu Dei. Ficte autem accedenti et non habenti propositum deponendi veterem hominem valent indulgencie ad reieccionem. Glossa: Id est ad optinendam contricionem et confessionem, quibus eicitur peccatum et acquiritur gracia.

H: Si, vt ait Ysaia, *Dominus in indulgencia sua redemit nos* nedum a peccato sed a dyabolici corporis peccati vinculo ponendo nos membra corporis mistici, non est censendum impossibile nedum peccatorem vigore indulgenciarum Christi et ecclesie a peccatis absolui sed eciam a sua iniquitate conuerti, presertim cum innitantur perpetue et infinite Dei caritati, cui proprium est a bono commutabili auertere et ad bonum incommutabile conuertere.

A lxxii: In capitulo xxvi dicitur, quod comedens carnes sub obediencia et regula sue professionis habens tamen desiderium ieunandi,

1-3 offerre...inferno] cf. Reu. IV, 13, 12 5 anima...corpus] cf. Mt 6, 25 et Lc 12, 23; cf. Augustinus, In Ioannis euangelium tract. CXXIX, Tractatus. 32, § 2
5-6 bona...exterioribus] cf. AA op. 12, sent. 14 (Aristoteles, Ethica 1) et AA op. 13, sent. 1 (Aristoteles, De fortuna bona) 8 oracio...nubes] cf. Vulg. Sir 35, 21
10-13 habenti...reieccionem] cf. Reu. IV, 16, 8-14 16 Dominus...nos] cf. Vulg. Is 63, 9 (Dominus: ipse Vulg.) 23-199,2 comedens...die] cf. Reu. IV, 26, 3-5

10 habenti] habens C 11 valeant] valent ADE 12 autem] aut AE 13 reieccionem] eieccionem ADE 14 optinendam] optinendum AE 16 in] deest AC | nos] deest D 17 sed] sed eciam ACDE | dyabolici] dyabolico ADE dyabolice(?) C 18 mistici] sue C | peccatorem] peccatorum A 20 innitantur] inuitantur A (?)C 24 tamen] rectum A

si non obstaret obediencia, plus duplo meretur, quam libere ieiunans vno et eodem die.

5 **H:** Quia virtus est bonum voluntarium et voluntas perpetua et immobilis ipsius voti est firmior quam contingenter libera hominis voto non astricti, ideo non est dubium, quin ceteris paribus fraccio ieiunii voluntarie sine voto assumpti ad imperium illius, cui quis est votie subiectus, preualet obseruacioni eiusdem ieiunii.

10 **A lxxiii:** In declaracione capituli lxxxi posita post quartum librum seu etiam post ipsum lxxxi capitulum dicitur, quod indulgencie dantur propter fidem et deuocionem et caritas propter indulgenciam.

15 **H:** Quia indulgencie innituntur graciae miserenti, que non prerequisite meritum digni aut condigni sed dumtaxat congrui in suo susceptiuo, non est inconueniens eas deuotis ex conamine liberi arbitrii mentibus ad fontem indulgenciarum, id est Christum, per fidem informem conuersis in arram seu pignus caritatis donari.

A lxxiiii: In capitulo lxi dicitur, quod sumpto corpore Christi a malo sacerdote discedit ab eo Patris potentia, abscedit Filii dulcissima presenciam, depositis vestibibus sacris recedit Spiritus sancti benignitas.

20 **H:** Si teste Apostolo nulla est conuencio Christi ad Belial et sic vna inseparabilis tocus trinitatis increate ad extra operacio, nimirum, vbi adest Sathan per mortalis peccati maleficium, inde recedit Deus per appropriatum potencie Patris, sapiencie Filii et bonitati Spiritus sancti graciae gratum facientis beneficium.

25 **A lxxv:** In capitulo lxiii dicit, quod sola forma panis remanet sacerdoti malo et Christus recedit.

9–10 indulgencie...indulgenciam] cf. Reu. IV, 81, 37-39 16–18 sumpto...benignitas] cf. Reu. IV, 61, 19 19 nulla...Belial] cf. Vulg. II Cor 6, 15 24–25 sola...recedit] cf. Reu. IV, 63, 25

1 obediencia] obediencia et regula sue professionis habens tamen desiderium ieiunandi si non obstaret obediencia C | libere] liber C 4 contingenter] contingentur C | voto] ACDE voti B 6 imperium] impium E 7 obseruacioni] obseruacione ADE 8 posita] deest ADE | post...librum] lib. iiii D | seu...capitulum] deest CD 12 digni...condigni] digni AE condigni D 13 eas] deest ADE | liberi] CDE liberii A libri B 14 conuersis] conuersis eas ADE 16 lxi] ex vi in lxi A 61 E 17 abscedit] abscedit ab eo C | dulcissima] dulcissimi ADE 19 ad Belial] et Belial A | sic] si ADE 20 vbi] est post ubi del. C 23 graciae] per graciae C

H: Intelligit quoad nutritionis effectum, quia talis propter obicem gratie non est capax nutritionis spiritualis, quamuis senciatur se refici carnaliter per masticationem et bibicionem specierum panis et vini, non autem intelligit de recessu rei consecrate a signo sacramentali. Siquidem alibi dicit huiusmodi consecrationem equaliter per malum sicut bonum sacerdotem fieri. 5

A lxxvi: In capitulo lxxi videtur dicere, quod filia Birgitte vouerat virginitatem, et tamen Deus ordinauerat, quod nuberet homini habenti domum et vestes.

H: Siue sic siue non, ibidem scribatur. Constat plerosque per prouidenciam singularem Dei preter eorum intencionem antecedentem fuisse de statu in statum mutatos. 10

A lxxvii: In capitulo lxxxii dicit dampnatos omittentes facere mala timore pene non ardere in penis sed sedere in tenebris.

H: Textus loquitur de quodam in particulari, quamuis possit vniuersaliter verificari iuxta prius dicta, eo quod, licet timor declinet a malo et *liberet a ruina mortis*, vt testatur Sapiens, tamen, nisi formetur caritate, non transfert de morte in vitam iuxta testimonium canonicum Iohannis. Et, quia pena respondet culpe, sicut culpe commissiue debetur pena sensus, ita culpe omissiue pena dampni, que est priuacio eterne lucis. 15 20

A lxxviii: In capitulo eodem dicitur per indulgencias promereri caritatem.

H: Sicut predictum est merito congrui per hyatum salutaris desiderii, vnde propheta: *Os meum aperui et attraxi spiritum* et sic concupiui desiderare iustificaciones tuas omni tempore. 25

7-9 filia...vestes] cf. Reu. IV, 71, 11 et 22 13-14 dampnatos...tenebris] cf. Reu. IV, 81, 27 et 29 16-17 timor...malo] cf. Vulg. Prv 16, 6 17 liberet...mortis] Vulg. Prv 13, 14 (liberet: declinet Vulg.) 21-22 per...caritatem] cf. Reu. IV, 81, 37sq 23 Sicut...desiderii] cf. supra, A lxxiii 24 Os...spiritum] Vulg. Ps 118, 131 (iuxta LXX) | 24-25 sic...tempore] cf. Vulg. Ps 118, 131 et 145 (iuxta LXX)

5 equaliter] equanimiter AE equialenter D 10 ibidem] ibi D 14 non] non tamen ACDE 16 vniuersaliter] verisimiliter ADE | eo quod] eoque A | declinet] declinat C 21 capitulo eodem] eiusdem capitis declaracione D 23 predictum est] A lxxiii in marg. scr. et post predictum est inserendum ind. manu II A 25 desiderare] deest C omni] in omni ADE

A lxxix: In capitulo cxxix dicit, quod credere mandatis Dei, honorare sacramenta ecclesie et dolere de peccatis sunt consilia.

H: Non addit "prescise" seu "ewangelica" excludendo ab eis rationem precepti, sed, sicut Dominus in apocalipso "suasit" lapso a via iusticie emere aurum et argentum et collirium, id est caritatem, fidem et compuncionis timorem, que sunt necessaria cadentia sub precepto remissionis peccatorum remedia, ita possunt hec dici expedita recuperande salutis consilia.

A lxxx: In eodem dicit, quod quis tenetur obedire amicis Dei, quantumcumque precipiunt contra voluntatem.

H: Loquitur consultorie cuidam conuerso, vt sit caucior a recidiuo.

A lxxxii: In capitulo cxxxii seu Reuelacione post quartum "de sacerdotibus" dicit malos sacerdotes perdidisse clauem, qua miseris deberent aperire celum.

H: Loquitur de perdicione salutaris vsus, alioquin contradiceret sibiipsi dicenti alibi hos vt bonos equaliter consecrare corpus et sanguinem Domini et papam fidelem, quamlibet malum, habere potestatis plenitudinem.

A lxxxiii: In capitulo cxxxiii seu Reuelacionibus post quartum librum "de sacerdotibus" sunt multa diffamatoria sacerdotum indifferenter. Et inter cetera dicit ibi, quod cum applicatur sacramentum ad os sacerdotis mali, Christus recedit ab eo cum deitate et humanitate et tunc Dyabolus, qui recesserat perterritus in presencia Domini sui, letus redit. Vbi eciam

1–2 credere...consilia] cf. Reu. IV, 129, 67sqq 4–5 suasit...collirium] cf. Vulg. Apc 3, 18 9–10 quis...voluntatem] cf. Reu. IV, 129, 69 13–14 malos...celum] cf. Reu. IV, 132, 5 16–17 hos...Domini] cf. Reu. VII, 7, 17 17–18 papam...plenitudinem] Reu. VII, 7, 15 21–23 cum...redit] cf. Reu. IV, 133, 21

1 In...cxxxix] in c. xxix C 3 seu] sunt D 4 sicut] dicit *del.*, sicut *supra lin.* B apocalipso] apocalipso Johannis ADE 5 et¹] *deest* ADE 7 possunt] possent D 9 quis] quiuis D 12 seu...sacerdotibus] *deest* C | Reuelacione] in extrauagan. AE *ex ?* in Reuelacione *manu II* B (*deest* C) in extrauag. D 17 quamlibet] quantumcumque ADE quantumlibet C 19 cxxxiii] *ex* cxxxii in cxxxiii A cxxxii DE seu...sacerdotibus] *deest* C | Reuelacionibus] in extrauagan. AE *ex ?* in Reuelacionibus B (*deest* C) extrauag. D 22 recedit...eo] ab eo recedit ACDE 23 qui] que C | perterritus] *ex* tritus(?) in perterritus B | redit] reuertitur ADE

videtur dicere, quod omnes sacerdotes eciam habeant potestatem predicandi et consecrandi.

H: Etsi tedeat me tuis obiectis friuolis et inuolutis iterum ac iterum respondere, tamen, vt satisfaciam pocius tue importunitati quam necessitati ambigue rei, remitto te ad prehabita, vbi dictum est, quod licet Domino increpare suos transgressores seruos per cuiuscumque sibi placiti vel accepte nuncii vel nuncie ministerium siue organum, **2** et quod, quia non est consensus templo Dei et ydoli, nimirum contingit accessum et recessum Christi et Dyaboli circa eundem sacerdotem vicissim bonum et malum renouari necnon Christum adesse sacerdotibus per gratiam sacramentalem suscepti ordinis, qui tamen ab eis, dum fuerint mali nec ad predicandum missi vel licenciati, deest per gratiam gratum facientem virtutis salutaris et eciam per gratiam gratis datam ierarchie iurisdicciois, vnde elicitur facultas libera predicacionis.

A lxxxiii: In Reuelacionibus post quartum seu in tractatu de sacerdotibus in capitulo sequenti dicit sacerdotes indifferenter esse peiores omnibus iudeis et gentilibus, et magis ymmo, omnibus dyabolis.

H: Non ponitur ibi meo iudicio "dyabolis", quamuis in vno sensu prauum sacerdocium transcendat dyabolicam iniquitatem, presertim ex circumstantia sue eminentis consecrandi corpus dominicum potestatis et maioris ex contemptu gratie susceptae ingratitudeis.

A lxxxiiii: In capitulo cxxxix seu in Reuelacione, que incipit "Filius Dei loquitur: 'Qui habet'" in tractatu de summis pontificibus, dicit mirabilia

1–2 omnes...consecrandi] cf. Reu. IV, 133, 23 5–7 licet...organum] cf. Declaraciones, art. 20 (UUB MS C 518, fol. 109r) 7–8 non...ydoli] cf. *infra*, H [lxxxiiii] et Vulg. II Cor. 6, 16 16–17 sacerdotes...dyabolis] cf. Reu. IV, 134, 15

1 eciam habeant] habeant **D** 3 obiectis] obietis **AE** | et] *ex est in et A ac D est E* | ac] et **AC** atque **D** 5 licet] liceat **D** 6 cuiuscumque] cuiusque **AE** quoscumque **C** placiti...accepte] placiti vel accepti (*ex placite in placiti*) **A** placite vel accepti **DE** 7 quod] *deest C* 10 sacerdotibus] *deest ADE* 11 sacramentalem] sacerdotalem **ADE** 15 In...sacerdotibus] *deest C* | Reuelacionibus] extrauagan. **AE** *ex ? in Reuelacionibus B (deest C) extrauaganti D* 16 in] **C**, 15 | sequenti] *ex sequen...? in cxxxiiii manu II A sequenti cxxxiiii D sequente E* 17 et gentilibus] et gentibus **C** gentilibus **D** | ymmo] *deest C* 19 transcendat] transcendit **ADE** 20 dominicum] Christi **ADE** 21 contemptu] contemptui **A** 22 cxxxix] cxxxvii **D** | seu...pontificibus] *deest C* | in Reuelacione] in extrauagan. post quartum **AE** *ex ? in in Reuelacione B (deest C) in extrauag. post quartum D* 23 habet] habet glo. etc. **AE** glomeracionem **D**

de regula Birgitte, quod tante sunt indulgencie in suo monasterio, sicut in ecclesia sancti Petri ad vincula ex dono Christi et si papa nolit dare bullam, omnes sancti erunt testes, et mater Christi erit sigillum, Pater confirmator, et Spiritus sanctus consolator.

5 **H:** Illud indubitanter fuit possibile nec obuium sacre fidei neque ratione humana ad scrutandum, quid velit Deus, impotente, quomodolibet reprobabile. Ergo est in timore Domini coniecturandum, vt quid stupendum et admirabile.

10 **A lxxxv:** In v libro interrogacione vi in responsione questionis prime dicit animas decedencium sine baptismo, licet non videant faciem Christi, tamen magis appropinquant misericordie quam pene.

15 **H:** Nec infideliter et ab re, cum scriptum sit, quod *exiguo conceditur misericordia*, in ipsis quidem iuxta modum dicendi Boecii in suo noui et veteris testamenti epylogo: Peccatum originale in posteris per necessitatem propagacionis contractum est pocius pena quam culpa et ideo magis misericordie quam iusticie subiecta.

A lxxxvi: Interrogacione eadem dicitur, quod iusticia Dei est, quod vnusquisque optineat que petit.

20 **H:** Loquitur de iusticia diuine repromissionis, que dicit: *Petite et accipietis!* Petite, inquam, bene, ne vobis obiciatur illud Iacobi: *Petitis et non accipietis, eo quod male petatis.* Bene quippe petere est virtuose orare.

A lxxxvii: In libro eodem interrogacione viii in responsione questionis prime dicit Christus: "Si annihilarem ea, que homines plus me

1–2 tante...Christi] cf. Reu. IV, 137, 5 2–4 si...consolator] cf. Reu. IV, 137, 7sq
10–11 animas...pene] cf. Reu. V, Int. 6, 10 12–13 exiguo...misericordia] Vulg. Sap
6, 7 14–15 Peccatum...culpa] cf. Boetius, De fide catholica (*totum?*)
17–18 iusticia...petit] cf. Reu. V, Int. 6, 12 19–20 Petite...accipietis] Vulg. Io 16,
24 20–21 Petitis...petatis] Vulg. Iac 4, 3 (accipietis: accipitis Vulg.)
23–204,2 dicit...iniuriam] cf. Reu. V, Int. 8, 10

6 impotente] impote AE in potestate C vtpote D | quomodolibet] quemlibet C 7 quid]
quod C 9 interrogacione...prime] capitulo iii C 10 decedencium] discedencium C
baptismo] baptisate D 11 appropinquant] appropinquat C 13 dicendi] docendi
ADE | noui...veteris] ADE noui et vete B nouo et veteri C 15 est] *supra lin.* A et C
deest (aut(?) *erasit*) E 16 subiecta] subiecti D 17 Interrogacione eadem] in eodem C
19 diuine] *deest* ADE 20 Iacobi] *deest* C 21 accipietis] accipitis ADE | Bene] vnde
A 22 In...prime] in eodem C

diligunt, et me contra voluntatem eorum adorari permitterem, facerem eis iniuriam."

H: Si Christus est omnipotens veritas, que tamen mentiri non potest, vt dicit Apostolus, ei in hoc dicto est firmiter credendum. Sed forte estimas hanc iusticiam sempiternam, ex qua omnes iusti nascuntur, non posse facere homini iniuriam, eciam si necessitaret suum liberum arbitrium? Ad quod dico, quod supposita lege Christi iam posita non iuste dampnatur creatura libera propter factum eius inuitum.

A lxxxviii: In interrogacione ix in responsione questionis prime dixit, quod ideo beatam Virginem Christus pretulit omnibus creaturis et plus dilexit, quia in ipsa speciale insigne virtutum est inuentum.

H: Hoc ideo, quia intelligit de racione diuine presciencie, non autem de causa temporali et posteriori sue eternaliter antecedentis prouidencie, que racio dicitur a quibusdam "causa sine qua non", sed non "causa propter quam".

A lxxxix: Interrogacione ix in responsione questionis iii subdit, quod ideo bruta non habent intellectum, ne nocerent homini et essent in tribulacionem suo possessori.

H: Bene dicit, quia par in parem non habet dominium, et intellectus est naturaliter liber, non seruiliter alteri intellectiuo eiusdem generis subiectus.

A xc: Ibidem, scilicet eadem interrogacione in responsione questionis ii, dicitur spiritus ante tempora et ante secula creatos.

H: Loquitur de temporibus et seculis vicissitudinis morose et continue motus celestis.

3 que...potest] cf. Vulg. Hbr 6, 18 10–11 ideo...inuentum] cf. Reu. V, Int. 9, 8 14–15 causa'...quam] cf. Raimundus Lullus, Declaracio Raimundi (op. 80) cap. 71, lin. 12; *idem*, Liber de quaestione valde, alta et profunda (op. 181) dist. 2, lin. 717; *idem*, Liber de universalibus (op. 125) lin. 81 17–18 ideo...possessori] cf. Reu. V, Int. 9, 23–24 23 spiritus...creatos] cf. Reu. V, Int. 9, 13

4 ei] ex ei in Dei C | estimas] existimas AD ex exstimas in estimas E 7 supposita] sumpta AE 8 creatura] creata C 9 In...prime] in iiiii capitulo C 11 ipsa] ea C 12 ideo] ideo et ACE (et exp. A?) ideo est D 13 et] aut D 16 A lxxxix] ex A lxxxl...? in A lxxxix B | Interrogacione...iii] in eodem C 19 habet] potestatem post habet del. B 22 scilicet...ii] deest C 23 creatos] creatus DE 24 continue motus] in marg. manu II A motus deest DE

A xci: In interrogacione xi in responsione questionis prime dicit, quod deitas et humanitas a principio coniunccionis sue inseparabiles sunt etiam in Christi morte.

H: Non habetur ibi "in morte" quamvis forte catholice possit dici, quod etiam in triduo sue mortis humanitas fuit coniuncta deitati secundum suum esse originale et assumptum preueniens compositionem essencialem suorum principiorum in esse compositi nature genite, quod esse compositi fuit in illo triduo dissolutum.

A xcii: In interrogacione xii in responsione questionis prime dicit, quod motus concupiscencie post preuaricacionem ad maiorem fructum fuit institutus, scilicet ad mixtionem carnalem.

H: Sic non dicit sed intendit, quod, licet culpa originalis tulit innocencie gratiam, tamen non abstulit nature lapse fecunditatem generandi sibi simile ad cultum Dei. Inquit enim sic in forma: "Accedente erubescencia preuaricacionis mox auctus est motus inordinatus et maxime in illo membro, quod ad maiorem fructum institutum fuit. Qui tamen motus, ne esset inanis a fructu, Dei bonitate conuersus fuit in bonum et per diuini mandati institutionem concessum est opus commixtionis carnalis, vt fructificaret a natura".

A xciii: Dicit postea interrogacione xii in responsione questionis secunde, quod inter Adam et Euam in plasmacione erat potencia deitatis et in cohabitacione delectabilis honestas, quod dictum applicatur ibi ad cohabitacionem verbi et Virginis in vtero salua virginitate.

H: Per hoc non vult Euam post concubitus carnis in statu innocencie virginem mansisse, eo quod ibidem Christus incorruptionem virginalis partus sue matris resoluit causaliter ad egressum incorporeum sue deitatis, per hoc innuens, quod partus secundum essenciam et existenciam corporei,

2-3 deitas...morte] cf. Reu. V, Int. 11, 11sq 10-11 motus...carnalem] cf. Reu. V, Int. 12, 8-9 21-23 inter...virginitate] cf. Reu. V, Int. 12, 18

1 In...prime] in capitulo quinto C 2 etiam...morte] et etiam in morte C 4 forte] deest ACDE 6 originale...assumptum] assumptum et originale C 7 nature] naturaliter C 9 In...prime] in vii capitulo xii interrogacionis C | xii] xiii AE 11 ad mixtionem] ex admixtionem in adcommixtionem manu II A ad commixtionem C carnalem] ex carnis in carnalem B 17 fructu] fructui C | et per] per ADE 18 diuini] diuinum C 19 a] deest D 20 interrogacione...secunde] deest C 25 incorruptionem] incorporacionem AE 26 causaliter] casualiter D

cuiusmodi fuissent proles Ade et Eue in statu innocencie, non potuissent clausum vterum exiuisse.

A xciii: In Reuelacione viii dicitur, quod dolor matris plus mouit Christum quam proprius.

H: Hoc potest verificari eo modo, quo obiectum mouens obiectaliter plus mouet quam afficiens per modum medii instrumentaliter.

A xciv: In Reuelacione ix dicitur, quomodo ipsa Birgitta sit abstracta de mundo et introducta in mansionem Spiritus sancti.

H: Hoc est fideliter credibile, alioquin non potuisset tam copiose erudiri de archanis eloquiis celestis magistri, qui non deforis hominem exteriorem sed deintus hominem interiorem ad ipsum intime suspensum solet celitus inspirare dicente psalmista: *Audiam, quid loquatur in me Dominus etc.*

A xcvi: In responsione ad primam questionem interrogacionis xvi dicitur, quod per similitudinem et non ad litteram intelligi debet illud ewangelii: Oues erunt ad dexteram, edi autem ad sinistram, quia nec dextra nec sinistra in deitate effigiata est.

H: Fastidior et confundor tociens idem repetere! Dixi namque bis aut pluries supra, quod, quia teste Boecio dignitas seu maxima apud sapientes est incorporalia ideo in loco non esse, quia non habent esse quantitatie extensum et situatiter distinctum. Ideoque impossibile est dextrum et sinistrum, que sunt differentie situs et loci, respectu deitatis incorporee effigiari.

A xcvi: In responsione questionis secunde ibidem dicitur, quod filius secundum deitatem est omnisciens, ideo nouit horam iudicii, sed secundum humanitatem, in qua Christus proficiebat sapientia et etate, illam horam ignorat.

3–4 dolor...proprius] cf. Reu. V, Reu. 8, 15 7–8 quomodo...sancti] cf. Reu. V, Reu. 9, 5 12–13 Audiam...Dominus] Vulg. Ps 84, 9 (iuxta LXX) 15–17 per...est] cf. Reu. V, Int. 16, 1 et 6sq 16 Oues...sinistram] cf. Vulg. Mt 25, 33 19–20 dignitas...esse¹] cf. Fundamentum 1 (UUB C 518 fol. 154va); cf. Boetius, Quomodo substantiae, § I. 24–27 filius...ignorat] cf. Reu. V, Int. 16, 11sq

1 fuissent] fuisset(?) C | Ade] Adam ADE 16 ewangelii] ewangelicum C | nec...nec] dextra neque AE neque dextra neque D 19 Boecio] Boecie A 20 quantitatie] quantitatum C 21 dextrum] dexteram D 26 sapientia] sapientie C

H: Dico sicut predixi illud esse de mente ewangelii secundum interpretacionem Athanasii, Thome et plurium aliorum doctorum ignoranciam sciencie homini originaliter concreate, que est pena peccati et ideo longe ab innocencia nature integre Christi relegata, ab ignorancia sciencie deforis per experienciam acquisibilis, que nullam imperfeccionem ponit in suo subiecto, distinguendam.

A xcvi: In libro vi capitulo primo dicitur, quod iudei sepe loquebantur ad inuicem: "Eamus et consolemur in contemplacione vultus Ihesu", cuius corpus numquam tetigit vermis nec aliqua immundicia in capillis eius vel perplexitas.

H: Nimirum talis fuit speciosus forma pre filiis hominum, medicus et medicina salutaris omnium hominum, via, veritas et vita omnium sanctorum.

A xcix: Quarto capitulo ibidem dicit, quod omnis sapiens et virtuosus predicare debet audacter verba Dei volentibus et nolentibus.

H: Rubrica est, non textus, nisi ad intellectum prius bene, ni fallor, digestum, vtputa loquendo de sapiente per missionem aut admissionem Christi aut ecclesie taliter approbato et ad officium predicandi ordinato. Alioquin non posset talis dici sapiens et virtuosus in facultate publice iurisdiccionis.

A c: In capitulo ix dicitur, quomodo Dyabolus celebranti peccatori est astans in toto officio misse vsque ad verba consecracionis, quibus completis reuertitur Dyabolus. Et alia mira dicuntur in eodem capitulo.

1 sicut predixi] *cf.* Declaraciones, art. 32 (UUB MS C 518, fol. 115v-116r)
7–10 iudei...perplexitas] *cf.* Reu. VI, 1, 4-5 14–15 omnis...nolentibus] *cf.* Reu. VI, 4, 3 21–23 quomodo...mira] *cf.* Reu. VI, 9, 1sq (praesertim 10)

1 predixi] dixi ADE 2 Thome] Thomo C | plurium] plurimi C 3 ignoranciam] ignorancia C | homini] homine C huiusmodi D 5 per] *deest* C 6 ponit] *ex potuit(?) in ponit* A po uit (*ex potuit(?)*) E | distinguendam] distinguencium ADE distinguendum C 9 nec] neque AE 12 salutaris] saluatoris C 15 verba] verbum D *ex verbam in verba* E | volentibus...nolentibus] nolentibus et volentibus AC 16 est] est et C 17 missionem] iussionem C 18 taliter] tali ACDE 19 posset] potest ADE possit C talis...sapiens] dici talis sapiens D 21 celebranti peccatori] celebrante peccatore (*ex peccatori in peccatore(?) manu II*) A

H: De hoc satis dictum est paulo superius, vbi notata est impossibilitas Christi et Belial, templi Dei et demoniorum. Illustrante quippe veritate nimirum cedit mendacium et econtra.

A ci: In capitulo x extollit misericordiam beate Virginis valde enumerando cuiusdam anime multa peccata, scilicet superbiam, luxuriam, iactanciam, accidiam. Quibus non obstantibus, quia in extrema hora habuit voluntatem, licet non feruentem, vt soluerentur eius debita, ipsa est in numero saluandorum. Ordinatur insuper missas illas pro eius ereptione de purgatorio, quas multi supersticiosas reputant, quamuis missa in se sit sancta.

H: Istud totum est pie credibile iuxta illud: Quaecumque hora ingemuerit peccator, saluus erit cooperante misericordia Dei genitricis Marie, que ex plenitudine sue gratie est vniuersalis omnium miserorum aduocata, dux et regina iuxta illud: "*Salue regina misericordie*" etc. **2** Nec est supersticiosum missas pro redemptione existentium in pena purgatorii ordinare, cum ipse misse representent efficaciter mortiferum nostri redemptoris in cruce sacrificium iustorum detentorum in lympo de vmbra mortis ad regionem vite immortalis redemptiuum et translaciuum.

A cii: In capitulo xi dicitur, quod existentes in lympo mallent manere in inferno in eternum, quam vidisse sic pati Dominum Ihesum.

H: Hoc dudum ante posuisti et solucionem multiplicem ex sepe repetitis colligere potuisti. Complacuit quippe ipsis sacrificium medicinalis iusticie sed condolebant medici se offerentis in tale sacrificium innocenti pene.

4-9 extollit...purgatorio] cf. Reu. VI, 10, *totum capitulum, praesertim* 24
11-12 Quaecumque...erit] cf. Ez 33, 12 et Is 30, 15; cf. Petrus Lombardus, Sententiae in IV libris distinctae, lib. 4, dist. 20, 1 et 17, 1 14 Salue...misericordie] cf. AH 50, p. 318 (no. 245: Antiphona Maior de BMV) 19-20 existentes...Ihesum] cf. Reu. VI, 11, 9

1 superius] A lxxxii in marg. scr. et post superius inserendum ind. manu II(?) A
2 impossibilitas] impossibilitas ADE | templi] templo AE 3 nimirum] deest D
cedit] cedat C 4 valde] et post valde del. C 11 Istud] illud CD 12 genitricis] Dei
post genitricis del. C 13 omnium] ex homin...(?) in omnium C 14 misericordie]
mater misericordie D 18 redemptiuum...translaciuum] redemptiuum et translaciuum(?)
AE (ex translaciuum...? in translaciuum) A 20 vidisse] videre C 22 ipsis] ipsius ADE eis C
23 innocentij] innocentis D

A ciii: In capitulo xix dicitur, quod dampnati et dampnandi in iudicio videbunt gloriam iudicis in celo extra, supra et infra celum.

H: Merito, vt sic ignominie passionis respondeat honorificencia impassibilitatis et humilitas viri vsque ad mortem pro iusticia militantis siue certantis videatur premiari per exaltacionem sue glorie triumphantis. Videbunt itaque dampnati gloriam sui iudicis per experienciam sue vniuersalis super omnia maiestatis.

A ciiii: Capitulo xxi dicit demones insaciabiliter affligere animas.

H: Quod proponis sine perfecto sensu, corrupte, nescio aliter ad hominem dissoluere, quam te ad textum remittere dicentem, quod quandam animam non cessabant insaciabiliter affligere, quod verisimile est ex hoc, quod ipsi semper peccant et in odio furoris irrationabilis Dei et hominum obstinate immobiliterque perseuerant.

A cv: Item dicit viii libro capitulo xlvi, quod demones purgant animas.

H: Hoc, vt reor, est probleuma apud sacre pagine doctores et ideo sine periculo fidei, donec altera pars diffiniatur, ad vtrumlibet opinabile.

A cvi: Libro vi capitulo xxiiii dicitur, quomodo Christus docet fundare altare et dotare redditibus perpetuis.

H: Hoc congruit suo sacerdocio secundum ordinem Melchisedech sempiterno, cuius altaris iugi obsequio debetur perpetua victus prouisio.

A cvii: Capitulo xxxi dicitur Christum dixisse Dyabolo: "Si adhuc te humiliare, darem tibi gloriam".

H: Hoc consonat illi sacro eloquio: *Qui humiliatus fuerit erit in gloria et Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum.*

1–2 dampnati...celum] cf. Reu. VI, 19, 35 8 demones...animas] cf. Reu. VI, 21, 13
14–15 demones...animas] cf. Reu. VIII, 48, 203 18–19 quomodo...perpetuis] cf.
Reu. VI, 24, 15 22–23 Si...gloriam] cf. Reu. VI, 31, 37 24 Qui...gloria] Vulg. Iob
22, 29 25 Beati...celorum] Vulg. Mt 5, 3

8 xxi] xii A | affligere animas] infligere AE 9 corrupte] *deest* ADE | nescio aliter] et
testimonialiter C 14 xlvi] xviii AE 17 diffiniatur] diffiniatur ACE definiatur D
18 Libro...xxiiii] libro iiii (*supra lin. manu II*) capitulo xviii (*ex xx.iiii(?)*) A capitulo
xxiiii CE

A cviii: In eodem dixit Christus Dyabolo: "Illa anima, que tibi vsque in finem obediuit vite sue, eternaliter dampnata est".

H: Miror, si, cum sis fidelis, hoc dubitas, cum scriptum sit in Symbolo Athanasii: Qui vero mala egerunt, ibunt in ignem eternum, porro mali sunt serui Dyaboli, *qui est rex super omnes filios superbie*. 5

A cix: In capitulo xxxiiii dicitur, quomodo virgo Maria docet exorcismos legendos supra vexatos a demonio docetque modos et verba, quibus componi debet pax Francie et Anglie.

H: Vtrumque est pie credibile, eo quod ipsa est regina misericordie et calcatrix capitis antiqui serpentis et mater regis pacifici, qui est rex regum et Dominus dominantium, qui reliquit pro testamento pacem hominibus bone voluntatis. 10

A cx: Capitulo xlv dicit fatum et fortunam nichil esse, quia dispositio omnium rerum consistit in diuina stabilitate.

H: Illa causalis adiuncta testatur eam loqui de fato et fortuna secundum errorem quorundam, qui dixerunt eas esse primas causas omnium, per hoc non negans huiusmodi gubernacula vt sunt instrumentalia et contingencia diuine prouidencie respectu euentuum mobilium contingenter, vt in paucioribus, "deuiabilium amminicula", quomodo de eis loquuntur Aristoteles et Boecius. 15 20

A cxi: Capitulo xlvi videtur fundare ordinem Saluatoris et dicitur ibidem, quod vbi non suppetunt facultates, mendicare debet pro victu nec laborare labore corporali, dummodo addiscat grammaticam, oret vel scribat huiusmodi Reuelaciones.

1–2 dixit...est] cf. Reu. VI, 31, 38 4 Qui...eternum] cf. Breuiarium Romanum, Pars aestiva, p. 27 5 qui...superbie] Vulg. Iob 41, 25 6–8 quomodo...Anglie] cf. Reu. VI, 34, 19sq 13–14 fatum...stabilitate] cf. Reu. VI, 45, 15-16 19 deuiabilium amminicula] cf. AA Op. 2, sent. 77 et 81 (Aristoteles, Physica II); cf. Boethius, Philosophiae consolationis liber IV, Prosa VI 21 videtur...Saluatoris] cf. Reu. VI, 46 22–24 vbi...Reuelaciones] cf. Reu. VI, 46, 16sq

2 obediuit...sue] vite sue obediuit ADE | eternaliter...est] eternaliter est dampnata ACE est eternaliter dampnata D 3 si] deest C | dubitas] dubeitas(?) C 4 Symbolo] ACD (ex symbolo in symbolo A) Symbolo BE | Athanasii] Anastasii C | mala] male C 6 quomodo] quoniam ADE 8 debet] deest C 11 pacem] pacem in terris ACDE 13 xlv] xi AE xli C | et] est C 17 gubernacula] gubernalia C 19 de...loquuntur] loquuntur de eis ADE de eis loquentur C 21 Saluatoris et] sancti Saluatoris cum C 23 dummodo] dummodo bis C 24 huiusmodi] deest C

H: Pessime enarras, quia ipsa ibidem commendat laborem manuum tempore necessitatis concorditer ad doctrinam Apostoli preponendo disciplinam grammaticae, qua perficitur anima, labori corporali.

5 **A cxii:** In capitulo xlix dicitur solutionem ieiunii ad mandatum superioris esse maioris meriti quam ieiunium.

H: Cur tociens hoc replicas? An quia non contentaris in suprahabitibus solutionibus? An quia te delectat me inuoluere, ut videar loqui hinc inde equivoce et michi ipsi contradicere? Dixi itaque tibi et adhuc dico, quod meritum actus virtuosus sequitur condicionem virtutis ipsum actum
10 elicientis. **2** Si ergo religionis votivae obedientia est aliorum virtus quam propria liberi arbitrii non votivae obligati benivolentia, non est dubium, quin est verum, quod proponis, loquendo de solutione ieiunii libere assumpti et nulla lege debiti.

15 **A cxiii:** In eodem dicitur, quod commixtio parentum beatae Virginis, quia ex mandato Dei fuit, erat causa, quare non contraxit originale peccatum. Quod resumitur capitulo lv, ubi dicitur, quod nullum fuit honestius matrimonium quam Ioachim et Anne.

H: Loquitur de mandato Dei privilegiantis coniugium, unde oritura erat immunitas peccati, et non de mandato legis communis.

20 **A cxiiii:** Capitulo lii dicit, quod sicut Deus dat intellectum meliorem uni quam alteri, sic unusquisque utitur conscientia ut expedit ad honorem suum.

2–3 preponendo...corporali] cf. Vulg. I Tim 4, 8 4–5 solutionem...ieiunium] cf. Reu. VI, 49, 1 14–16 commixtio...peccatum] cf. Reu. VI, 49, 2 16–17 nullum...Anne] Reu. VI, 49, 3 et 55, 1-2 20–22 sicut...suum] cf. Reu. VI, 52, 14

3 disciplinam] doctrinam ADE | perficitur] reficitur ADE 6 in] vt C 7 te] deest ADE | loqui...inde] hinc inde loqui ADE 9 virtutis] veritatis AE 11 propria] proprii(?) C | non!...obligati] deest hic ADE, vide infra 12 solutione...debiti] non votivae obligati ieiunii libere assumpti et nulla lege debiti solutione ADE 15 contraxit] ACDE extraxit B 17 honestius] coniugium post honestius del. A honestissimus C 19 erat] era C

H: Miror si illud dubitas, cum scriptum sit: *Qui omnia propter seipsum operatus est, in numero, pondere et mensura disposuit, finxit sigillatim corda eorum et in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos.*

A cxv: Capitulo lvi assignatur differentia inter natiuitatem Domini et Marie, quia hec per communem portam, Christus non. 5

H: Per hoc innuit, quod mater Domini non exiuit ex clauso vtero, sicut suus Filius.

A cxvi: Capitulo lx dicitur, quod Hieronymus non dubitauit de assumptione corporis Marie sed maluit pie credere quam diffinire non reuelata. 10

H: Certe in hoc dat tibi exemplum, vt non temere iudices Reuelaciones Birgitte per adinuencionis proprie argumenta sed suspensam tene sentenciam, donec eas comparaueris et examinaueris ad et per indubia sacre pagine iudicia a Spiritu sancto reuelata.

A cxvii: In capitulo lxvi dicit, quod quedam anima in purgatorio stans non patitur ex caritate sed ex mala voluntate. 15

H: Patitur ex voluntate mala malicia pene eam contristantis.

A cxviii: Subditur de dicta anima capitulo lxvi libro vi, quod omnis creatura eam abominatur postea, quod desperat de venia, quia plus desiderabat peritura quam eterna. 20

H: Si per que quis peccat, per hec torquetur, nimirum totus orbis terrarum pugnat contra insensatos suorum delectabilium abusores nedum in inferno sed eciam pro mensura culpe mortalis confesse sed non

1–2 Qui...est] Vulg. Prv 16, 4 (omnia: uniuersa Vulg.) 2 in...disposuit] Vulg. Sap 11, 21 | 2–3 finxit...eorum] Vulg. Ps 32, 15 (iuxta LXX) 3 in...eos] Vulg. Ps 77, 72 (iuxta LXX) 4–5 assignatur...non] cf. Reu. VI, 56, 1 8–10 Hieronymus...reuelata] cf. Reu. VI, 60, 2 15–16 quedam...voluntate] cf. Reu. VI, 66, 39–40 18–20 omnis...eterna] cf. Reu. VI, 66, 39

1 illud dubitas] id dubitas ADE id dubites C | Qui] quia D 2 seipsum] semetipsum D in...mensura] et in numero mensura et pondere AD (ex ? in mensura A) et in numero mensatur et pondere E | finxit] et finxit D 3 sigillatim] singillatim ADE | in] deest ACE 4 differentia] in marg. manu II A | inter] in C 5 quia] qui C | non] non exiuit D 7 sicut] sed C 8 Capitulo lx] deest AE 12 adinuencionis...argumenta] argumenta proprie adinuencionis ADE adinuenciones proprie argumenta C 13 tene] teneas D sentenciam] deest C 15 lxvi] lvi C 18 capitulo...vi] deest C 19 desperat] desperat C 22 pugnat] pugnabit ADE

satisfacte in purgatorio. Ac per hoc illa anima ratione sui auersi a Deo desiderii quoad culpam sed non quoad penam ante exitum eius a corpore expiati iuste torquetur vsque ad actualem spei venie desolacionem, quamuis non perdat spem sue salutis finalis habitualem.

5 **A cxi:** In precedenti capitulo dicitur: "Quam diu Maria moratur in peccato scienter habens copiam confitendi et negligit vel non attendit, magis est apostata quam Maria".

H: Hoc concordat illi canoni Iacobi: *Scienti facere bonum et non facienti, peccatum est illi.*

10 **A cx:** In capitulo lxxi dicitur Christum mandasse cuidam confessori, quod omnes venientes indifferenter absoluere, donec Christus ipse ostenderet aliquem non esse absoluendum.

H: Si constat Christum hoc facere potuisse et fuerit tunc temporis oportunum eum illud verisimiliter voluisse, quis audeat suspicari hoc non fuisse per viam epykeyie aut preuilegii singularis possibile?

15 **A cxxi:** In lxxii capitulo dicitur esse maculam in ecclesia, quod parochiales sacerdotes indifferenter non absoluunt sed in certis casibus ad episcopos remittunt.

H: Loquitur de macula occasionaliter et per accidens inobediencie vel desidie penitentium ad episcopos recurrere omittentium proueniente.

20 **A cxxii:** In lxxix capitulo dicit baptizatos a non sacerdote credito tali in fide parentum saluari.

H: Ex quo baptismus est sacramentum necessitatis, non eget ministerio sacerdotali, nisi ex communi congruencia legis, quam tollit ignorancia inuincibilis parentum spiritualium aut carnalium offerencium baptiste non sacerdoti infantulum baptizandum.

5-7 Quam...Maria] cf. Reu. VI, 65, 87 8-9 Scienti...illi] Vulg. Iac 4, 17
10-12 Christum...absoluendum] cf. Reu. VI, 71, 1 16-18 esse...remittunt] cf. Reu.
VI, 72, 1sq 21-22 baptizatos...saluari] cf. Reu. VI, 79, 5

3 desolacionem] dissolucionem ADE 5 dicitur] quod C 7 apostata] apostota ACE
10 lxxi] lxxii ACE 11 ipse] ipsi C 13 Christum] Christum ipsum C 14 illud] id
DE | audeat] audeat D 15 preuilegii] priuilegium C 16 lxxii] ex lxxiii in lxxii A
lxxiiii CE 19 occasionaliter] occasiona (*verbum in marg. scriptum et abscisum(?)*) C
inobediencie...desidie] ex inobediencia vel desidia D 20 recurrere] currere C
21 tali] tales D

A cxxiii: In lxxix capitulo dicitur, quod non consecratus celebrans missas deprehensus fuit et per iudicem combustus. Qui saluabatur propter contricionem, quam habuit in supplicio. Et populus eius missas audiens excusatur ab ydolatria et peccato mortali per fidem, qua credidit eum consecratum et consecrantem.

5

H: Miror, quod quisquam in fide christiana sapiens de hoc casu hesitet. Siquidem scriptum est, quod quodcumque peccator conuersus fuerit ab iniquitate sua, hauriet ab illo salutem, qui non despicit cor contritum et humiliatum. Quodque ignorancia Pauli contra legem Dei conantis consequeretur veniam, quanto magis ignorancia nitentis obseruare legem!

10

A cxxiiii: In capitulo lxxxii dicitur, quod puer per vetulas baptizatus debet rebaptizari.

H: Loquitur de baptizato per vetulam debitam baptismi formam ignorantem.

15

A cxxv: In capitulo lxxxviii dicit, quod in natiuitate Domini sensit beata Birgitta motum sensibilem ac si puer viuus esset voluens et reuoluens in ea et hoc ostendit suo patri spirituali.

H: Ad hoc nichil temere dicendum puto sed fore pie deuoteque admirandum qualiter hoc fiebat: An motu Spiritus redundante in cor anagogice, an motu Dyaboli vel angeli boni sibi ad custodiam deputati consolatorio, an certe motu aeris inspirati et diu per meditationem cordis spiritualem retenti vicissim suspirioso?

20

A cxxvi: In lxxxix capitulo inducitur Iohannes ewangelista certificans Birgittam se scripsisse apocalipsim et quod magister Matthias, confessor

25

1–5 non...consecrantem] cf. Reu. VI, 79, 1-4 7–8 quodcumque...sua] cf. Ez 33, 12 8 hauriet...salutem] cf. Prv 8, 35 | 8–9 non...humiliatum] cf. Vulg. Ps 50, 19 (iuxta LXX) 12–13 puer...rebaptizari] cf. Reu. VI, 81, 4sq 16–18 in...spirituali] cf. Reu. VI, 88, 1-2 24–215,3 inducitur...antichristus] cf. Reu. VI, 89

1 A cxxiii] A cxxiiii E | lxxix] (ex ? in 79 A) lxxx C lxxx E 2 fuit] fuerit D 4 ydolatria] idololatria D 8 despicit] despicit A 10 ignorancia] deest C 12 A cxxiiii] A cxxiiii E | lxxxii] 8 ante 81 del. C | quod] in natiuitate domini post quod del. C 14 Loquitur] inspicere textum quia loquitur C | debitam baptismi] baptizandi ADE 17 esset] in marg. manu II A esse C 19 dicendum] dicendum esse C 20 admirandum] ammirandum AE | hoc] illud ADE 21 anagogice] anagogico ADE anogogice C | Dyaboli] Dyaboli illusorio ACDE 22 consolatorio] consolatorie C | an] aut A 23 retenti] recenti C 25 quod] deest C

eius, eodem Spiritu intellexit et scripsit spiritualem veritatem sacre scripture et quod Christus fecit eum magistrum et ostendit sibi per Birgittam, quando veniet antichristus.

5 **H:** Ex quo Spiritus vbi vult spirat et nescis quo vadat aut vnde veniat, cuius inspiracione locuti sunt sancti Dei omnes, quibus distribuit varia ewangelii secundum virtutem propriam singulorum talenta, arbitror totum illud fuisse possibile nec iudicio humano reprobabile.

A cxxvii: In capitulo c dicitur quod ista verba non possunt infirmari ab inuidis.

10 **H:** Nec ab re, cum spiritus sapiencie sine inuidia tabescente se communicat et maliciam vincit (Sap. vii).

A cxxviii: In capitulo cii dicit indulgencias esse Rome maiores apud Deum, quam sonant, et valere ad remissionem peccatorum et gloriam eternam.

15 **H:** Quis hoc posset reprobare salua fide ecclesie misericordia Domini terram esse plenam et eandem supra iudicium esse exaltatam credente, thesaurum quoque sapiencie diuine huiusmodi indulgencias moderantis innumerabilem profitente necnon Christum in quolibet sui nominis martyre et confessore sue mortis et confessionis meritum mystice repentem
20 intelligente.

A cxxix: In vna Reuelacione post vi seu secundum alios libros capitulo cxii, secundum alios alio et alio capitulo, dicit sanguinem effusum de vulneribus Christi datum Iohanni ewangeliste cum membrana circuncisionis et illa abscondisse sub terra, donec angelus reuelabat amicis
25 Dei.

8–9 ista...inuidis] *cf.* Reu. VI, 100, 4 10–11 spiritus...vincit] *cf.* Vulg. Sap 7, 13 *et* 7, 30 12–14 indulgencias...eternam] *cf.* Reu. VI, 102, 5 22–25 sanguinem...Dei] *cf.* Reu. VI, 112, 1sq

1 scripsit] fl(?) *ante* scripsit *del.* A 4 nescis] nescimus ACE | aut] *et* C 7 illud] istud D | reprobabile] probabile D 8 c] ci CE 9 ab] *ex ad in* ab C 10 spiritus sapiencie] spiritus C sapiencia D 12 cii] cxxii C 15 posset] potest A 16 terram...esse²] plenam terram esse *et* supra eodem iudicium super C | esse²] *deest* ADE 18 innumerabilem] admirabilem D 21 In...capitulo²] in extrauagan. post vi seu secundum quosdam libros capitulo cxii AE (secundum alios alio et alio capitulo *post* capitulo cxii E *del.* A) *ex ? in* Reuelacione B in capitulo cix C in extrauaganti post vi seu secundum quosdam libros capitulo cxii secundum alios alio et alio capite D 24 reuelabat] reuelauit AD

H: Loquitur de sanguine nutrimentali, non autem radicali, quem nutrimentalem sanguinem non oportet resurgere cum suo corpore in esse suo radicali et condito resurgente. Similiter huiusmodi pellicula famatur venerari in Dei ecclesia.

A cxxx: Vii libro capitulo vii dicitur, quod fides catholica est vera et dicens quod papa est plenarie potestatis quibuscumque quantiscumque peccatis fuerit irretitus, nisi sit hereticus. 5

H: Et bene, cum ipse sit in sede Petri immediate a Christo ecclesie fidelium perfecti per consensum eiusdem ecclesie primatum apostolicum tenens. 10

A cxxxi: In eodem libro capitulo x dicit de ordinatione Dei et suo iudicio iuste ordinatum esse, quod sacerdotes, qui non viuunt in castitate et continencia carnis, sunt maledicti, excommunicati apud Deum et digni carere sacerdotali officio. Et si sanctus Gregorius hoc statuisset, numquam in predicta sententia misericordiam optinuisset a Deo, ita quod negat vllo modo dispensacionem debere fieri. 15

H: Si seruus non est sui iuris sed minister dispensacionis sibi a suo Domino credite, tunc non licet huiusmodi seruo contra ordinationem sui Domini quicquam statuere, id est legitime dictare. Cui non obstat, quin possit in particulari casu iuxta equitatem intencionis sui legislatoris epykysare seu dispensare. Aliud quippe est contra mandatum Domini statuere et aliud secundum intencionem mandantis indulgere. 20

A cxxxii: In xiii capitulo dicit demonem scripsisse omnia peccata cuiusdam militis in illa sapientia, quam habuit in creacione, et in illa malicia, quam habuit quando cecidit de celo, custodiuisse. 25

H: Non dicit quando, et ideo potuit ex facultate huiusmodi sue sciencie et nequicie illum peccatorem temptasse et sic victum in futuro iudicio accusandum obseruasse.

5–7 fides...hereticus] *cf.* Reu. VII, 7, 15 11–16 de...fieri] *cf.* Reu. VII, 10, 14 et 20
23–25 demonem...custodiuisse] *cf.* Reu. VII, 13, 31

5 vii] li C ii E | et] *deest* ACDE 6 quantiscumque] ADE quantisque BC 7 sit] fuerit
ADE 8 ipse] *deest* C 12 esse] est ADE 13 maledicti] maledicti et AD (*et in marg.*
A) 17 Si] *deest* C 18 tunc] *deest* ACDE 19 dictare] *deest* C 21 Domini] Domini
sui D 22 aliud] *deest* ACDE | intencionem] intencionem A | mandantis] mandatis C
27 sciencie] sentencie C | sic] *deest* C

A cxxxiii: In capitulo xxvi dicitur, quod virgo Maria xv diebus iacuit in sepulchro, post quos resuscitata assumpta est.

H: Hoc congruebat sue originali innocencie, prout pie tenet fides verisimilis ecclesie.

5 **A cxxxiiii:** Ibidem concluditur, quod nullum corpus humanum est in celo nisi Filii Dei et beate Virginis.

H: Et merito, vt priuilegio primitiuo militantis iusticie respondeat prerogatiua primicialis glorie.

10 **A cxxxv:** In capitulo xxvii dicitur, quod peccatum veniale, in quo perseuerat homo cum delectacione, efficitur mortale.

H: Non dicit formaliter, quomodo illud est impossibile, (quamuis materialiter et occasionaliter sit possibile) in illo presertim, qui adheret delectabili ex suo genere veniali finaliter fruitiue.

15 **A cxxxvi:** In octauo libro ad reges xi capitulo consulit regi et regine coniugibus rumpere votum continencie non faciendo mencionem de dispensacione.

H: Loquitur de voto ex feruore nouicio indiscrete emisso per consilium sapientum soluendo et ideo non excludit dispensacionem sapientibus notam.

20 **A cxxxvii:** In capitulo ix dicitur, quod numquam ex semine prouocantis Deum ad iram veniet populo salus et fructus.

H: Ibi ly "numquam" negat omne tempus communis legis, non tollens interualla preuilegiati accidentis ad sensum Sapientis similia verba de adulteris comminantis. Non enim sibi contrariantur "numquam" de iure, et

1-2 virgo...est] cf. Reu. VII, 26, 3 5-6 nullum...Virginis] cf. Reu. VII, 26, 5
9-10 peccatum...mortale] cf. Reu. VII, 27, 16 14-16 consulit...dispensacione] cf.
Reu. VIII, 11, 5sq 20-21 numquam...fructus] cf. Reu. VIII, 9, 4
23-24 similia...comminantis] cf. Vulg. Sap 3, 16

3 sue] suo AE 4 verisimilis] vinuersalis D 6 beate Virginis] beatissime virginis
Marie ADE 8 glorie] glorie triumphantis ADE 11 dicit] de' C | impossibile]
possibile DE (ex impossibile in possibile E) 13 fruitiue] fruitiuo C 15 rumpere]
rumpe(?) C | faciendo] faciens C 17 ex] supra lin. B | per consilium] de consilio ADE
ex consilio C 18 soluendo] soluendum C 20 dicitur] deest C

"aliquando" de gracia, eo quod vniuersalitas graciae miserentis ambit vniuersaliter iusticie legem ponentis.

A cxxxviii: In capitulo xlvii videtur ponere quandam circumincessionem Patris, Filii et Spiritus sancti et beate Virginis, cum dicit quod vbicumque ingreditur Spiritus Dei, ingreditur Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus et mater cum Filio. "Ego quippe habui Filium Dei in me cum deitate et humanitate sua. Ideo Deus Pater habet me in deitate sua et est vinculum dileccionis nostre Spiritus ille, qui est in Patre, et ipse est in me et numquam possumus separari".

H: Loquitur de circuminceptione mutue caritatis, quomodo dicit Apostolus: *Quis me separabit a caritate Christi?*, eo quod per hanc teste Iohanne Deus est in ipsum diligente et econuerso.

A cxxxix: In penultimo capitulo videtur sentire transsubstantiationem in sacramento eucharistie terminari ad virginem Mariam sicut ad corpus Christi. Ait enim se vidisse in manu sacerdotis hostiam, in qua fuit agnus, et in agno facies hominis et virgo coronata sedebat in agno.

H: Non dicit "sedebat in agno" sed "consedebat agno", per quod intelligitur familiaris gloriose Dei genitricis suo Filio in regno celorum, quam prefiguratur eucharistia, consessio.

A cxl: In sermone angelico capitulo iiii seu in prima lectione ferie secunde dicit angelos in eodem puncto, quo fuerunt creati, plus letatos fuisse in Dei visione, quod Mariam Deus creare volebat, quam quod eos creauerat.

5–9 vbicumque...separari] cf. Reu. VIII, 47, 30sq. 11 Quis...Christi] Vulg. Rm 8, 35 12 Deus...econuerso] cf. Vulg. I Io 4, 16 14–17 transsubstantiationem...agno] cf. Reu. VIII, 56, 74 et supra, A iiii 22–24 angelos...creauerat] cf. SA 4, 13–17

1 vniuersalitas] vtilitas CD | miserentis] miserantis C 2 vniuersaliter] vtiliter D 3 xlvii] ex? in xlvii A xxix CE | quandam] quando Adam C 4 circumincessionem] circuminceptionem D | Filii] et Filii ACDE 5 Dei] filius Dei C 8 est¹] ACDE in B 10 circuminceptione] circuminceptione AD 11 eo] et A 12 in] deest B | econuerso] e contrario A 14 transsubstantiationem] ADE translationem BC 17 sedebat in] consedebat AE considerabat D 18 sed...agno] H C 19 Dei] Virginis Dei C 20 quam] quod(am?) A quod CDE | prefiguratur] prefigura AE | eucharistia] eucharistie C 21 In...seu] in nouo libro de lectionibus C 23 quod¹] quia D

H: Possibile est loquendo de leticia consequente noticiam et caritatem Dei suam futuram matrem supra omnes puras creaturas prediligentis et in futuram hominum et angelorum reginam predestinantis, eo quod amor Dei intenditur secundum dignitatem boni diuini.

5 **A cxli:** Capitulo iiii seu leccione eadem dicit demones in eodem puncto sue creacionis suo Creatori inuidisse et protinus de felicitate in eternam miseriam cecidisse.

H: Non dicit eos in illo puncto cecidisse sed cepisse inuidere et cadere, ita quod in primo instanti fuerunt cum aliis angelis in statu
10 innocencie per naturalia et gratuita illi statui necessaria perfecti, sed statim in proximo siue secundo instanti fuerunt a suo Creatore ad bonum proprium auersi.

A cxlii: Dicit etiam ibidem capitulo iiii seu leccione eadem, quod illi
15 angeli mali nouerunt in illo puncto sue creacionis Mariam futuram matrem Domini maiori caritati reseruari.

H: Nimirum, cum erant tunc in deliciis paradisi tanta sciencie plenitudine prediti, vt nedum preuiderunt in speculo eternitatis ipsis naturaliter et gratuite impresso futuram legis nature sed etiam figure et
20 gracie disposicionem, quamuis in hac visione non poterant ante finalem liberi arbitrii assensum et anagogiam confirmari feliciter.

A cxliii: Capitulo viii seu in secunda leccione ferie tercie dicit credible Habraham de hac futura filia Maria magis quam de Ysaac filio suo exultasse.

H: Dicit notanter "credibile", non "forte", quasi angelus hoc dictans
25 fuit illius incerte scius, sed quia de futuris contingentibus non habetur ex natura rei prescencia immobilis, quin ymmo eius certitudo dependet dumtaxat a Deo, cui proprium est futura contingencia infallibiliter

5–7 demones...cecidisse] cf. SA 4, 4-5 13–15 illi...reseruari] cf. SA 4, 10sqq
22–23 credible...exultasse] cf. SA 8, 8sqq

1 Possibile est] hoc possibile est ADE 3 Dei] Deo C 4 diuini] domini AE
5 Capitulo...dicit] dicit in eadem quod C 6 creacionis] ex cracionis(?) in creacionis A
cracionis E 8 puncto] punctu AE 11 secundo] in secundo ADE | ad...auersi] auersi
ad bonum proprium ADE 13 capitulo...eadem] deest C 16 tunc] etiam ADE
17 preuiderunt] preuiderent D | ipsis] ipsum C 18 et!] deest C 21 Capitulo...seu]
deest C 22 magis] deest C | Ysaac...suo] filio suo Ysaac C 24 quasi] ACDE quam
B

preuidere iuxta illud Ysaie: Annunciate, que futura sunt, et dicam, quia dii estis vos. **2** Aut forsitan possit "probabiliter" dici, quod quamuis angeli boni in speculo glorie preuideant omnia ad suam beatitudinem essencialem pertinencia, tamen discunt vicissim consilii diuini archana ad vtilitatem aliorum ipsis ierarchice subiectorum et ad beatitudinem eorum accidentalem pertinencia, prout videtur sentire Apostolus, dum ait per ecclesiam innotescere misterium ewangelii principatibus et potestatibus celestibus. **3** Itaque credibile est, quod Habraham preuidit in spiritu sue repromissionis de benedicendis gentibus in suo semine Mariam fore in gracia et veritate diuiniorum seu deiformiorum quam Ysaac et ita eam amore gratuito magis dilexit. Et per consequens, cum exultatio sit gaudium ex caritate dyastolen cordis faciens, de illa futura eius filia verisimiliter magis exultauit quam de prole proxima.

A cxliiii: Capitulo x seu in prima leccione ferie quarte dicit bene conueniens et dignum illum diem cum magna reuerencia haberi, qua materia illa in vtero Anne concepta fuit et collecta, ex qua benedictum corpus matris Dei formari debebat.

H: Sicut solempnizatur dedicacio templi materialis et inuencio vel translacio reliquiarum, sicut diffuse prefatum est.

A cxlv: In secunda leccione eiusdem ferie seu capitulo xi dicit Filium Dei magis a Patre separatum quando Virgo corporaliter eum peperit, quam quando Pater sine corpore genuit.

H: Proponis hunc articulum multum truncate et, salua gracia tua, mendose, quia textus plane dicit contrarium, vtputa, quod quando Virgo Filium Dei peperit corporaliter non fuisse ipsum a Patre magis separatum, quam quando genuit eum suus Pater intemporaliter. Cuius racio est immensa et immobilis tocius deitatis in seipsa consistencia, igitur, si posset

1–2 Annunciate...vos] cf. Is 41, 23 6–8 per...celestibus] cf. Vulg. Eph 3, 10
14–17 bene...debebat] cf. SA 10, 19 20–22 Filium...genuit] cf. SA 11, 20

2 probabiliter] probaliter AE 4 vicissim] deest C 5 ierarchice] ierarchie AE
8 quod] quia ADE 13 proxima] propria D 14 A cxliiii] A cxxxiiii E | Capitulo...seu] deest C 15 dignum] dignum esse (esse in marg. manu II) A 16 materia] ex maria in materia E | fuit...collecta] et collecta fuit C 18 vel] seu C 20 A cxlv] cxxxv E seu...xi] deest ACE 21 corporaliter eum] eum deest ADE 24 mendose] false et mendose C | quod] deest C 25 a...magis] magis a Patre ADE 26 intemporaliter] incorporaliter ACDE 27 consistencia] sistens C | igitur] que ADE

a seipsa personaliter per proprietatem temporum, situs aut loci elongari, non possit indiuisibilis et immensa verificari.

5 **A cxlvi:** Capitulo xvi seu leccione prima ferie sexte dicit Virginem expauisse in affatu angeli, non propter metum aut periculum sui corporis sed quia inimici fraudulenciam ad anime sue nocumentum adesse formidauit.

H: Cur, queso, hoc velut in fide sana suspectum obicis, cum testetur Apostolus, quod angelus Sathane solet se transfigurare in angelum lucis?

10 **A cxlvii:** Capitulo xx seu in secunda leccione diei sabbati dicit demones pocius velle pati omnes penas inferni, quam contradicerent aliquibus preceptis Virginis et "quando aliquis auxilium Virginis ex caritate implorat, illico pauidi diffugiunt malentes penas et miserias sibi multiplicari, quam Virginem talem supra se dominari".

15 **H:** Prima pars huius articuli ad litteram textus, vnde est infideliter extractus, loquitur de angelis bonis, secunda de malis. Et ratio primi fundatur in deiformi caritate, ratio secundi in obstinato Dei odio, prout diffuse discussum et resolutorie per quedam principia communia iuxta exiguitatis mee modulum fuit antea declaratum.

20 **A cxlviii:** Hii sunt precipui articuli qui nonnullis sacre pagine professoribus videntur piarum aurium offensiui. Inter quos illi sunt magis absoni, qui sunt vane glorie per adulacionem dyabolicam melliflue palpatiui.

H: Scio, quod vana gloria est a discipulis sapiencie eterne ideo aliena, quia doctrix et magistra illius est virtuosa et zelosa Spiritus sancti

3–6 Virginem...formidauit] cf. SA 16, 1 8 angelus...lucis] cf. Vulg. II Cor 11, 14
10–13 demones...dominari] cf. SA 20, 6sq 16–18 prout...declaratum] cf.
Fundamentum 10 et 13 (UUB MS C518 fol. 156rv et 157r)

1 temporum] temporis ADE 2 possit] posset D 3 Capitulo...seu] deest C 7 Cur queso] ACDE queso cerne B 8 lucis] Luce octauo C 9 Capitulo...seu] deest C dicit] dicit quod C 10 omnes] miserias scilicet C | contradicerent aliquibus] contradicere in aliquibus A contradicere in aliquo DE 11 ex...implorat] implorat ex caritate ADE 13 supra] super D 17 diffuse] commissce(?) post diffuse del. C 19 qui] que C | sacre] sacro C 20 videntur] videretur C 23 est] supra lin. E

beniuolencia finaliter ad seipsam conuersiua et ita omni sapienciali sue prouidencie distribucione in gloriam Dei ordinatiua.

A cxlix: Huiusmodi vanitatem videtur vtique Birgitta habuisse, dum in variis suarum Reuelacionum capitulis se predicat cum Deo, vt electam sponsam cum sponso, familiariter confabulari meruisse et eius archana per multiformem mentis excessum didicisse.

H: Nonne pariformiter Moyses se testatur fuisse mitissimum et Deo familiarissimum, eius colloqui ore ad os et visionis clare sine figuris et enigmate expertum. Et similiter Paulus confidit se ex consciencia Christi in ipso loquentis veritatis testem seipsum de plerisque virtutibus, ad instar palponis vaniglorii, commendantem. **2** Iohannes quoque in apocalipsi, sicut Petrus et Paulus et plerique prophete suos raptus et extases spirituales inueniuntur denudasse et in scriptis reliquisse. Sed et Sapiens se astruit cum sapiencia spiritualem desponsacionem fecisse. **3** Si ergo, vt supra allegatum est, ex moralibus Gregorii mos sacre scripture est de suo scriptore, sicut de alio, eloquium formare propter hoc suppositum, quod apud veritatem, quam explicat, non est accepcio personarum, quomodo poterit ex hoc Birgitta iuste reprehendi, quod motu Spiritus eam rapientis loquitur de se, sicut de aliis, quicquid ei talis benignus et indifferens veritatis suggestit Spiritus? **4** Et si scribitur, quod Dyabolus loquebatur de virtuositate Iob cum Deo et disputauit cum Christo, cui, dum ipsum racione et experientia conuictus nouisset Dei Filium, legitur clamasse talis veritatis testimonium, quis sane mentis audeat os in celum ponere et verum Sathane de caritate Birgitte testimonium exsecrare tamquam illusiue adulatorium?

A cl: Per hoc non euadis, quin huiusmodi scripta sint tanquam offensiua piarum aurium reprobanda!

15–16 mos...formare] *cf supra*, H [xxii] et Gregorius, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. XXV, super Iob 34, 19.

1 omni...distribucione] omni sapiencialis sue prouidencie distribucionis **AE** omnia spiritali sue prouidencie distribucione **C** omnis sapiencialis sue prouidencie distribucionis **D** 6 excessum] concessum **C** 13 Sapiens] sapientes **C** 14 desponsacionem fecisse] desponsacionem se fecisse **AC** se *post* desponsacionem *del.* **E** | vt supra] *ex vis in* vt supra **A** 15 Gregorii] beati Gregorii **ADE** 16 suppositum] scripsi, suppositum(?) **ABE** (iuste reprehendi *post* suppositum *del.* **B**) semper **C** supponitur **D** 17 quomodo] *deest* **C** 18 motu] modo **ADE** 19 loquitur] loquatur **D** | ei] *deest* **C** | indifferens] differentis **C** 22 conuictus] *deest* **ADE** conuictas **C** 23 verum] verbum **ADE** 26 scripta] sunt *post* scripta *del.* **C**

H: Aures pie sunt ad obediendum doctrine salutari beniuole, ex quo pietas est beniuolencia in parentale bonum. Cui beniuolencie, quia repugnat preceps doctrine ignote paruipensio, ideo illorum aures non reputo pias, qui hanc alias prememoratam principis apostolorum violant
5 regulam *ministrate in fide virtutem, in virtute scienciam, in sciencia abstinentiam, in abstinentia pacienciam, in paciencia pietatem, in pietate amorem fraternitatis, in amore fraternitatis caritatem.*

A cli: Quid ergo vultis concludere?

H: Non omni spiritui, donec probetur, si ex Deo est, credendum fore, 10 et in re dubia nichil precipitanter diffinire ac sic in medio timoris et amoris in neutram partem aliter quam suadeat veritatis indubitanter diuinitus reuelate auctoritas aut ratio, declinando humiliter versari seu consistere, 2 itaque nichil precipitanter, presumptuose aut temere contra veritatem sentencie diffinitive aut persuasive quorumlibet aliorum in sacra pagina
15 peritorum per ea, que prescripta sunt, defendendo sed dumtaxat verisimiliorem meo iudicio discipline salutaris pietatem, donec forsitan fidelius fuero informatus, cum omni reuerencia et sine preiudicio sentencie sanioris aliter sciencium, probabiliter amplectendo.

Elicio ex omnibus premissis corollarie, quod stante huiusmodi
20 indiscussa doctorum controuersia non est tutum dictum librum Reuelacionum aliter quam intitulantur libri Apocryphi de reuelacionibus celestibus intitulare, quamuis ego verisimilius putem ipsum verius posse dici talem quam, sicut quidam autumant, illusionum somnialium.

In qua confidentia conuerto me finaliter ad sanctam Birgittam per hec
25 metra:

5--7 ministrate...caritatem] Vulg. II Pt 1, 5

2 beniuolencia] et beneuolencia **D** | in parentale] in parentele **ACDE**
bonum...beniuolencie] *deest* **C** 4 qui] que **D** 5 in virtute] et virtute(?) **C**
8 concludere] concludere de omnibus prememoratis articulis ac de deipso toto libro
Reuelacionum celestium beate Birgitte? **A** *Sequitur in A:* Quid itaque de prememoratis
(...) (*vide infra in appendice*). 9 Non...23 somnialium] *deest* **A** | spiritui] spiritu **C**
12 humiliter] humilitatem **DE** (*ex ? D*) 15 prescripta] scripta **C** | defendendo] (*deest*
A) defen. **E** do *supra lin.* **B** defendere **D** 17 fidelius] filius **C** | et] *deest* **C**
18 sciencium] sciendum **D** 19 Elicio...23 somnialium] **DE** (*corollarie*)
correlarium **D**) *erasit* **B** *deest* **AC** 24 In...confidentia] et **C** | In...224,1 Felix] metra
eiusdem **A**

Felix regnicola paradisi, sancta Birgitta,
sponsa Dei grata, mistica discipula!

Hec sunt que potui solerter presto rimari
circa premissos, vt patet, articulos.

Que si sint vera, si iustaque si bene sensa
aut hiis contraria, tu proba vel reproba
hoc satagens pro me, quod velis ipsa precari,
vt detur hiis dictis gracia cum venia,
quam merear per te diuinitus hic reperire,
qua valeam cum te viuere perpetue.

5

10

4 premissos] prescriptos ACDE 5 iustaque] iusta ACDE | bene] pie ACDE
7 quod...precari] misero deuote patrare AC misero deuote precare DE (*ex patrare in
precare manu II D*) 8 cum] vel ACDE 10 valeam...te] valeamus tecum D | perpetue]
perpetue amen ADE perpetue. Finit tractatus Homerici C

APPENDIX

H: Quid itaque de articulis prememoratis in summa absque preiudicio sentencie sanioris sub correccione omnimoda tam superius in hac materia scriptorum quam infra notandorum iuxta sentenciam presentis concilii Basiliensis et diffinicionem cuiusque catholici doctoris, cui creditum fuerit iudicium fidei, pie rationabiliterque sciendum sit? **2** Hoc est, quod dictus liber, vnde illi articuli sunt plerumque infideliter extracti, non est dyabolice illusorius, non somnialiter fantasticus, non poetice fictus, non per studium adinuencionis humane compositus, neque per solam erudicionis angelice doctrinam reuelatus, sed est discipline salutaris desuper reuelate et per varias Dei, Christi, angelorum et hominum appariciones, prout congruebat dispositioni capacitatis naturalis discipule per eas proporcionaliter instructe, multiformiter manifestate. **3** Ni fallor litteraliter, parabolice et mystice, sub stilo simplici et sententia multipliciter subtili, quandoque magis verorum quam verisimilium contentiuus ac per hoc est more sacre pagine partim sapientum partimque insipientum eruditius quasdam implicans theophanie mystice margaritas canibus et porcis occultandas. **4** Racio primi dicti est, quia, vt ait Dyonysius quarto capitulo De diuinis nominibus: *Triplex est malum demonis, scilicet furor irrationabilis, demens concupiscencia et fantasia proterua*, quibus non est modesta, humilis et rationabilis doctrina propositi libri quomodolibet fermentata, **5** ratio secundi, quia methaphore in ipso posite non sunt confuse et ambigue sed intelligibiliter declarate, ad modum quo ait Daniel, quod *intelligencia opus est in visione*, et Aristoteles in libro

19–21 Triplex...proterua] cf. Dionysius, De diuinis nominibus cap. 4, pag. 279 colon. 4 (secundum Hilduinum) **24** intelligencia...visione] Dn 10, 1

2 Quid...226,26 iusticia] *Textus in codd. BCDE ante Prologum huius Dialogi inuenitur.* **4** quam] qua C | infra notandorum] *in marg. manu II A* **5** cuiusque] cuiuscumque C | cui] cum C | fuerit] fuit D **6** pie...sit] pieque rationabiliter scencio C **7** infideliter] falsi et infideliter C **8** somnialiter] est somnialiter A somnolenter C fictus] confictus D *ex confictus(?) in fictus E* **9** studium] ? *post studium B* adinuencionis] inuencionis ADE | compositus] positus C | neque] nec AD **12** discipule] discipline ADE **13** proporcionaliter] proportionabiliter C | manifestate] manifeste C **15** multipliciter] multiformiter ADE | quandoque] quanquam D verorum] vera C | verisimilium] verisimilia C **16** more] ACD mare B | pagine] scripture C **17** insipientum] sapientium C **18** est] hec est ACDE **19** nominibus] nominibus quod ADE nominibus quia C **20** irrationabilis] irracionalis C doctrina *post irracionalis del. C* **22** quomodolibet] quamlibet C | fermentata] fermentanda ADE

Diuinacionis somnialis, quod artificiosissimus somniorum interpres est, qui potest similitudines inspicere, id est intelligibiliter discernere, **6** ratio tercia, quia, vt dicit Philosophus i Methaphisice, *multa menciuntur poete*, a quibus mendaciis doctrina dicti libri ad sensum, quem hincinde confert, sane intellecta inuenitur immunis et absoluta, **7** ratio quarti, quia multa 5
 disserit de archanis mirabilium diuinorum et status ierarchici angelorum et hominum misteriis naturalem rationis humane indaginem transcendentibus, **8** ratio quinti, quia non testamenti veteris, quod Deus dedit per ministerium angelorum principaliter, commemorat precepta, ceremonias et iudicia sed reuocat ad memoriam testamenti noui a Deo per 10
 suum Filium incarnatum administrati sanctimonias per negligenciam ministrorum ecclesiasticorum enormiter lapsas, deformatas et deordinatas. **9** Ratio sexti patet ex ypothesi sufficientis induccionis satis, vt arbitror, enodate in premissis. Nam cum omnis clare cognicionis doctrina non ficta aut studio hominis proprio inuenta sed aliunde ostensa sit reuelacio, que 15
 vel fit a Deo, angelo, Dyabolo vel homine, tunc predicta doctrina absque velaminibus eius intelligenciam occultantibus patefacta, dicitur proprie reuelata. **10** Et quia non fallaciter a Dyabolo aut somnio neque naturaliter ab homine aut more legis veteris figuraliter ab angelo sed per varia 20
 sanctorum et sanctarum, tam in somno quam in vigilia, oracula per illuminationem internam mentis extasim passe intelligibiliter declarata, quam illuminationem solus Deus inspirat, **11** idcirco meo verisimili iudicio dicta reuelacio censenda est celestis seu diuina, vt doctrix discipline Dei eterna Sapiencia glorificetur in sua discipula, ad modum quo laudatur sua essentialis et fontana sanctitas in participata suorum 25
 sanctorum iusticia.

1–2 artificiosissimus...inspicere] cf. Aristoteles, Parua naturalia. Vol. 1. p. 464b, lin. 5-7. **3** multa...poete] AA op. 1, sent. 26 (Metaphysica I)

1 quod] quia C **2** qui] que C **5** et] in marg. A **8** non] non est C **11** incarnatum] ACDE incarnati B **13** ypothesi] ex vph in ypothesi C **15** aliunde] abunde A | sit] sic C **16** fit] sic C **18** neque] nec A **20** somno] sompno C **21** passe] posse C intelligibiliter] verisimiliter intelligibiliter C **22** verisimili] deest C **25** fontana] fonta:r C fontalis D | suorum] suo C **26** iusticia] Sequitur in codd. BCDE rubrica et prologus Dyalogi: Sequitur prohemium et prologus (...). Sequitur in cod. A Explicit Dyalogus Heymerici de Campo.

PART III:

Index, Sources and Bibliography

Index of names of persons and communities

This index records names and communities discussed in Part I, Introduction. The names are given in the form they have in the Introduction. Authors etc. mentioned but not discussed in the Introduction are generally not recorded in the index, as are not the frequent mentions of Heymericus de Campo, Vadstena Abbey and St. Birgitta.

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Heymericus de Campo:
Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte

A Critical Edition with an Introduction by

ANNA FREDRIKSSON ADMAN

Dissertation in Latin to be publicly examined in Ihresalen, SVC, on September 27, 2003, at 10:15 a.m., for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

Fredriksson Adman, A. 2003: Heymericus de Campo: *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*. A Critical Edition with an Introduction. 242p. Uppsala. ISBN 91-554-5694-4.

This dissertation contains an edition of *Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte*, which is a discussion and defence of the Revelations (*Reuelaciones*) of St. Birgitta of Sweden (ca. 1303-1373). In legal proceedings at the Council of Basle (1431-1449), the *Reuelaciones* were accused of heresy, examined and defended. Among the defenders was Heymericus de Campo (1395-1460), who at that time was professor in theology at the University of Cologne. In addition to the formal examination reports, Heymericus wrote a dialogue on the subject. The *Dyalogus*, which was probably composed as a contribution to a debate, is tentatively dated to have been written between October 1434 and February 17, 1435. The main part of *Dyalogus* consists of 123 text passages extracted from the *Reuelaciones* and accused of heresy, and Heymericus' defence of these text passages. The aim of the defence is to prove that the *Reuelaciones* are truly orthodox and thus inspired by God. In addition, Heymericus intends to display the reasons and arguments the impugnors had for questioning the *Reuelaciones*. *Dyalogus* and the other defences were read and copied foremost within the Birgittine order. The judgement passed at the proceedings called for a commentary before the *Reuelaciones* could be disseminated to the whole of their extent. To the Birgittines the defences of Basle filled this purpose, at least for some time.

The extensive introduction deals with the historical context of the text, its use and importance, its place within the author's literary production, the contents and language of the text, and finally the textual transmission. Vadstena Abbey's copy of the text is chosen as base manuscript for the edition.

Key-words: Medieval Latin, Medieval Theology, St. Birgitta of Sweden, visionary literature, Heymericus de Campo, Council of Basle, Birgittines, Vadstena Abbey, heresy, discernment of spirits, dialogue

Anna Fredriksson Adman, Department of Classical Philology, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden