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


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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Contents

Part I. Introduction

Preliminary remarks ................................................................................................... 13
1. Presentation ............................................................................................................ 14

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..................................................................................................... 15
The term Reuelaciones ................................................................................... 15
Previous investigations................................................................................... 16
Background: the first stages of the proceedings........................................... 17
The Birgittine reaction.................................................................................... 18
The legal proceedings: the first commission and the indictment ........ 19
“Birgittine account of 1434/1435” .............................................................. 21
The setting up of two subsequent commissions ......................................... 25
The judgement ................................................................................................ 29
The Birgittine reaction to the judgement ...................................................... 32
The treatment of the judgement in previous research ......................... 32

2. 2. Observations to form a basis for a new investigation about the judgement
Introduction..................................................................................................... 34
Activities in Vadstena Abbey 1436-1446 connected
with the judgement ............................................................................. 36
Draft document of 1456-1465 from Vadstena Abbey. Auisamentum ...... 40
How did the Birgittines in Vadstena Abbey respond
unofficially to the judgement? ........................................................... 44
About the treatment of the judgement in the
Birgittine writing of history.............................................................. 47
Conclusions about the situation 1436-1465(?) – official and
unofficial activities of the Birgittines in Vadstena Abbey .......... 48
The story of the “introduction to the defence corpus” ......................... 48
The story of the judgement in Codex A .................................................. 51
Possible sources of the story of the judgement in Codex A .......... 53
Reservations .............................................................................................. 54

2. 3. An attempt to reconcile the divergent statements on the validity
of the judgement and the Birgittine response to it
Recapitulation ........................................................................................................... 55
The role of the defences .......................................................................................... 55
The defences in the daughter houses ...................................................................... 59
Remaining consequences of the proceedings ......................................................... 60

2. 4. Appendices to chapter 2.
Appendix 2. 4. 1: Account of April 6, 1434 in RA, Parchment letter of March 23, 1436 ................................................................. 62
Appendix 2. 4. 2: Birgittine account of 1434/1435. UUB MS C 518, fol. 3vb, line 21– fol. 4vb, line 28 ......................................................... 63
Appendix 2. 4. 3: The judgement of Ludovicus of Arles.
RA, Cod. A 19, fol. 121v-122r ............................................................................. 65
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 .............................................. 66
Appendix 2. 4. 5: Draft document of 1456-1465, first third part of, in RA, Cod. A 20, fol. 286v ......................................................................................... 67
Appendix 2. 4. 6: Introduction to the defence corpus. UUB MS C 518, fol. 20vb, line 20 – fol. 21ra ................................................................. 68
Appendix 2. 4. 7: The epilogue to Auisamentum in Codex A.
KB Brussels, MS 1451-53, fol. 31ra, line 31– fol. 31va ........................................ 69

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 ............................................................................................................... 70
Influences on Heymericus’ philosophical theology ................................................. 72
Types and genres of Heymericus’ writings ............................................................... 74
Heymericus’ work as university representative at the Council of Basle ............................................................................................................................. 78
Other dialogues by or attributed to Heymericus .................................................... 79

3. 2. Heymericus’ contributions in the field of St. Birgitta’s Reuelaciones
Survey of the texts and their functions ................................................................ 80
Summary descriptions of the different texts by Heymericus in UUB MS C 518 ................................................................................................................. 83

3. 3. The commission in Basle
Heymericus’ writing of Dyalogus ............................................................................ 94
Dating of Dyalogus .................................................................................................. 97
Why did Heymericus choose the dialogue form and for whom did he write? ...... 100
Heymericus’ relations to the Birgittine order ............................................. 101

4. Dyalogus

4. 1. Structure, contents and discussion of Dyalogus

The structure of Dyalogus ............................................................................ 103
Table 1: Plan of the different parts of Dyalogus ........................................... 103
The aims of Dyalogus in relation to the other defences ............................ 104
Contents ........................................................................................................... 105
Issues discussed ............................................................................................ 106
The discussion in Dyalogus and the argumentation of “H” ....................... 107
Indirect accusations of the adversary .......................................................... 109
Heymericus’ response to the indirect accusations ...................................... 110
Heymericus’ opinion as examinator ............................................................. 111

4. 2. Language and style in Dyalogus

Introduction ................................................................................................... 113
Language features specific for Dyalogus, its subject and form ............ 114
Heymericus’ vocabulary and grammar in general .................................... 116
Construction of sentences – the role of the definitions ......................... 117
The use and heaping of genitives ............................................................... 118
The construction of the sentences and rhetorical ornament ................... 119
Concluding comment ................................................................................... 125

5. Descriptions of the manuscripts and how they are related

5. 1. Description of the extant manuscripts

Introduction ................................................................................................... 126
Copy B in codex B, UUB MS C 518 ............................................................ 127
Copy A in codex A, KBR MS 1451-53. ....................................................... 130
Copy C in codex C, BSB MS Clm. 8046 ...................................................... 133
Copy D in codex D, BSB MS Clm. 27047a ................................................ 134
Copy E in codex E, Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan, MS lat. 1 ............ 136
Copy F in codex F, BSB MS Clm. 27047b ..................................................... 139
Major differences between the MSS and their copies of Dyalogus ....... 139
Table 2, Plan of the order of the texts in the different manuscript codices ...... 142

5. 2. The tradition of the text and tentative stemma codicum

Manuscripts to consider ............................................................................. 144
Heymericus’ hand and Heymericus’ scribe ................................................. 144
The Autograph (H1) .................................................................................. 145
b1 .................................................................................................................. 146
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H2 and B</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D and F, d3, d2 and d1</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan MS lat. 1 (codex E) and the Syon defence corpus (codex d1)</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyalogus: Relations between the MSS</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of the extant manuscripts is a direct copy of the autograph</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common errors and problematic readings in ABCDEF, and emendations made in the edition</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary remarks on the stemma</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABDEF form a group</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errors and peculiar readings not binding C to the ABDEF group</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C is not the source manuscript of any of the other copies</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the redaction of C</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADEF form a group</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DF form a group</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The relation between D and F</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE form a group</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A copy of E</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrections in A</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The corrector of A and his source manuscript(s)</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A and Y</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The transmission of the text of copy B and b2</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General remarks</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotations</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normalization</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthography</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some remarks on the transcription of B</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readings not recorded in the apparatus</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of abbreviations used in the edition</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part II. Critical edition of Dyalogus super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte magistri Heymerici de Campo | 171 |
Appendix: Quid itaque                                                  | 224 |

Part III. Index, sources and literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Index of names of persons and communities</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources and literature</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Bibliothek, 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”. 

11
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 qualifyers 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

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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

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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 Extravagantes*. The *Extravagantes* 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 *addiciones* 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 klosters och birgittinordens historia intill midten af 1400-talet*, especially 201-224.


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


Sahlin in 2001.\textsuperscript{11} Other scholars have mentioned the event, without making any considerable new contributions to the question.\textsuperscript{12}

**Background: the first stages of the proceedings**

The general Council of Basle opened in 1431.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{ad instar}, which seemingly had provoked the chapter of Lübeck to call them to justice.\textsuperscript{15} This case, which initially seems to have been handled by the general deputation,\textsuperscript{16} was to lead to an examination of the orthodoxy of St. Birgitta’s \textit{Reuelaciones}.

St. Birgitta’s \textit{Reuelaciones} had by the time of the Council of Basle been thoroughly examined several times.\textsuperscript{17} The books did cause suspicion and criticism from some

\textsuperscript{11} Sahlin, \textit{Birgitta of Sweden and the Voice of Prophecy}, especially p. 221sqq.
\textsuperscript{12} Morris, \textit{St. Birgitta of Sweden}, p. 158; Helmrath, \textit{Das Basler Konzil 1431-1449: Forschungsstand und Probleme}, p. 404-406 and Colledge, \textit{Epistola solitarii ad reges: Alphonse of Pecha as Organizer of Birgittine and Urbanist Propaganda}, p. [46]-[49] with some too generous interpretations of Höjer, \textit{Studier} and other sources. Unfortunately, some accounts are quite misleading; cf. for example Kemp, \textit{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).
\textsuperscript{13} Cf. the brief description of the council’s structure, composition, ideas and tendencies in Schatz, \textit{Allgemeine Konzilien: Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte}, p. 149-153. For a full account, see Helmrath, \textit{Das Basler Konzil}.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Deputatio fidei, pacis, reformationis} and \textit{deputatio pro communitibus}. In the deputations the four nations Italy, France, Germany and Spain were represented.
\textsuperscript{15} Cf. Höjer, \textit{Studier} p. 202 and 204-206 and Silfverstolpe, \textit{Om kyrkans angrepp}, p. 12; Westman, K. B., \textit{Striden}, p. 281-282. The most important indulgences \textit{ad instar} of the Birgittines were the St. Petri ad vincula and Portiuncula indulgences. All indulgences \textit{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, \textit{Studier}, p. 146sqq, 186 and Silfverstolpe, \textit{Om kyrkans angrepp}, p. 11).
\textsuperscript{16} The general deputation in autumn 1433 dealt with issues concerning St. Birgitta’s order, cf. Höjer, \textit{Studier} p. 205. Probably, the issues concerned the Marienwold case (cf. the account in \textit{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”).
\textsuperscript{17} A general account of the different examination processes involving Birgittines that preceded the one in Basle is given by among others Silfverstolpe, \textit{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, 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. 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. 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. 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.

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 ejus Revelationum volumine plenissime descibuntur” 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.
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. 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, 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.

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. 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, and part of it was printed in Silfverstolpe’s article of 1895. 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):

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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 Cfr. *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 (cfr. *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

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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 examinators 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 examinators found no less then 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 examinators.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 Helm Rath, 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 (Helm Rath, 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,\textsuperscript{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"\textsuperscript{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 Arragonoy’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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{43}

This magister Matthias Döring, the above mentioned minister of the minorites in the province of Saxony, being something like the principal and Achilleus of all impugners 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

\textsuperscript{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 ... quendum) ”venerabilem et circumspectum magistrum” were omitted, while the words (Nicolaum) ”nomine quorundam adversariorum 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 alis tribus infrascriptis”, an addition which is misleading, as the chronology gets confused.

\textsuperscript{41} Regarding Matthias Döring, cf. Helmrath, 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.

\textsuperscript{42} i. e. Reuelaciones.

\textsuperscript{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 attestations and also from the canonization bull and legenda beate Birgitte, 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 received 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 \textit{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 \textit{Sancte Marie Transtiberim} once \textit{Sancti Sixti}, of the Spanish nation, and the venerable man master Heymericus de Campo, magister and professor in sacred theology, then at the \textit{alma} University of Cologne, now vice-chancellor and \textit{lector ordinarius} at the faculty of theology of the University of Leuven, of the German nation, and the reverend father and \textit{dominus, dominus} Johannes Roberti, abbot of the monastery of Bonneval of the Cistercian order of the French nation, and the pious father and \textit{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, \textbf{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, \textbf{that these books} of St. Birgitta’s Revelations and their articles rightly understood \textbf{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 recibed for examination by several other venerable masters and doctors these people (...)”, possibly introduces yet a new source for the Birgittine account of 1434/1435.\footnote{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.} This account describing the indictment coming to another group of theologians for examination corresponds with information in the \textit{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
commission. 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.

The work of the second commission seems to have been especially intense in June of the same year. However, a note from August is the last thing to be heard from this group among the Acta of the council. However, a note from August 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. 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. The Birgittine account of the appointment of the four theologians most probably has as one of its sources the Littera testimonialis to the


47 Cf. footnote 46.

48 Monumenta conciliorum generalium, II, p. 709 l. 12sqq.


50 According to the note in Monumenta conciliorum, II, p. 709 r. 12 sqq., 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 tocius nacionis Germanie ad consulendum iudici fidei super quam plurimis articulis ex libro Reuelacionum beate Birgitte extractis (... cum alis tribus solemnibus reliquarum trium nacionum (...) doctoribus per idem concilium deputatibus" (cf. chapter 3. 3, “The commission in Basle and Heymericus’ writing of Dyalogus”), further, Johannes de Turre Cremata, Prologue 1446/1435 (“Epistolca”), 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. 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. 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. 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 Cremata is also mentioned here by name and title as the representative of Spain, Johannes Roberti as the representative of France and Ludovicus de Pirano as representing the Italian nation. 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, 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. In addition to this, some voluntary defences by supporters of St. Birgitta were put forward.

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.
57 Biographical information and references in Helmraith, *Das Basler Konzil*, p. 128 and footnote 202.
58 Biographical information and references in Helmraith, *Das Basler Konzil*, p. 171, foonote 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
examination reports of all four defenders are extant in manuscript in UUB MS C 518 (cf. chapter 5. 1, description of codex B.

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 account\(^69\) 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 states\(^73\) 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 whole\(^76\), and therefore of course the judgement was a main concern of the mother house of the order at Vadstena.

\(\textit{exhibita in iudicio fidei} \) 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 7farmigen 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 Palmsköld 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), 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. 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-edited 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.

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

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


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 divinarum 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

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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 Marienkrön, 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, 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, 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. Some scholars, referring to Benedict XIV’s writing, claim that the judgement on the Reuelaciones is still valid today. 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. This difference of opinions was recorded as early as 1792 by Mansi.

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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, indulgenses 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 omtvistad.” (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 echoe 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 Höjer’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

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91 See Mansi’s *Preamonitio* 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 (...) Revelationibus 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. 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.

Höjer\(^4\) and Silfverstolpe\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) 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.\(^7\) 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.

\(^4\) Höjer, *Studier*, p. 201 and 209.
\(^5\) Silfverstolpe, *Om kyrkans angrepp*, p. 32-33 and 35.
\(^6\) Höjer, Nyberg and Börresen in their different studies work in this way.
\(^7\) 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 judgement

Vadstena Abbey’s leading representative at the council, the confessor-general Gervinus Petri, is back in Vadstena Abbey in June 1436. He brings a copy of the 123 articles with the account of April 6, 1434, and without doubt also copies of the defences. In *Diarium Vadstenense*, the memorial book of the abbey, the entry of

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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", 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 unaccomplished".

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. In this supplication, Nicolaus Ragvaldi, 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. 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.

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101 *Vadstenadiariet*, no. 458, cf. the apparatus. “rediit (...) expeditis egregie negociis nostris ordini nostri”. 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 gynnare 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.

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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 Höjer, Studier, p. 219-221.
had come to an end – therefore one should put all one’s strength into the restoration of the indulgences.\textsuperscript{113}

One point concerning the \textit{Reuelaciones} was achieved, as mentioned above, namely the authentication of the copies of Johannes de Turre Cremata’s defence of the \textit{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 second legation left in 1445.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Reuelaciones}: meanwhile, one seems to be ready to accept the degradation of the \textit{Reuelaciones} from not being placed on the same level as the Gospels, to just being ranked with apocryphal writings.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{116} Nevertheless, Vadstena Abbey does obtain a very important document: the authentication and approbation by the judge of the Curia himself, Ludovicus de Garsiis,\textsuperscript{117} of the copy

\begin{footnotes}
\item[113] About the mission of the legation, Nyberg in \textit{Vadstena klosters 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.
\item[114] Copy in RA, Cod. A 21, fol. 85v-86r.
\item[115] Cf. Heymericus’ suggestion in his \textit{Dyalogus} and his formulation in the final comment to the \textit{Declaraciones} (Appendix 2. 4. 4), further Johannes de Turre Cremata’s final comment to his \textit{Declaraciones}.
\item[116] The prologue of 1446, \textit{Declaraciones} chapter I-V and the beginning of chapter VI written in 1435 have been edited together in several editions of the \textit{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 “\textit{Epistola ad omnes Christi fideles}”, Chapters I-V of the \textit{Declaraciones} are commonly called “\textit{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.
\item[117] Ludovicus de Garsiis is entitled \textit{index cameræ apostolicae} in the certification. Ludovicus’ certification has been printed together with Johannes de Turre Cremata’s Prologue of 1446/1435 (“\textit{Epistola}”) and chapters I-V of \textit{Declaraciones} (cf. footnote 116 above). Ludovicus’ certification in the
\end{footnotes}
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 themself. 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 praemissionibus 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 Concilij 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 judiciariam et ordinariam interposuimus ac tenore praesentium interposuimus 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.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{124} The hand is a \textit{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 (\textit{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 (\textit{above the line}: due mastication and digestion and) mutual collating and approbation (\textit{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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{126} present in the abbey at the same time as one abbess K(atarina) and one general confessor M(agnus).\textsuperscript{127} The abbey was led by one abbess K and one confessor general M in 1456-1457 too,\textsuperscript{128} and it would by a closer analysis of the

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

\textsuperscript{124} Ståhl, \textit{Vadstena klosters stora kopiebok}, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. \textit{Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven}, letter no. 26858 and 26859 (Cod. A 20, fol. 286r-v).

\textsuperscript{126} Johannes Johannis was in the abbey 1459-1482, cf. \textit{Vadstenadiariet}, no. 705, 785 and 851.


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 corpus 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". 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

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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-131v\(^ {136}\) 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.


\(^{137}\) Prologue to *Auisamentum*, (UUB MS C 31, fol. 127r-v): “Concepte itaque erant infrascripte breues declaraciones super libris et articulis memoratis quasi omnium aliarum declaracionum epilogae examine, perlecte et correcte, que non solum huiusmodi sententie diffinitue, verum eciam ipsis libris Reuelacionum in marginie super articulis huiusmodi ex decreto iudicis fidei debuissent fuisse inserete ac de verbo in verbum integraliter incorporate, ut secundum ipsas quasi secundum quasdam modificaciones, de quibus commemorat pretacta sentencia a iudice in causis fidei in Basiliensi concilio fulminata, et sicut eciam seriose et assertatue dominus Johannes cardinalis et magister Heymericus pro eorum declaracionibus 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.
To return to the draft document of 1456-65: The questions on the list regarding the Reuelaciones are followed by other questions 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...

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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 declaraciones doctoris seu magistri ignoti et Auisamentum (in marg.: et declaraciones quarum auctor proprius ignoratur), licet nomina actorum huiusmodi declaracionum et Auisamenti nobis sint ignota, tamen, quia loco et tempore et forte a magistris et doctoribus eisdem scribentur et omnes libros et articulos sepedictos approbant et defendent, ideo eorum scripta aliorum doctorum scriptis (...) licet ipsi prius scripterant, preponitur 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 Auisamentum 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 job\textsuperscript{143} – and would the work be unnecessary, as the schism would no doubt eventually come to an end and the \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Reuelaciones},\textsuperscript{144} did not seem to have had any real effect on the expansion of the order or the attitude towards it at the Curia.\textsuperscript{145} Silfverstolpe agrees with Höjer on the point of the position of the order, however, he sees the interest in the \textit{Reuelaciones} as reading on the continent decline.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{144} Höjer, \textit{Studier}, p. 215sqq.

\textsuperscript{145} Höjer, \textit{Studier}, p. 223-224.

\textsuperscript{146} Silfverstolpe, \textit{Om kyrkans angrepp}, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{147} Westman, K. B., \textit{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. 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, and the one in which Christ grants the indulgences to St. Birgitta’s order. The latter quotation in fact was cut in stone and bricked into the wall in the church of Vadstena Abbey.

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, in the writing of new sermons, the Birgittine preachers continued to quote St. Birgitta, and not in an altered version. However, in many cases it is not possible to determine, whether a particular sermon was written before or after the council of Basle. 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 criticised 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

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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. Proprierea moliri et calcari et exprimi debent nunc ab inuidis, nunc a scire volentibus, nunc ab occasione querentibus, vt honor meus et paciencia amplietur.”
150 St. Birgitta, *Reuelaciones*, IV, 137, 5, in Christ’s words to Pope Urban V: “Ego dictaui eam (regulam) et dotaui 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 graciam feci, si non poteris habere litteram et graciam pape et sigillum super concessione indulgencie dicte nisi precedente pecunia, sufficit tibi benediccio mea. Ego enim approbabo et confirmabo verbum meum et omnes sancti erunt tibi testes, Mater mea sit tibi sigillum, Pater meus confirmanor et Spiritus sanctus adueniencium 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, *Birgitas revelationer i Vadstenabröders 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, *Birgita of Sweden*, p. 212-220 and 223, footnote 4, and by Borgehammar, *Preaching to Pilgrims*, especially p. 95.
“heavenly” in the Vadstena sermons, however, the dislike of the judge may have regarded the word “divine”.

Further, the copy of the judgement in Vadstena’s Liber privilegiorum, “book of privileges”, today RA Cod. A 19, is the one most likely to have been the copy for everyday use within the abbey. The copy is inserted in the Liber privilegiorum after the 1450s, which is consistent with the fact that in 1445 Vadstena Abbey still wanted an authenticated copy. The original of the copy in Liber privilegiorum would, like the rest of the originals of the book, have been kept in safe custody in archival cases in the abbey. 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. The prime Vadstena record of the history of the abbey, Diarium Vadstenense, the history of the rule in the book of customs, Liber Usuum, 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.

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”. 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

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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 klosters stora kopibok, p. 36.
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”.

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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. 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, 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

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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 revelacionibus 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 “witholding” 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 an 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, 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

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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**
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 (sentenciām diffinitiām) 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, 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 Salvatoris. 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 Auisamentum176 known to me shows that no epilogues such as this one exist in the other manuscripts. At the same time the

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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, 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. 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. Thus, a negative judgement on the Reuelaciones or its effects, as never spoken of in official documents, 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. 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

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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.

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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 senciendum 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, submittens correctioni, et judicio 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 is 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
A 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, 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 remeber, 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.

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

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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 manifestated 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 stated\(^{189}\) that the Reuelaciones should be read daily,\(^{190}\) 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 criticised 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 alter fuerint eciam qualiternumque quotati vel designati, tam ipsa textus quam ipsi articuli aliquibus, et maxime eorum emulis, videantur ut suspeci, 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 attemptaui.”

\(^{194}\) 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 Extranagantes, 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, 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 Garsis 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. The edition of 1492 contained some new material, too, among other things, additional explanatory revelations to some of the chapters. 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. 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.

197 Silfverstolpe, Om kyrkans angrepp, p. 35, footnote 3. Cf. also above, “Background – the first stages of the proceedings”.
199 Cf. the wording “ad mensam aut eciam alias” in the text quoted above, footnote 194.
passage in the Reuelaciones that was once critizised, so for example in the preacher Nicolaus Ragvaldi’s\textsuperscript{200} collection of material for sermons in UUB MS 302, fol. 518v-519v.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{204}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{200} Nicolaus Ragvaldi was brother and confessor general of Vadstena Abbey 1476-1514 (cf. Vadstenadiariet, no. 828:2 and no. 1027).
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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 Birgitteine 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).
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{204} Cf. the description of manuscripts in chapter 5. 1.
\end{flushright}
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. 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.

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 1492 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 invalid after

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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.
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*” folio VIII (...)").
the council, and consequently, they are still to be regarded as formally valid.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 retravit illudque legitimum esse agnovit (MaC 29,78s); hinc huius Concilii sessiones I-XXV, id est usque dum Ferraram transferetur (that is 1431-1437), oecumenici valoris sunt, quatenus eius decreta scopum a papa praestitutum attingunt.” The sessions I-XXV were held in 1431-1437.

\textsuperscript{210} Cf. above, “The treatment of the judgement in previous research”.

60
2. 4. *Appendices* to chapter 2

Appendix 2. 4. 1\(^{211}\)

"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 natuitate eiusdem Domini Mcdxxxiv indiccione duodecima, die vero Martis sexta mensis aprilis pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Eugenii diuinna proudencia pape quarti anno quarto, cum lis et controversia in materia fidei in hoc sacro Basiliensi concilio inter venerabilem et circumspectum virum magistrum Nicolaum Amici, in sacra theologia licenciatum et causarum fidei procuratorem generalem per dictum sacram Basiliensi concilium specialiter ad hoc deputatum ex vna, et fratres et soiores 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 Basiliensi concilium specialiter deputati ac per ipsum certis doctoribus et magistris in sacra theologia ad examinandum dati fuissent, hinc est, quod anno, indiccione et pontificatu ac mense et die quibus supra iidem venerabiles et circumsepti 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 descriptur, tamquam fideliter ex eisdem libris extractos prefato procuratore fidei instante et petente ac requirente dederunt et exhibuerunt. (...)

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\(^{211}\) 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 natuitate Christi Mcdxxxv, dum in eodem concilio Basiliensi lis et controuersia (...) moueretur (...), quidam venerabiles et circumspecti viri et domini Bernardus Sarra, elimosinarius et ambassiator serenissimi domini regis Arragonie, Matthias Döring, minister provincialis 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 laciis colligitur ex instrumento de et super hoc specialiter confecto. Ipse tamen magister Mathias Döring, minister provincialis 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 ntitur 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 ordinavit et distinctit 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 Lenensis 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 reidiens ad suum principale propositum extraxit quedam puncta seu articulos ex ipsis libris Reuelacionum hinc inde, sparsim et diffusae, et, quamuis huiusmodi puncta et articulos satis corrupte et obtuncaext exterxit, (prout patet vnicique ipsos articulos ab ipso sic ies extractos et ipsum textum originalem, vnde sunt extracti, comportando diligenter examinant), tamen viia hoc, contra puncta et articulos taliter, qu aliter ut dictum est, sic extractos, ntitur arguere per sacram scripturam, aliquando eciam per ipsas Reuelaciones, aliquando eciam per suas raciones et semper sophistice et insufficienter. Et diminute claudicanto male aut false subsumit, vt satis sufficienter patet ex registro et

214 quidem scrispi, quedem Cod.
attestacionibus, necnon ex ipsa bulla canonizationis et legenda beate Birgitte, et ideo ne mirum, si male aut false concludit. Quem quidem tractatum et articulos et eciam 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 alis magistris et doctoribus in predicto concilio Basiliensi per se et per suos internuncios clamculo et eciam iudicialiter produxerunt.

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 oblatis specialiter electi et deputati, scilicet reuerendissimus in Christo pater et dominus dominus Johannes de Turre Cremata, sacre theologie professor, tunc sacri palacii apostolici magister, nunc autem sancte Romane ecclesie presbyter cardinalis tytuli sancte Marie transtyberim, 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 Johannes Roberti, abbas monasterii Boneuallis ordinis cisterciensis de nacione Francie neconon religiosus pater et dominus dominus Ludouicus de Pyrano, minister prouincialis ordinis minoris minorum de Ytalia de nacione ipsius Ytalie ex commissione ipsius iudicis et tocius deputacionis fidei neconon 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 Matthiis ordinis minorum de Saxonia minister et Reuelacionum beate Birgitte principalis aduersarius et impugnator seu alii, eius complices, sophistice seu quomodolibet paralogice, sed ex suis, quas ipsi conscripserant, posicionibus et veris declaracionibus in sacra scriptura et sanctorum auctoritatibus sufficientissime fundatis bene et formaliter concluserunt 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 gloriosoque Matris eius Marie et preelecte Sponse Ihesu Christi beate Birgitte ac omnium sanctorum Dei neconon 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.\textsuperscript{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 sentenciam diffinitiuam, quam ferimus in hiis scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus – attentis litteris apostolicis, de quibus in actis cause apparer, contra fratres et sorores ordinis sancti Augustini sub vocabulo sancti Salvatoris secundum consuetudines et instituta sancte Birgitte viuentes, quibus prohibentur predicare seu dogmatizare indulgencias ad instar (...), fratres et soores 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 diuinum seu celestium Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte continentur multa et descriptur sub modo et scemate Reuelacionum dicte sancte Birgitte ascriptarum, super quibus quamplures magistri ambigunt et hesitant tum propter ipsum titulum tum propter perplexitates et inepitudines 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 inhibemus, 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 sicud 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 sentenciam diffinitiuam sanctitati aut veneracioni beate Birgitte eiusmod canonizaciioni vel ordini non intendimus in aliquo derogare. (...)

\textsuperscript{215} Silfverstolpe edited this text in \textit{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 (…) innouat inuelacio 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 organicō (...). *Quamuis ergo subscripti, sicut quedam suprascripti, 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 conciliiis 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 alis 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 theorica 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 cuquam 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 sapientium statera ponderabuntur*.217 Et *si post diligentem huiusmodi veritatis examinacionem inueniatur a canonibus fidei non deuium, est velut dictamen Spiritus Sancti non dum alii reuelatum tamquam temporini presenti opportunum benigne suscipientum et in timore Domini, qui est inicium sapienlie,218 pie venerandum (...). Sic (...) propter hanc status ecclesiastici successuam variacionem bene nos ammonet apostolus ”Spiritum nolite extinguere, et propheccias nolite spernere”219 (...). Quid ergo mirum, si instance 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 vtlibet 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. 286v

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

Hec sunt, que collegimus et conscripsimus atque disposuimus post mutuam collacionem et approbacionem dileccionibus impertire idest propter varias difficultates et questiones abbatisse et confessoris et vobis propositas et ascriptas et forte aliis in futurum pariformiter ostendendas.

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

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

Item qualiter reuelaciones declaratorie seu extrauagantes vniformiter conscribentur.

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

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

Item qualiter fratres vnus moris et consimilium ceremoniarum per vnum communem librum vsuum in domo Domini valeant habitare.

(continues overleaf)
Hec infrascripta 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 diffinicionem 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 cuiuis 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 ministrate, et quod possunt in vniuersali militante ecclesia sine quaunque hesitacione licite et publice predicari, legi et publicari ad laudem et honorem omnipotentis Dei et sanctorum eius, qui eas pro correccione et emendacione 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 eidenter, 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 divinas et catholicae 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 sentenciam diffinitiuam super titulo libri et ipso libro Reuelacionum ventilaret, conuenerunt inter se et ordinauerrunt prescriptos xxxviii articulos cum compendiosa eorum solucione, 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 impugnare. Quibus sic editis presentauerunt eos iudici fidei. Qui ipsis perlectis et veris (ut erant) compertis ipsisque adversariis, qui presentes erant, contradicere non valentibus domino volente, qui verba sua ad tempus calcari permisit, vt ipsis tritis fragrarent in naribus omnium, qui in ecclesia sunt, ipse iudex fidei, videlicet Ludowicus miseracione divina tituli sancte Cecilie ecclesie Rhomane presbyter cardinalis Arelatensis vulgariter nuncupatus, causarum et cause huiusmodi fidei a sacrosancta generali synodo Basiliensi pro tunc specialiter deputatus, assentibisce sibi quinque episcopis, duobus abbatibus cum aliiis tribus in theologia magistris auctoritate sibi tradita, approbauit ipsum titulum libri, qui est Liber divinarum seu celestium Reuelacionum sancte Birigitte, necnon ipsum librum Reuelacionum in octo parcialibus libros distinctum vna cum ipsa regula sancti Salvatoris, Sermone angelico et Quattuor oracionibus, vt infra habentur. Simili modo confirmauit 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 popolo predicari, non in sensu, quem adversarii sibi finxerunt sed secundum sensum catholicum, quem huiusmodi Reuelaciones habent, sicuti doctores per sacram scripturarum eidenter patefecerunt. Acta sunt hec Basilee Anno Mccccxxxvi, 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 1431 245 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.
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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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, \textit{synodi primarius} in Woensel, Brabant, is mentioned by one source as being his father, another source mentions Heymericus’ father as being a \textit{presbyter} and Heymericus’ mother as \textit{soluta}.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 1451\textsuperscript{249} Heymericus takes leave of the prebend and gets a pension from it.

After 1453 Heymericus seems to withdraw from his university position.\textsuperscript{250} In July 1454 he obtains the title \textit{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

\textsuperscript{246} Hoenen, \textit{Academics}, p. 195 and footnote 93.

\textsuperscript{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’ \textit{Epistola ad papam Martinum V} (Hussiten-Dialog) in \textit{Heymericus de Campo: Opera Selecta I}, p. 43-44). In the papal acts his father is titled \textit{presbyter}, and his mother \textit{soluta}, that is unmarried or divorced. In the \textit{incipit} to a text attributed to Heymericus (Cf. Kaluza, \textit{Dialogus Heimerici de Campo cum Godefrido de Campo}, p. 273-289) his father is named Godefridus de Campo: \textit{Fidelis eloquii famelico, Godefrido de Campo, Woncellensis synodi primario, Heimericus, eius filius, (…).}

\textsuperscript{248} Black, \textit{The realist ecclesiology}, p. 274.

\textsuperscript{249} Cf. Nyberg, \textit{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 \textit{locum tenens} at the presbytery in Rosmalen, now wishes to incorporate Rosmalen into the chapter.

\textsuperscript{250} Meersseman, \textit{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, Geschichte, 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 Kahuza, 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,
Regarding his Albertism,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{259} Albertus Magnus exerted a “Neoplatonizing Aristotelism”, which permeates the philosophical conceptions of Heymericus.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{theologice philosophare}, to “philosophize theologically”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{258} Imbach, “Albertismus” in \textit{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 \textit{via antiqua} and which fought the Nominalism of the \textit{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 (\textit{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.

\textsuperscript{259} Hoenen, \textit{Academics}, p. 180 and footnote 22.


\textsuperscript{261} Hoenen, \textit{Academics} p. 177-178 and footnote 14.


\textsuperscript{263} Heymericus de Campo: \textit{Opera Selecta}, p. 11 and 208.

\textsuperscript{264} Hoenen, \textit{Academics}, p. 201.
\end{flushright}
assistance from the sensations. 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 then than one would reckon from the extent to which his works have survived to modern times. 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. 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, namely *Tractatus Problematicus* or *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam ad utriusque opinionis intelligenciam multum conferencia*. The treatise has been printed twice, the first time as early as in 1496, and it is regarded as being one of the most important works in the field of Albertism.

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

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265 Hoenen, *Heymeric van de Velde*, p. 42.
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 Kahuzza, *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.
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 philosophie secundum processum Albertistarum et Thomistarum* (Köln, Ulrich Zell, 1494 and Frankfurt am Main 1969) and *Promptuarium argumentorum dialogice ordinaturum a Lilio Albertista et Spino 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 divinorum* (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 compendiary 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 analesy* (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.
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 Llull*, 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 Kauluza in *Opera selecta I* (2001), p. 169-203.
283 The text is partly edited in Meersseman, *Geschichte*, Heft II (1935), p. 112-121 (4*-13*).
In his **compendiary theology** Heymericus discusses fundamental philosophical problems and central aspects of Christian faith. As examples could be mentioned *Compendium divinorum* (1420-1422, Diest), *Ars demonstrativa* (1429(?)-1432, Cologne), *Dialogus cum Godefrido de Campo* (after the Council of Basle), *Centheologicon* (1450-53, Leuven), *Alphabetum doctrinale* (1450-1453, Leuven), and *Testamentum doctrinale* (1453, Leuven).

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? The two first writings on this topic, *Disputatio de potestate ecclesiastica* (1433) and *De concilio Basiliensi* ("Vincat veritas") were produced during his time in Basle, but Heymericus also contributed to the discussion afterwards with *Apolo gia cur recesserit a concilio Basiliensi et Eugenio quarto adherset* (after 1435) and later *Epistola ad papam Eugenium IV de potestate papae et concilii generalis* (1446, Leuven).

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. For the sake of

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 Kaluza in *Dialogus Heimerici de Campo cum Godefrido de Campo* (1971). Cf. however below, "Other dialogues by or attributed to Heymericus”.
293 The text was edited and dealt with by Ladner in *Der Abluss-Traktat des Heymericus de Campo. Ein beitrag zur Geschichte des Basler Konzils* (1977).
295 Dealt with by Black in *Heymericus de Campo: The Council and History*.
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 composite 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).


³⁰² The copy of this text exists in Koninklijke Bibliothek 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 Kaluza, *Trois listes*, p. 13, no. 38 (footnote 43) and p. 17-18.

³⁰³ According to Kaluza, *Trois listes*, p. 17 this would be a reference to Canons Regular of Thronos BMV, close to Grobbendonck. Kaluza, 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 peregrinacione, "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

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 Johannem 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 Kaluza, 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.

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310 De sigillo eternitatis; Disputatio de potestate ecclesie; De concilio Basilieni (”Vincat veritas”); Epistola contra Johannem de Rokozano de communione 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 Kaluza, 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. Kaluza, 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 exhibita 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

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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 (Kahuz, 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 (Kahuz, Trois listes, p. 12, no. 34 and footnote 41). Kahuz identifies 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 (Kahuz, 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”.

79
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.

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. 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 Reuelacionium beate Birgitte, which was originally presented to the Vadstena community in a separate small volume.

The text Auisamentum, said to have been written by the four defenders of the commission together, 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. 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. 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

319 Cf. description below in this chapter.
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, 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 1434/1435 and the preserved copy of the 123 articles, 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. 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. In addition to the articles, the indictment originally seems to also have included some explanatory statements or reasons of the examinators 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 examinators and their reasons are often quoted in the answers of the defenders. 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. 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 ponderre” (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 said\textsuperscript{330} that Heymericus’ \textit{Tractatus de discrecione Spirituum} is the answer to Matthias Döring’s \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 established\textsuperscript{331} 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 \textit{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

“\textit{Declaraciones} text group”, fol. 98r-140v.

“Prologue of 1446 to the \textit{Declaraciones} text group” (“Prologus 1446 Decl.”) fol. 98r-98v.


Inc.: \textit{Ad gloriaem et honorem Dei} (...).

Description and comments: The \textit{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 \textit{Tractatus} text group. In the prologue, Heymericus describes the reason for the revision of 1446, and mentions the work he did in 1435.

\textsuperscript{330} Höjer, \textit{Studier}, p. 208.

\textsuperscript{331} Cf. Chapter 5. 2. “\textit{ABDE} form a group”.

82
"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. Within the framework of the prologue he then treats his subject, St. Birgitta’s inspiration, in 18 syllogisms. He says that these shall serve as a kind of presupposition "for a resolutory stabilization of the things I intend to write about the decision on the articles that will follow". He also describes the manner in which he aims to examine the Reuelaciones.

"Declaraciones” fol. 103r-137r.


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

Description and comments: Declaraciones is made up of 80 articles and explanations of them, 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. The expositions of the articles are often quite lengthy compared to the exposition of the same article in Dyalogus. The examination ends with Heymericus summing up and giving his opinion.

"14 Dicta” fol. 137r-138r.

Denomination: In the text: Sequntur resoluciones 14 articulorum precipue contra librum Reuelacionum celestium beate Birgitte 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 Birgitte et omnes alios articulos ad illos lxxx articulos reducerit”. 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 columna 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 subscripcio 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: Rudulphus 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.

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\(^{339}\) 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 Birgitte 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 Birgitte impugnatorum. In the column title: Tractatus de discrecione spirituum super Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte 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 raciones, 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 raciones one of the said impugner’s 7 arguments is mooted and solved, and both the syllogistic racio 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 racionibus 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

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341 “Incipit tractatus de discrecione spirituum contra quendam Reuelacionum beate Birgitte impugnatorum, in quo primo per vii raciones syllogisticas epylogizantes et confirmantes vii raciones 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 Birgitte esse diuine et spiritus boni et non dyabolicie aut spiritus maligni. Et inter quamlibet illarum septem racionum movetur et soluitur unum argumentum de septem argumentis huiusmodi impugnatoris et tam ipsa racio syllogistica quam solucio per sacram scripturam confirmatur.”

342 “Hic in generali probantur dicta Magistri Mathie Lincopensis in Prologo Reuelacionum beate Birgitte 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 Birgitte sunt celestes et non illusorie.”
domini Alfonsum’, 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


Inc.: Hii videtur obviare 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 raciones 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 raciones or special arguments”, fol. 148v-149r.

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

Inc.: Hii videtur obviare 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 raciones seu argumenta specialia. Deinde coacervantur sub epilogu 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 adversarii quam alia 6 pretacta soluuntur ibi ‘Sane quia teste’ etc.”
Description and comments: 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 Revelaciones 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: 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.

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345 “Ut ergo opposita iuxta se posta magis elucescant, coacerruentur sub epylogo quidam articuli ex prefato libro Revelacionum beate Birgitte extracti, qui videntur prima facie de doctrina insana, in fide catholica suspici aut piarum aurium offensiul.”

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 suo auditorem, deinde 7 supposiciones seu propositions (II. b. β) vero theolojgo per se note, ex quibus inferuntur predictorum articulorum et argumentorum tam impugnatoris quam alterfactorum per 29 difficultates (II. b. γ) soluciones sufficientes et satis clare infra ibi: ‘Ex quibus suppositionibus’.”

87
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 supposicio: Oportet quemlibet addiscentem esse attentum ad audiendum (...).

Description: Cf. above.

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

Denomination in MS Clm. 27047a 348 (pages missing in UUB MS C 518): Ex quibus supposicionibus procedendum est ad absolucionem 29 difficultaturn 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.”

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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 Supposicio 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 qualibet iterum inferuntur aliquando unus, aliquando eciam plures ex predictis articulis Reuelacionum et ostenditur eos sane intellectos sacre scripture nullatenus obiari usque ibi: ‘Eya ergo virtuosi’ etc.”
IV. "How the suitable examinator 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 quaruncunque reuelacionum examinat...*

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 senciendum sit iuxta sentenciam concillii 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 (...) senciendum 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 (...).*

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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: 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. 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.

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, 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 confidencia converto 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 (...).
Description and comments: Heymericus dedication and assertion to the council. He writes that in the present writings 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 subscripsi 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: Rudulphus 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 examinator”.
358 Cf. footnote 340.
359 “in aliis duoibus 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.: *Religiosiss in Christo deicolis abbatissis et monasticis utriusque sexus monasterii sanctarum Marie Virginis et Birgitte in Watzeno (...).*

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

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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 pristine circa eosdem articulos discussionis evidentia aliquos ex eis magis scrupulosos et minus claros summarie replicatos et tenore vobis, ut reor, omnibus faciliter intelligibili seu per intelligentes interpretabili explanatos eidem vestre caritati exemplariter transmittto.* 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 Schmidtk 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". 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". 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. 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 *ausisamentum*, as described above chapter 2. 1-2, is mentioned in the Prologus of 1446, too. To begin with, even the examinators of the third commission seemingly were hesitating about the quality of the *Reuelaciones*, however, their opinion changed during their work.

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*”. 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

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371 *Declaraciones*, fol. 98rb: “vicissim, non secundum ordinariam libri, ex quo fuerunt extracti, processum”.
372 *Declaraciones*, fol. 138v: “secundum casualem huiusmodi articulorum mihi successiue oblatorum vicissitudinem (...), conscriptus”.
373 Introductory history, UUB MS C 518, fol. 5ra-b: "Heymericus de Campo (...) in prefato concilio Basiliensi scriscit super articulis lxxviii hoc ordine scilicet retrogradò, quia tali ordine sibi fuerant ipsi articuli presentati. Primo enim faciendo solenpnem prologum et subtilem incepit a capitulo lxixis 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 scriscit super omnibus libris et articulis librorum Revelacionum 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 scriscit eciam seu per xiiii dicta brevia respondit super xiiii articulis".
forward in a face-to-face controversy.\textsuperscript{376} It is worth noting that all articles except two reappear in \textit{Auisamentum}, while half of them were treated before in \textit{Declaraciones}.

Informative with special respect to Heymericus’ contributions beyond the commission of the four doctors, and especially as regards the aims of \textit{Dyalogus}, is the description of Heymericus’ work on the \textit{Tractatus} text group that he gives in its \textit{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 matters\textsuperscript{377} 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 \textit{Reuelaciones}, articles that were extracted ”from the sane integrity of the truth in a spirit of malicious suspicion”\textsuperscript{378} and put before him especially to be explained, “let be afterwards” (\textit{licet ex post facto}),\textsuperscript{379} because they were missing among those he had already explained in the said Council of Basle in 1435.\textsuperscript{380}

This information is of greatest interest for an investigation of the dating of \textit{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 \textit{Prologus 1446} to \textit{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 \textit{Tractatus} text group.

\textsuperscript{376} Introductory history, UUB MS C 518, fol. 5rb. “Presumebant enim adversarii, quod nequaquam saluis scripturis sanctis et sanctorum doctorum sentenciis sciret aut possent ad illos xiii articulos respondere”.

\textsuperscript{377} UUB MS C 518, fol. 142ra “de mandato et commissione (...) michi de et super hoc specialiter factis”.

\textsuperscript{378} UUB MS C 518, fol. 142rb ”in spiritu suspicionis sinistre a sane fidei integritate”

\textsuperscript{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. “\textit{post}”, p. 163, 76 sqq.

\textsuperscript{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. 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, 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, 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. 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

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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". 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. Another reference, seemingly to the text 24 Fundamenta (24 Fundamentals) is found in Dyalogus’ paragraph [H] cxlvii, and therefore we must place Dyalogus in time after the three texts Oppositiones, Difficultates and Fundamenta. The words “this Council of Basle” (“in hoc concilio Basiliensi”) indicate that Dyalogus was written before Heymericus left the council.

The final comment on Dyalogus (in five out of six manuscripts), which actually does not look like an original ending to Dyalogus 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. 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.

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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 premissets (...).
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. Secondly, in the letter of gratitude of 1447 from Vadstena Abbey to Heymericus, the abbey thanks Heymericus, among other things, for the completion of “the bipartite work of defending and explaining these books” (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. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Revelacionibus 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

\textsuperscript{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".


\textsuperscript{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 convents 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.
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.
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. 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. He is counted among the protectors of the abbey and is said to have “loved this abbey very much”.

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. In a letter to the Birgittines in Vadstena, Heymericus calls himself “your promotor according to my ability and capacity”.

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. One of the scribes writes that this is because this text treats all the criticised text passages and gives a short answer to them.

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406 Cf. above, the description of Epistula super Renelacionibus beate Birgitte 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 dyoci 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 Evangelisten kercke (cf. footnote 249) ende die groote her Herman, die ouerste canonynecke, ende ander personeen 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 Recapitulatio 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

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\(^{414}\) 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 critizising 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 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 examinators (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 examinators 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 Declarationes), 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 examinators have just pounced upon a wording which has annoyed them, disregarding its contents.\textsuperscript{425}

In his defence, Heymericus predominantly uses the method of demonstrating the conformity of the critizised text passage with the texts of the Bible, the Church fathers, and Aristotle. Heymericus also quite frequently makes reference to Pseudo-Dionysios,\textsuperscript{426} which is in line with the expressed element of neoplatonism in his philosophical view.\textsuperscript{427} But what exactly are the examinators critizising?

The following will describe the themes recurring most frequently in the 123 articles and subsequently in \textit{Dyalogus}. As above stated in chapter 3. 2, the indictment seems to originally have included the reasons given by the examinators. \textit{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 \textit{Reuelaciones} were subjected to criticism, I have grouped the articles into themes according to similar features.\textsuperscript{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 examinators critizise how the reception of the messages from God is described: They have noted the advertising in the \textit{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 \textit{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 examinators have shown considerable interest in St. Mary’s role on the whole in the \textit{Reuelaciones}, for example the rendering of St. Mary’s relation to the Godhead and to the created beings.

\textsuperscript{425} However, it was the \textit{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”).

\textsuperscript{426} Pseudo-Dionysios ranks third on the list of authors and works overtly quoted, after the Bible and Aristotle.

\textsuperscript{427} Cf. chapter 3. 1, “Influences on Heymericus’ philosophical theology”.

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 criticized. 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 examinators 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. 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 examinators, 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 examinators 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 examinators 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? 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, Heymericus states that he aims to depart from the ”ypothesis

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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

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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.
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 [lxxxiili].
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.\footnote{Cf. Fogelqvist, Apostasy and reform, especially p. 242-246.}

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 criticized 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
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 things 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 cxxix), extends the role and powers of St. Mary to an unsuitable degree (A ci, A cxxviii, A cxxix), dishonours the priesthood and incites people against it (A xlvi, A liiii, A lxxii, A lxxiii), 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 cxxix) (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. From other sources we know, that Heymericus personally believed in private revelations.

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, but God chooses whomever he wants as a medium, a fact

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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 [cxxvi], and in the final comment to his _Declaraciones_ (cf. Appendix 2. 4. 4).

441 According to Hoenen, _Heymeric van de Velde_, p. 42sqq, 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 examinator

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

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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.\footnote{Cf. also the final comment to Declaraciones, Appendix 2. 4. 4.}

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.
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. 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". Some of his contemporaries expressed similar opinions, 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. 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.

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452 Meerssman, *Geschichte*, Heft II, p. 99-100 quotes the Thomist Gerard van ‘s Heerenberg in Cologne, who banters 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 *Revelaciones* 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 kerke lijke 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 soliciiciorem pre ceteris se exhibuit dominacio vestra in dictarum Revelacionum defenses. Nam licet aliis sacri doctores simplici stilo et semel, dominacio tamen vestra multiplici modo stilloque subtiliori, nec solum semel aut bis, verum eciam pluries easdem Revelaciones 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 supernacuus 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 scholastical 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 Birgitte".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”).


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 *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 examinator, 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 [liii] 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 hundreded 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 invidus, 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 possibilia et impossibilia intelligentis, *non est mirum, si Dyabolus*, cuius, secundum Dyonysium 4 c. de diuinis nominibus, est triplex malum, scilicet furor irracionabilis, fantasia proterua et demens concupiscencia, in odio salutis eternae, unde irrecuperabiliter cecidi, in quantum illa est alteri communicabiles, finaliter immobilitatus *vellet*, si possibile foret, *pocius in seipso mortaliter perire, quam tante felicitati aliene et mediis ad eam anagogicis acquiescere*. Si nempe odium est felicitatis aliene displacencia, ergo *odium infinitum*, cuiusmodi est inuida finalis, ex quo finis est negativeness infinitus, *tollit omnimodam* talis felicitatis tam in actu quam in potencia *conplacenciam*, sicut negatio consequentis interimit omne illud, quod secundum ordinem racionis antecedit ad ipsum, secundum philosophum primo posteriorium. *Sed constat, quod minimum bonum caritatis est* [bonum] salutis eternae in caritate consummata consistentis meritorium. Ergo *Dyabolus nullo modo fauet ei et per consequens non vellet ad illud consenciendum per quercunque casum excogitiabilem* citra illud bonum finale ex inclinacione talis appetitus liberi, sic ut premittitur, per vicium inuidie deprauati *moueri*. Dico autem "appetitus liberi" ad differenciam sui appetitus naturalis in amore sui esse et felicitatis eternae per necessitatem intentionis divinae, qua Deus fecit omnia, ut essent, et propter seipsum, sibi sicut cuilibet creature imprese inclinati, quomodo dicit Dyonysius ubi supra, quod demons habent naturalia salua et integra, racione quorum appetunt esse et viuere. Et quia secundum hunc appetitum primum appetibile est proprii sui esse conservacio, ut dicit Boecius de consolatione, eo quod hoc est sibi magis coniunctum et ideo virtuti vniuie amoris naturalis proxime obiectum. Idcirco per inclinationem hauiusmodi appetitus naturalis impossibile est Sathanam pocius velle mori quam quod homo iustificetur." Confer also *Dyalogus* article A xlix – H [xlix] with Johannes de Turre Cremata, *Declaraciones* article xxi.

\(^{460}\) The examinator 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*”.

114
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 ministeriale 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 ministeriale; 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 ministeriale), 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 genitives sometimes seems excessive both in number and construction. Some types of constructions with genitives recur more often than others in the text.

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)disparence (y)rei (y)consecrate (x)substanciali
H [iii]: non representans (x)inuisibilem (y)panis (y)supersubstancialis (x)essenciam
H [vi]: (x)efficacio (x)carecteristica (y)ordinis (y)sacredotalis

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. 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:

H [i]: ex iudicio (x)amossissimorum (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, there are also some examples of inversion:

A vii: Errare videris improbe, siquidem experimur vniuersalitatem potestatis (...) in bonis sacerdotibus, ne exorbitent, restringi (...).

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 Härdelin, 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).
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 Reuelacionibus 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

viciissim (p) bonum et (q) malum *renouari*

(2) *necnon 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 ierarchice *iurisdiccionis*,

vnde elicitur facultas libera *predicacionis*. 
Translation: “Even if it tires me (...), I direct you back to what has been treated above, where it was said that it is permitted for the Lord to blame his transgressing servants by ministry or instrument of which it may be of his male or female messengers, who is pleasing or accepted by him, and that, since ‘there is no agreement between God and the Idol in the temple’ it naturally happens that this access and recess of Christ and the Devil round the same priest, now good, now bad, are repeated, and [it naturally happens] that Christ is with the priests in respect of the sacramental grace of the order they have joined, and that he, if they are bad and not sent to or allowed to preach, is not with them in respect of the grace of the saving virtue, the grace ‘that makes graceful’, as he is not in respect of the grace of the hierarchical jurisdiction, a grace freely given, from which grace the free possibility to preach can be deduced”.

Commentary: This sentence with its linear or chain construction appears quite hierarchic, and every element seems to generate two new ones. After the main clause is pronounced, the rest of the paragraph depends on the two *quod* clauses, which are independent of each other. Heymericus supports his view (“St. Birgitta is right”) with two arguments, which he has used before, presented in the two *quod* clauses, the predicates of which are impersonal verbs which govern different types of infinitive constructions. The first clause has an infinitive as subject, the other has two accusatives with an infinitive as subject. To the logical subject (Christum) of the latter accusative with infinitive a relative clause is connected, which in turn generates two subordinate prepositional adverbial phrases, of which the latter has its own subordinate relative clause, whose last word rhymes with the last word of the governing phrase.

To the construction is added yet two more explanatory clauses, which however do not disturb the construction. One of them is a supporting free biblical quotation, the other (the *dum* clause) defines more closely which priests in particular the case is about, since it is not about priesthood in general.

The first *quod* clause is worth a closer look. Its prepositional adverbial phrase consists of a set of parallelisms:

\[
\text{per cuiuscumque sibi} \quad (x) \text{placiti vel (y) accepte} \\
\text{} \quad (x) \text{nuncii vel (y) nuncie} \\
\text{} \quad (x) \text{ministerium siue (y) organum}
\]

This sentence would have been quite long if constructed with subordinate clauses, which would have been the alternative, so Heymericus, by using the genitive attributes, actually makes this sentence as short as possible. But while some would see this as an example of a tedious heaping of synonyms, I believe Heymericus within the *quod* clause takes the opportunity to define the difference between how God communicates his message through a man and a woman respectively:

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472 Namely in his *Declaraciones*, art. 20 (UUB MS C 518, fol. 109r) and in *Dyalogus*, H [xxii] and H [lxxiiii].
473 Cf. Vulg. 2 Cor. 6,16
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:

\[\text{neconon (contingit) Christum adesse sacerdotibus} \]
\[\text{(x) per gracion sacramentalem suscepti ordinis,} \]
\[\text{qui tamen ab eis (...) deest} \]
\[\text{(y1) per gracion gratum facientem virtutis salutaris} \]
\[\text{et eciam (y2) per gracion gratis datam ierarchice iurisdictionis,} \]
\[\text{vnde elicitur facultas libera predicacionis.} \]

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,

et litteram correctam
cum studio digesto

percunctanti non apparet alicubi tam absonus,

quin possit reduci ad consonanciam catholicae 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.
Translation: “May it be so, that this book to some doctors, who read it through perfunctory, without due examination, in certain passages, due to a corrupt form of the letter, which they perhaps saw in its not corrected form, looks mendacious and illusory rather than veracious and catholic, nevertheless, to a person who faithfully compares the text with the [original] text and who goes through the correct letter in a methodical study, the book in no place appears so dissonant that it cannot be reduced to consonance with the catholic truth, which is obvious from the judgement made of the most famous doctors of theology after a protracted examination, which was committed to them and to me in this Council of Basle, and then treated and resolved in the writings of each of them.”

Commentary: In this sentence the structure is somewhat more complicated. Heymericus lets the main clause stand back initially by beginning with a subordinate clause which is rather independent according to rethorical standards. Still his opinion eventually comes clearly expressed in the main clause. Then he goes on with a row of formally subordinate clauses to support this opinion. In the sentence there are some ornamental features to observe.

Inconcinnity (two adverbials, of which the first is an adverb and the second a prepositional phrase):

\[ \text{doctoribus ipsum} \quad 1) \text{perfunctorie} \]
\[ \quad 2) \text{sine maturo examine} \]
\[ \text{percurentibus} \]

Assonance, \textit{traiectio}, an attribute with a relative clause:
\[ \text{iuxta corruptum littere, quam forsitam viderunt incorrectam, tenorem} \]

Parallelism and rhyme:
\[ \text{tenorem pocius mendax et illusorius quam verax et catholicus} \]

Chiasm, inconcinnity (two adverbials, of which the first is an adverb and the second a prepositional phrase):
\[ \text{tamen conferenti} \]
\[ \text{fideliter textum textui} \]
\[ \text{et litteram correctam cum studio digesto} \]
\[ \text{percunctanti} \]

Alliteration:
\[ \text{non apparet alicubi tam absonus} \]

Play on words, assonance:
\[ \text{tam absonus, quin possit reduci ad consonanciam} \]
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 Bibliothek 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 literature\(^{475}\) resulted in the locating of 5 other copies of the text, making a total number of 6.\(^{476}\)

The copy in the Koninklijke Bibliothek 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.

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\(^{474}\) 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*, 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. 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, 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.

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).

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”

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477 Cf. chapter 2, passim and chapter 3. 2.
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:

Declaraciones 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: Declaraciones 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: Declaraciones pro defensione Revelationum Birgittae

Fol. 202r-210v Ludovicus de Pirano: Declaraciones 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: Declaraciones 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 Declaraciones 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
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’s 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”.

128
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, 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 KBR 490 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:

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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)
492 The abbey was founded around the year 1466 according to Nyberg, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen*, p. 204, footnote 2a.
Fol. 1r-3v Prohemium defensorii tocius 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. 32v Blank

Fol. 33r-45v Tabula super quattuor primos libros divinarum seu celestium revelacionum 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]
The codex brings part of the defence corpus, as we see it in codex B, together with the first part of the Reuelaciones corpus.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{493} I have no explanation for the insertion of the part dealing with St. Katarina.

\textsuperscript{494} Cf. below, description of copy E in codex E.

\textsuperscript{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 ambasiaiores 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 1435\(^{499}\) on fol. 56v, which would refer to the date of the text being


\(^{497}\) 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. 27047a

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. 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. 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. 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. 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.


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:

Pag. 1-28 Indices
   Pag. 1-8 *Index auctorum. Index articulorum quos singuli Doctores scripsurnt* (...) 
   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 bulls
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 *Resoluciontes 14 dicitorum*
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 *Declaraciontes*
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 letters\textsuperscript{509} 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.\textsuperscript{510} He writes that he has divided the material into two books, of which the first contains the "defences in general" for the \textit{Reuelaciones}, and the second "defences in particular"\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Declaraciones}, and in the case of Heymericus the prologues to his \textit{Declaraciones} and the \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Dyalogus} is kept in the Benediktinerkloster St. Stephan in Augsburg. The codex, not previously known to scholars of St. Birgitta’s \textit{Reuelaciones}, was discovered by Ulla Sander Olsen,\textsuperscript{512} who identified it as as being produced in the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon in Dendermonde and showing

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Reuelaciones} to the Council of Basle. The letters are edited in \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{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 *.”

\textsuperscript{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 Defensoris Defensorium praesens conflatum est." Both Johannes de Turre Cremata and Johannes Roberti themselves divided their work in defences \textit{generaliter} and defences \textit{particulariter}, cf. Johannes de Turre Cremata’s \textit{Declaraciones}, beginning of chapter VI (in Mansi’s edition col. 699) and Johannes Roberti’s preface to his \textit{Declaraciones} (UBB C 518, fol. 191vb).

\textsuperscript{512} Sander Olsen, \textit{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 *Reuelacciones* and their defences. The two other volumes, which contain books V-VIII of the *Reuelaciones* and *Opus 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.  

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 hybrid 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. 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 department of the library states that it is 422. On the inside of the front cover is an owner’s mark: *Quattuor prumi libri celestium Reuelacionum Dei cum articulis notatis et replicis defensiuis. 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*
confirmation bull][515
[viii] Blank
Pag. 1-3 Sequuntur declaraciones 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 cardinals de Anglia[518 + Epistula domini Ade
cardinalis ad conventum 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 declaracion 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-289r.
[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*  

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.  

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.  

Codex 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.

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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 iii, H [iii], 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 way\(^ {531} \) – 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.

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\(^{527}\) 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 151\(^{\text{th}}\) 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codex</th>
<th>Introductory history</th>
<th>Johannes de Turre C.:</th>
<th>Heymericus:</th>
<th>Heymericus:</th>
<th>Heymericus:</th>
<th>Other defences written at the council of Basle</th>
<th>Other texts, not defences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KBR MS 1451-53 (codex A)</td>
<td>Introductory history</td>
<td>Prologus 1446 Johannis and Declaraciones Johannis (1435) chapters I-V Littera test. Johannis 1446</td>
<td>Dyalogus – QI</td>
<td>Auisamentum +epilogue</td>
<td>Revelaciones I-IV + Johannes de Turre C.: Declaraciones Johannis (1435) chapter V (the articles divided up as described above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSB MS Clm. 8046 (codex C)</td>
<td>Regula Saluatoris</td>
<td>QI – Dyalogus – NOS</td>
<td>Johannes de Turre C.: Declaraciones Johannis (1435) (intact)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other defences
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
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 *Manuscrits 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 *Auísamentum*. 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 Birgitine abbey of Heymericus’ liking, Mariënwater in Rosmalen close to ‘s-Hertogenbosch.

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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 adicientis quod, si commode fieri possit, libri sic non de scriptura mea illegibili ad legibilem translati, per scriptores ydoneos, expensis meis, iuxta discretionem executorum meorum desuper bene informatorum transscribantur et commodoso studencium in universitate Coloniensi usui adaptentur.”
in the Netherlands,

or the Birgittine abbey of Maria Troon in Dendermonde in Flanders, founded six years after the death of Heymericus. Another possibility is that his private copy was among the books he bequeathed to the faculty of Arts of the University of Cologne.

b1

At the Council of Basle copies of the writings of the defenders were made for the representatives of Vadstena Abbey. 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. 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. 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. 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, Västena klosters 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).


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 Revelaciones”.

146
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 \textit{d2}, which contained copy \textit{d2} of \textit{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 \textit{d3}, which contained copy \textit{d3} of \textit{Dyalogus}. According to the Altomünster writer, this codex (\textit{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 (\textit{d3}) that Altomünster has on loan from Marienbaum. This assertion exists in both \textit{D} and \textit{F}, which could mean that either 1) both \textit{D} and \textit{F} are copies of \textit{d3} or 2) \textit{D} and \textit{F} are both copies of the \textit{copy} of \textit{d3}. It is confirmed by the evidence of the stemma that the copies had a common ancestor.\footnote{651}

To the story in codex \textit{D} Simon Hörmann, prior in Altomünster at the time, made a note in the margin, saying that the defence corpus of Syon Abbey (codex \textit{d1}) in three volumes was given to Altomünster Abbey in 1699 by the prioresse of Maria Troon in Dendermonde.\footnote{652} This note should be connected with those notes in the margin of codex \textit{D} and \textit{F} that make reference to “anglicanus” or “libri anglicani”,\footnote{653} 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 \textit{E}) and the Syon defence corpus (codex \textit{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 \textit{E}, and whose other two volumes are kept

\footnote{651}{The fate of copies \textit{d2} and \textit{d3} is not known to me.}
\footnote{652}{Codex \textit{D}, page 36. \textit{“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.”}.\footnote{653}{Codex \textit{D}, page 28, 40 and 42 and codex \textit{F}, page 36. The ”Anglicanus” had at least the beginning of the Introductory history. In the margin of page 28 is written: \textit{Hic incipiunt Libri Anglicani MM SS}. Further, on page 40, Johannes de Turre Cremata’s \textit{Declaraciones} (1435) chapters I-V come heavily abridged. In the margin is written: \textit{NB Sequentia omnia ad integrum debent scribi, sicut scripta sunt in autographo Anglicano et nec abbreviari sicut hic est factum}. On page 42, where one would have expected \textit{Littera testimonialis 1446} Johannes there is only a reference to the edition of the text in St. Birgitta’s \textit{Rewelaciones}. In the margin is written: \textit{Etiam hoc debet integre huc poni ut in Anglicano}. Thus, the ”Anglicanus” seems to have been more like codex \textit{B} than codices \textit{D/F} and codex \textit{E} as regards the copy of Johannes de Turre Cremata’s texts. In codices \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textit{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 \textit{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,\textsuperscript{555} and they exist also in Registrum. In addition to this, one finds the original wording of the extracted text passages in the \textit{Reuelaciones}. Therefore, variants in these lines of

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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 d1 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.

\textsuperscript{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 racione* corresponds with *necnon* *racione*) 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

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556 Cf. Heymericus de Campo, *Tractatus de discrecione spirituum*, fol. 146va: “Itaque (...) non videntur hec (...) sufficere ad (...) ostendendum supradictum librum Revelacionum 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 racione 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 lxiii:** 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 umquam 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]: *talial* DF talem ABCE and A lix: in] et AD (*ex 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 racione professionis*) which was born (*genite*) in his baptism etc. as by his doctoral degree (*necnon racione 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 Beda 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 cius finis particularis cum debitis circumstantiis est bonus, 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 umquam fuit et est loquitur Christus statim post d e licet deitas est in tribus personis*. (There are stains on the document).

\(^{562}\) This error cannot be used as an indication of ACD\(F\) 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)\textsuperscript{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 corpuses. 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,\textsuperscript{564} and the work would have been finished after 1446.\textsuperscript{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 corpuses containing B, D/F and E have this introduction in common.\textsuperscript{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 corpuses A, D/F and E. However, it would be safe to assume that the Introductory history, *Registrum* and rubrics in the defence corpuses containing A, D/F and E derive from the version of

\textsuperscript{563} “Errors and peculiar readings not binding C to the ABDEF group”.

\textsuperscript{564} This is discussed in various places in chapter 2. 1.

\textsuperscript{565} The texts of Johannes de Turre Cremata and Heymericus in codex B are of the 1446 version.

\textsuperscript{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.\footnote{For example, this could be arranged by Vadstena making copies that were given to the daughter house: Cf. Hedlund, \textit{The Ordinal of the Vadstena Nuns}, p. 135, Helander, \textit{Ordinarius Lincopensis c:a 1400 och dess liturgiska förebilder}, p. 27 and footnot 9, and Sander Olsen, \textit{Hanschriften en boeken (...): Supplement}, p. 217, further Silfverstolpe, \textit{En blick i Vadstena klosters arkiv och bibliotek}, p. 104-105, and de Hamel, \textit{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 \textit{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).} The defence corpus, as we remember, became essential in 1487 for the daily practice of the male convents.\footnote{Cf. chapter 3. 3, “The role of the defences”.} 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 \textit{Dyalogus}.\footnote{Cf. the edition and chapter 3. 2, the descriptions of \textit{QI} and \textit{Dyalogus}.} 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 \textit{Dyalogus}. In B, D/F and E this means that the rubrics are placed between \textit{QI} and the prologue.\footnote{In copy A, \textit{QI} is placed after \textit{Dyalogus}, cf. chapter 5. 1, “Major differences between the MSS and their copies of \textit{Dyalogus}”.} Just like B, D/F and E, copy C has \textit{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 \textit{Declaraciones} in codex C lacks the \textit{Prologus 1446 Johannis} and \textit{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’ \textit{Dyalogus}, too.\footnote{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 \textit{Prologus 1446 Johannis} and \textit{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’ \textit{Dyalogus} is of a version from after 1446 (b2), and Johannes \textit{Declaraciones} is of a version from before 1446. I believe that if a person had access to the post-1446 version of \textit{Dyalogus b2}, the Vadstena copy, he would also have had access to the post-1446 version of Johannes’ \textit{Declaraciones} and the important authentication too.}

2) Codex C lacks the additional comment appearing after \textit{NOS} in B, D/F and E, (erased in B though).\footnote{A does not have \textit{NOS}.} By its formulations, the comment \textit{Elicio ex omnibus}...
premissis (...) gives the impression of being a later addition to Dyalogus by Heymericus. 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 all at 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 ... Ier. 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. 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

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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 decimoctauo 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” (Ier 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 vicesimotecio 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 translocacionem 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 xxiii] libro iii (supra lin. manu II) capitulo xviii] (ex xx.iii(?) A) capitulo xxiii CE
A cxxi: lxxii] ex lxxiii in lxxii A lxxiii CE
A cxxiii: lxxix] ex ? in 79 A lxxx CE
A cxxviii: xlvi] ex ? in xlvi A xxix CE
H [exlix]: 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.)
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 approbandi in approbando A) approbande E
A xiii: incompossibilitia] incompassibilitia C (ex impossibilitia in incompossibilitia A) impossibilitia DEF
H [xiii]: ab re dicitur prouerbialiter] ab re prouerbialiter dicitur AEF abreprobaliter dicitur C
H [xel]: nature] naturaliter C
H [xei]: quantitatiue] quantitatum C
H [xeii]: per] deest C
H [eiin]: 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 rebrobus 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 [xlvi]: concupiscencie instead of consciencie is incorrect, since it is not the flame of concupiscence that ”vexes the evil”.

A lxi: 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 cxxix: 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, 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 prescienciam in the next line. The good Latinist that copied the source manuscript of D and F discovered that the sentence was erroneous and emended prescienciam to presciencie. 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] vuniformiter 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.

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382 Cf. above, “Preliminary remarks on the stemma”.

157
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).

\[\text{AE form a group}\]

*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 “II” which are difficult to correct independently. Some examples of significant errors are:

- **Prologus 4:** iureiurando] iurisiurando *AE*  
  - *H* [ix]: tollendi] tollenda *AE*  
  - *H* [lxvii]: purgatorio] purgatorie *AE*  
  - *H* [lxxxvii]: supposita] sumpta *AE*  
  - *H* [xciii]: incorrupcionem] incorporacionem *AE*  
  - *H* [exii]: virtutis] veritatis *AE*  
  - *H* [cxxxix]: prefigurat] prefigura *AE*

\[\text{A copy of E}\]

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, among which the following two are the most significant ones:

H [lvi]: et capitulo xi dicit Christum post et del. The scribe of A accidentally skips exactly one line in E, but discovers his own mistake

A lxiiii: The scribe of A misread 61 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, as well as changing a reading that agrees with BCDEF to something else. The

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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 [xiiii]: 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 [cxiiii]: mensura mensatur E. The last letter of the word is very weak in A and E.

588 Some examples:

H [xiiii]: opposti (ex appositi in oppositi A) It actually looks like appositi in E when o happens to bind with p.

H [ei]: redemptium et translatium] redempciu et translacium AE (ex translat...? in translacium A).

A cxxvi: scripsit fl(?) ante scripsit del. A It is easy to misread E here.

H [cxlix]: vt supra] ex vis in vt supra A. Probably due to the tricky abbreviation in E.

590 The

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589 Some examples:

A i: approbando] (ex approbande in approbando A) deest C approbande E.

A vi: que] (ex quo in que A) quo E.

A lxii: an] (ex aut in an A) aut E.

A lxxiii: sequenti] ex sequen...? in cxxxiii manu II A sequenti cxxxiii DF sequente E.

H [evii]: symbolo ACD (ex symbalo in symbolo A) symbalo BE.

H [cxiiii]: mensura] (ex ? in mensura manu II A) mensatur E.

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.

159
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. 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 [xlvi]: 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, 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.

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

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591 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 exhortatorii (... 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 17\(^{th}\) 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.

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\(^{597}\) 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.

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. 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.

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.

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. 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. 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. 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 *vv* 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. The changing of the orthography in *A* is not recorded in the apparatus. The orthography of *D(F)* follows the standards of humanist Latin.

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604 More or less consistently words like *caracterem* 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. 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 mimin. 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:

![Image of handwritten text]

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

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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 xci, 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 cxi, A cxxvii, A cxxviii, A cxxviii.
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.

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\[^{608}\] 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*, *pronoata* 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 *Revelaciones* 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 edition is my own. I have refrained from punctuation in the apparatus.

List of abbreviations used in the edition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>add.</em></td>
<td>addidit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cod., codd.</em></td>
<td>codex, codicis etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>del.</em></td>
<td>delevit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>exp.</em></td>
<td>expunxit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>in.</em></td>
<td>initialis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ind.</em></td>
<td>indicavit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lin.</em></td>
<td>linea, -ae etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>marg.</em></td>
<td>margo, -inis etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>scr.</em></td>
<td>scripsit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vid.</em></td>
<td>videtur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{611}\) *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

BASILIENSI PER QUOSDAM IPSARUM REUELACIONUM EMULOS EXTRACTIS
ET CORAM IUDICE FIDEI DE ERRERE ACCUSATIS, NECNON SUPER QUIBUSDAM
ALIIS DUBIIS CIRCA MATERIAM ARTICULORUM ET REUELACIONUM
HUIUSMODI INCIDENTIBUS INTER A VT DISCIPULUM ET H VT MAGISTRUM
COLLATUM.

<PROLOGUS>

1 Porro: Timor est in foribus, ne forte michi, sic vt prefertur, contra
sentencias plerorumque sacre pagine doctorum me seniorem et periciorum
librum Reuelacionum sancte Birgitte iustificanti quisquam obiciat et in
faciem resistat in hac forma: 2 "Tu quis es, qui audes doctrinam
presumptuosam, temeriam, scandalosam, sediciosam, nudum piarum
aurium sed et doctissimorum intellectuum offensiam ac per hoc in domo
sapiencte Dei incarnate, que est ecclesia, merito de impietate et falsitate
in fide christiana reproba suspecta<m> approbare? 3 An quia amore, odio et
proprio commodo, quibus teste Philosopho sedicitur iudicium, allectus?

An more Balaam ad maledicendum filius Israel, id est fidelibus veritatis
diuine doctoribus, conductus? An de ingenio sentencie singularis improbe
confusus? 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 forasse 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
cum D scripsi, deest ABCE 11 Porro] orro (littera in. deest) C | sic...prefertur] deest
C | audes] audis AE 18 suspectam] scripsi, suspecta ABCDE 23 compellor] ex
compellor 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 evangelicam ordinate necnon racione suscepti gradus in sacra pagina doctoralis iureiurando speciali obligati ad defensionem fidei salutaris et impugnationem cuiuslibet docmatis huic fidei offendiculum obicientis multiplicant teneri nec posse huiusmodi debitum per qualencumque dissimulacionem sinistram sine periculo mee salutis eternae transgredi. 5 Fateor eciam, quod non caret scrupulo suspicionis temerarie velle senioribus et perciolationibus 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 queus alia edificationi corporis Christi mistici in pace, fide et moribus noxia est in religione christianae 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 favore doctrine suspecte reus comprobari juste possem. A qua ignominie nota meam, vt confido, in predictis interrogatoriois innocenciam seruabit illesam Dei gracia, militum sue veritatis salutifere protectrix et liberatrix indubia. 8 Attamen, ne sic quasi tacite reus videar laqueos predicte redargucionis velle sine responsione euidenti effugere, satagam prefate absurditati obiecte per modum dalogi inter A et H collati familiariter omnibus intelligibilis respondere.
<DYALOGUS>

A i: Quis te fascinuist a sentencia seniorum librum "De Reuelacionibus beate Birgitte" intitulatum velut illusionibus dyabolicis plenum reprobatum approbando deuiare?

H: Licet a quibusdam doctoribus ipsum perfunctorie sine maturo examine percurrentibus videatur in certis passibus iuxta corruptum littere, quam forsitan viderunt incorrectam, tenorem pocius mendax et illusionis quam verax et catholicus, 2 tamen conferenti fideliter textum textui et litteram correctam cum studio digesto percutantci non apparat alicubi tam absonus, quin possit reduci ad consonanciam catholiche veritatis, prout patet ex iudicio famosisissorum saecie pagine doctorum post diuturnum examen ipsis in hoc concilio Basiliensi vna mecum mutuis commissum colloquuis et deinde proprisi suis scriptis digestum et resolutum.

A ii: Quomodo, queso, id non vereris conicere, cum videatur creaturam Creatori equiparare dicens libro viii capituluo xlvii ubilibet Dei matrem cum Patre, Filio et Spiritu sancto inseparabiliter ingredi seu circumincedere?

H: Illud dictum est superius non intelligi essencialiter et absolute sed obiectaliter et correlatiue.

A iii: Ymmo videtur intelligi essencialiter et per se, ex quo libro viii capituluo lvi visam insinuatu hanc matrem sub typo virginis coronate cum agno, id est suo Filio, in eucharistia, vbi creatura transsubstanciatur in esse increatum, sedere.

15–17 ubilibet...circumincedere] 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

H: Huiusmodi consensionis apparencia fuit simbolica non representans invisibilem panis supersubstantialis essenciam sed relatiuem sue originis temporalis dependenciam, vtputa quod huiusmodi panis transsubstantiatur in Christi carmen de Virgine iam glorificata in celo temporaliter et visibiliter natam.

A iii: 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 transsubstantiatum 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.

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 iii capitulo lxii et post iii in Reuelacione "Mater Dei loquebatur: 'Sic auidi'' etc).

H: Per hoc non vult intelligere substancialem sed effectuallem veritatis consecrata disparanciam, eo modo quo dicit Apostolus, quod indignae manducans iudicium manducat, vtputa, quod sumpicio eucharistie est vita bonis et mors malis.

A vi: Ymmo videtur illud intelligere de disparencia rei consecrate substantiali, cum dicat alibi, quod malo sacerdotes perdiderunt clauem regni celorum (in Reuelacione post iii "Ego sum quasi homo decessurus"),
que, quia consequitur caracterem sacerdotalem, videtur non posse tolli sine potestate consecrandi.

H: Ex quo clausis est auctoritas scientiae et potestatis ecclesiastice officiandi, eo modo dicitur "clauisperdi", quo opus frustratum a fine intento appellatur "officiperdi". Iuxta quem modum loquendi dicit propheta: Perdes omnes qui loguntur mendacium et fornicantur abs te et Dominus Ezechielis xxviii: "Perdidi te o cherub." 2 Que perdicio boni finaliter vitilis non inducit exterminium veritatis rei substantialis aut boni formalis, cuiusmodi est mysterium consecrationis dependens ab efficacia careteristica ordinis sacerdotalis, que, cum sit signaculum christiforme et indelibile, manet equipotenter indifferens in bonis et malis sacerdotibus, quamadmodum dicta Birgitta euidenter fatetur in alio loco.

A vii: Errare videris improbe, siquidem experimur vniuersalitatem potestatis, que confertur cuilibet sacerdoti tempore sue ordinacionis ad ligandum et soluendum atque omni creature evangelizandum, in bonis sacerdotibus, ne exorbitent, restringi, quare videtur in malis merito suspendi et irritari. Aut certe consimiliter poterit potestas consecratuia limitari.

H: Quia teste Apostolo nichil possimus aduersus veritatem et credita est ministris ecclesie dispensacio sui ministerii ad sui et aliorum vtilitatem in ecclesie edificationem, ideo exiguit immobiles verborum sacramentalium veritas illud vere consecrari, quod secundum intentionem Christi et ecclesie contigerit eisdem verbis obiectaliter applicari, ex quo per mutuam actu et sui proprii passii applicationem necessario sequitur accio. 2 Exigit eciam variabilis secundum condiciones temporum, loci et personarum ecclesie vtilitas et ordinata sue prouidencie regalis iusticia

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5 officisperdi] 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
dictam clavium penitencie et legis plenitudinem passim sine
circumstanciarum particularium fine, in quibus teste Aristotele est actus
moderamen, non debere essequi 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 ecclesia debere caueri.

A viii: Si hec fuisse 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.

H: Sicut Christus est gracia et veritate sacerdocii regalis plenus
principaliter, sic exigit monachia ecclesiastica esse plenitudinem
apostolicam seu ministerialem in summo et generali Christi suae ecclesie
militanti visibiliter absentis vicario. 2 Que, vt conformetur legi regali et
sacerdotali sui principis, eget sacris Spiritus sancti dirigere et moderare
canonibus in via regia pacis, iusticie et veritatis. Contra que tria non potest
quicquam Christus nostrar, lapis angularis seu rex pacificus, actor fidei siue
magister celestis et sanctus sanctorum, sol iusticie; quantominus eius
vicarius, qui more instrumenti vltur sub auctoritate sui principalis rectoris.
3 Nisi enim sic ipsa Birgitta intellecxisset huiusmodi plenitudinem debere
boniformiter restringere, non dixisset in quodam alio passu sui libri, scilicet
libro vii capitulo x, non posse post insinuam cuidam pape voluntatis
diuine de continencia sacerdotali in antea seruanda prouidenciam ipsis

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] passiue siue AE 2 fine] cum D scripsi, deest ABC 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
D

176
sacerdotibus coniugium per sedem apostolicam indulgeri, ex quo seruus
lentet sui domini et non suam proprietiam exequei 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 aperciura. Ergo sicut
illud "non nubere", quod fuit tempore Pauli consilium, fiebat auctoritate
apostolica Calixti diuinitus instructi preceptum, ita post hoc tempus non
currit libere ipsius pape contra hanc institucionem dispensandi arbitrium, 2
sicut non potest indulgencias (de quibus in Reuelacione post iiiii "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
edificationi necessarias.

A x: Allegare inconueniens non est soluere et inducere anxiomata non
est difficultati propositae satisfacere sed eam magis confundere et
involuere. Dic ergo plane et cathegorice, si liceat pape et vniuersali
concilio castimoniam sacerdotalem ad priscia coniugia relaxare?

15 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?

H: Non est hoc magis dubium, quam quod experimur in dies per
ecclesie Romane consuetudinem tacite dispensarli contra illud, quod
quidam aiunt preceptum Christi et Apostoli de communione calicis et
panis eucharistie, in casibus particularibus epykeyie iustificantis
huiusmodi formam imminenti periculo veri et boni salutarium ecclesie. Que quidem dispensacio non est alius 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.

H: Estimo, quod si ita intelligerent huiusmodi dictum esse preceptum Bohemi, vt ego, non possent notari de errore aliquo. Si quidem 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 preceptiuam lex respicit, occasione speciei gemine ecidit in infirmitatem fidei et cautele debite irreuerenciam, subtrahenda erat illa occasionalis dicti periculi species liquida a plebeis in remedium huiusmodi offendiculum salutare. Nec puto illud fuisse preceptum seu docma cathegoricium sed enunciacionem seu insinuacionem ypothetica pro tempore et loco et a personis ydoneis salubriter adimplendum. In signum cuius Apostolus illis predictit eterne mortis iudicium, qui presumunt accedere indignae ad hoc sacrosanctum mense dominice refectorium.

A xiii: Non sit tibi molestum ita in hoc dialogo sentencie aliene interpretem ad iudicium sentencie proprie diuertisse!

H: Quia sic me inausiatum tentasti et a proposito disgredi coegisti, nolo hanc interposi am respionis proprie sentenciam reputari diffinitiueam sed dumtaxat gracia exempli pro elucidacione dispensacionis quesite, sicut primo aspectu micih ex ypothesi opinionis aliene occurrat, introdactam. Si quidem illud non alia racione dicitur "preceptum", quam quomodo iudicium discipline siue doctrina veritatis regularis solet dici "artis preceptum" secundum Tullium.


A xiii: Si virtus consistit in medio, et Sapiens dicit: Noli esse nimis iustus, non videtur qualiter extrema incompessibilique Christi, angelorum, Dyaboli et animarum, que fuerunt in lymbo, 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 diciunt prouerbialiter: Omne, quod est nimium, vertitur in vicium, quoque 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 affecionibus caritatis supernaturalis et odii sibi finaliter oppositi, quia affeciones caritatis transcendunt posse mensuratum nature et suspendunt animum ad gratuita eligilibia bonitatis Dei infinite iuxta illud: Concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini. Et per contrarium affeciones odii dyabolici se extendunt ad impossibilita eligibilita liberi arbitrii a summo bono finaliter auersi.

A xv: Valde absurdum est et, sicut testatur magister sentenciarum ex sentencia 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 iii angilos bonos futuram supra se beate Marie gloriam exultanter praedisse, demons vero cuiusdam futuram militis peccatoris iniquitatem cum affectu pene prenouisse (libro vii capitulo xiii).

H: Si fuerunt ab inicio plenitudine sciencie prediti, vt testatur Ezechiel de cherub, eo modo, quo actor libri causarum dicit intelligencias esse formis plenas, formis, inquam, intelligibilibus ordinis vniuersi futuri prenesticis, quid prohibet huiusmodi pleniformem futurorum bonorum et

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1-2 Noli...iustus] cf. Vulg. Eccl 7, 17 6-7 Omne...vicium] WP, T 3, p. 587
23-24 intelligencias...plenas] cf. AA op. 11, sent. 10 (Anonymus, Liber de causis IX)


179
malorum prescienciamuisse in huiusmodi spiritibus nedum in plenitudine
donorum naturalium sed eciam datorum gratuitorum conditis?

A xvi: Illud prohibet contraria Augustini sentencia, que dicit
sapienciam esse fructum pietatis. Cui pietati repugnat quemquam sue
miserie future prescium fuisse, cum hec presciencia induxisset
desperacionem aut saltam 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
scienecie, scilicet primus, qui est habitualis exigens nil aliud quam formam
intelligibilem rei scibiliis habere, et secundus, qui est scienza vti, id est per
actualem consideracionem supera scibile conveterere. 2 Vult ergo
Augustinus angelos non fuisset prescios sui casus presciencia actualis
consideracionis, quam sequitur affectio tristicie, sed presciencia habitualis
raciunum intelligendi prehabiciones.

A xvii: Si spiritus boni et mali fuissent ita omnium futurorum prescii,
non proficerent cotidie in cognicione experimental.

H: Ymmo nocionalis de tali habitu ad actum consideracionis exitus
est in illis, sicut fuit in primo homine innocentet et Christo profectus
scienecie experimentalis, quam sibi inuicem communicant per exercicium
collocucionis.

A xviii: Ergo Christus non fuisset ab inicio sue conceptionis plenus
gracie et veritatis?

H: Absit hoc sentire contra dictamen Iohannis ewangeliste sed teste
eodem cum hac veritatis plenitudine stat ipsum in sapiencia profecisses eo
modo, quo thesaurus absconditus proficit in suorum occultorum
reuelacione. Ex quo, secundum eloquium Apostoli, in Christo Ihesu
fuerunt omnes thesauri scienecie et sapiencie absconditi.

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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 prescienciam] prescienecie D 3 prohibet] perhibet AE | que] qui D 10 habere]
haberi C | id est] scilicet C 13 affectio] affliccio D 14 prehabiciones] prehabiciones
C 15 futurorum] bonorum C 17 del] ACDE dicitur B 18 fuit...innocente] in primo
homme innocentet fuit ADE 19 experimentalis] expentialis A 25 suorum]
absconditorum post suorum del. B 26 reuelacione] reuelacionenem CD
A xix: Si ignorancia est malum pene consequens reatum culpe, non potest sane dici Christum omnis peccati expemptem fuisset quomodolibet ignorantem.

H: Verum est, proprie loquendo de ignorantia, que opponitur habituali sciencie; sed constat ex multis sacrorum evangeliorum testimoniiis ipsum ex auditu et visu multa sibi prius actualiter incognita didicisse atque hoc modo futurum iudicium nescuisset.

A xx: Non est verisimile, quod demon, qui est expers gracie, potuisset caritatis Christi ad beatam Birgittam conscius testis fuisset (libro primo capitulo xxxiii), 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, 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 sentencia textus prefati libri beate Birgitte delirare, in quo ponitur tunc tenebrosum cor demonis illuminatum fuisset (libro i capitulo xxxiii), ergo et sic dictam caritatem in lumine vidisse.

H: Id ipsa intelligit de lumine experimentalis noticie, quomodo illuminabantur oculi, quibus Adam et Eva se videbant post peccatum nudos fuisset.

A xxi: Si Deus vult suos ministros honorari, non videtur fuisset reuelacionis diuine dictamen laycos contra clerum excitare, clerum diffamare et eius maliciam omni statui maligno, tam mundano quam infernali, destestabiliter postergare, sicut constat in dicto libro contineri (libro i capitulo iv et in Reuelacionibus post iii).

8–9 demon...fuisset cf. Reu. I, 34, 24 13 omne...est cf. Vulg. Eph 5, 13
14–16 filum...descendisse cf. Reu. I, 34, 9 19 tunc...fuisset cf. Reu. I, 34, 24
25–27 laycos...ostergare cf. Reu. I, 55, 17sqq et I, 56,7-29 (especially 17), further Reu. IV, fortasse totam partem "de sacerdotibus" = lib. IV, cap. 132-136
6 incognitae inognitae E 14 verisimili visibili D 16 de] Dei A ex Dei in de E
H: Fataeor nemini inferiori licere auctoritate propria suum superiorem, cui secundum legem diuinam debet obedienciam, timorem et honorem, verbis, scriptis aut factis irreuererit dicente Petro apostolorum principe: "Serui subditi estote dominis vestris quamuis discolis". 2 Tamen docet me multipharia viciorum cleri per prophetica Dei oracula inceropacio, 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 immobilitis professorum te sencio, cum alias, quando extracti ex dicto libro articuli tibi fuerunt ostensi, eos suspectos plurimum habuisti, quos in his et supradictis tuis scriptis a nota infidelitatis et scandalis defendere studuisti!

H: Decet timoratum pietatis fidei salutaris scrutatorem in auditu aut visu quorumbet nouorum articulorum pias simplicium aures offendencium tam dieu admirari, dubitare et suspensam in suspicione alciuus 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 euidentem dicti libri textum et eius fidelem sentenciam elicitos, quos, priusquam vidissem sue extraccionis passus, detestabar et reprobos arbitrabar, donec ipso per antecedencia et consequencia sui textus emendatos negare catholics nequaquam potui.

A xxiii: Qui fuerunt illi articuli?

4 Serui...discolis] cf. Vulg. 1 Pt 2, 18

H: Primus est in sermone angelico capitulo iii, 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, 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 iii in capitulo cxxix, quod credere mandatis Dei, honorare sacra menta ecclesie et dolere de peccatis sunt consilia etcetera. 2 Nam in primo horum articulorum omittitur ille terminus "inceperunt", quo ibidem posito articulus esset verus. Siquidem Dyabolus ab inicito in veritate non stetit, id est in puncto sue creacionis naturaliter et gratu ite innocentis apostatate cepit. In secundo omittitur illa negatio "non" inducens sensum oppositum cum ibi vere ponatur, quod Filius Dei per incarnacionem non magis recessit a Patre. In tercio non dicitur hoc de demonibus sed de angelis. 3 In quarto non reprehenduntur curiales, quia non corrigit peruersum clerum sed eos qui violent ecclesiasticam cleri libertatem, et quintus articulus non intelligitur de consiliis evangelicis sed sapienter exhortatorius, vnde scriptum est: Non peribit consilium a sapiente (ler. xviii). Pari modo nonnulli articuli alii, forsitan propter incorreccionem textus exemplariss, inueniuntur impertinenter et in fideliter extracti.


1 Primus...4 generavit] primus est in sermone angelico cap iii 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 iii 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 negatio 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 inicito in veritate non stetit id est in puncto sue creacionis naturaliter et gratu ite innocentis apostatate cepit D 11 ibidem] ibi C 12 stetit] steti C 17 clerii] deest ADE 18 non] non post non del. B 20 sed...20 xviii] deest ACDE 20 alii] alii sunt C 21 impertinenter] impertinenter false C
A xxv: Non dum me simpliciter quietasti, ex quo ipsa Birgitta profitetur suas Reuelaciones esse claras et faciles, quas tamen, sicut satis liquet ex prehabetis suorum interpretum iudiciis contrariis, constat quoad plura eorum dicta esse valde obscuras.

H: Commune prouerbium est, quod ex improviso fallitur omnis homo, eo quod teste Philosopho difficile est simul multa conspicere et festinacio seu precipitatio 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, tractim et transitorie, reperiantur in suis iudiciis equiuoci? Siquidem talis equivoocatio accidit in eiusdem hominis iudicio.

A xxvi: In quo ergo stat finalis tua sentencia?

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 inueni h in veritate racionis naturalis aut legis diuine simpliciter dissonum, 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.

A xxvii: Queso, dic michi, si dicta Birgitta fuit vera theologia?

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 mystica, simbolica et philosophica (Dyonysius ad Titum) et quod agnicio veritatis in spem vite eternae est a
Deo per Filium suum manifestata (Titi i), quin eciam, quod spiritus Filii, per quem Filius docet omnem veritatem, constituit filios adopcionis, clamans in eis: Abba, Pater! Ergo: Cum vnumquisque talis sit in modo sciendi qualia dicit, illa vere est censenda theologia, cujus doctrina purgat affectum, illuminat intellectum et deiformat voluntatem instruens perfectos et spirituales homines mistice, imperfectos simbolice et racionis capaces persuasiue seu philosophice de hiis, que ordinant spem nostram ad vitam etarnam et ordinant caritatem nostram in finale Patris celestis obsequium. 3 Talia autem patet seriose intuenti dicte Birgitte per lumen inspiracionis diviae sanctificate, spiritu prophetico illuminate et per amorem singularem Christo desponsate fore dicta et scripta in libro suarum Reuelacionum celestium contenta. Ergo reputo eam fidelem sapiencie 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 eorumde ab hac nota defensem audiam succincte.

H: Si bene vidisses prenotata vicissim ad declaracionem huiusmodi articulorum accumulata, non renouares meum laborem illis nichil aut parum novi superadditurum, presertim, vt vitae fastidium ex iteracione eiusdem dicti preter necessaria verisimilariter oriturum dicente Philosopho quod conturbat audientem, quod frequenter dicitur.

A xxix: Scis ex sentencia eiusdem Philosophi, quod in disputacione obuiatua siue contradictorie ad hominem probleumatica quedam falsa sunt quibusdam veris probabiliora, quare nedum bene sed videri bene dicere est in huiusmodi disputacione 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 oppponenti.

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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 probleumatica…probabiliora] cf. AA op. 36, sent. 121 (Aristoteles, Topica VII)


185
H: Ne propter hoc reputetur prefata discussio insufficiens et imperfecta, propone tu articulos, sicut extracti sunt, et non recusabo ipsos determinare per ea, que dicta sunt!

<RECAPITULACIO>

A xxx: In primo capitulo primi libri dictorum Reuelacionum dicitur Christum dixisse, quod tanta esset caritas eius ad animam beate Birgitte, quod mallet iterum crucifiigi, 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 moreret pro te!" loquens cuidam dampnato.

H: Ille articulus coincidit cum sentencia diuini Dyonysii 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".


A xxxii: Iterum in x capitulo dicit, quod coronam spineam imposuerunt Christo iam crucifixo.

H: Hoc, si bene legisses textum, videres eam non intelligere de noua vel prima Christi coronacione sed corone sibi prius imponete et a situ sue


impositionis deflexe directa adaptacione. Sic enim memini me in dicto libro legisse, quod est irreprobable.

A xxxii: In eodem capitulo dicit amicos Christi in eterno maluisse in inferno ardere quam eum sic cruciari.

H: Loquitur de mauolinencia ex compassione nature vniversalis celum et terram horribiliter mouentis subito orna. Qui motus sua excessiua supra posse nature particularis vhehencialm vicit passionem auctus particularis, quo quisque talis optauit consummari talem mortem in precium sue de captiuitate inferni liberationis. Suntque alii huismodi articuli sensus verisimiles, sicut patuit supra, quare iste articulus non est in fide reprobus.

A xxxiii: Item capitulo xviii secundi libri dicit: "Si sancti viderentur clare scut sunt, nullus oculus ferre posset sed corporali lumine priuaretur".

H: Nimirum, si Aristotele iii De anima testante excellens sensibile corrupit sensum.

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, accept a Patre et Deo sit proprium misereri et parere, illud recte potuit dicere.

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.

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3-4 amicos...cruciari] cf. Reu. I, 10, 30  11-12 Si...priauretur] cf. Reu. II, 18, 2  
13-14 excellens...sensum] AA op. 6 sent. 179 (Aristoteles, De anima III)  
22-24 Hoc...mobil] cf. Declaraciones, art. 3 (UUB MS C 518 fol. 103v-104r)  
1 memini] nemini C  2 quod] ergo ADE deest C  | quod...irreprobable] 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]  
clari C  19 parcer illud] partem illum C  20 xxx] 3o A | quod] qui C  21 frustum]  
frustum C  22 articulo iii] deest ACDE | inhabitacione] ex habitacione in  
inhabitacione C  23 et] deest C  

187
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.

H: Hoc dicit sub hac forma: "Quomodo mortalis potest videre immortalem?", quasi diceret non ex facultate proportionali sue corruptibilis nature sine beneficio adiuuantis gracie, 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.

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, seruiitier subiectus eiusdem sui Domini obtemperauerit iussioni.

A xli: 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 mistice.

A xlii: 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".

H: Loquitur ex yphothesi et ex iussu et denunciacione vera sui Domini, cuius caritas perpetua, qua in finem dilexit suos, incomparabiliter excessit et excedit finitam mortis temporalis passionem.
A xliii: In eodem dicitur Deum dixisse: "Nunc, Dyabole, illuminatum est cor tenebrosum tuum!"

H: Verisimile est ipsum illud de illuminacione cognitionis experimentalis intellexisse, sicut ars deluditur arte.

A xliii: Item dicitur ibidem Deum dixisse ad Dyabolum: "Pete et tu misericordiam humiliter a me, et dabo tibi". Et respondit Dyabulus: "Nequaquam! Antequam curuarem genu coram te, magis vellem inglutire omnes penas in me!".

H: Loquitur de peticione et genuflexione voluntatis sue proprie in odio Dei finaliter et ita immobiliter deprauate. Cui non repugnat illa genuflexio, quam exigit necessitas seruulis creature, de qua dicit Apostolus, quod in nomine Ihesu omne genu flectit.

A xliii: Item xxxix capitulo dicitur Christum habuisse fidem, spem et caritatem.

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.

H: Loquitur ad intellectum illius evangeli: Oportuit pati Christum et ita introire in gloriam suam.

A xlv: 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 exceptionem, sed non a papa et clero, de quibus subdit conclusiue: "Tu es peior Lucifero, tu

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12 in…flectitur] Vulg. Phil 2, 10 (flectitur: flectat Vulg.)
21–190,3 Christum…temperamentum] cf. Reu. 1, 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
es iniustior Pilato, tu es immicior Iuda, tu es abhominabilior iudeis" sic blasphemando contra clerum indifferentem subdens, quod offensa Dei per clerum nullum inueniet misericordie temperamentum.

H: Lege litteram unde hec extrahuntur diligencieus et inuenies aliter. Recordare nichilominus Gregorii dicentis in Moralibus, quod sacra scriptura quandoque permiscet consolacionem cum desperacione in suo modo loquendi comminorio.

A xlviit: Item ibidem dicitur spiritus malignos videre omne bonum et omnem iusticiam, licet non in luce, sed in consciencia sua.

H: Hoc concordat cum testimonio Dyonysii dicentis iiiis capitulo De diuinis nominibus, quod triplex est malum demonis, scilicet furor irresolutionis, fantasia proterua et demens concupiscencia, quibus deuiait 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 "synderesis".

A xlvii: Dicit in eodem beatum Petrum esse fundatorem fidei et ecclesie et quod papa est peior Lucifero.


5–7 sacra...comminatorio] cf. Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Ioâ, Lib. 26 cap. 20
8–9 spiritus...sua] cf. Reu. 1, 41, 31
11–12 triplex...concupiscencia] cf. Dionysius, De divinis nominibus, cap 4, pag. 279 colon. 4sqq (secundum Hilduinum)
14 vermis...morietur] Vulg. Is 66, 24
17–18 beatum...ecclesie] cf. Reu. 1, 41, 34
18 papa...Lucifero] cf. Reu. 1, 41, 11
23 Quanto...bassior] cf. WV Vol. 4, p. 101 (bassior: gravior WP)

A xlix: In capitulo xlv dicitur, quod mens Christi turbabatur tempore passionis.


A I: In capitulo xlvi dicit Filium Dei fuisse creaturam dignissimam.

H: Et bene loquendo de ipso secundum naturam assumptam per gracion vnionis ypostatice supra omnes choros angelorum in celum trinitatis elevatam.

A li: Item capitulo liii 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.

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191
A liii: Capitulo liiii scribitur dixisse angelum de inuidia Dyabolii, quod Dyabolus mallet cencies mori, quam homo minimum bonum caritatis exhiberet Deo.

H: Loquitur ex ypothesi impossibili propter infinitum, quo apostatat, Dei odium.

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 disposicionem corporis quam anime. Subdit: "Ergo nullum contra disposicionem 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 subtrahit. Concluditur finaliter: "Ergo: Non plus facio contra naturalem disposicionem corporis quam anime."

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.

H: Verisimile est iuxta modum loquendi ignorant et innumerebilem 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 spacios et lata.

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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 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" denunciatiue, sicut scriptum est: Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam virginem despensatam Iosep. Ad cuius auditus exterius evangeliium missus est in vtero Virginis a sedibus regalibus Dei verbum.

A lix: In eodem capitulo inducitur Christus dicens Birgitte: "Licet humanitas mea videatur esse iuxta te, verisimilius est tamen, quod anima tua in conscientia tua mecum est in me."

H: Hoc, ni fallor, ideo dicatur, 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 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, 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.

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8 suum] deest C  10 denunciatiue] denunciatum C | ad...Iosep] etc. ADE  15 in'] 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 viuente 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 perditionem.

H: Illud est credibile secundum mentem Augustini dicentis nullum esse peccatum adeo ventiale quin, si placet, fieri mortale loquendo de complacencia finali, eo quod creature in odium Dei facte sunt et in muscipulum 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 extinguer" quodque Deus in ecclesia sua posuit prophetas etc., non est nobis ambigendum, quin Birgittam sic fuisset 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 revelabit" et "vuccio docebit vos" etc. hanc Dei amicam fuisset ad participacionem huiusmodi reuelacionis electam et assumptam
verisimile, presertim cum dicit Sapiens, quod reuelare secreta est condicio amicicie.

A lxxiii: 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."

H: Amore Dei quid te fascinant huiusmodi veritatem planissimam in suspicacionem 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 humili animatum corpus sumens de Virgine? An forte hesitas differentiam inter ypostaticam assumpcionem et materialem susceptionem?

A lxxv: In capitulo xvii dicit mirabilia de ordine predicatorium, similiter xviii capitulo, mirabilia in xxvi capitulo judicium sine misericordia fieri christianis damnatis.

H: Recte sunt mirabilia nobis inscrutabilia Dei iudicia ac per hoc a nobis irreprobabilia, ne incidamus in illam damnabilem presumpcionem: Perscrutator maiestatis opprimetur a gloria, sed pocius dicamus cum propheta: "Mirabilis facta est scienza tua ex me! Confortata est, non potero ad eam." 2 Scis eciam, quod ab apostolo Iacobo scriptum est: Iudicium sine misericordia fiet ei, qui non fecit misericordiam. Ad quem sensum intellige illud secundum dictum seu objectum! Est quippe

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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 capita 17 et 18
17–18 iudicium...damnatis] cf. Reu. III, 26, 14
21 Perscrutator...gloria] Vulg. Prv 25, 27
22–23 Mirabilis...eam] Vulg. Ps 138, 6 (juxta LXX)
24 iudicium...misericordiam] Vulg. lac 2, 13
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1 verisimile] verisimiliter l'ACE veresimiliter est credibile D | dicit] dicat CD
25 Est] et C

195
multiplex misericordia, scilicet liberans, relaxans et supererogans. 3
Quarum prima deest omnibus dampnatis, ex quo in inferno nulla est
redempcio, secunda deest secundum communem legem dampnatis
christianis graciadam miserationis divine, in qua habundarunt, ingratanter
negligentibus, tercia deest omnibus existentibus in purgatorio, qui
deesserunt extra statum sanctimonie votiuie alicuius approbate religionis,
pro quibus non fiunt singularia caritatis supererogantis suffragia.

A lxvi: In iiiii libro capitulo vii ponit tres partes purgatorii, in quarum
prima est maxima pena, quam anime possunt sustinere, in secunda non est
alia pena nisi deflectus virium in fortitudine, pulchritudine et similibus,
sicut infirmus cessante infirmitate nichil de viribus, donec paulatim
recuperet, in tercia 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.

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 lxvii: In viii capitulo dicit animas, que sunt in prima parte
purgatorii, non intelligere, vtrum venient ad requiem post purgacionem an
sint dampnate.

H: Textus loquitur de quadam singulari anima in reatu actualis
obliuionis Dei tormento tali delicto proporcionato dedita secundum illud:
Per quae quis peccat, per ehe torquabitur. Que ignorancia non opponitur
sciencie habituali, qua omnes anime existentes in purgatorio sunt certe de
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.)
8, 1 24 Per...torquabitur] Vulg. Sap 11, 17 (torquabitur: torquetur Vulg.)

2 ex quo] eo quod AD eo quo E 3 secundum...legem] deest ACDE 6 votiuie]
vocatitue ADE 8 partes] deest D 11 infirmus] infernus (s post infernus del.) C
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 lxviii: In ix capitulo ordinat xxx missas et multa alia. Finaliter dicit, quod viuentes possunt accedere papam pro salute existencium in purgatorio ac aperi re peccatum illius anime et petere penitenciam sibi iniungi et illam perficiendo animam illum liberabit vel eius penam mitigabit.

H: Si verum dicit Dyonysius in suo libro Ecclesiastice ierarchie capitulo vi, quod vtiles sunt om inn in hoc seculo sanctorum oraciones, et quod papa est generalis Christi et ecclesie vicarius, cui credita est neddum iusticie sed eciam gracie seu misericordie nomine Christi et ecclesie ad vtilitatem viuorum et mortuorum dispensacion, non videtur absonum a fide, si dicto modo succurrat anime languardis in purgatorio miserie.

A lxix: In capitulo x dicit habitatores Rome non habere maiorem caritatem ad Christum, quam demones, qui miseries suas et malicium malunt sustinere eternaliter, quam me 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 quod eos Romanos, qui caruerunt amore Dei. Et quoniam eadem est caritas Dei et proximi, sicut innuit Apostolus, dum ait, quod qui diliget 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 "inidia" dicitur a "non videndo" quasi "inuite" felicitatem alienam "videndo".

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A lxx: Item xiii capitulo dicit, quod offerre pro anima alterius vnum
paternoster est accepius Deo magno pondere auri oblato. Exemplificat de
anima Trayani, quam liberauit Gregorius de inferno.

H: Quis dubitat, quin secundum evangelicam Christi sentenciam
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
optinendum 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 dyabolico corporis peccati vinculo ponendo nos membra
corporis mistici, non est censendum impossibile nedum peccatorum 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 carne sub
obediencia et regula sue professionis habens tamen desiderium seu

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1–3 offerre...inferno] cf. Reu. IV, 13, 12 5 anima...corpus] cf. Mt 6, 25 et Lc 12, 23;
cf. Augustinus, In loannis evangelium 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
63, 9 (Dominus: ipse Vulg.) 23–199,2 comedens...die] cf. Reu. IV, 26, 3-5

eieieccionem ADE 14 optinendum] optinendum AE 16 in] deest AC | nos] deest D
17 sed] sed eciam ACDE | dyabolici] dyabolico ADE dyabolico(?) C 18 mistici] sue
C | peccatorum] peccatorum A 20 innitantur] inuinantur A (?)C 24 tamen] rectum A

198
si non obstaret obediencia, plus duplo meretur, quam libere ieiunans vno et eodem die.

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 votiue subiectus, preualet observacioni eiusdem ieiunii.

A lxxiii: In declaracione capituli lxxxi posita post quartum librum seu eciam post ipsum lxxxi capitulum dicitur, quod indulgencie dantur propter fidem et deuoicionem et caritas propter indulgenciam.

H: Quia indulgencie innituntur gracie miserenti, que non prerequirit meritum digni aut condigni sed dumtaxat congrui in suo susceptu, 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 lxxiii: In capitulo lxi dicitur, quod sumpto corpore Christi a malo sacerdote discedit ab eo Patris potentia, abscedit Filii dulcissima presencia, depositis vestibus sacrar recedit Spiritus sancti benignitas.

H: Si teste Apostolo nulla est conuencio Christi ad Belial et sic vna inseparabilis tocius trinitatis increate ad extra operacio, nimirum, vbi adest Sathan per mortalis peccati maleficium, inde recedit Deus per appropriatum potencie Patris, sapiencia Filii et bonitati Spiritus sancti gracie gratum facientis beneficium.

A lxxxv: In capitulo lxxiii dicit, quod sola forma panis remanet sacerdoti malo et Christus recedit.
H: Intelligit quoad nutricionis effectum, quia talis propter obicem gracie non est capax nutricionis spiritualis, quamuis senciat se refici carnaliter per masticacionem et bibicionem specierum panis et vini, non autem intelligit de recessu rei consecrate a signo sacramentali. Siquidem alibi dicit huiusmodi consecracionem equaliter per malum sicut bonum sacerdotem fieri.

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 intentionem antecedentem fuisse de statu in statum mutatos.

A lxxvii: In capitulo lxxxi dicit dampnatos omittertes 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 culpa, sicut culpa commissiue debetur pena sensus, ita culpa omissiue pena dampni, que est priuacio eterno lucis.

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 concupuii desiderare iustificaciones tuas omni tempore.
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 racionem precepti, sed, sicut Dominus in apocalipso "suasit" lapso a via iusticie emere aurum et argentum et collirium, id est caritatem, fidem et compunctionis 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 reciidiuo.

A lxxxi: 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 lxxxii: 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 reedit. Vbi eciam


videtur dicere, quod omnes sacerdotes eciam habeant potestatem predicandi et consecrandi.

H: Etsi tedeat me tuis obiectis friouliis et inuolutis iterum ac iterum respondere, tamen, vt satisfaciam pocius tuæ 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, nimimum contingit accessum et recessum Christi et Dyaboli circa eundem sacerdotem vicissim bonum et malum renouari necnon Christum adesse sacerdotibus per gracion sacramentalem suscepti ordinis, qui tamen ab eis, dum fuerint mali nec ad predicandum missi vel licenciati, deest per gracion gratum facientem virtutis salutaris et eciam per gracion gratis datam ierarchicæ iurisdiccionis, vnque elicitur facultas libera predicacionis.

A lxxiii: 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 transcendent dyabolicam iniquitatem, presertim ex circumstancia sue eminens consecrudi corpus dominicum potestatis et maioris ex contemptu gracie suscepta ingratiudinis.

A lxxiii: In capitulo cxxxix seu in Reuelacione, que incipit "Filius Dei loquitur: 'Qui habet'' in tractata de summis pontificibus, dicit mirabilia

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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 [lxxiii] et Vulg. II Cor. 6, 16 16–17 sacerdotes...dyabolis] cf. Reu. IV, 134, 15

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202
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 obuim sacre fidei neque racione humana ad scrutandum, quid velit Deus, impotente, quomodolibet reprobabile. Ergo est in timore Domini coniecturandum, ut quid stupendum et admirabile.

A lxxxv: In v libro interrogacione vi in responsione questionis prime dicit animas decadencium sine baptismo, licet non videant faciem Christi, tamen magis appropinquant misericordie quam pene.

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 pochius pena quam culpa et ideo magis misericordie quam iusticie subiecta.

A lxxxvi: Interrogacione eadem dicitur, quod iusticia Dei est, quod vnumquisque optineat que petit.

H: Loquitur de iusticia duine repromissionis, que dicit: Petite et accipietis! Petite, inquam, bene, ne vobis obiciiatur illud Iacobii: 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 annichilarem ea, que homines plus me

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1–2 tante...Christi] cf. Reu. IV, 137, 5  2–4 si...consolator] cf. Reu. IV, 137, 7sqq  
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?)  
20–21 Petitis...petatis] Vulg. Iac 4, 3 (accipietis: accipitis Vulg.)

6 impotente] impete AE in potestate CVtpote D | quomodolibet] quemlibet C  7 quid] quod C  
9 interrogacione...prime] capitulo iii C  10 decadencium] decedencium C  

ADE | noui...vetexis] ADE noui et vete B nouo et vteri C  15 est] supra lin. A et C  
deest (aut(?)) erasit] E  16 subiecta| subiecti D  17 Interrogacione eadem] in eodem C  
19 duine] 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 inuiriunm."

**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 nascentur, non posse
facere homini inuiriunm, eciam si necessitaret suum liberum arbitrium? Ad
quod dico, quod supposita lege Christi iam posita non iuste dampnatur
creatura libera propter factum eius inuiriunm.

**A lxxxviii:** In interrogatione 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 divina 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 seruilliter alteri intellectuio eiusdem generis
subjectus.

**A xc:** Ibidem, sicilicet eadem interrogatione in responsione questionis
tii, dicitur spiritus ante tempora et ante secula creatos.

**H:** Loquitur de temporibus et seculis vicissitudinis morose et continue
motus celestis.

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3 que...potest| cf. Vulg. Hbr 6, 18 10-11 ideo...iuentum| cf. Reu. V, Int. 9, 8
14-15 causa...quam| cf. Raimundus Lullius, Declaracio Raimundi (op. 80) cap. 71,
lin. 12; idem, Liber de quæstione valde, alta et profunda (op. 181) dist. 2, lin. 717;
idem, Liber de universalibus (op. 125) lin. 81 17-18 ideo...possessor| 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 existimas in estimas E 7 supposita|
sumpta AE 8 creatura| creatura C 9 In...prime| in iiiii capitolo C 11 ipsa| ea C
12 ideo| ideo et ACE (et exp. A?| id est D 13 et| aut D 16 A lxxxi| ex A
lxxxi...? in A lxxxi B | Interrogacione...iiii in eodem C 19 habet| potestatem post
habet del. B 22 sicilicet...ii| deest C 23 creatos| creatus DE 24 continue motus| in
marg. manu II A motus deest DE

204
A xci: In interrogacione xi in responsione questionis prime dicit, quod deitas et humanitas a principio coniunctio situe inseparabiles sunt eciam in Christi morte.

H: Non habetur ibi "in morte" quamuis forte catholice possit dici, quod eciam in triduo sue mortis humanitas fuit coniuncta deitati secundum suum esse originale et assumptum preueniens composicionem essenciam 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 mitionem carnalem.

H: Sic non dicit sed intendit, quod, licet culpa originalis tulit innocencie graciem, 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 institucionem concessum est opus commixtionis carnalis, vt fructificaret a natura".

A xciii: Dicit postea interrogacione xii in responsione questionis secunde, quod inter Adam et Euan 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 Euan post concubitum 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 corpori,
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 mediæ 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 eloquiiis 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 xcv: In responsione ad primam questionem interrogacionis xvi dicitur, quod per similitudinem et non ad litteram intelligi debet illud evangeli: Oues erunt ad dexteram, ed autem ad sinistrum, 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 quantitatiue extensum et sitularium distinctum. Ideoque impossibile est dextrum et sinistrum, que sunt differencie situs et loci, respectu deitatis incorpori esse effigiari.

A xcvii: In responsione questionis secunde ibidem dicitur, quod filius secundum deitatem est omnisciens, ideo nouit horam iudicii, sed secundum humanitatem, in qua Christus proficiebat sapiencia et etate, illam horam ignorat.
H: Dico sicut predixi illud esse de mente ewangelii secundum interpretacionem Athanasi, Thome et plurium aliorum doctorum ignoranciam sciencie homini originaliter concrente, que est pena peccati et ideo longe ab innocencia nature integre Christi relegata, ab ignorancia sciencie deforis per experienciam acquisibilis, que nullam imperfectionem ponit in suo subjecto, distinguendum.

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 inmundicia 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, vptua 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 missa vsque ad verba consecracionis, quibus completis reuertitur Dyabolus. Et alia mira dicuntur in eodem capitulo.
H: De hoc satis dictum est paulo superius, vbi notata est incompossibilitas Christi et Belial, templi Dei et demoniorum. Illustrante quippe veritate nimium cedit mendacium et econtra.

A cii: In capitulo x extollit misericordiam beate Virginis valde enumerando cuiusdam anime multa peccata, scilicet superbia, luxuriam, iactanciam, accidiam. Quibus non obstantibus, quia in extrema hora habuit voluntatem, licet non feruentem, vt soluerentur eius debita, ipsa est in numero salvandorum. Ordinat insuper missas illas pro eius eripcione de purgatorio, quas multi supersticiosas reputant, quamuis missa in se sit sancta.

H: Istud totum est pie credibile iuxta illud: Quacumque hora ingemuerit peccator, saluus erit cooperante misericordia Dei genitricis Marie, que ex plenitudine sue gracie est vniuersalis omnium miserorum aduocata, dux et regina iuxta illud: "Salve regina misericordie" etc. 2 Nec est supersticiosum missas pro redempccione existencium in pena purgatorii ordinare, cum ipse misse representent efficaciter mortiferum nostri redemptoris in cruce sacrificium iustorum detentorum in lymbo de vmbra mortis ad regionem vite immortalis redemptiuum et translatiuum.

A ciiii: In capitulo xi dicitur, quod existentes in lymbo 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 innocentii pene.
A ciili: 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 prō 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 ciili: 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 irracionabilis Dei et hominum obstinate immobileterque perseuerant.

A cv: Item dicit viii libro capitulo xlviii, quod demones purgant animas.

H: Hoc, vt reor, est probleuma apud sacre pagine doctores et ideo sine periculo fidei, donec altera pars diffinietur, ad vtrumlibet opinabile.

A cvi: Libro vi capitulo xxiii 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".

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.

A cix: In capitulo xxxiii dicitur, quomodo virgo Maria docet exorcismos legendos supra vexatos a demonio docetque modos et verba, quibus componi debet pax Francie et Anglie.

H: Vrumque est pie credibile, eo quod ipsa est regina misericordie et calcatrix capitis antiqui serpentis et mater regis pacifici, qui est rex regum et Dominus dominancium, qui reliquist pro testamento pacem hominibus bone voluntatis.

A cx: Capitulo xlv dicit fatum et fortunam nichil esse, quia disposition omnium rerum consistit in divina 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 divinae proudienzi respectu eventuum mobilium contingenter, vt in paucioribus, "deuialium amminicula", quomodo de eis loquantur Aristoteles et Boecius.

A cxi: Capitulo xlvi videtur fundare ordinem Salvatoris et dicitur ibidem, quod vbi non suppetunt facultates, mendicare debet pro victu nec laborare labore corporali, dummodo addiscat grammaticam, oret vel scribat huiusmodi Reuelaciones.


H: Pessime enarras, quia ipsa ibidem commendat laborem manuum tempore necessitatis concorditer ad doctrinam Apostoli preponendo disciplinam grammaticae, qua perfectur anima, labori corporali.

A cxii: In capitolo xlix dicitur solucionem ieiunii ad mandatum superioris esse maioris meriti quam ieiunium.

H: Cur tociens hoc replicas? An quia non contentaris in suprahabitis solucionibus? An quia te delectat me inuolueru, vt videar loqui hinc inde equiuoce et michi ipsi contradicere? Dixi itaque tibi et adhuc dico, quod meritum actus virtuosi sequitur condicione virtutis ipsum actum eliciens. 2 Si ergo religionis votiue obedientia est alcior virtus quam propria liberis arbitrii non votiue obligati beniuolencia, non est dubium, quin est verum, quod proponis, loquendo de solucione ieiunii libere assumpti et nulla lege debiti.

A cxiii: In eodem dicitur, quod commixtio parentum beate Virginis, quia ex mandato Dei fuit, erat causa, quare non contraxit originale peccatum. Quod resumitur capitulo Iv, vbi dicitur, quod nullum fuit honestius matrimonium quam Ioachim et Anne.

H: Loquitur de mandato Dei preuilegiantis coniugium, vnde oritura erat immunitas peccati, et non de mandato legis communis.

A cxiii:ii: Capitulo lii dicit, quod sicut Deus dat intellectum meliorem vni quam alteri, sic vnioesuisque vtitur consciencia vt expedit ad honorem suum.
H: Miror si illud dubitas, cum scriptum sit: *Qui omnia propter seipsum operatus est, in numero, pondere et mensura disposit, finxit sigillatim corda eorum et in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos.*

A cxv: Capitullo lvi assignatur differencia inter nativitatem Domini et Marie, quia hec per communem portam, Christus non.

H: Per hoc innuit, quod mater Domini non exuit ex clauso vtero, sicut suus Filius.

A cxvi: Capitullo lx dicitur, quod Hieronymus non dubitauit de assumpctione corporis Marie sed maluit pie credere quam diffinire non reuelata.

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 capitullo lxvi dicit, quod quedam anima in purgatorio stans non patitur ex caritate sed ex mala voluntate.

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.

H: Si per que quis peccat, per hec torquetur, nimirum totus orbis terrarum pugnat contra insensatos suorum delectabillium abusores nedum in inferno sed eiam pro mensura culpe mortalis confesse sed non

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satisfacte in purgatorio. Ac per hoc illa anima racione 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.

A cxix: In precedenti capitulo dicitur: "Quam diu Maria moratur in
peccato scierter habens copiam confitendi et negligerit vel non attendit,
magis est apostata quam Maria".

H: Hoc concordat illi canoni Iacobi: Scienti facere bonum et non
faciente, peccatum est illi.

A cxx: In capitulo lxxi dicitur Christum mandasse cuidam confessori,
quod omnes venientes indifferenter absolveret, donec Christus ipse
ostenderet aliquem non esse absoluendum.

H: Si constat Christum hoc facere potuisse et fuerit tunc temporis
portunum eum illud verisimiliter voluisse, quis audeat suspicari hoc non
fuisse per viam episkeie aut preuilegii singularis possibile?

A cxxi: In lxxii capitulo dicitur esse maculam in ecclesia, quod
parochiales sacerdotes indifferenter non absolunt sed in certis casibus ad
episcopos remittunt.

H: Loquitur de macula occasionaliter et per accidens inobediencia vel
desidie penitencium ad episcopos recurrere omittencium proveniente.

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
VI, 72, 1 sq 21—22 baptizatos...saluari] cf. Reu. VI, 79, 5
3 desolacionem] dissolucenem ADE 5 dicitur] quod C 7 apostata] apostota ACE
DE | audeat] audet D 15 preuilegii] priuilegium C 16 lxxii] ex lxxiii in lxxii A
lxxiii CE 19 occasionaliter] occasione (verbem in marg. scriptum et abscisum?) C
inobediencia...desidie] ex inobediencia vel desidia D 20 recurrere] currere C
21 tali] tales D

213
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 creditit eum consecratum et consecrantem.

H: Miror, quod quisquam in fide christianae sapiens de hoc casu hesitet. Siquidem scriptum est, quod quandocunque peccator conuersus fuerit ab iniquitate sua, haeriet ab illo salutem, qui non despicit cor contritum et humiliatum. Quodque ignorancia Pauli contra legem Dei conantis consequebatur veniam, quanto magis ignorancia nitentis obseruare legem!

A cxxiii: In capitulo lxxxi dicitur, quod puer per vetulas baptizatus debet rebaptizari.

H: Loquitur de baptizato per vetulam debitam baptismi formam ignorantem.

A cxxv: In capitulo lxxxviii dicit, quod in natiuitate Domini sensit beata Birgitta motum sensibilem ac si puer viuus esset voluens et reoluens 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 meditacionem cordis spirituali retenti vicissim susprioso?

A cxxvi: In lxxxix capitulo indicitur Johannes ewangelista certificans Birgittam se scripsisse apocalipsim et quod magister Matthias, confessor
 eius, eodem Spiritu intellexit et scripsit spiritualem veritatem sacre scripture et quod Christus fecit eum magistrum et ostendit sibi per Birgittam, quando veniet antichristus.

H: Ex quo Spiritus vbi vult spirat et nescis quo vadat aut vnde veniat, cuius inspiracione locuti sunt sancti Dei omnes, quibus distribuit varia evangelii secundum virtutem propriam singulorum talenta, arbitror totum illuduisse possibile nec iudicio humano reprobabile.

A cxxvii: In capitulo c dicitur quod ista verba non possunt infirmari ab inuidis.

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.

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 necon Christum in quolibet sui nominis martyre et confessore sue mortis et confessionis meritum mistice repetentem 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 evangeliste cum membrana circumcisionis et illa abscondisse sub terra, donec angelus reuelabat amicis Dei.
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.

H: Et bene, cum ipse sit in sede Petri immediate a Christo ecclesie fidelium prefecti per consensum eiusdem ecclesie primatum apostolicum tenens.

A cxxxi: In eodem libro capitulo x dicit de ordinacione Dei et suo iudicio iuste ordinatum esse, quod sacerdotes, qui non vivunt in castitate et continencia carnis, sunt maledicti, excommunicati apud Deum et digni carere sacerdotali officio. Et si sanctus Gregorius hoc statuisset, numquam in predicta sentencia misericordiam optimuisset a Deo, ita quod negat villo modo dispensacionem debere fieri.

H: Si seruus non est sui iuris sed minister dispensacionis sibi a suo Domino credite, tunc non licet huiusmodi seruo contra ordinacionem 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.

A cxxxi: In xiii capitulo dicit demonem scrisisses omnia peccata cuiusdam militis in illa sapiencia, quam habuit in creacione, et in illa malicia, quam habuit quando cecidit de celo, custodiuisse.

H: Non dicit quando, et ideo potuit ex facultate huiusmodi sue scientie et nequicie illum peccatorem temptasse et sic victum in futuro iudicio accusandum obseruasse.
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.

A cxxxiii: Ibidem concluditur, quod nullum corpus humanum est in ceolo nisi Filii Dei et beate Virginis.

H: Et merito, vt priuilegio primituo militantis iusticie respondeat prerogatia primicialis glorie.

A cxxxv: In capitulo xxvii dicitur, quod peccatum veniale, in quo perseverat homo cum detectacione, 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 fruituie.

A cxxxvi: In octauo libro ad reges xi capitulo consult regi et regine coniugibus rumpere votum continencie non faciendo mentionem de dispensacione.

H: Loquitur de voto ex feruore nouicio indiscrete emisso per consilium sapientum soluendo et ideo non excludit dispensacionem sapientibus notam.

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
"aliquando" de graecia, eo quod vniuersalitas gracie miserentis ambit vniuersalitatem 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 possimus separari".

H: Loquitur de circumincessione mutue caritatis, quomodo dicit Apostolus: *Quis me separabit a caritate Christi?*, eo quod per hanc teste Iohanne Deus est in ipsum diligente et econuero.

A cxxxix: In penultimo capitulo videtur sentire transsubstanciacionem 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 su tuo Filio in regno celorum, quam prefigurat eucharistia, consessio.

A cxl: In sermone angelico capitulo iiiiiu in prima leccione 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.


218
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.

A cxli: Capitulo iiiii seu lecctione eadam 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 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 eciam ibidem capitulo iiiii seu lecctione eadam, quod illi 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 nedom preuiderunt in speculo eternitatis ipsis naturaliter et gratuiua impresso futuram legis nature sed eciam figure et gracie dispositionem, quamuis in hac visione non poterant ante finalem liberi arbitrii assensum et analogiam confirmari feliciter.

A cxliii: Capitulo viiiii seu in secunda lecctione ferie tercie dicit credible Habraham de hac futura filia Maria magis quam de Ysaac filio suo exultasse.

H: Dicit notanter "credible", non "forte", quasi angelus hoc dictans fuit illius incerte scius, sed quia de futuris contingentibus non habetur ex natura rei presciencia immobilis, quin ymmo eius certitudo dependet dumtaxat a Deo, cui proprium est futura contingencia infallibiliter
preudere iuxta illud Ysaie: Annunciate, que futura sunt, et dicam, quia dixi estis vos. 2 Aut forsitam possit "probabiliter" dici, quod quamuis angeli boni in speculo glorie pruideant omnia ad suam beatitudinem essenciam pertinencia, tamen discunt vicissim consilii diuini archanu ad vilitatem aliorum ipsis erarchice subiectorum et ad beatitudinem eorum accidentalem pertinencia, prout videtur sentire Apostolus, dum ait per ecclesiam innotescere misterium ewangeli principatibus et potestatibus celestibus. 3 Itaque credibile est, quod Habraham preuidit in spiritu sue reppromissionis de benedicendis gentibus in suo semine Mariam fore in gracia et veritate diuiniorem seu deiformiorem quam Ysaac et ita eam amore gratuito magis dilexit. Et per consequens, cum exultacio sit gaudium ex caritate dyastolen cordis faciens, de illa futura eius filia verisimiliiter magis exultaut quam de prole proxima.

A cxliii: 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 debeat.

H: Sicut solemnizatur dedicacio templi materialis et inuencio vel translation 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, vptuta, 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 immobils tocius deittatis in sempsa consistencia, igitur, si posses
a seipsa personaliter per proprietatem temporum, situs aut loci elongari, non possit indiuisibilis et immensa verificari.

A cxlvi: Capitulö xvi seu lecctione 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?

A cxlvii: Capitulö xx seu in secunda lecctione 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 diffugient malentes penas et miseries sibi multiplicari, quam Virginem talem supra se dominari".

H: Prima pars huius articuli ad litteram textus, vnde est infideliter extractus, loquitur de angelis bonis, secunda de malis. Et racio primi fundatur in deiformi caritate, racio secundi in obstinato Dei odio, prout diffuse discussum et resolutorie per quedam principia communia iuxta exiguitatis mee modulum fuit antea declaratum.

A cxlviii: Hii sunt precipui articuli qui nonnullis sacre pagine professoribus videntur piarum aurium offensui. Inter quos illi sunt magis absoni, qui sunt vane gloriae per adulacionem dyabolicam mellifiue palpatui.

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...lucus] cf. Vulg. II Cor 11, 14 10–13 demones...dominari] cf SA 20, 6sqq 16–18 prout...declaratum] cf. Fundamentum 10 et 13 (UBB MS C518 fol. 156rv et 157r)

beniuolencia finaliter ad seipsam consensus et ita omni sapienciali sue proudiencia distribucione in gloriam Dei ordinatua.

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 fuisset mitissimum et Deo familiarissimum, eius colloquii 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 astraet cum sapiencia spiritualis despansionem 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 accepicio personarum, quomodo poterit ex hoc Birgitta iuste reprehendi, quod motu Spiritus eam raptantis loquitur de se, sicut de aliis, quicquid ei talis benignus et indifferens veritatis suggestis Spiritus? 4 Et si scribitur, quod Dyabolus loquebatur de virtuositate lob cum Deo et disputauit cum Christo, cui, dum ipsum racione et experiencia convicuus nouisset Dei Filium, legitur clamasce talis veritatis testimonium, quis sane mentis audeat os in celum poneret et verum Sathane de caritate Birgitte testimonium exsecrare tamquam illiue adulatorium?

A el: Per hoc non euadis, quin huiusmodi scripta sint tanquam offensiua piarum aurium reprobanda!


H: Aures pie sunt ad obediendum doctrine salutari beniuole, ex quo pietas est beniuolencia in parentale bonum. Cui beniuolencie, quia repugnat precess doctrine ignote parupensio, ideo illorum aures non repute pias, qui hanc alias prememoratam principis apostolorum violant regulam ministrate in fide virtutem, in virtute scienciam, in sciencia abstinentiam, in abstinentia patienciam, in patiencia pietatem, in pietate amorem fraternitatis, in amore fraternitatis caritatem.

A eli: Quid ergo vultis concludere?

H: Non omni spiritui, donec probetur, si ex Deo est, credendum fore, et in re dubia nichil precipitant iter diffinire ac sic in medio timoris et amoris in neutram partem aliter quam suadeat veritatis indubitante diuinitus reuelate auctoritas aut racio, declamando humiliter versari seu consistere, itaque nichil precipitant, presumptuose aut temere contra veritatem sentencie diffinitiue aut persuasique quorunlibet aliorum in sacra pagina 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 prejudicio sentencie sanioris aliter senciencium, probabiliter amplectendo.

Elicio ex omnibus premisiss corollarie, quod stante eiusmodi indissussa doctorum controversia non est tutum dictum librum Reuelacionum aliter quam intitulantur libri Apocryphi de reuelacionibus celestibus intitulare, quanuissi ego verisimilius putem ipsum verius posse dici talem quam, sicut quidam autumant, illusionum somnialium.

In qua confidencia conuerto me finaliter ad sanctam Birgittam per hec metra:

---

5–7 ministrate…caritatem] Vulg. II Pt 1, 5

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 iusta que 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.
APPENDIX

H: Quid itaque de articulis prememoratis in summa absque prejudicio 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 senciendum sit? 2 Hoc est, quod dictus liber, unde illi articuli sunt plerumque infideliter extracti, non est dyabolice illusorius, non somnialiter fantasticus, non poetece fictus, non per studium adiuuencionis 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 disposicioni capacitas naturalis discipule per eae proportionaliter instructe, multiformiter manifestate. 3 Ni fallor litteraliter, parabolice et mistice, sub stilo simplici et sentencia multipliciter subtili, quandoque magis verorum quam verisimilium contentiuus ac per hoc est more sacre pagine partim sapientum partimque insipientum eruditius quamdam implicans theopanie mistice margitas 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 racionabilis doctrina propositi libri quomodolibet mententata, 5 racio secundi, quia methaphore in ipso posite non sunt confuse et amigue 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 divinis nominibus cap. 4, pag. 279 colon. 4 (secundum Hilduinum) 24 intelligencia...visione] Dn 10, 1

Diuinacionis somnialis, quod artificiosissimus somniorum interpres est, qui potest similitudines inspicere, id est intelligibiler discernere, 6 racio terci, 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 racio quarti, quia multa disserit de archanis mirabilium diuinorum et status ierarchici angelorum et hominum misteriis naturalem racionis humane indaginem transcendentibus, 8 racio quinti, quia non testamenti veteris, quod Deus dedit per ministerium angelorum principaliter, commementor precepta, ceremonias et iudicia sed reuocat ad memoriam testamenti noui a Deo per suum Filium incarnatum administrati sanctimonias per negligienciam ministrorum ecclesiasticorum enormiter lapsas, deformatas et deordinatas. 9 Racio 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 vel fit a Deo, angelo, Dyabolo vel homine, tunc predicta doctrina absque velaminibus eius intelligienciam occultantibus patefacta, dicitur proprie reueltata. 10 Et quia non fallaciter a Dyabolo aut somnio neque naturaliter ab homine aut more legis veteris figuraliter ab angelo sed per varia sanctorum et sanctarum, tam in somno quam in vigilia, oracula per illuminacionem internam mentis extasim passe intelligibiliter declarata, quam illuminacionem 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 essencialis et fontana sanctitas in participata suorum sanctorum iusticia.


226
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.

Acho Johannis 21sq, 25n
Adam Easton 22n, 93, 129n
Albertus Magnus 73, 113n
Alfonso de Jaén 16, 23, 44, 86, 108n
Altomünster Abbey 60, 134, 137, 139, 147sqq
Bartholomeus Conradi 79n
Benedict XIV 33sq, 55, 61
Bernardus Serra 20, 23, 62
Betleem Monastery 71sqq
Birgerus Magni 61n
Boniface IX 17n, 18, 33, 129
Corstendonck Monastery 72n
Desmaystres, Joanna Isabella 148n
Dominicus Falck 148
Enea Silvio Piccolomini 100n
Eric of Pomerania 37n, 135n
Eindhoven, Canons Regular of 72
Eugenius IV 20, 37, 49, 52, 61n
Galgiridus de Bellaland 93
Gervinus Petri 19, 36, 47, 55
Gnadenberg Abbey 41n, 42n, 59, 133n, 146n, 153n
Godefridus de Campo 71, 76, 79
Grobbonck 77n
Groenendael Monastery 72, 80n
Henricus de Diist 20, 23, 62sq
Hörmann, Simon 60n, 134, 135n, 148sq
Innocent VIII 58, 61
Johannes Cervantes of St. Petri ad vincula 20sq, 25sq, 29, 36
Johannes de Nova Domo 73
Johannes de Rokozano 77, 79n
Johannes de Turre Cremata 16n-61 passim, 80n-115n passim, 125-161n passim
Johannes Dieulefist(?) 19n
Johannes Gerson 18n, 86n, 87
Johannes Johannis 41
Johannes Messenius 33n
Johannes Pauli 154n
Johannes Pulcripatris 25n
Johannes Roberti 24, 27n, 28, 127n, 136n, 154n
Johannes Scheve 133
Kaisheim Monastery 133
Karl Knutsson 37n
Katarina of Vadstena 43, 132n
Katarina Bengtsdotter 41n
Katarina Persdotter 41n
Katarina Ulfsdotter (Björnram) 41n
Koudewater, see Mariënwater
Lambertus Langehove 78
Ludovicus de Garsiis 39, 58, 60sq
Ludovicus Arelatensis (Allemannus) 29sq, 51sq, 65
Ludovicus de Pirano 24, 26n, 27sq, 54n, 64, 98n, 127n, 128, 154n
Magnus Unnonis 41n, 57n
Maria Eugenia (prioress in Dendermonde) 148n
Maria Troon Abbey 43n, 50sq, 54n, 77n, 130, 136, 146sqq, 149n
Marie van Oss 102n
Marienbaum Abbey 147n, 148
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marienkron Abbey</td>
<td>29n, 32n, 38, 47n</td>
<td>Park Monastery</td>
<td>72n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marienwold Abbey</td>
<td>17sqq, 29n, 41n</td>
<td>Petrus Corserii</td>
<td>25n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47, 62, 107, 156n</td>
<td>Petrus Olavi</td>
<td>36n, 127n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin V</td>
<td>18, 58, 77sqq, 129, 137</td>
<td>Pious II</td>
<td>61n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthias Döring</td>
<td>20, 23sqq, 63sqq, 82sq, 94</td>
<td>Raimundus Lullus</td>
<td>71sq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthias Lincopensis</td>
<td>16, 23, 86</td>
<td>Rodolphus de Beringhen</td>
<td>85, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Sunonis</td>
<td>41n</td>
<td>Rookloster Monastery (Rouge-Cloître)</td>
<td>72, 80n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolaus Amici</td>
<td>20sq, 22n, 106n</td>
<td>Symon Freron</td>
<td>25n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolaus Cusanus</td>
<td>71, 74sq</td>
<td>Syon Abbey</td>
<td>59n, 147sqq, 149n, 153n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolaus Ragvaldi, Archbishop</td>
<td>25n, 37, 47n, 49</td>
<td>Ulrik of Århus</td>
<td>25n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolaus Ragvaldi, Vadstena brother</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Urban V</td>
<td>45n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas V</td>
<td>33n</td>
<td>Val St. Martin Monastery</td>
<td>72, 80n, 94n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wilhelm Berwoldi</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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236
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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


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 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 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