COMMUNIO

a theological journal

Published by Charles University in Prague
Protestant Theological Faculty

Editors: Peter C. A. Morée, Ivana Noble, Petr Sláma (cv@etf.cuni.cz)
Typography: Petr Kadlec
Printed by Arch, Brno
Administration: Barbara Kolafová (cv-adm@etf.cuni.cz)

Annual subscription (for three issues): **30 €** or the equivalent
single copy: **10 €**

Please make the payment to our account to:

Bank name: Česká spořitelna
Bank address: Vodičkova 9, P. O. BOX 884, 111 21, Praha 1,
Czech Republic
Bank identification code (SWIFT, BLZ, SC, FW): GIBA CZPX
International Bank Account Number (IBAN):
CZ2508000000001932258399
Account no.: 1932258399/0800
Account name: Univerzita Karlova v Praze
Evangelická teologická fakulta
Černá 9
P. O. BOX 529
CZ-115 55 Praha 1
Czech Republic

Subscriptions will be renewed authomatically every year unless canceled by January 1st of the year in question.
Cheques, orders, subscriptions and all business correspondence should be adressed to:

Univerzita Karlova v Praze
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Communio viatorum – administrace
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Czech Republic
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E- mail: cv-adm@etf.cuni.cz URL: http://www.etf.cuni.cz/cv.html

(ISSN 0010-3713)

IČO vydavatele (ETF UK, Černá 9, 115 55 Praha 1) 00216208. Evidenční číslo MK ČR 6374.

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AUFZEICHNUNGEN AUS DEN BÖHMISCHEN DÖRFERN III

Nach dem thematischen Heft (CV 2004/1), das der unruhigen Beziehung zwischen ethnischer, kultureller und regionaler Zugehörigkeit einerseits und biblischem Glauben andererseits gewidmet war (wahrscheinlich ist es wegen dieser Unruhe, dass wir in jenem Heft die Jahrgangnummer verwechselt haben: es ist immer noch Jahrgang XLVI und nicht XLVII, und wir bitten Sie um Verzeihung) nehmen wir in diesem Heft eine breitere Thematik in Angriff.

Zwei Aufsätze, die zur weit gefassten Biblistik gehören könnten, sind in Prag als Gastvorträge anlässlich der Verleihung der Comenius-Medaille im April 2003 vorgetragen worden. Im ersten macht James H. Charlesworth am Beispiel der Schlange in der Bibel deutlich, wie wichtig es für die theologische Exegese ist, nicht nur literarische, sondern auch archäologische, religionsgeschichtliche und ästhetische Aspekte der zu exegesierenden Texte im Blick zu behalten. Im zweiten Aufsatz setzt sich Detlev Dormeyer kritisch auseinander mit der angeblichen gegenseitigen Ausschliesslichkeit der schriftlichen und mündlichen Tradition im Falle des Evangeliums, wie auch mit der formgeschichtlichen Behauptung, dass mit der Verschriftlichung der Evangelien viel von ihrer ursprünglichen *Lebendigkeit* verloren gegangen sei. Doch die Evangelien als antike literarische Werke wie auch sonstige Formen der Verkündigung sind nach Dormeyer immer nur ein Teil eines Kommunikationsprozesses, der eine andauernde Herausforderung unserer Kreativität darstellt. Als einen Ausdruck eben dieser Kommunikation kann man die Kampagne für die Heiligsprechung der Mystikerin Brigitte aus Schweden sehen, die auch im mittelalterlichen Böhmen geführt worden war, und von welcher Drahomíra Breedveld-Baránková eine Teildarstellung bringt. Dass sich diese Kommunikation nicht nur zwischen Bibel und der jeweils neuen Situation abspielt, sondern dass die *traditio* der Auslegung samt ihren gottesdienstlichen Formen zum *traditum* werden kann, zu dem man sich kritisch oder positiv beziehen kann, zeigt Peter G. J. M. Raedts am deutlich unterschiedlichen Verhältnis, das man im 19. Jh. in England einerseits und auf dem Kontinent andererseits zur Epoche des Mittelalters gehabt hat. Von der ideologischen Verwandschaft zwischen den böhmischen Hussiten des 15. Jahrhunderts und den mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte jüngeren Puritanern in England schreibt Stephen Baskerville.

Wenn wir in Anknüpfung an Roman Jakobson nicht nur das Neue Testament, sondern die ganze Theologie als einen Kommunikationsprozess auffassen, dann tritt auch *der Empfänger*, wie auch das *Wie* dieses Prozesses, *das Medium* und *der Kode*, in den Vordergrund. Auf der theologischen Ebene spiegelt sich dies in einem erneuten Interesse für Spiritualität, die als Aufmerksamkeit der menschlichen Seite des Glaubens verstanden wird. In der Ev. Kirche der Böhmischen Brüder kann man diesen Vorstoss z. B. an einer liturgischen Initiative sehen, die vor etwa zwei Jahren zwischen jungen Pfarrern und Studierenden entstanden ist. Sie nennt sich *Coena* und versucht, eigene liturgische Bildung durch ein elektronisches Diskussionsforum, wo homiletische und liturgische Entwurfe geteilt werden, wie auch durch regelmässige Begegnungen, Austausch und gemeinsame theologische Arbeit zu verstärken.

Auch die alljährliche Konsultation der mittel- und osteuropäischen Theologen mit ihren niederländischen Kollegen hat sich im Juni dieses Jahres in Prag um Spiritualität gedreht. Ein Ruf nach grösserem Raum für geistiges Leben war unüberhörbar in Beiträgen aus Ungarn, Niederlanden oder Tschechien, von Pfarrerinen und Pfarrern aus den Gemeinden. Kees Waaijman, der Spiritualität in Nijmegen unterrichtet und dort diese als vollberechtigte Disziplin an der Universität etabliert hat, sprach von wichtigen Fragen und Kreuzungen, die das Überlegen von Spiritualität bestimmen.

Doch erntet Spiritualität in Prag nicht nur Applaus. Jürgen Moltmann hat während seines Prager Besuches im Januar 2004 im Gespräch mit Prager Theologen das neue Interesse um Innerlichkeit als Flucht derjenigen „Achtundsechsziger“ erklärt, die sich einst engagiert hatten, dann aber ihre infantile Traumata entdeckten und enttäuscht von der Erfolglosigkeit ihres Kampfes um eine bessere Welt sich nun mit ihrer eigenen Seele besaufen. Doch müssen sich Spiritualität und politisches Engagement gegenseitig ausschliessen? Dieser Frage wollen wir eine der nächsten thematischen Nummern der Communio Viatorum widmen.

Diese Frage wird auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen und aus verschiedenen Perspektiven auch in Prag diskutiert. Hiesige Fakultät feiert dieses Jahr ihren fünfundachtzigsten Geburtstag. Am 18.–21. November 2004 wird in Zusammenarbeit mit dem „Verein der Freunde der ETF“ ein feierliches Symposium vorbereitet, zu dem alle ihre Absolventen, Lehrer und Freunde eingeladen sind. Es soll eine Gelegenheit werden, den schon begangenen Weg und seinen künftigen Kurs im gemeinsamen Gespräch zu erörtern.

Petr Sláma

REVEALING THE GENIUS OF BIBLICAL AUTHORS: SYMBOLOGY, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND THEOLOGY[1]

James H. Charlesworth, Princeton

Virtually all biblical specialists have recognized for at least three decades that "biblical criticism" is in a crisis. In this speech, I shall try to point out a major problem in theological exegesis. It has far too often become myopically focused on the text and a philological analysis of it. Such reflections do seem appropriate now as I celebrate with you the high honor of receiving the *Comenius Medal*.

I shall now endeavor to demonstrate how new insights can re-stimulate biblical scholarship and reveal the genius of the biblical authors. We can proceed more profitably for scholarship and the church along with the synagogue by including in biblical study and exegesis the essential methodologies of symbology, archaeology, and theology.

The question our professors asked was almost always the following: "How can critical scholarship discern what the author meant?" There are problems with this truncated question. First, the word "critical" does not communicate the fact that biblical scholars are sensitively attentive to the text. The word "critical" as in biblical criticism even offends some who have not learned, but perhaps heard, the reasons why this term appeared in research. Too many untrained readers and hearers assume that biblical critics are atheists, because they are supposedly "critical" of sacred traditions. Biblical experts are not "critical" of the text; hence, any use of the word "critical" tends to cause misinterpretations and distrust. In order to remove initial resistance to our scientific research, I suggest we jettison the adjective "critical."

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[1] This publication is a revised form of a lecture presented in Prague on the occasion of the conferring of *the Protestant Theological Faculty's Comenius Medal* at the Charles University in Prague on April 1, 2003.

Second, we need to refine our questions. To ask what an author means is an absurdity from the perspective of philosophy, phenomenology, psychology, and sociology. A far better question is "What did the author presumably intend to mean to communicate to whom?" A subsequent question is indissolubly linked to the first one: "How were the listeners or readers of the text interpreting it?"

Equally absurd is the question "What does it mean?" This far too inelegant question, often heard when two are speaking about a biblical text, indicates that "it" is a text that has only one clear meaning, devoid of literary or sociological context. The use of "it" also suggests that the text is an object like a coin. We need to refine our questions to reflect the fact that the text is alive with the intentionalities of the author.[2]

All we biblical scholars know that texts, pericopes, and verses obtain meaning when we observe and attend to the literary contexts; these are not only general (narrative and rhetoric) but also specific (the preceding and following words and possible poetic forms such as *parallelismus membrorum*). This literary context obtains a fuller meaning when we begin to grasp the author's life and language within a specific historical and sociological context. This context evolves from abstract guesses to sophisticated reconstructions, thanks to archaeological and historical research into the historical and sociological context of the passage under scrutiny. Thus, *to study texts demands attending to the contexts which are literary and sociological.*

Third, exegetes must now begin to study and experience the world of symbology. This methodology is exceedingly complex and demands an appreciation of iconography, symbolism, symbolic language, and how a particular image embodies various meanings. Since the sacred texts are always fundamentally symbolical this aspect of research has been intermittently observed by the great exegetes – and artists like Michelangelo – over the past three millennia. Thus, to all our varied and nuanced questions we need to add this one: "What symbols and symbolic language enliven our texts and what did these symbols mean to the author, his social group or community, and his (or her) diverse readers?"

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[2] For more reflections, see my Polanyi, Merleau-Ponty, Arendt, and the Foundation of Biblical Hermeneutics, in: J. Krašovec (ed.), *Interpretation of the Bible*, Ljubljana – Sheffield 1998, 1531–56.

The only way to explain how to let the symbols be seen, as O. Keel has argued, is to observe them quietly and attentively.[3] Metaphorically speaking, we must not put words into their mouths, even when the symbol does have one. We should not presuppose we already know what a symbol means or read known mythologies (like the stories of Gilgamesh and Mithra) into it. We need to listen attentively to the symbol's meaning in its linguistic context (perhaps with the aid of the sociology of knowledge and certainly with historical symbology). Moreover, we should not assume that a symbol has only one meaning. If we wish to ask honest questions and to learn what a reliable and informed answer might be, we need to be critical of the questions we ask, refine them as we indwell the sphere of meaning preserved by our texts, and be aware of the presuppositions that might corrupt our perception and understanding of them.

As Erwin R. Goodenough stated long ago, we must be aware of fallacies in our perspectives and thinking. To many thinkers an argument, to use Goodenough's words, "rests upon the fallacy of supposing that if a meaning or value is assigned to a symbol, the symbol either must always have that value in full wherever it is found, or else it never has it. If it is ever otherworldly, it must always be so."[4] We need to perceive that religious symbols do appear on commercial items and thus they become an object devoid of the sacred.

Today, here at the Charles University in Prague, and before my distinguished audience, which includes the honorable Dean and Professor Pavel Filipi and the distinguished Professor Petr Pokorný, I shall illustrate these points by focusing on two texts. The first text is the popular story about Eve and the serpent in the Garden of Eden; the second text is the most difficult of the Davidic Psalms, Psalm 68. My point is simple: We should strive to move beyond a myopic focus on the text with a concentration on philological analysis; we need to enrich exegesis and hermeneutics by including clear-sighted reflections on the context of a text and the dynamic language of symbolism.

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[3] See O. Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden* (OBO 122), Freiburg – Göttingen, 1992.

[4] E. R. Goodenough, Menorah Among Jews of the Roman World, in: *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1950–1951) vol. 2, 449–92; the quotation is on pp. 458–59.

"Eve and the Serpent" in the Garden of Eden

Biblical theologians, Rabbis, and preachers have assumed that the first story in the Bible is clear and straight forward. The serpent (הנחש) is wicked and entices Eve to eat of the forbidden fruit. He chooses Eve because she is gullible and easily entrapped. Such biblical exegesis leads to the conclusion that the serpent is evil in the Bible and that the woman is the source of evil and sin. So interpreted in some Jewish texts, the woman is a temptress (cf. *Life of Adam and Eve*, and *Dame Folly and Lady Wisdom*).

How and why was the first biblical story so misinterpreted? The answer lies in numerous failures, including a lack of imagination, a missed opportunity to indwell the text, an inattentiveness to what the author (the Yahwist) had written, a preconception of "what the text meant," a presupposition that *the nahash* (הנחש) had the same meaning in Gen 3:1 that it had in other passages, and most importantly an ignorance of the variegated symbolic meaning of the serpent in antiquity.

First, the nahash *in Gen 3:1 is not a serpent, according to the Yahwist*. The Yawhist's account of creation begins in Genesis 2:4b and continues to 4:26. According to Gen 2:19, the Lord God created the beasts of the field and birds. According to Gen 3:1, the *nahash* is a "beast of the field." It is as such a creature that he asks the woman, "Has God indeed said, 'You shall not eat of every tree of the garden?'"

According to Gen 3:14, the Lord God cursed the *nahash*. Henceforth, he (or she) was more cursed "than every beast of the field." Beginning then, the *nahash* must go on his belly. That means the *nahash* did not crawl formerly. Most likely the Yahwist imagined the *nahash* was originally very much like humans, having legs and being able to talk.

On the one hand, this attempt of the Yahwist to show the unity between the *nahash* and the humans is missed by modern commentators. On the other hand, early Jews clearly comprehended the symbolism of Genesis 3. Note for example the following excerpt from the Tosephta:[5]

> And so you find in the case of the snake (נחש) of olden times, who was smarter than all the cattle and wild beasts of the field, as it is said, *Now the serpent was smarter than any other wild creature that the Lord God had made* (Gen 3:1). …I said that you should walk straight-up like man (תילך בקומה זקופה). Now that you did not want things that way, *Upon your belly you shall go* (Gen 3:14). I said that you should eat human food and drink human drink. Now: *And dust you shall eat all the days of your life* (Gen 3:14). [Sotah 4:17][6]

Ancient iconography is replete with serpents having feet.[7] Jewish exegetes of Genesis 3 often note that the *nahash* once had feet. For example, Josephus observes that the serpent lost the ability to talk, and was deprived of feet (*Ant* 1.42, 50).[8] The Christian scholar Ephrem Syrus also seems to assume that the *nahash* originally had feet.[9]

Superb examples of the brilliance of Jewish exegesis, and attention to texts and symbology is found in the Targumim and Midrash Rabbah. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan adds to Genesis 3 the removal of the serpent's feet. Note the addition by the *meturgeman*: The Lord God "said to the serpent (לחיויא), 'Because you did this, cursed are you… Upon your belly you shall go about, *and your feet shall be cut off* (וריגלך יתקצצון).'"[10] According to R. Simeon b. Lakish, in Midrash Rabbah Ecclesiastes, when God had cursed the serpent

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[5] For the Hebrew text, see M.S. Zukermandel, *Tosephta,* Pasewalk 1880, 300.

[6] J. Neusner (tr.), *The Tosefta*, New York 1979, vol. Nashim, 165.

[7] See the numerous examples presented in: Charlesworth, *The Serpent: A Symbol of Life or Death?* (Anchor Bible Reference Library) New York in press.

[8] Josephus, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, translated and commented on by L. H. Feldman in: S. Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, Leiden–Boston 2000, ad loc. cit.

[9] See T. Kronholm, *Motifs from Genesis 1–11 in the Genuine Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian*, Lund 1978, 113.

[10] For the Hebrew text, see E.G. Clarke, et al., *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch*, New Jersey 1984, 4. For the English translation, see M. Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis,* Edinburgh 1992, 27 [italics his].

(Gen 3:14), “the ministering angels descended and cut off its hands and legs (וקצצו ידיו ורגליו), and its cry went from one end of the world to the other.”[11]

Second, no “Eve” appears in the narrative at this point. Virtually everyone who has written on Genesis 3 errs by referring to Eve and the serpent. Gen 3:1 mentions “the woman.” She is called “Eve” for the first time in Gen 3:20, when Adam renames her (he had named her *ishsha*, אִשָּׁה, in 2:23). To call the woman ”Eve” in Genesis prior to 3:20 misses the rhetoric of the Yahwist and the development of the narrative and the subtle and alluring evolution of the creatures once called *nahash* and *ishsha.*

Third, the nahash *is not an evil snake that “entices” or tempts the woman; he (perhaps she) asks the woman a question.* Despite the advice from many scholars, especially E. A. Speiser,[12] the *nahash* asks a question, according to the Yahwist. As G. von Rad pointed out, what the Yahwist has put into focus is what the *nahash* says. The *nahash* “opens the conversation – a masterpiece of psychological shading! – in a cautious way, with an interested and quite general question (not mentioning the subtly introduced subject of the conversation, the tree of knowledge, which it leaves to the unsuspecting woman!).”[13]

It seems clear, therefore, that the Yahwist has not depicted the serpent deceiving the woman. It is misleading to label the serpent “ill-omened.”[14] He, or she, is addressing a question to the woman. That the serpent asks a question does not indicate that he (or she) is ignorant. Rather the interrogative aligns the serpent with God Yahweh who asks the man, “Where are you?” Both interrogatives are rhetorical dimensions of the Eden Story. Both the serpent and God are related: God creates the serpent, and both God Yahweh and the serpent serve the Yahwist to move the narrative along by asking questions.

Biblical theologians often move from the assumption of an enticing or bewitching snake to presuppose that the serpent always symbolized evil. Their misperception is often caused by misleading reports. For example, W. Foerster published three contributions on serpent symbolism in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. He misled many biblical scholars by reporting that paradigmatically "the serpent was regarded as demonic in antiquity." He continued to stress that in all ancient cultures the symbolic role of the serpent is "always the same; it is a power of chaos which opposed God either in the beginning or at the end of things, or both" (*TDNT* 3 [1964] 281). In *The Serpent: A Symbol of Life or Death?*,[15] I demonstrate that in antiquity, in most cultures, the serpent is the most complex and varied of all symbols, and that the serpent is fundamentally a good symbol of wisdom, life, health, and rejuvenation.

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[11] Midrash Rabbah, Ecclesiastes X.11. For the Hebrew text, see קהלת רבה, Jerusalem 1993, p. תקנז. For the English translation, see Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, London 1951, 274.

[12] E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, Garden City, NY 1964, 23.

[13] G. von Rad, *Genesis* 88.

[14] Cf. A. Fanuli, *La spiritualità dell’Antico Testamento* (Storia dell Spiritualità) Rome 1988, p. 229: “L’influenza ‘astuta’ (Gen 3,1) e nefasta del serpente…”

Surely, the Yahwist clarifies the serpent's connection with the beasts and then his curse among them, and concludes the story by cursing the serpent. The developing image of the serpent in Genesis 3 indicates that the serpent cannot be placarded as always good. There are sinister features of the serpent and he (or she) begins the process that led to the banishment of Adam, and all who are related and descended from him. A study of ancient serpent symbolism indicates that the serpent as the symbol of the Death-Giver, Destroyer, and Bearer of Corruptible Knowledge has also left its mark on the Eden Story. Nevertheless, the dominant character of the *nahash*, as the Yahwist states is his intelligence. He (or she) was the cleverest of all the beasts of the field.

Fourth, the woman is not chosen because she is gullible. The *nahash* does not beguile the woman. The narrator does not depict the woman being tricked into doing what she would never herself think of doing. It is the Rabbis, through midrashic expansion, who added to the story the implication that the serpent pushed Eve into the forbidden fruit.

The woman was not tricked; the Yahwist suggests that she willingly participates in the act. Note that after the serpent's advice, "the woman saw that the tree (was) good for food, that it was pleasant to the eyes, and (that) the tree would make (her) wise…" (3:6). The narrator does not suggest that the serpent caused her – or bewitched her – so as to see the tree in this manner. As Paul Tillich claimed, the serpent does not symbolize disintegration but integration.[16]

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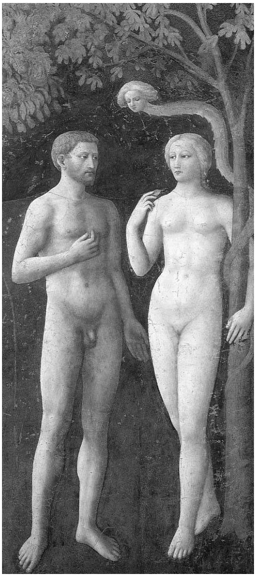
[15] Charlesworth, *The Serpent: A Symbol of Life or Death?* New York, in press.

There is no evidence that the serpent entices or seduces the woman, and the assumption that the serpent uses some erotic powers to entrap her comes out of the misguided imagination of the modern person. There is no evidence that the serpent is first and foremost a phallic symbol.

A study of how gifted artists depict Adam, the woman, and the serpent is revealing. Unlike exegetes, artists must decide if the serpent is male or female, in the tree or beside it, beautiful and appealing or ugly and disgusting.[18] To demonstrate the frequent paradigmatic difference between artists and exegetes only one illustration must suffice. The most riveting depiction of Adam, Eve, and the *nahash* might be Mosolino's painting in the Capella Brancacci in Florence. Note how feminine and appealing the serpent is depicted in the painting.[19] The serpent is inviting, clean,



Adam and Eve, according to Mosolino in the Cappella Brancacci.[17]

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[16] P. Tillich, The Meaning and Justification of Religious Symbols, in: S. Hook (ed.), *Religious Experience and Truth*, New York 1968, 3–11; the quotation is on p. 5.

[17] For permission to publish this photograph, I am appreciative to Dott. Silvia Gozzi and Dott. Chiara Silla, the Comune di Firencze, and the Musei comunall, Florence.

[18] L. Hansmann and L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Amulett und Talisman: Erscheinungsform und Geschichte*, München 1966; see esp. illustrations 196 (anguipede demon), 46–65 (numerous serpent amulets), 474 (amulet against a serpent's bite), 608 (a hand with the finger closest to the little finger as a serpent), 639 (an amulet with a serpent biting a circle), 765 (a ring with a serpent [18/19th cent. CE]), and especially 827 (Adam and the woman with a female serpent wound a tree which are antlers). See illus. no. 99, a wood cutting of 1487 from the Netherlands; it shows Adam, the woman, and the serpent-curled around the tree and looking only at Adam. This woodcut is remarkable, because "Eve" is only beginning to eat the "apple," yet Adam has already covered his privates.

[19] Contrast the work of Johann Heinrich Füssli dated to 1799–1800. This artist, who was fascinated by Milton's *Paradise Lost*, depicted "Eve" confronted by a much larger

and intelligent looking. She and the woman are closely related to the tree and appear as virtual twins.

The woman, not Adam, is the creature whom the *nahash* addresses. She is the first human to represent language, the divine attribute in humanity. The woman does not speak "to Satan," despite later misinterpretations by Jewish and Christian scholars.[20]

The anonymous woman talks to God's creature – the *nahash* – who also can speak and who is wisely discerning.[21] She alone is the "articulate member of the first pair who engages in dialogue even before the benefits of the wisdom tree have been procured." As C. Meyers indicates, "the woman's dialogue with the prudent reptile should be considered not a blot on her character but rather a comment on her intellect."[22]

Summary

I must call into question the regnant interpretation that in Genesis 3 the serpent is evil and tempted Eve. This position appears in *The* ("fully revised") *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Note the four errors: "In Gen 3 the serpent [wrong], characterized by his craftiness (ערום, *'ārúm*, v. 1) [wrong], beguiles [wrong] Eve [wrong]."[23] We have seen that the *nahash* is described by the Yahwist as one of the beasts of the field, that he (or she) is clever (not diabolically crafty), that he (or she) does not beguile (but asks a question), and that the woman continues to be anonymous. She has no name until the narrative reaches its climax;[24] then, the anonymous woman

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figure, the serpent, who seems to be masculine. Cf. C. Becker, *Johann Heinrich Füssli: Das Verlorene Paradies*, Stuttgart 1997, 45.

[20] G. von Rad rightly points out that the "Schlange" is one of God's creatures, „sie ist also im Sinne des Erzählers nicht die Symbolisierung einer ‚dämonischen' Macht und gewiß nicht des Satans." G. von Rad, *Das erste Buch Mose*, p. 61.

[21] In African mythology "the Snake" spoke in the language of mortals and died because he "should have used spirit languge." G. Parrinder, *African Mythology*, New York 1967^1, 1982^2, 61.

[22] C. Meyers, *Discovering Eve* New York 1988, 92.

[23] E. E. Day and G. D. Jordan, Serpent, in: *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* [Fully Revised], Grand Rapids 1988, 4.417–18; the quotation is from p. 417.

[24] This is pointed out by J.-P. Picot, Genèse et récits contemporains de contre-utopie: Eve et le serpent, in: *La Bible: Images, Mythes et Traditions* (Cahiers de l'Hermétisme), Paris 1995, 45–60.

is given a name: “And Adam called his wife’s name ‘Eve,’ because she[25] was the mother of all life” (Gen 3:20).[26]

D. Patte rightly points out that the search for the transparent literal meaning of a text leaves aside its traditional mysterious power, and that “the meaning of a story cannot be posited anymore than can the glitter of a jewel.”[27] We have seen that the *nahash* of Genesis 3 is one of “the beasts of the field,” that he (or she) chooses to talk to the woman, asking her what “God” had said. Subsequently, for reasons presupposed by the Yahwist – and perhaps assumed from Akkadian, Canaanite, Egyptian, Hittite, and Ugaritic myths – but not explained by him, the *nahash* becomes a “serpent” and is forced now to crawl on his belly.

It should now become clearer how we might move beyond a pure literary approach to the biblical text. Archaeological research has provided us with images of serpents in antiquity, especially at Beth Shean, and gilded serpents in shrines within the Land of the Bible (esp. at Timna). Surely, we may now enrich exegesis and hermeneutics by including clear-sighted reflections on the context of a text and the dynamic language of symbolism.

The Most Difficult of the Davidic Psalms: Psalm 68

What is the most complex and misunderstood of the psalms within the Psalter? The answer is clear: Psalm 68. In 1911, H. Gunkel offered a sane assessment: „Unter allen Büchern des Alten Testamentes ist vielleicht dasjenige, das dem geschichtlichen Verständnis die größten Schwierigkeiten entgegenstellt, das Buch der Psalmen.“[28] In 1942, R. Tournay lamented the many emendations for bringing coherence in the psalms that had been appearing in critical publications, and opined that, despite such imperfections brought to the Hebrew text, Psalm 68 "est sans contredit l'un des joyaux de l'Ancien Testament."[29] Indeed, Psalm 68 deserves its title as the "Psaume Titan." In 1950, W. F. Albright offered the learned opinion that "Psalm 68 has always been considered with justice as the most difficult of all the Psalms."[30] J. A. Emerton refers to Psalm 68 as "notoriously problematical" in terms of text and interpretation.[31] P. D. Miller wisely cautions that Psalm 68 is an "ancient and vexing psalm," and that the problems it presents are "vast."[32] H.-J. Kraus held the same opinion, which clarifies the consensus regarding the difficulties encountered in studying Psalm 68: "There is hardly another psalm in the Psalter which in its corrupt text and its lack of coherence precipitates such serious problems for the interpreter as Psalm 68."[33]

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[25] The text has “he” (הוא); does that slip suggest either that the snake was perceived to be male or that there is a paronomasia between הוא and חוה; such would not be surprising, since paronomasia shapes the flow of thought in Genesis 3.

[26] This verse seems intrusive because it attributes to the anonymous woman a very high role. See A. J. Williams, The Relationship of Genesis 3:20 to the Serpent, *ZAW* 89 (1977) 357–74.

[27] D. Patte, ed., *Genesis 2 and 3: Kaleidoscopic Structural Readings* (Semeia 18; Chico, California, 1980) p. 4.

[28] H. Gunkel’s “Die Psalmen” was originally published in *Deutschen Rundschau* 38 (1911) and republished in *Zur Neueren Psalmenforschung* (Wege der Forschung 192), Darmstadt 1976, 19–54.

Archaeological studies and research into West Semitics, and especially an in-depth examination of ancient serpent symbology solves some of the problems encountered in reading the Hebrew of Psalm 68. Let us explore what are the problems and what may be possible solutions. Let us focus on the corrupt Hebrew text and see if it can be corrected, and if in the process some coherence may be restored. We shall proceed with three steps.

I. First, the study of ancient serpent symbolism and Semitic philology discloses that Bashan has two meanings.

What is the most corrupt or problematic verse in Psalm 68? It is verse 22[23]. Note these translations:

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[29] R. Tournay, "Le Psaume LXVIII," *Revue Biblique* 51 (1942) 227–45 [= *Vivre et Penser* 2 Series]; the quotations are from p. 227.

[30] W. F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVII)," *HUCA* 23 (1950–1951) part 1, pp. 1–39; the quotation is from p. 7.

[31] J. A. Emerton, "The "Mountain of God' in Psalm 68:16," in *History and Interpretations of Early Israel: Studies Presented to Eduard Nielsen*, edited by A. Lemaire and B. Otzen (Leiden: Brill, 1993) pp. 24–37; see p. 24.

[32] P. D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 102.

[33] H.-J. Kraus (tr. by H. C. Oswald), *Psalms 60–150*, Minneapolis 1989, 47. J. P. Fokkelman argues that "this great psalm" yields to "varying play of ideas" and reveals an "incredible richness of meanings" (p. 83). See Fokkelman, The Structure of Psalm LXVIII, in: A. S. Van der Woude (ed.), *In Quest of the Past* (Oudtestamentische Studiën 26), Leiden 1990, 72–83.

The Lord said:
"I will bring back from Bashan,
I will bring *them* back from the depths of the sea,"
NKJV ("them" is not in the text)

(He is) the Lord who says,
"I will bring back from Bashan,
I will bring back from the depths of the sea,"
M. E. Tate (what is being brought back is not clear)[34]

The Lord has spoken:
"From Bashan I will bring [you] back,
bring [you] back from the depths of the sea,"
H.-J. Kraus ("you" is not in the text)][35]

Adonai said,
I'll bring back from Bashan;
I'll bring back from the abysses of the sea,
S. Terrien (again, we should wonder what is brought back)[36]

These translations placard the problem with the Hebrew of Psalm 68:23[22]. Obviously, the meter of the first line (*stichos*) of poetry does not equal that of the second line (*stichos*). At least one word has been lost from the first line, as W. F. Albright insightfully contended long ago.[37]

There is no variant to verse 23[22] in the extant Hebrew manuscripts, and there is no reason to postulate a variant.[38] There is also no help in discerning this text from the manuscripts found near Qumran, since the psalm is preserved in the Pre-Masoretic Psalter Texts only in 1QpPs68 (1Q16) and verse 22[23] is not extant in it.[39]

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[34] M. E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100* (WBC 20), Dallas 1990, 161.

[35] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, p. 45.

[36] Terrien, *The Psalms* (ECC), Grand Rapids 2003, 487.

[37] W. F. Albright, *HUCA* 23 (1950–1951) part 1, 1–39.

[38] No variant is cited in BHS for this construct. This lack of variants suggests that scribes found a meaning in Psalm 68. This psalm is not preserved in the Qumran *Psalms Scroll* (11QPs^{a}) and while Psalm 68:0–4 and 13–17 appears in 11QPs^{d} verse 23[22] has not been found at Qumran.

[39] See J. A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, Ithaca-New York 1967, esp. 143–45.

No help is provided by studying the ancient translations of Psalm 68. The translator of the Septuagint in Ps 68[67]:23[22] was confused. After about the seventh century CE, in later minuscules, the text is presented with a capitalized “from” and a transliterated Bashan” (’Εκ Βασαν). The text is ancient, since it has influenced the Vulgate: “Dixit Dominus: ‘Ex Basan convertam, /convertam in profundum maris; …’.” The translator of the passage in the Peshiṭta has rendered מבשן with the interesting *dmn byt šn’*, “who (are) from the house of teeth,” or better idiomatically “who (are) from the edge of a steep rock.”[40] The Peshiṭta text probably resulted from a Syriac scribe’s guess concerning the meaning of the Hebrew. That translation presents a meaningful rendering of Ps 68[67 in the LXX, but 68 in the Peshiṭta]. A lucid, even meaningful, rendering, however, should not be confused with an accurate translation of the original Hebrew.

When most biblical scholars studied Hebrew philology they were told that “Bashan” denoted a mountain east of the Kinnereth (the Sea of Galilee). Now, the contributors to the most recent Hebrew lexicons rightly point out that “Bashan” in the second millennium BCE denoted both a mountain and a mythological creature that was a serpent, the “dragon-snake.”[41]

The most help in comprehending בשן as having a second meaning, “dragon-snake,” comes from cognate languages. The Ugaritic *bthn*[42] and the Akkadian *bašmu* are cognate to the Hebrew *bšn* and the Aramaic *ptn*. These terms are equal to the Arabic *bathan*.[43] All these nouns denote some type of “dragon” or “snake.” The compilers of the new and expanded Koehler-Baumgartner indicate correctly that the Hebrew בשן can denote a type of serpent similar to פתן, “cobra.”[44]

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[40] The Syriac is an idiomatic expression; John Mard, apud *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 2.227, uses the same phrase but with the Syriac word for lion, which qualifies and explains the whole phrase: “from the house of the teeth of a lion” (i. e. “from within a lion’s mouth surrounded by teeth” or simply, idiomatically, “from a lion’s teeth”). See R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* 2.4231.

[41] See D. J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, Sheffield 1995, 2.281, in which a second meaning is given to בשן: “snake.”

[42] Ugaritic *bthn* become *bšn* in Hebrew and is equal to *bshm* in Akkadian with the *n* to *m* shift. I am grateful to Professor J. J. M. Roberts for discussing this issue with me.

[43] Spirintized *t* in Hebrew sometimes becomes unspirintized in Aramaic, and *b* shifts to *p*. See פתן, which means “snake,” in Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, p. 456.

[44] L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old*

As already intimated, the key to the Hebrew may now be found in the Ugaritic *bthn*, which signifies a mythological dragon-snake akin to תנין, "dragon."[45]

M. Dahood, who wisely employs Ugaritic to shine light upon dark passages in the Psalter, perceives that Bashan in Ps 68:23[22] refers to a dragon-snake or serpent:

> The Lord said:
> "I stifled the Serpent,
> muzzled the Deep Sea."[46]

In his notes, Dahood points out that "*bāšān* is another name for Leviathan, as appears from UT, 67:I:12…"[47] The translators of the NEB also opted to bring out a reference to a snake in Ps 68:23[22]: "from the Dragon." It is clear that in antiquity Bashan meant not only a mountain but also a mythological dragon-snake. The meaning "dragon-snake" is what was intended in Psalm 68:23[22].

II. Second, the Psalm has lost a word, and the restoration of the word brings out echoes from an earlier verse.

Any attempt to restore the lost word in Psalm 68 depends on the meaning of Psalm 68, especially verses 19–24[18–23]. It is imperative to comprehend that the thought of Psalm 68 is similar to other strains in biblical theology. God brings into judgment all who have died and are still living – including all in heaven and on the earth (or in its waters). Recall how similar Psalm 68 is to Amos 9:2–3:

> Though they dig into Sheol,
> From there my hand shall take them;
> Though they ascend (into) heaven,

Testament, 5 vols., revised by W. Baumgartner, J. J. Stamm, et al., and translated and edited by M. E. J. Richardson, Leiden, New York 1994–2000 1.165.

[45] See F. C. Fensham, Ps 68:23 in the Light of Recently Discovered Ugaritic Tablets, *JNES* 19, 1960 292–93. I was encouraged to discover that Fensham restores and translates Ps 68:3 as follows: "From the hole of the snake (or Bashan) I will bring back, …" (293).

[46] M. Dahood, *Pslams II: 51–100* (ABC), New York 1968, 131.

[47] Dahood, *Psalms II*, p. 145

> From there I will bring them down;
> And though they hide themselves on top of Carmel,
> From there I shall search and take them;
> Though they hide from my sight at the bottom of the sea,
> From there I shall command the serpent,
> And he shall bite them…

According to Amos 9 the "top of Carmel" represents the land and it is parallel to "the bottom of the sea" which signifies the waters. In these waters is "the serpent."

Now let us return to Psalm 68. What word or words are to be restored? The mythological text that helped us comprehend that "Bashan" denoted a serpent, namely KTU 1.82 (= PRU 2, no. 1, or RS 15.134),[48] also provides some data to guide us in restoring the first colon of Ps 68:23[22]. As we have seen, one beat is missing. The missing consonants contained an idea parallel to "from the depths of" the sea in the second colon.

The Ugaritic text is a discussion between Baal and Anat after their victory over the dragon Tannin. In line six we find *xr bšnm*,[49] which means "the hole (or den) of snakes."[50] C. Virolleaud took *xr bšnm* to mean "trou de vipéres," and drew attention to the famous חר פתן in Isa 11:8, which denotes "the den of a cobra." On the basis of the poetic meter and syntax, and in light of the Ugaritic phrase, which was perhaps a cliché, the meaning of Ps 68:23[22] may be restored. Thus, I suggest restoring מחר before בשן, "[from the den of] the dragon-snake."

So restored the Hebrew brings forth a lost echo in the original psalm. The restored noun חר (*ḥr*), "den," seems to echo הר (*hr*), "mountain" in a preceding verse. These echoes would be heard when the psalm was read out loud – and all ancient literary texts were usually read aloud. The two Hebrew nouns for "den" and "mountain" sound similar. They are virtually indistinguishable when the speaker does not bring out the force of the laryngeal; and from Qumran we know the plosive quality of the laryngeals waned during the Second Temple period [e. g. the ע and א were sometimes confused].

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[48] There is no CTA number. I am grateful to Professor J. M. de Tarragon for helping me comprehend the nomenclature of Ugaritic research [a nightmare of sigla as in Qumranology].

[49] C. Virolleaud, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit II* (Mission de Ras Shamra 7), Paris 1957, 4–5 and Plate IV.

[50] Also, see KTU 1.82 (= PRU 2, no. 1) or 15.134 rev.; Virolleaud, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, 6.

By choosing his words carefully, the poet, or the compiler, seems to have created an echo in 68:23[22] from 68:16[15].[51] Note verse 16[15]:

> A mountain of God (is) the mountain of Bashan;
> A mountain [of many] peaks (is) the mountain of Bashan.[52]

In this verse, הר בשן (*hr-bšn*) appears in colon one and in colon two. The poet then proceeds to develop his thought, so that a similar phrase evolves into the meaning "the den of the dragon-snake." Note how similar the two passages appear:

> har-'ᵉlôhím har-bâšân
> har gabhnunním har-bâšân (Ps 68:16[15])

This text seems to be echoed in the restored text:

> miḥur bâšân 'âšíbh
> 'âšíbh mimmᵉṣulôth yâm

As an echo of a sound bouncing off mountains does not identically reproduce the original sound, so the repetitive *ḥar-* bâšân (*bis*) is echoed in memory when one hears *miḥur bâšân*.

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[51] See the reflections of Emerton which are focused on Ps 68:16 in: The 'Mountain of God' in Psalm 68:16, in: *History and Traditions of Early Israel*, 24–37. He rightly suggests that verse 16 may be a question, indicating that YHWH does not dwell on Bashan, which some Israelites may have confused with Hermon.

[52] S. A. Geller takes "*hr 'lhm*," to mean "O mighty mountains." See Geller, *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 20), Missoula 1979, 213. Also, see D. Winton Thomas, A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew, *VT* 3 (1953), 209–24. For further reflections see, "Bashan, Symbology, Haplography, and Theology in Psalm 68 in *David And Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* Winona Lake, Indiana 2004, 351–72.

Conclusion

I have indicated by examining briefly how a study of Psalm 68 is enriched by including insights from archaeological discoveries, philological research in West Semitic Languages, and especially a study of serpent symbology. By restoring a word lost from Psalm 68, the unity of the composition becomes more clear, especially as we hear the echoes of poetry appear out of silence.

So-called biblical "criticism" is bankrupt when it focuses only on a literary approach to the biblical text. Archaeological research has provided us with a vast amount of images and inscriptions, as well as texts, which help us recovery the culture out of which the biblical text arose. Clear-sighted reflections on the context of a text and the dynamic language of symbolism have helped us restore the poetic beauty of Psalm 68. As P. Pokorný has shown by examining afresh other texts, the best help "für das Verstehen eines alten Textes ist seine kontinuierliche Auslegung…"[53]

In this lecture, I have endeavored to show by examining Genesis 3 and Psalm 68 how we scholars may move biblical exegesis beyond an impasse that may be defined as a myopic focus on literature, the text, which is guided only by a concentration on philological analysis. We can enrich exegesis and hermeneutics by including clear-sighted reflections on the context of a text and the dynamic language of symbolism. Serpent symbology and the language of symbolism are rich and diverse.

We begin to recover the genius of the biblical authors and poets by including a study of ancient *realia*, especially objects with images – and thereby holding what was actually touched by those who lived thousands of years ago. We also learn to perceive and appreciate the creativity of the ancient authors' culture by studying their symbolic world, early symbology, and the sociology of knowledge that shaped their imaginations and thoughts.

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[53] P. Pokorný, *Theologie der lukanischen Schriften* (FRLANT 174), Göttingen 1998, 12.

EVANGELIUM UND BUCH[1]

Detlev Dormeyer, Dortmund

1. Einleitung

„Evangelium und Buch“ klingt als Titel nüchtern und soll doch zugleich provozieren. Das Evangelium und die Evangelien stehen bekanntlich in einem Buch, und zwar im Neuen Testament. Jedes Evangelium des frühchristlichen Viererkanons: Matthäus, Markus, Lukas und Johannes bilden wiederum ein eigenes Buch – nach antikem Verständnis eine eigene Rolle oder einen eigenen Kodex.

Doch ist das *Evangelium* selbst mit den vier Büchern identisch? So fragten in der Gegenwart bewusst provozierend die Formgeschichtler. Bereits Martin Luther stellte diese Frage. Ende des 19. Jh. behauptete Overbeck für das NT den Sondercharakter einer „christlichen Urliteratur“.[2] Das Evangelium ist etwas Besonderes, also ist auch seine literarische Gestalt etwas Besonderes.[3] Die Formgeschichtler differenzierten dann zu Recht zwischen mündlicher und schriftlicher Literatur. Der Sondercharakter wurde abgeschwächt. Die mündliche Kleinliteratur hat Parallelen in der hellenistischen Kleinliteratur. Die Ausprägung durch die mündliche Verkündigung der Urgemeinde verlieh den Kleinformen den christlichen Charakter. Nach Martin Dibelius blieb allerdings die *Lebendigkeit* der Verkündigung auf diesen mündlichen Kommunikationsprozess beschränkt.[4] Die spätere Verschriftlichung als „Sammlungen“ in der Form der vier

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[1] Vortrag gehalten am 1. April 2004 als Dank für die Verleihung der Comenius-Medaille der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Karls-Universität in Prag.

[2] Overbeck, F., *Über die Anfänge der patristischen Literatur*, Darmstadt, 1966^2, 1882^1, 29.

[3] Dormeyer, D., *Evangelium als literarische und theologische Gattung*, Darmstadt 1989.

[4] Dibelius, M., *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Tübingen 1959^3 (1919^1, 1933^2), 265.

Evangelien verdrängte das lebendige Evangelium. Es konnte aus der Erstarrung der „Literarisierung“ nur wieder durch die mündliche Predigt zurückgewonnen werden.[5]

Zur gleichen Zeit entwickelte Jan Mukařovský gemeinsam mit Roman Jakobson u. a. den Prager Strukturalismus. Kunst wird als „semiologisches Faktum“ begriffen.[6] Jakobson verdoppelt später das semiologische Dreieck von Bühler.[7] Eine sprachliche Äußerung, egal ob mündlich oder schriftlich, steht immer in einem Kommunikationszusammenhang. Meinen Dibelius und der Prager Strukturalismus das gleiche? Nicht ganz. Dazu einige Schlaglichter.

2. Evangelium und Kommunikationsprozess

Dibelius entwertet die vier Evangelienbücher zugunsten einer mündlichen Predigtsituation. Der Prager Strukturalismus ordnet beide Faktoren, Buch und Verkündigung, gleichwertig einem notwendigen Kommunikationsprozess zu. Sowohl das Buch als auch die mündliche Äußerung haben eine gleichwertige ästhetische Funktion. Nach Jakobson gehören Mündlichkeit oder Schriftlichkeit nur zum Faktor „Kontaktmedium“.[8] Sie betreffen nicht direkt die anderen fünf Faktoren „Empfänger, Sender, Nachricht, *Kontext und Kode*.“

Petr Pokorný hat dieses strukturale Kommunikationsmodell auf das Neue Testament übertragen. Er legt keinen Gegensatz zwischen die Phase der mündlichen Kommunikation, die von der Zeit des vorösterlichen Jesus bis in die frühe nachösterliche Zeit anhielt, und die Phase der Verschriftlichung ab den paulinischen Briefen und ab den möglichen Teilsammlungen der Evangelienüberlieferung. Denn nach Pokorný werden mündliche und schriftliche Traditionen von literarischen Gattungsgesetzen bestimmt, die zum großen Teil aus der Umwelt kommen.[9] Ihre Lebendigkeit erhalten beide Traditionsformen,

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[5] Dibelius 1959, 265.

[6] Mukařovský, J., *Kapitel aus der Ästethik*, Frankfurt 1970, 138.

[7] Jakobson, R., Linguistik und Poetik (engl. 1960), in: Ihwe, J., (Hg.), *Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, Frankfurt 1972, 103–109; Bühler, K., *Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache*, Stuttgart 1965^2 (1934^1), 49–58.

[8] Jakobson, 1972, 104.

[9] Pokorný, P., *Das Markus-Evangelium. Literarische und theologische Einleitung mit Forschungsbericht* (ANRW II 25,3) 1985, 1969–2035.

Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit, erst durch den Kommunikationsprozess einer Gemeinde.[10]

Der Verfasser des ersten Evangeliums, also des Markus-Evangeliums, nimmt Motiv-Muster der mündlichen Überlieferung auf; diese bleiben in seinem Werk noch erkennbar und erlauben eine formgeschichtliche Rückfrage zu den historischen Anfängen.[11] Sein Evangelium ist *nur ein Anfang* eines weitergehenden Kommunikationsprozesses: „Anfang des Evangeliums Jesu Christi und von Jesus Christus“ (Mk 1,1). Das Evangelium wird sogar über Ostern hinaus ausformuliert: „Überall auf der ganzen Welt, wo das Evangelium verkündet wird, wird auch das, was sie getan hat, gesagt werden zu ihrer Erinnerung“ (Mk 14,9).

Der Verfasser des dritten Evangeliums, also des Lukas-Evangeliums, setzt diese „Anfangs“-Situation fort. Das erste Vorwort zu beiden Büchern spricht von „Überlieferungen“ (παρέδοσαν Lk 1,2), das zweite Vorwort, das nach antikem Brauch vor dem zweiten „Buch“ steht, spricht dann von „anfangen“: „Das erste Buch machte ich über alles, o Theophilos, was Jesus *anfing* zu tun und zu lehren“ (Apg 1,1). In deutschen Übersetzungen wird das „anfangen“ (ἄρχομαι) Jesu leider unterschlagen. Die ökumenische Einheitsübersetzung lässt es ganz weg, die revidierte Lutherübersetzung verschiebt es zu einer adverbialen zeitlichen Bestimmung: „was Jesus von Anfang an tat und lehrte“. So kommt völlig aus dem Blick, dass die Taten und Lehren Jesu einen biographischen Anfang setzen, der in den Taten und Lehren der Apostel, Zeugen und allen nachfolgenden Leserschaften des ersten Buches weitergehen muss.[12]

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[10] Dormeyer, D., *Das Neue Testament im Rahmen der antiken Literaturgeschichte. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1993, 24–51.

[11] Dormeyer, 1993; Dormeyer, D., *Das Markusevangelium als Idealbiographie von Jesus Christus, dem Nazarener*, (SBB 43), Stuttgart 1/1999, 2/2000; Porkorný, P., Anfang des Evangeliums. Zum Problem des Anfangs und des Schlusses des Markusevangeliums, in: Schnackenburg, R., u. a., (Hg.), *Die Kirche des Anfangs, FS Schürmann, H.,* Freiburg u. a. 1978, 115–133.

[12] Pokorný, P., *Theologie der Lukanischen Schriften*, Göttingen 1998, 24–31; Dormeyer, D., Intertextuelle Exegese. Der pragmalinguistische ‘Kommentar für die Praxis’ für Lateinamerika und Europa, in: Pokorný, P. u. Roskovec, J. (Eds.), *Philosophical Hermeneutiks and Biblical Exegesis* (WUNT 153), Tübingen 2002, 26–36. Dormeyer, D. u. Galindo, F., *Die Apostelgeschichte. Ein Kommentar für die Praxis*, Stuttgart 2003.

3. Evangelium und Intertextualität

Noch von einer anderen Perspektive aus wird die Reduktion der Gemeindekommunikation auf reine Mündlichkeit fragwürdig. Jesus von Nazaret und seine späteren Gemeinden stellten die hl. Schriften Israels in den Mittelpunkt ihres Lebens. Die Schriftrollen zu den wichtigsten Büchern, und zwar zum Gesetz und zu den Propheten, wurden in jeder Synagoge aufbewahrt; denn sie bildeten für die gottesdienstlichen Lesungen am Sabbat die unersetzbare Grundlage. 4 Makk 18,10–18, der Schluss, nennt einen Grundbestand an Büchern, den der Vater in Fortsetzung von Dtn 4,9; 6,7; 11,19 seine Söhne zu lehren hat.[13] Doch es wurden nicht nur die Schriften Israels gelesen, deren Anzahl ab der Zeitenwende kanonisch festgelegt wurde (Jos. c. Ap. 1,38–43), sondern es wurde die gesamte griechische Literatur rezipiert.

Alan Millard macht zu Recht darauf aufmerksam, dass eine Papyros-Rolle preiswert war und dass die Kompetenz zum Lesen und mündlichem Weitergeben von Literatur in der griechischen Welt mit einer hohen Prozentzahl anzusetzen ist. 30–40 Prozent der freien Männer erlernten die Anfänge von Lesen und Schreiben; die großen Inschriften und die Graffiti von Pompeji legen beredtes Zeugnis ab.[14] Selbstverständlich teilten die Männer das Gelesene ihrer Familie, zu denen auch die Haussklaven gehörten, mit. Hinzu kommt die griechische Theaterkultur. Griechisch schreibende Autoren kennen selbstverständlich die gesamte Theater- und Epenliteratur. Es war üblich, ohne Zitatnennung auf sie anzuspielen. Der dritte Evangelist nennt ein einziges Zitat aus dem Epos „Phainomena“ ausdrücklich, allerdings ohne den Autor Aratos mit anzuführen; immerhin leitet er das bekannte Zitat in der Areopag-Rede mit der Kennzeichnung „eure Dichter“ ein (Apg 17,28). Andere Übernahmen, z. B. aus den Bacchen des Euripides, verschweigt er: „Schwer (ist es) für dich, gegen (den) Stachel auszuschlagen.“ (Apg 26,14; Eurip. Bacch. 794f.).[15] Die revidierte Lutherübersetzung lautet: wider den Stachel zu löcken.

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[13] Klauck, 4 Makk, 755.

[14] Millard, A. M., *Pergamente und Papyrus, Tafeln und Ton. Lesen und Schreiben zur Zeit Jesu*, Giessen – Basel 2000, 154 ff.

[15] Vögeli, A., Lukas und Euripides, in: *Theoslogische Zeitschrift*, Basel 1953.

Doch der Einfluss der griechischen Buchwelt ist unverkennbar. Er zeigt sich indirekt in den Motiv-Clustern, in den literarischen Gattungen, im Aufbau der Reden, in den Charakterzeichnungen der handelnden Figuren. Das Lesen und Schreiben von Büchern erstickt nicht die lebendige Religiosität einer Gemeinde, sondern facht sie erst neu an.

Comenius, der Namensgeber der ehrenvollen Medaille, gewann als „Lehrbuchautor“ internationales Ansehen.[16] Buchwissen, Leben und Verkündigung sollen sich nach humanistischem Ideal miteinander verbinden. Ich hatte die Ehre und das Vergnügen, im Comenius-Institut der EKD in Münster am Forschungsprojekt „Erzählen“ unter der Leitung von Prof. Dr. H. B. Kaufmann mitzuarbeiten. Erzählen und biblisches Buch waren selbstverständlich keine Gegensätze, sondern ergänzten sich wechselseitig ganz im Geiste von Comenius.[17]

4. Die Krise des Buches

Die amerikanische Forschung macht neuerdings auf die Krise des Buches aufmerksam.[18] Durch Gutenbergs mechanischem Buchdruck wurde das Buch zur Massenware. Die berühmten, größten Bibliotheken von Alexandrien (0,5 Mill.) und Pergamon (0,2 Mill.) wirken klein im Vergleich zu den wachsenden Bibliotheksbeständen ab Gutenberg (UB Dortmund 1,4 Mill.). Nur wenigen Büchern gelingt es heute, zu Bestsellern zu werden und dann noch weltweit ganz gelesen und nicht vergessen zu werden, also ein *evergreen* zu bleiben. Die Bibel liegt zwar als Buch auf den Nachttischchen vieler Hotelzimmer, aber wer liest in ihr oder wer kennt sie ganz?

Luther war selbstverständlich davon ausgegangen, das jeder Christ die ganze Bibel zu kennen hat. Sogar die Kinder sollten nur aus der *ganzen Bibel* Geschichten hören, lesen und lernen. Doch wieder Comenius löckte gegen diesen Stachel. Er gab 1656 einen Bibelauszug, also eine Auswahlbibel, für die Gemeinde heraus. Erst im 18. Jh. setzte sich mit der Auswahlbibel von Hübner in Deutschland eine Kinder- und Schulbibel durch.[19] 1714 gab der Rektor des Hamburger Johanneums Johann Hübner (1668–1731), Schüler des Pietisten Christian Weises, ein unbebildertes Schul- und Hausbuch heraus, das in einer schul- und kinderbucharmen Zeit etwa 17 Jahrzehnte im Schulgebrauch war, und zwar in Lateinschulen, in der häuslichen Erziehung, in den Anfängen der Lehrerseminare, später im niederen Schulwesen. Die 1731 um Kupferstiche erweiterte Auflage des Buches hieß: „Johann Hübner, Zweymahl zwey und funffzig Auserlesene Biblische Historien aus dem AT und NT, der Jugend zum Besten abgefasset. Leipzig 1731“. Mit einer Einleitung und einem Anhang herausgegeben von Rainer Lachmann und Christine Reents, Hildesheim 1986. Bis 1870 (bzw. 1902) entstanden 19 Neubearbeitungen, darunter Übersetzungen in mindestens sechs europäischen Sprachen, und rund 40 Nachdrucke. Hübners alltagsbezogenes und zugleich orthodoxes Schriftverständnis basierte auf einer die Einzelgeschichte bevorzugenden Textauswahl. Durch dreifache Anhänge – „Deutliche Fragen“, „Nützliche Lehren“, „Gottselige Gedanken“ – wurden die Bibeltexte dem Milieu verschiedener Rezeptionsepochen ständig neu angepasst mit dem Ziel einer vernünftigen Erziehung zu tätiger Lebensbewältigung.

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[16] Scheuerl, H. u. Schröer, H., Comenius, in: *TRE 8*, 1981,162–169, 163.

[17] Kaufmann, H. B., u. a., *Elementar erzählen zwischen Überlieferung und Erfahrung*, Münster 1985.

[18] Kelber, W. H., Die Anfangsprozesse der Verschriftlichung im Frühchristentum, in: *ANRW* II 26,1 (1992), 3–62, 15.

Vordenker der Auswahlbibel waren Comenius und John Locke. Locke wandte sich mit seiner Schrift „Gedanken über die Erziehung“ von 1692 gegen ein vollständiges Durchlesen der ganzen Bibel als Leseübung für Kinder.[20] „Im 17. Jahrhundert ist das Lesen der Bibel als Schulfach nur vereinzelt nachweisbar. In der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jh. erschienen dann an verschiedenen Orten mindestens ein Dutzend meist erzählende, oft auch bebilderte Bibelauszüge, die nach Auskunft ihres Vorwortes oder Titelblattes für Kinder gedacht waren.

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[19] Reents, Chr., *Die Bibel als Schul- und Hausbuch für Kinder. Werkanalyse und Wirkungsgeschichte einer frühen Schul- und Kinderbibel im evangelischen Raum: Hübner, J., Zweymal zwey und funffzig Auserlesene Biblische Historien, der Jugend zum Besten abgefasset…, Leipzig 1714 bis Leipzig 1874 und Schwelm 1902* (Arbeiten zur Religionspädagogik 2), Göttingen 1984, 22.

[20] Reents, 1984, 27.

Keines dieser Werke erreichte die Breitenwirkung der Biblischen Historien von Johann Hübner".[21]

Trotz des Erfolges von Hübners Bibelauswahl in der Aufklärung mit ihrem pädagogischen Elan gab es bis zum Anfang des 19. Jh. Widerstände von allerhöchsten Stellen. Preußen verbot wiederholt 1814 und 1825, „daß Biblische Geschichten für Kinder 'im modernen, glatten, matten Kindergeschichten-Tone´ mit eingewebten Erklärungen" in der Schule eingesetzt werden; Schüler sollten die ganze Heilige Schrift lesen.[22]

Doch Anfang des 20. Jh. sah Dibelius klar die Gefahr des Traditionsverlustes. Die Evangelienbücher waren in der Gemeinde nicht mehr als Wissen voll präsent. Gegenwärtige empirische Untersuchungen weisen nach, dass inzwischen bei den evangelischen wie katholischen Christen in Deutschland das biblische Wissen gegen Null tendiert.[23] Die Medien regieren und bringen immer etwas „Neueres"(Apg 17,21).

5. Schluss

Ein humanistischer, ein humaner Aufbruch wie bei Comenius ist weiter notwendig. Die Richtung geben die Buch-Evangelien selbst an. Sie sind nur Anfänge des Evangeliums, auf keinen Fall sind sie seine vollständigen Abbildungen. Sie bieten die „Taten und Lehren" Jesu Christi in der antiken Gattungsform der historiographischen „Biographie". Das öffentliche, christologische Wirken Jesu von Nazaret ist der Anfang des Evangeliums. Die Fortsetzung dieses Evangeliums haben die Leser mit Hilfe des Geistes zu handeln, zu lehren, zu schreiben, zu dichten, zu kommentieren, zu dramatisieren, zu musizieren, zu visualisieren, zu filmen u.s.w. Alle Kanäle der Semiotik stehen zur Verfügung. Die alten Evangelienbücher und die neuen Evangelienmedien sind Begleiter, nicht Ersatz für Handeln und Lehren. Daher ist es kommunikationsfremd, Buchfeindlichkeit zu fördern und eine reine Mündlichkeit gegen „Erstarrung" zu postulieren. Die ausschließliche Konzentration auf die mündliche Predigt fördert unfreiwillig dieses Missverständnis. Wir geraten dann nur in die traurigen Tropen eines bunten, unverdauten Gemisches von Gehörtem, Gesehenem (im Fernsehen und Filmen), Gelesenem. Es gibt ja die reine Mündlichkeit seit den alten Ägyptern, seit der Erfindung der Schrift, nicht mehr. Mit Comenius und seiner Pansophia bin ich nicht bange, dass das Evangelium Jesu Christi und von Jesus Christus (Mk 1,1) in den heute besonders reichhaltigen Kontaktmedien sich weiterhin Geltung und Gehör verschaffen wird, auch wenn nur noch Bruchstücke seiner Verschriftlichungen präsent sind. Das Lesen wird dann zum Abenteuer, wenn es Unbekanntes eröffnet und zur Begegnung mit ihm über alle Arten von Kontaktmedien führt.[24] Vom Center of Biblical Studies, Prag, wurde zu diesem Thema im Herbst 2000 ein Symposium abgehalten.[25] So bieten die diffusen Reste des Buchwissens vom Evangelium Ansätze, ein ganzes Buch oder gar alle Bücher neu kennen zu lernen und darüber hinaus mit diesen Evangelien als „Anfang“ kommunikativ zu handeln und mit den unterschiedlichen Mitlesern ein viel umfassenderes Evangelium als Wirklichkeit zu erfahren. Die *viva vox evangelii* gibt jeder Zeit, jeder Stimme, jedem Medium und jedem Gehör die Chance des Verstehens.

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[21] Reents, 1984, 22.

[22] Reents, 1984, 12.

[23] Daiber, K. F. u. Lukatis, I., *Bibelfrömmigkeit als Gestalt gelebter Religion*, Bielefeld 1991.

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[24] Ricoeur, P., *Zeit und Erzählung*, (3 Bde), München 1988–1991.

[25] Pokorný 2002; Dormeyer 2002.

ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN IN THE PRE-REFORMATION BOHEMIA MATTHAEUS DE CRACOVIA: PROPOSICIO PRO CANONIZATIONE B. BRIGIDE[1]

Drahomíra Breedveld-Baránková, Brno

Saint Bridget of Sweden is undoubtedly one of the most important women of Medieval Europe. As a prophetess and visionary and one of the few saints who were officially canonized soon after they died, she represents a new prototype of sainthood of the end of the 14th century. With her visions, later compiled in the volumes of *Libri celestis*[2], she intervenes in the political events of the day and her criticism, derived from the effort to strengthen the institution of papacy against the threat of schism, afflicts even on the pope himself. No wonder that in the turbulent atmosphere of the Late Medieval Europe the cult of this Swedish saint soon spread from Rome, where Bridget lived from 1350 till her death, to many other countries. Bohemia with Prague as the capital of the Roman king and emperor Charles IV. who had promoted her cult already during the saint's life and later staked himself on her canonization, were not spared from the influence either[3].

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[1] Research for this essay was supported by grants from the Czech Ministry of Education and Science (Centre for Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Texts Studies; n. LN00A011) and from the Czech Grant Agency (project n. 405/02/P044). I would also like to express my acknowledgements to Lukáš Morávek for his help with the English translation of the essay.

[2] Alphonse of Jaen, the disciple and follower of Bridget, was the editor of her visionary works. The Modern Critical Library: C.-G. Undhagen (ed.), *Revelationes* I, Uppsala 1978; A.-M. Jönsson, (ed.), *Revelationes* III, Stockholm 1998; H. Aili (ed.), *Revelationes* IV, Stockholm 1992; B. Bergh (ed.), *Revelationes* V, Uppsala 1971; B. Bergh (ed.), *Revelationes* VI, Stockholm 1991; B. Bergh (ed.), *Revelationes* VII, Uppsala 1967; L. Hollman (ed.), *Revelationes extrauagantes*, Uppsala 1956; S. Eklund (ed.), *Regula Salvatoris, Sermo angelicus* and *Quattuor orations*, Lund 1975, Uppsala 1972, Arlöv 1991. For the remaining and yet unpublished works of Bridget, cf. *editio princeps – Revelationes Sancte Birgitte,* printed by B. Ghotan, Lübeck 1492.

[3] Bridget was introduced to the emperor at a ceremonial in 1368. Later, she dedi-

It is at the time of Bridget's canonization that her visions are cautiously examined and her works arouse considerable interest in the circle of scholars at the University of Prague. By the end of the 14th century, the Charles University represented both the center of erudition for the whole region and the intellectual seedbed of those reformation thinkers who were later involved in the movement which culminated in the Hussite revolution. Master Matthew of Krakow (c. 1345–1410), a distinguished theologian, preacher, and critic, is closely connected with this Prague's reformation movement. Being a renowned professor of the universities of Prague, Krakow and Heidelberg, he became famous for his synodical sermons for which he is regarded one of the most eminent preachers of the Late Medieval age. At the same time, he made himself famous with critical work – which most probably has more than one author – *De praxi Romanae Curiae*, referred to also as *De squaloribus Curiae Romanae*[4]. This work, which might have been partly inspired by Prague's ambiance and the local conditions, significantly influenced the Bohemian Reformation movement and thinking of the Hussites for it is frequently cited by the tracts of the Johannes Hus' period[5].

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cated to Charles two of her *revelations* (1. VIII). The records taken from Bridget's canonization – *Acta et processus canonizacionis beate Birgitte* (ed. I. Collijn, SSFS Ser. 2, Bd. I, Uppsala 1924–1931) – mention Charles IV. several times. The document from September 9, 1377 includes a list for pope Gregory XI., in which the emperor pleads for Bridget's canonization (*Acta,* 53). The report of the Chief Prosecutor of the process from 8 March 1380 (*Acta,* 44) also informs about the correspondence with Gregory XI. Moreover, the documents of canonization contain a list of *Littera supplicatoria* by the Swedish nobles who ask both the emperor and the pope for launching the process (*Acta,* 52). The individual testimonies of the process witnesses – *depositiones* – identically return to Charles's visit to Rome in 1368 when he comes to the city at the same time as pope Urban V. (*Acta,* 267, 329, 358, 454). The emperor's name appears also in the final summary – *Summarium processus* – in connection with the testimonies of the saint's posthumous miracles (*Acta,* 601).

[4] See the monograph by M. Danys, *Master Matthew of Cracow* (*His life and activity. Master Matthew of Cracow and emperor Charles the fourth),* Warszawa 1995. The author comes up with a study of the ecclesiastical and political atmosphere of Matthew's stay in the Prague of Charles IV. Matthew's synodal sermons were published by W. Seńko in the appendix to his treatise *De praxi* (*Mateusza z Krakowa De praxi Romanae Curiae,* Wrocław 1969, Appendix 123–185).

[5] Some scholars see in *De praxi* the evidence of Prague's reformation spirit penetration to the non-Bohemian regions. See J. Nechutová, *Latinská literatura českého středověku do roku 1400,* Praha 2000 (211). Furthermore, M. Danys, 54, "And herein the importance of Matthew of Cracow becomes obvious: he made a fundamental contribution in spreading the ideas of the Bohemian pre-hussite movement along the

The origin of the small treatise, *Proposicio pro canonizacione beate Brigide,* which will be discussed here and which considerably contributed to the spread of the cult of Saint Bridget of Sweden, belongs to the period of Matthew's almost thirty-year stay in Prague. Although this piece is mentioned in the present-day lists of the author's bibliography[6], it was dismissed both editorially and, in connection with Saint Bridget, interpretatively. Yet, Matthew is seen as the actual promoter of Bridget's sainthood in Bohemia (and later in the German lands). It is he who brings Bridget's *Revelationes* to Bohemia as a novelty in secular literature, disperses them and owing to him the text becomes – besides the Scripture – the most popular reading of the emperor Charles's son Wenceslaus[7]. Moreover, Matthew of Krakow broke the constraint and disbelief in Bridget's visions of Thomas of Štítný (†c. 1401–1409), the noteworthy Bohemian pre-Hussite writer, and prompted him to translate them into Czech[8]. The considerable amount of Bridget's manuscripts preserved in Czech libraries is, after all, the evidence of her popularity.[9] Fur-

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Rhine and its delta – whether knowingly or not it is unclear." M. Danys even takes into consideration a question of possible Matthew's influence on the Dutch spiritual movement *devotio moderna*. Conversely, e. g. the Polish scholar Z. Kałuża in his analysis of Matthew's *De praxi* (*Ekleziologia Mateusza z Krakowa. Uwagi o De praxi Romanae curiae, Studia Mediewistyczne* 18/1, 1977, 51–174) largely diminishes the influence of the Bohemian pre-Hussite thinkers on Matthew's reformation attitudes.

[6] Cf. S. Dobrzanowski, *Mateusz z Krakowa,* in: *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich. Lexicon theologorum catholicorum Poloniae,* vol. 3, Warszawa 1982, 83; F. J. Worstbrock, *Matthäus von Krakau,* in: *Verfasserlexikon (Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters),* Bd. 6, 1985^2, 178. Yet for example F. Franke, the German author of the so far most extensive Matthew's monograph (*Matthäus von Krakau. Sein Leben, Charakter und seine Schriften zur Kirchenreform,* Greifswald 1910), does not mention this proposition in the list of Matthew's works at all.

[7] Cf. The Latin codex from the Library of the Prague's Metropolitan Chapter (sign. C 87) *S. Brigittae coelestes revelationes* from 1392, "Hunc librum rex Wenceslaus prae aliis legebat et bibliam."

[8] Thomas of Štítný reveals his critical view of the visions in the preface to the translation of the *Revelations*, „…až teď mně sě dostaly česky popsati – každkoli ti, ktož mě znají, vědie to, že nerad o divích píši (only now did I managed to describe them in Czech – though those who know me are conscious of the fact that I dislike writing about miracles)" (MS IV B 15, National Museum, Prague). Surprisingly, not even this Old-Czech translation of the Swedish saint's mystic works, so widespread in Bohemia, was published out of the manuscript. Nevertheless, the edition of the works is nowadays being prepared by P. Rychterová.

[9] Cf. Introduction to the *editio critica* of Bridget's *Revelaciones I* by C.-G. Undhagen, Uppsala 1978.

thermore, one of the altars in the Church of The Holy Virgin in front of Týn at the Prague's Old Town is consecrated to Saint Bridget[10].

The origination of the treatise *Proposicio pro canonizacione b. Brigide* is connected with Matthew's diplomatic visit to the papal court in Genoa in 1385, the text being intended for pope Urban VI. It thus belongs to the second phase of Bridget's canonization, which followed after the cause was discussed under the pontificate of Gregor XI., Urban's predecessor[11]. Some scholars offer a hypothesis according to which Matthew acted in Bridget's process as a delegate of the University of Prague and member of one of the boards appointed by pope to inquire into the genuineness of Bridget's mystical works[12]. Although the questions of the factual representation of this piece are still open, we will attempt to interrogate the relation of Bridget's sainthood in pre-reformation Bohemia thoroughly, in the context of the above-mentioned Matthew's proposal. The main attention will be paid to rendering the subject we would call "the second life of the Bridgettine legend and cult in Bohemia." The connection for capturing the hagiographic image of St. Bridget in Matthew's proposal will be made through two pieces of literature. On the one hand, it is the first official life of Bridget – *vita per curiam approbata* – drawn by her followers and called *Vita b. Brigide prioris Petri et magistri Petri*[13], and on the other hand, the final "official image" of the saint derived from the canonization sermon (and the canonization bull) of pope Boniface IX. which were lately analyzed in detail by R. Ellis[14].

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[10] The occasional annotations in the documents of the day prove the durability of Bridget's cult in Bohemia. According to F. Šmahel, during the inquisition of pupils of the famous Bohemian reformers Milicius of Chremsir († 1374) and Matthias of Janow († 1393), „do spárů inkvizice dostal i neznámý vzdělanec, snad dokonce student pražské university, znalec bible a čtenář vizionářských děl Hildegardy z Bingen, sv. Brigity (sic!) a františkánského spirituála Jana z Rupescissy (an unknown scholar, maybe even a student of the University of Prague, expert on Bible and reader of the visionary work of St. Hildegard of Bingen, St. Bridget [sic!] and John of Rupescissa, the Franciscan spiritualist, also got in the grip of inquisition)" (F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce II*, Praha 1996, 204).

[11] M. Danys (23) assumes that Matthew was acquainted with Bridget's *Revelations* as late as 1387 by Henry of Soerbom, the bishop in Ermeland and Matthew's former colleague from the Royal office. Moreover, Danys mistakenly names pope Gregor XI. as the addressee of the treatise.

[12] See A. Císařová-Kolářová, Birgitta Švédská a její „Knihy užitečné o zjeveních," in: *Křesťanská revue* 30, 1963. It reads in the historic literature that according to testimony of cardinal Juan de Torquemada (who with his treatise *Defensorium quorundam articulorum rubrorum Revelationum S. Birgittae* from 1439 contributed a great deal to the defense of the problematic visionary works of Bridget), Matthew was the author of the fourth canonization proposal, which he does not particularize any further (see J. Menšík, *Počátky staročeské mystiky,* Praha 1948, 117). It is necessary to mention that the process of Bridget's canonization was protracted and though it began immediately after the death of the saint in 1375, it was actually not finished until 1439.

In general, Bridget's hagiographic image can be compiled with respect to the characteristics of sainthood prototypes following the typologies by leading hagiographic scholars. A. Vauchez, for example, sets the particular type in the chronological contexts of Late-Medieval visionariness, framing the individual "life types" of saints who, in the context of linear history, impersonate different ideals of sainthood. In this period (the late 13th century and later), the interiorization of sainthood, based not on the division in society any more but on the general worship of Christ's humanity, carries on. Therefore, the mystics, prophets, and preachers become the vehicles of sainthood. These new prototypes are peripheral to the institution of Church and encompass various forms of prophetic visionaries where laic women take up a prominent position. The prophetic aspect of female sainthood intensifies even more during the 14th century, which is a period of crisis resulting from the schism of 1378[15]. –

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[13] The biography was written around 1373 and can be found among the canonization papers of I. Collijn (73–101); see BHL 1334. Latest researches have recently proved that this *vita* is probably the later official version of the original text preserved in Uppsala University Library (MS C 15). See T. Nyberg in: M. Tjader Harris (ed), A. R. Kezel (tr. and notes) „*Birgitta of Sweden. Life and Selected Revelations,* New York 1990, 15).

[14] R. Ellis, The Swedish woman, the widow, the pilgrim and the prophetess: images of St. Bridget in the canonization sermon of Pope Boniface IX, in: *Saint Bridget: Prophetess of New Ages. Proceedings of the International Study Meeting, Rome October 3–7, 1991* (English-Italian version), Roma 1991, 93–120. See also M. Hedlund, Vadstenapredikanter om Birgitta, in: A. Härdelin, M. Lindgren (eds.), *Heliga Birgitta – budskapet och förebilden. Föredrag vid jubileumssymposiet i Vadstena 3–7 oktober 1991,* Stockholm 1993, 311–327. The canonization bull of Boniface IX. is comprised in *Acta sanctorum,* Oct. IV, Brussels 1780, 459 (Bridget was canonized on 7 October 1391); the authors consulted the canonization sermon in the manuscripts of MS Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library 114, ff. 49v-53v; MS Stockholm, Riksarkivet A 20, f. 252r-255r.

[15] See A. Vauchez, Světec, in: J. Le Goff (ed.), *Středověký člověk a jeho svět*, Praha 1996, 263–290 (translation from the Italian original *L'uomo medievale,* Roma – Bari 1996). From Vauchez's extensive bibliography, cf. also Saint Brigitte de Suède et Sainte Catherine de Sienne: La mystique et l'Église aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age. In: *Temi e problemi nella mistica femminile trecentesca* (14–17 ottobre 1979),

Furthermore, the typology of R. Grégoire reveals the existence of the five basic groups in center of which the individual prototypes of sainthood were formed, based on certain common characteristics[16]. Using these categories (of *martyr*, *monk*, *bishop*, *noble saint*, *female saint*), the author mentions Bridget's noble origin (he places her among those canonized saints of royal decent whose cult was officially propagated in the whole Church during Counter-Reformation, likewise the cult of St. Wenceslaus in Bohemia) while focusing on the category of "female sainthood." He creates it as a separate category pursuant to the actual female way of life conditioned by virginity, marriage, and widowhood, and possibly matrimony. Thus, he develops the scheme of female sainthood, which was articulated already by E. Giannarelli, using the materials of biographic and autobiographic genres of the 4th century[17]. This conception encompasses the coexistence of the female prototypes of sainthood during the course of time and these prototypes are distinguished according to terminology (*virgo*, *vidua*, *mater* – in order of their priority). In such a summary and according to Grégoire's conception, it is possible to compile the image of Bridget of Sweden as a *married saint woman* (who after her marriage made a vow of chastity; the prefiguration of this being St. Cecilia, cf. St. Cunegonde of Poland as well), *mother-saint of a saint* (giving birth to St. Catherine of Sweden), and a *saint widow* (who after her husband's death decided to resolve to nunhood; cf. for example St. Elizabeth of Hungary-Thuringia). It is this tension between the mystical and prophetic level in the hagiographic image of Saint Bridget (quite richly elaborated in the above men-

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Perugia 1983, 229–248. For the phenomenon of female "correctors" who nevertheless stay in the bosom of the Church, cf. also J. A. McNamara – S. Wemple, Sanctity and power: The Dual Pursuit of Medieval Women, in: R. Bridenthal, C. Koonz (eds.), *Becoming visible: Women in European History,* Boston 1977.

[16] M. Grégoire, *Manuale di agiologia. Introduzione alla letteratura agiografica,* Fabriano 1996, 237–291.

[17] E. Giannarelli, *La tipologia femminile nella biografia e nell'autobiografia cristiana del IV° secolo,* Roma 1980. Cf. also F. E. Consolino, Modelli di santità femminile nelle più antiche Passioni romane, in: *Augustinianum* 24, 1984, 83–113; A. Benvenuti-Papi, «In castro poenitentiae». Santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale, in: *Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 45*, Roma 1990; G. Zarri, Le sante vive. Per una tipologia della santità femminile nel primo Cinquecento, in: *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* VI, Bologna 1980, 371–445.

tioned *Vita b. Brigide prioris Petri et magistri Petri*)[18] on the one hand and the emphasis on her widowhood, a kind of institutionalized category (such an image is sententiously formulated in pope Boniface IX.) on the other hand that creates the remarkable scale of various interpretations and elaborations in Bridget's hagiography.

Based on Matthew's treatise, the following part of the study will attempt to confront the reflection of the hagiographic image of Saint Bridget in Matthew's writing. The attention will be paid to the selection of Biblical themes with which the canonization proposition works, of archetypes to which Saint Bridget is related, and, potentially, of those hagiographic motives which are utilized here. – Immersing in Matthew's writing, we realize the original meaning of the main theme, which the whole text opens up. This "motto" is taken from the Revelation: *sanctus sanctificetur* (Revelation 22:11)[19]. Through the comparison of Bridget with the Biblical prophets, the saint's prophetic blessing is appreciated and her visionary importance stressed directly at the beginning of the canonization proposition. Within the bounds of Matthew's text, quotations from the Revelation appear twice – 22:11; 7:14.

Additionally, the author following the nature of the theme illustrates the distinct meanings of the word "saint"[20]. Firstly, saint is characterized here as someone deprived of his native country ("sanctus quasi sine terra" – f. 40r^b), author's definition drawing from the quotation of Jerome's commentary on Ezechiel, the prophet of the Old Testament[21]. The whole reasoning makes use of three biblical allusions: Bridget left her country following the example of Abraham (Genesis 12), on the advice of the Apostle gave away all her property (Philippians 3:8), obeyed the prophet and left both her people and her father's house (Psalms 45:11–12). – The comparison of Bridget and Abraham of the Old Testament is undoubtedly the fundamental parable here: "etenim more Habrahe egrediens de terra et cognacione sua, cum discipulis reliquit omnia" (f. $40r^b$). Bridget also leaves her native Sweden to follow the call of God to Rome (her biographers make it clear that the journey was not easy and the stay in Rome brought her many difficulties). The image of Bridget as a modern Abraham is not Matthew's invention: the oldest Bridget's life *Vita b. Brigide prioris Petri et magistri Petri* uses the same pattern when describing her journey to Compostela[22]. Similarly, A. Jönsson states that Alphonse of Jaen († 1388), Bridget's spiritual adviser, sees her journey to Rome paralleled in the same way[23]. Bridget is compared to Abraham also in the canonization sermon of pope Boniface IX in 1391, this analogy being further developed by R. Ellis: similarly to Abraham's leaving his native country in order to gain through obedience to God the promised land with new offspring, Bridget abandoned her marital status and her children so as her new order could become her spiritual offspring[24]. – Along with the image of Bridget the prophetess, we gain the image of Bridget the pilgrim[25].

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[18] Cf. *Vita*, 86, see also the canonization articles 29–30 from the process proper (*Acta*, 22–23) and articles 1,4–10 from the hearing in Todi and Spoleto (*Acta*, 188–90, 201–203).

[19] "Et quia ipsa fuit magna contemplatrix celestium multiplicemque apocalipsim habuit, ideo de libro Apocalipsis recipio thema." – f. 40ra (The quotations from the works will be taken from the manuscript O 32 f. 40r–43v from the Library of the Prague's Metropolitan Chapter; the critical library of the works draws also from the manuscript I Q 116 and I F 772 from The University Library of Wroclaw and from manuscript C 15 from Uppsala University Library).

[20] Cf. for example the famous Medieval glossary *Glossae Salomonis* or *Liber glossarum* (in the Bohemian background known also as *Mater verborum*) dated from the 10th century and originated in the cloister of St. Gallus under abbot Solomon III. (incunabulum, University Library Brno, A P 6, n. 1011).

[21] Cf. Sophronii Eusebii Hieronymi *Commentaria in Ezechielem,* ed. J. P. Migne, *PL* 25, 64.

Aside from the two biblical allusions, the Apostle calls for return to poverty and contempt for affluence. Poverty, as a sign of humbleness and a component of medieval asceticism (lived through and postulated in Matthew's reformation age), is a common prerequisite for sainthood in the period between the 13th and 15th centuries. Matthew connects the fulfillment of the demand for poverty with the point in time when Bridget as a wealthy Swedish matron becomes a widow and decides to leave her country, financial assurance and her husband's house comfort[26]. The last part of this topic consists in the interdigitation of the *obediencia* and *paupertas* motives (Bridget lived in such an obedience to her clerical seniors that she even surrendered her own will on their behalf – "Quid igitur tam sine terra sicud ista, que nedum terrenum aliquid, sed nec in terris habuit propriam voluntatem?" – f. 40r^{b}).

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[22] "Sicque ambo scilicet vir et vxor feruentes in amore Dei, vt se liberius expedirent a vanitatibus mundi, exierunt de patria sua et de cognacione sua exemplo Abrahe…" – *Vita,* 79.

[23] A. Jönsson, *Alfonso of Jaen: his life and works with critical editions of the Epistola Solitarii* (Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 1), Lund 1989, 130.

[24] R. Ellis, 110. Bridget and her husband, Ulf Gudmarsson, the prominent Swedish noble, had eight children, the most famous of them being probably Catherine of Sweden, also worshipped as saint.

[25] This image is also reflected in the patronage, which was assigned to Bridget in the Roman martyrology. As the patroness of pilgrims, iconology usually depicts her with a staff and a bag (conversely, when her writings and visionary is emphasized, these attributes are replaced with a book and a quill).

The second interpretation of the word "saint" proceeds from the characteristics of "the saint smeared with blood" ("sanctus quasi sanguine tactus vel tinctus" – f. 40r^{b}) while being defined by the quotation from the 10th book of *Etymologies* by Isidore of Seville[27]. The conception of *abstinencia* and *compassio* are the crucial motives of this part of Matthew's proposition. To be counted among those who "have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Revelation 7:14), Saint Bridget day by day lifted Christ's cross and bore the stigmata both on her body and in her heart. Among the examples of the saint's virtues, which consisted in voluntary retraction from the pleasures of this world, the author states the everyday ascetic practices, such as fasting, vigils, waiver of the noble life privileges[28] but also the life in contemplation and prayer. At this point, Matthew refers to frequent Bridget's pilgrimages to holy places[29]. Aside from the voluntary retraction from body pleasures, he produces the evidence of another level of asceticism, which is indicated by the renunciation of one's own body leading to pain. In Bridget's case, it is presented in frequent self-discipline: she whips herself using swishes and ropes with knots, she ties her knees together so tightly that they start bleeding, she lets candle wax drip on her body inflaming the burns on purpose so that they cannot be healed (f. 40v^{a})[30]. – The author briefly mentions the motif (often treated in Bridget's legendry) which hagiography calls "the topos of constancy" – *constancia* (the saint is relentlessly confronted with taunts and scorn and often regarded as a fool)[31]. It retells an anecdote which happened to Bridget during one of her visits to Stockholm: the saint was orally attacked by a local inhabitant who finally poured water on her from his window. Nevertheless, Bridget apprehends the whole incident as an appeal for penitence and humbleness ("dignum est, quod ego talia sustineam, parcat sibi Deus" – f. 40v^{b}).

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[26] In the 13th century, a comparable prototype of a noble princess who, after her husband's death accepts poverty and low status with compassion, is seen in St. Elizabeth of Hungary-Thuringia (compare *Vita et miracula sanctae Elizabeth,* in *Legenda aurea,* c. 163, 752–771). This saint is directly mentioned in Bridget's 4th book of the *Revelations* (IV, 4, 30): "Respondit iterum bonus spiritus: 'Audivi,' inquit, 'quod sancta Elizabeth, filia Regis Vngarie, delicate enutrita et nobiliter nupta magnam sustinuit paupertatem'…"

[27] Cf. Isidori Hispalensis *Etymologiarum* l. X, ed. J. P. Migne, *PL* 82, 393.

[28] Abstaining from food during feasts, which are compulsory for the saints out of social conventions, is a common hagiographic motif of noble saints (cf. for example the hagiography of St. Wenceslaus or the above-mentioned St. Elizabeth of Hungary). These saints choose the kind of individual – often hidden – abstention. Cf. the 16th and 17th article of the canonization process (*Acta*, 16, 17), *Revel. extravag*., cap. 56.

[29] The medieval long journeys to relics of saints were not comfortable affairs at all comparable with the means of transport we know nowadays. The pilgrim – either

The following part of the text develops the theme of compassion (*conpassio*) in detail. – The author apparently emphasizes the prototype of the saint as a public figure who is surrounded by her family, is hospitable to visitors, and attends to impoverished people. The same image is used in the canonization sermon of pope Boniface IX. who thus aims (according to R. Ellis) to prove the conformity of Bridget's life with the traditional prototypes of saint widows, acknowledged by the Church. Boniface IX. uses the scheme of Apostle Paul (1 Timothy 5) according to which there are three acceptable categories of widows in the Church: widows who are lonely and have nobody who would take care of them (those ones incessantly devote themselves to prayer – the so called "genuine widows"), widows with relatives capable of looking after them and finally widows in whom the Church entrusts special roles, such as upbringing of children, hospitality to strangers, washing visitors' feet, etc.[32] – Similarly, Matthew depicts

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noble or not – would walk or ride a horse for a long distance to express one's penitence and would face not only unfavorable weather but also roadsters. Cf. J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion,* London 1975.

[30] Cf. *Vita,* 86, 99.

[31] Cf. also the motif of "stultus Dei" – the prototype of which is St. Francis of Assisi.

[32] R. Ellis, 97. Boniface IX. concentrates his speech on the slightly changed quotation from Psalms (Psalms 131, 15, 18), "viduam eius benedicens benedicam, et florebit super eam sanctificatio mea."

Bridget's restorations of hospices, foundations of asylums for the poor whom she not only visits but also cleans and treats their injuries, however terrible, like a mother and with her own hands. Besides, everyday she feeds twelve poor people in her house and every Thursday before they sit to eat she washes their feet as a sign of compassion (f. 40v^{b})[33]. All of these instances of Bridget's compassion are not original, in terms of hagiography. After all, the attendance to the impoverished people is one of the general requirements of Christianity and Matthew himself quotes Apostle Paul here (2 Corinthians 11:29): "Who is weak, and I am not weak?"[34]According to Matthew, the more thorough degree of compassion is the sympathy with sinners ("ideo puriori et superiori affectu conpaciebatur miserie et periculo peccatorum…" – f. 40v^{b}), consequently the author places the service to sinners and prostitutes above the common ways of social charity. It is this Matthew's image of prostitutes being freed from the whorehouses and from sin by Bridget ("unde et meretrices publicas de lupanaribus extraxit et apud se tenuit, donec eis in bono confirmatis de statu conpetenti provideret" – f. 41r^{a}) that in many ways resembles the diction of Matthew's contemporary, Matthias of Janow († 1393). In his legendary *Narratio de Milicio* he depicts the social behavior of Milicius de Chremsir, charismatic preacher and reformer, who left the comfort of the royal office to serve Christ and who, following the appeal of the Gospel, devoted himself to preaching in poverty and attendance to the impoverished people, especially the prostitutes[35].

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[33] Cf. the 20th article of the canonization process (*Acta*, 18–19). Further, B. Klockars, *Giorni di festa e di lavoro nella vita di santa Brigida,* in *Birgitta: Una santa Svedese,* Celebrazioni in occasione del sesto centenario della morte (1373–1973), Roma 1974, 116–133.

[34] For example the theme of the feet washing ritual, which is consciously derived from the New Testament image of the Last Supper, appears also in the legendry of St. Catherine of Siena, Bridget's contemporary. See *Vita S. Catherinae de Senis* (*Legenda maior*) by Raymond of Capua, Act. SS, April III, 853–959, vol. 12, Venetiis 1738. For this topos cf. also J. Bazire and E. Colledge (eds.), *The chasting of God's children,* Oxford 1957, 302. In these public activities of the saint, who used to take her children with her to visit hospices, thus exposing them to the dangers of contagion and disease, we recognize the topos of "mater-ancilla Dei" (E. Giannarelli, 55ff) or the antithesis of "mother-saint" (the saint neglects her children or even abandons them occasionally). The hagiography of St. Elizabeth of Hungary-Thuringia shows similar features – the saint's vicinity disapproves of her overdone care of the poor for who she was supposed to neglect her children (cf. A. Huyskens, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth Landgräfin von Thüringen,* Marburg 1908). But there are also other contemporary examples of female saints of the region (members of the aristocracy and devoted servants of all those in need), such as St. Agnes of Bohemia (d. 1282, can. 1989) or St. Hedwig of Silesia (d. 1243, can. 1267). They were both princesses and both foundresses of prominent monasteries in the region. (St. Agnes of Bohemia became the first royal daughter to enter the poor order of St. Clair of Assisi). Cf. J. K. Vyskočil, *Legenda blahoslavené Anežky a čtyři listy svaté Kláry,* Praha 1932; J. Gottschalk, *Die Hl. Hedwig, Herzogin von Schlesien,* Graz and Cologne 1964. (For typology of medieval sainthood, see also A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later*…, 176).

In Matthew's opinion, the absolute degree of sympathy with neighbors is the sympathy with Christ's suffering (for he adds that pagans are capable of compassion with neighbor as well – cf. Matthew 5:47). At this stage, he fully develops the theme of Christ's suffering with Christ's humanity being accentuated. This theme adopts a privileged position and ranks the text among the typical displays of the period spirituality. The author quotes a part of Bridget's revelation in which crucified Christ discovers himself for the first time to the saint as a small child[36].

Subsequently, the author turns to the last explanation of the word "saint" which is, in this case, based on the relation between "saint" and his "sanctification" ("sanctus a sanxiendo quasi firmatus" – f. 41r^{a}), according to the common etymologies of the period. – The saint's true experience with God's affection ("vera experigencia deifice suavitatis" – f. 41r^{b}) should be the first condition for his sanctification[37]. The central motif of this proposition part is also Bridget's visionary and her gift of prophecy for it was through the revelations of Christ, Mary the Virgin and Saints that she experienced God's affection. – After the saint had been introduced with all the basic components of Christian sainthood, i.e. the ascetic way of life (fasting, vigils, sexual temperance, waiver of property and one's own will), life in permanent prayer (*vita contemplativa*) and the active way of life consisting in the acts of compassion and charity (*vita activa*), the author, in order of this proposition, is able to point out the exceptional gifts which were worthily given to the saint. These very visions and miracles are the unique displays of power and they are dedicated to the saints to indicate God's mercy[38]. Besides quotations from the book of Sirach referring to the gifts from the Spirit (Sirach 15:3), Matthew also utilizes quotations from Bridget's visionary works[39]. The whole theme culminates in compendium of saints and theirs attributes while Bridget is arrogated a distinctive place by the author[40].

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[35] Cf. Matthias of Janow, *Narratio de Milicio* (in *Regulae Veteris et Novi testamenti,* l. III, tr. 5, dist. 11, c. 6; ed. V. Kybal, Insbruck 1908–1913), "…predictas meretrices penitents sui sumptibus fovit, ipsas a fornicacione suis pecuniis magnis redimens, quasi pater dulcissimus et plenus miseracionum domini ad curam suam assumpsit vestiendas, nutriendas et informandas, modoque mirabili fovit eas quasi gallina pullos sub aliis suis…" It is also worth mentioning that it was Matthias of Janow who abundantly drew from Matthew's treatise *Dialogus racionis et consciencie de communione sive de celebracione misse* from 1388 (translated into Czech already in 1414) for his crucial work on frequent acceptance of laics. See also Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii, praelati ecclesiae Pragensis in: J. Emler (ed.), *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum I,* Praha 1873, 418). – For the life and work of Milicius de Chremsir, see P. Morée, *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia. The Life and Ideas of Milicius de Chremsir,* Heršpice 1999. – Otherwise, majority of Bridget's biographers speaks about her care of fallen and poor girls (cf. *Vita*, 91).

[36] Matthew's record of Bridget's vision, which came to the saint approximately in the age of 10 (the manuscript F of Wroclaw mentions the 7th year of Bridget's life though Bridget receives her first Marian vision then), fully corresponds with the text of *Vita* (cf. 76).

This part, rather extensive in comparison with the entire work, is nothing else but an apology for the genuineness of Bridget's prophecy and visionary. Matthew supports his opinion with his own judgment and the attitude of Church authorities (such as the archbishops from Uppsala and Naples, Italian cardinals and even the predecessors of Urban VI., the contemporary pope). He puts great emphasis on the unswerving orthodoxy of Bridget's writings and presents a brief overview of its examination (from the first visions considered by Matthias of Sweden to commissions of cardinals appointed by the pope for the purposes of the process). Among the examiners of Bridget's visions is also Nicolaus Misquinus Caracciolo, *cardinalis sancti Ciriaci*, whom Matthew calls his master ("reverendus dominus meus, dominus cardinalis sancti Ciriaci" – f. 41v^{b})[41]. Moreover, Matthew reminds the pope of his own recent approval of the rule of Bridgittine Order and appeals to the testimony of the late cardinal Elzear of Sabrano, the significant exponent of Bridget's process, who was appointed by pope Urban VI. to examine the text of the rule[42]. During the hearing, this well-known cardinal affirmed that Bridget was given the ability to understand hidden secrets of the heart, which is God's exclusive privilege, and therefore God had to will this ("Numquid non dominus bone memorie olim cardinalis Theatinus manifeste testatur in processu canonizacionis – et alii quam plurimi – eam secreta cordium cognovisse, quid solius Dei est et cui Deus voluerit revelare?" – f. 42r^{a})[43]. Equally remarkable is the author's other testimony of Bridget's prophetic genius, namely the two quotations from the 7th book of the *Revelations* consisting of Bridget's later texts. This book is generally considered the saint's most critical utterance criticizing the heterodox opinions of some of her contemporaries. This involves Bridget's prophecy about the Queen of Cyprus in which Bridget foretold the Greeks of Cyprus enormous disasters which would happen to them provided they did not return to the only genuine Church embodied by the pope as a Christ's vicar on the earth (VII. 19)[44]. For later on, the Greeks themselves confirmed in the holy consistory the fulfillment of this prophecy. However, immediately after that follows the quotation from the 10th chapter of the same book (not contextualized) in which Bridget challenges the opinion of an unnamed archbishop who claims that a married priest is acceptable to the Church more than the dissipated life that is lead by a majority of free priests ("Nullatenus concedendum est, quod sacerdotes habere possunt uxores, et hoc a Deo sub magna strictitudine prohibetur" – f. 42r^{b}). More than anywhere else, we recognize here Matthew's effort to show on Bridget's revelations the orthodoxy of her opinions[45] while these critical notes and reformation efforts comply with his own reformative teaching. Finally, Bridget – like Matthew – opposed the sharp practices of the contemporary popes without questioning the very institution of papacy that was unswerving for her. – During the papist schism and turbulent events in the pre-Hussite Bohemia and Wyckliffe's England, the ambivalence of Bridget's criticism was the main reason why the pope in his canonization sermon passed the prophetic charisma of the saint over in silence (it is Matthew's critical tract *De praxi Romane curie* that speaks of the pope's simoniacal practices).

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[37] The author introduces the theme ("suavitas eternorum") with a quotation from St. Augustine's De musica (*De musica*, 1. VI, c. XIV).

[38] In his significant writing *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (ibid.), Matthias of Janow places St. Bridget together with St. Hildegard of Bingen among the women who due to their gifts of prophecy from the Spirit tower even above men (II, reg. IV, cap. 17).

[39] *Revel. II, 16; I, 2; VII, 19; 10; VI, 87.* Allusions to the Song of Songs (which Bridget calls "canale meum vel Spiritus sancti") produce a parallel according to which the author sees Bridget as God's intermediator.

[40] N. B. Matthew considers Bridget's visions an attribute of her sainthood! – One of the interesting hagiographic motives, which Matthew does not avoid, is the phenomenon of mystical levitation, meaning rising from the ground. A. Vauchez sees in levitation – either provable with respect to the saint or not – a frequent attribute of sainthood in the 14th century – cf. for example the period lives of St. Claire of Motefalco and Bl. Douceline (A. Vauchez, J. Birrell (tr.), *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1997, 441, originally *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age*. See also the 37th article of the canonization process (*Acta*, 24).

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[41] In the canonization acts, this Dominican and inquisitor, active in Naples († 1389), is mentioned as a witness summoned for the plea of the 29th article referring to the genuineness of Bridget's revelations experienced in Naples (265).

[42] Urban VI. engaged in the rule of Bridgittine Order on request of the Swedish nobility represented by St. Catherine of Sweden. Contrary to his predecessors, he confirmed it "ad perpetuam rei memoriam" in 1379 and in a form closer to the original text more than the version approved by Gregory XI. Not only in Urban's effort to satisfy the nobility, and thus get himself powerful allies, but also in the interventions of the significant supporters to Bridget's cult, such as Queen Joanna of Naples or Cardinal Elzear of Sabrano (in canonization acts referred to as the first witness in Bridget's process; *Deposicio reuerendissimi patris domini Elziarij, cardinalis Theatinj, super articulis miraculorum dicte domine Brigide – 6. 8. 1379,* 245–255), is reflected the strong "politicum" of the whole process and its complex socio-political horizon.

[43] Cf. *Vita*, 85 ("...sepissime contigit, quod domine Brigide reuelebantur cogitaciones secretissime").

The following explanation only confirms the following conclusions: the author mentions the second prerequisite of the saint's consecration which is the obedience to the Church authorities ("obediencia ecclesiastice auctoritatis" – f. 42r^{b}). Here Matthew again points out the appropriate reverence ("reverencia"), which Bridget piously manifested towards the priests and all clergymen. (The Biblical theme chosen by the author refers to the very top of the Church hierarchy represented by the pope as the successor of St. Peter's chair – cf. Mt 16,18.) Bridget's deep respect for the Eucharist, particularly to the Sacrament, is another significant motif.[46] The ultimate prerequisite of saint's consecration is his/her ability to retain internal purity ("tota custodia intrinsece puritatis" – f. 42v^a). (Matthew's argument is derived from the Book of Proverb 4, 23–24.) This theme enframes another motif, known from the saint's hagiography, that is the perception of various scents which is to protect Bridget from insincere words unfavorable to God[47].

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[44] Also R. Ellis pursues this prophecy. In his opinion, it is not only a proof of Bridget's unswerving orthodoxy but also the token of her "anti-ecumenism."

[45] The *Revelations* became the crucial element of the canonization (and the subject of Bridget's sainthood) though, at the same time, they were the weakest link. We notice in the canonization documents several times that even the most convinced advocates of Bridget's canonization need to defend the revelations or to compare them with visions already approved by the Church (cf. for example the testimony of Alphonse of Jaen, 385). However, the authenticity of Bridget's visionary will be disputed by the highest Church instances also later (compare the critical speeches of Jean Gerson at Council of Constance or cardinal Torquemada's defense of Bridget's visionary works at Council of Basel).

The author merely touches upon Bridget's miraculous acts (f. 42v^b), which is in disproportion with the whole text. Miracles – healing and natural miracles or diverse miraculous prophecies – rank among the signs of exceptional power performed by the saint. Matthew presents only those which were proved by the testimonies of faithful witnesses, consequently mentioning not more than two miracles out of one hundred. One miracle happened already during the saint's life and the other one is posthumous. By examination of Matthew's choice, we realize their significance: the first miracle (St. Thomas gives a piece of a relic to Bridget in Ortona[48]) again supports the saint's image as a pilgrim visiting the relics of saints ("consors sanctorum"). The second miracle happening after the saint's death (miraculous detachment of flesh from the bones before the translation of Bridget's remains[49]) counts among the characteristic motives in the saints' lives since miracles with remains guarantee the saint a proof of sainthood, thus participating in the successive reputation of his/her sainthood.

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[46] The motif of reverence to Eucharist is – as acknowledged by C. Muessig, Paradigms of Sanctity for thirteenth-century Women, in: B. M. Kienzle (ed.), *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons, Proceedings of the International Symposium Kalamazoo, 4–7 May 1995*, Louvain-La-Neuve 1996, 85–102 – a part of *loci communes* of the women's hagiography of the 13–14th centuries. The utilization of this motif in the hagiographic context of female literature is typical especially of the laic female saints (the author of this treatise researched into the laic female saints of region which is nowadays the Netherlands and Belgium).

[47] Cf. the 36th article of the canonization process (*Acta*, 24). Matthew also cross-indexes to the 6th book of *Revelations* (chap. 87) in which Bridget smells something like rotten fish scales when meeting an excommunicated man. Moreover, should someone insult God in front of her, she tastes bitterness of sulfur in her mouth (*Vita*, 84).

[48] Cf. *Revel. VII, c. 4.*

[49] Cf. *De miraculis in via translacionis reliquarum versus Sweciam, Acta,* 105.

To follow up the given hagiographic image of the saint, which is being outlined here, means of expression developing this image (rather than the further details of the process) will be discussed briefly. The attention will primarily be paid to the characteristics of the saint's epithets repeating in the text several times. – Majority of names with which Matthew adorns Bridget in his proposition draws from the love poetry of the Song of Songs and the author apparently takes them from Bridget's biographers from Sweden. In most cases, these epithets either refer to Briget's spiritual gifts ("canale meum vel Spiritus Sancti," "fistula Spiritus Sancti") or reflect the image of the saint as a spouse of Christ ("electa sponsa Cristi")[50]. Some of the nicknames characterize the saint's friendly relationship with angels and saints when Bridget acted as their mediator ("filia angelorum," "sanctorum consors," "secretaria Dei"). Using the images of the spousal poetry, the spiritual side of Bridget's celestial engagement is developed, especially in the image of Bridget as a nun devoted to the celestial order ("consecrata celestis cenobii monacha")[51]. Besides, Matthew's hagiographic treatment contains references to the noble origin of the saint. Bridget is depicted as the "femina delicata," "tam nobilis principessa," "de stirpe regali progenita." Again, the author utilizes this topos of "lovableness" and "noble origin" under the influence of Bridget's hagiographers from Sweden who considered natural to endow God's servant with distinguished predecessors[52].

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[50] The frequent occurrence of this epithet in Bridget's hagiography is pointed out also by J. Bolton Holloway, *Saint Bride and her Book. Birgitta of Sweden's Revelations, transl. from Middle English with introduction, notes and interpretative essay*, Cambridge 2000, 1, 23). The author also quotes a part from the officium of St. Bridget (C.-G. Undhagen, ed., *Officium Sancte Birgitte)*: "tu eris sponsa mea et canale meum, et audiebis et videbis spiritualia…"

[51] At several places, Bridget's life reads that despite the fact she had never become nun – not even of the order she founded – she lived her life according to the strict regular rules. – Cf. *Vita,* 101 ("…sicut promiseram tibi, ante altare meum in monacham vestieris et consecraberis, et amodo reputaberis non solum sponsa mea, sed eciam monacha et mater in Wastenis.")

[52] Cf. *Vita,* 74. Contrary to Bridget hagiographers' opinion, the modern scholars assume that Bridget did not grew up in a royal family (e. g. H. Redpath, *God's Ambassadress. St. Bridget of Sweden,* Milwaukee 1947, 5). The fact that the topos of the noble origin occurs differently in works of individual hagiographers and is influenced by the change in the reception of sainthood in the Roman countries of the high Medieval Age, was pointed out by A. Vauchez (*Světec,* 275).

The only female character from the Bible to whom the author makes a direct parallel in his text is Esther of the Old Testament. This Biblical parable comprises the closing part of Matthew's proposition and at the same time the climax of the entire treatise. Esther, the heroine, is depicted in the moment of her marriage with Ahasuerus, the noble king of Persia (Esther 2:18). The scene which the author describes here (f. $43v^b$) alludes to the image of Esther-Bridget as a bride ("haec formosissima nostra Hester") engaged to the noble groom-Christ ("rex tam nobilis"). The author, pursuing the logic of the text, ascribes an important role to Esther's father, who was a spiritual guarantee of the matrimony – since what father would not rejoice in such a noble marriage? In the same way, the pope as a good father should strive for a desirable engagement of his daughter which would be fulfilled in the moment of Bridget's canonization. – This fundamental theme is a natural conclusion of the entire canonization proposition. After all, it was Esther of the Old Testament who saved the Jewish people from destruction when the king, after her appeal, called off the decree of extermination of Jews issued under the influence of Haman, his adviser (Esther 4:8). Naturally, this begs a comparison with Saint Bridget who became the instrument of God's providence as well. She saves her people, i.e. the Church, from the enemies that is the heresy and schism of the time. Due to her frequent visions and prophetic messages, sent by God himself to the Church through Bridget, the salvation of God's people from its enemies falls into the hands of this woman, similarly as into the hands of Biblical Esther[53].

In conclusion, it follows from the entire overview that in Matthew's hagiographic rendering, there emerges the saint's image consciously created from the characteristics of Bridget as a spouse of Christ and the chosen mediator of God who actively intervenes in the current events of the period. Repeatedly, the author expresses his unreserved trust in Bridget's prophetic and visionary gifts and radically defends the authenticity of her works. In the horizon of Biblical revelation, to which all portrayals of saints lead in the form of patterns and antitypes, Matthew connects Bridget with the heroine of the Old Testament, Esther. Simultaneously, Esther is the only female prefiguration from the Bible to be found in the text. Otherwise, the inner world of Matthew's treatise is filled entirely with male characters: Saint Bridget is paralleled to Abraham of the Old Testament, Prophet Ezekiel, Prophet Micah, Job, the prophet-psalmist, Apostle Paul and others. The high percentage of the Biblical characters that the author makes to be the possible prototypes for Bridget's prophetic abilities is prominent. – However, in comparison with the depiction of Bridget's sainthood in the official canonization sermon of pope Boniface IX. delivered only a few years later (and in the canonization bull issued successively), the image is contradictory. The pope does not mention Bridget's revelation due to "lack of time" and – according to R. Ellis's further information – for Bridget's prophetic gifts he finds the only prototype in Christ's disciple Nathaniel who stands for the model of a prophet unappreciated in his own country[54]. The paradigm of sainthood which should be apparent here does not build on the prophetic significance of the saint but draws from the traditional and Church-acceptable image of the widow who managed to fulfill the calling of the given position, formulated by Apostle Paul, through her hospitality, attendance to impoverished people and compassion. While Matthew compares Bridget to Esther, the bride of Ahasuerus, Boniface uses a number of Biblical widows (Judith – Jude, Anna – Luke 2, the widow from Sarepta – 1 Kings 17, etc.). However important is in Matthew's proposition Bridget's widowhood for the spiritual development of the saint (after her husband's death, Bridget hears God's voice and moreover, she is fully disengaged to lead an ascetic way of life after his death), the author's focus is elsewhere. Rather than on the subtle conduct of Bridget's character – the way of experiencing her female reality – the author concentrates on the "questionable" aspects of her sainthood (i. e. the *Revelations*), which were necessary to defend at that moment and owing to which Bridget became popular in the contemporary reformation atmosphere of the Church. Whether that image complies with the later, official presentation of the saint or not, it reflects the rich vitality of the hagiographic material presented, defined in the introduction to this thesis as the "the second life of the Bridgettine legend and cult in Bohemia."

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[53] The comparison with Judith of the Old Testament – either unintended or not – in the canonization sermon of Boniface IX. shows similar aspects. Nevertheless, the whole image is based on the parallel between Bridget's and Judith's widowhood (Judith symbolizing the so called genuine widows, see above). Cf. R. Ellis, 108–109.

ORDERING THE MEDIEVAL PAST: ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT COMPARED

Peter G. J. M. Raedts, Nijmegen

I.

Most medieval English churches display on their walls a proud list of all the incumbents that served the parish, from the times that historical record keeping began, usually the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, till the present day. In their simplicity these lists are an impressive testimony to a sense of solidarity with the whole of the past that still prevails in large parts of England. Holland, too, has its medieval churches. In these churches lists of ministers are also displayed, but they all, without exception, start in the year that the Reformation was introduced to that particular parish, somewhere in the 1570s or 1580s, it is as if the medieval clergy had never existed. The lists show a will to make a clean break with the medieval past. The inscription on the wooden beam that replaced the rood screen in the “Old Church” in Amsterdam sums it all up: “The abuses introduced into God’s Church age by age, were suppressed here in the year fifteen seventy eight.”[1] Behind the beam the chancel is empty, no altar, no choir stalls, nothing. The pulpit in the nave has been the centre of the church from 1578 till the present day.

This example shows the difference in appreciation of the medieval past in England and on the continent. The English view of the Middle Ages is uncontroversial and untroubled. There is no doubt in the English mind that the thousand years between Rome and the Renaissance are an intrinsic part of our past and that we owe much to the Middle Ages for which we can still be thankful: the origin of parliamentary government, the clear distinction of spiritual and temporal authority, the founding of schools and universities and the rise of literacy, and, of course, the beginnings in Italy and Flanders of a successful commercial economy that became the foundation of Europe's dominating position in later ages. For English historians continuity between then and now needs no argument, it is taken for granted. Sandy Murray writes in the introduction to his *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*: "In studying Europe in the central middle ages we study the first direct recognizable ancestor of the society we still live in."[2] In this he agrees with Richard Southern in his classic *The making of the Middle ages* where he writes in the introduction that in the central Middle Ages Europe became the chief centre of political experiment, economic expansion and intellectual discovery in the world.[3] Perhaps the most stunning proof of English belief in the continuity between the present and the medieval past is Patrick Wormald's recent, passionate plea for the "reality of an early English nation-state," that can be traced back into Anglo-Saxon times.[4] To a scholar from the continent of Europe, even if he dislikes post-modernism just as much as Wormald does, such a plea for continuity is incomprehensible, because it is the expression of a serene and untroubled view of the medieval past that is in the sharpest possible contrast with the acrimonious debate that has surrounded the inheritance of the Middle Ages on the continent of Europe since the days of Romanticism up till now.[5] In this contribution I would like to make some observations on this remarkable difference in approach to the medieval past between England and the continent.

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[1] The original reads: ’t Misbruyck in Godes Kerck allengskens ingebracht Is hier weer afgedaen in ’t jaer seventich acht – Xvc. I thank Mr. J. van Zaane, member of the Amsterdam Reformed Church Council, for drawing my attention to this uncompromising abjuration of the medieval past.

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[2] A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages,* Oxford, 1978, 5-6.

[3] Richard Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages,* London 1973, orig. 1953), 14.

[4] Patrick Wormald, 'The eternal Angle: Built slowly from below and built to last: the longevity of England and English institution,' in: *Times Literary Supplement* No 5111, March 16 2001, 3-4.

[5] Although O. Oexle, Das entzweite Mittelalter [The Wrecked Middle Ages], in: G. Althoff (ed), *Die Deutschen und ihr Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1992, 7-28, mainly speaks about the German debate, his conclusions are *mutatis mutandis* true for all other continental nations.

II.

Until well into the eighteenth century all civilized people in England as well as on the continent would have agreed that the thousand years of the Middle Ages were a most unpleasant time. Gibbon summed up this attitude in his oft-quoted phrase that in his book he had been describing the triumph of barbarism and religion."[6] And this was true for Catholics as well. Bossuet was just as disdainful of the Middle Ages as Gibbon was a century later. He was very critical of the medieval Papacy and was convinced that the many abuses in the medieval Church had decisively contributed to the catastrophe of the Reformation.[7] Even those seventeenth and eighteenth century historians who in our eyes did so much to preserve the medieval inheritance, felt often obliged to apologize for their scholarly efforts. William Camden described the medieval period "as so overcast with dark clouds, or rather thick fogs of ignorance, that every little spark of liberal learning seemed wonderful." John Selden, to whom we owe a fundamental book about tithing, found it necessary to explain that he had lavished so much attention on that "bare and sterile antiquity," not out of interest but to cast light on some problems in the relations between Church and state in his own days.[8]

The Gothic revival of the eighteenth century, that produced, besides follies, novels such as Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* and the first editions of medieval poetry (real and fakes), did not alter the verdict on the Middle ages in any fundamental way. Eighteenth century medievalism remained very different from the passionate melancholy, that characterised romantic idolizing of the medieval period. It was noncommittal and playful and really part of a much wider admiration for the primitive and the simple that implied some criticism on social and cultural mores of the time, but was not all that serious. Interest in the Middle Ages was similar to interest in exotic countries, the Orient, or China. People liked to read about these out of the way places, and what they read helped to see the follies of one's own culture,

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[6] Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, VI. lxxi, ed. David Womersley (3 vols.), London, 1995, or. 1776–1787, iii.1068.

[7] J.Voss, *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs*, München 1972, 144.

[8] Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and history. Origins of modern English historiography*, Ithaca 1987, 93 (Camden), 96 (Selden).

Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* are a prime example, but in the end it was of little consequence. As Alastair Hamilton says about interest in Islam: "It tended to take the form of self-confident curiosity in which there was little question of actual influence."[9] It all had a very light touch, its purpose was "to surprise jaded palates."[10]

Yet, silly as the Gothic revival in many ways may have been, it was a first sign of the end of the rule of classicism and of the coming a new approach to the past. The discovery of primitive cultures in so many parts of the world, raised the question if perhaps European culture had also once known a primitive stage and had, therefore, been very different from what it was now. Had European society perhaps once also consisted of tribes of hunters and gatherers, just as the American Indians now? If that was true, there must have been a long historical development since then, first to an agricultural and cattle-holding society, and finally from the 13th century on, to the commercial society that eighteenth century philosophers thought such a blessing for mankind. Montesquieu had raised those questions, but it was in Scotland that a genetic model of the sequence of societies was first developed. In that scheme the Middle Ages no longer were an unfortunate interval in history between Rome and the Renaissance, the medieval period became a painful, yet necessary stage in the growth of Europe to a free and enlightened nation. The historical works of David Hume and William Robertson are prime examples of this new approach. In the introduction to *The history of the reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769), Robertson gave an account of the Middle Ages that was at the same scathing in the best humanist fashion, and yet brilliantly showed how essential the medieval contribution to the later history of Europe had been. When he writes about scholasticism he tells in the same breath that it was "a vain philosophy," and yet "fruitless and ill-directed as these speculations were, their novelty roused, and their boldness interested the human mind.. The progress of it may be mentioned, nevertheless, among the great causes which contributed to introduce a change of manners in Europe."[11] Just as most other eighteenth century historians he reserves his warmest words for the progress of commerce in the later Middle Ages, he particularly praises Edward III who "endeavoured to excite a spirit of industry among his own subjects, who, blind to the advantages of their situation, and ignorant of the source from which opulence was destined to flow into their country, totally neglected commerce."[12] Robertson and Hume did not like the Middle Ages, but they both saw it as a necessary and important period in which the seeds had been sown of Europe's present greatness.

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[9] *Times Literary Supplement*, No 5080, August 11 2000, 32.

[10] R. J. Smith, *The Gothic bequest; Medieval institutions in British thought, 1688–1863*, Cambridge 1987, 112.

An even more radical change in the view of the past occurred at the same time in Germany. It is fair to say that both Hume and Robertson, although sensitive to historical change, assumed that human nature, in every period of history, had always been fundamentally the same. German historians, for a variety of reasons, began to have doubts about that. If there were so many different societies and cultures both now and in the past, could they be the expression of one underlying human nature, or did one have to admit that people of different cultures were fundamentally different in their nature as well? Their conclusion was that each historical period had its individual character that could not be imitated or copied by later generations, it could only be explained. And if that was true, what authority did classical writers have now, or, indeed, the Bible, since all these literary monuments were products of totally different cultures. Questions like these were asked by theologians such as Michaelis and Semler. Johann Gottfried Herder was the first to develop a new philosophy of history that took the unique character of every culture as its starting point.

Herder's fundamental thought was that world history was the sum of the histories of all its many nations (*Völker*) and their cultures, each of which had an innate, unique and individual spirit that developed in time. Every nation and every culture deserved respect and had to be judged on its own terms not ours. Herder openly questioned the way in which zealous Christian missionaries dealt with native cultures in Africa, Asia and America, wondering if they did not destroy more than they brought.[13] Just as each nation each historical period had its individual spirit. And although Herder assumed that the ultimate purpose of history was the realisation of *Humanität*, it was not so that progress was inevitable, each nation had its periods of prosperity and of decline, which made it all the more necessary to study each period in itself, without comparing it too soon with what happened before or after.[14]

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[11] William Robertson, *The progress of society in Europe*, ed. Felix Gilbert, London 1972, 61-62.

[12] Robertson 1972, 66.

But even though armed with such an impressive array of philosophical argument, it was not easy for Herder to be impartial about the Middle Ages, it was going to take more than one man to remove the thick layers of three centuries of prejudice. But Herder really made an effort to discover what the Middle Ages had contributed to the progress of Europe. Especially in his early work (*Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte*, 1774) he tried to show that the medieval period saw a real advance in civilisation, when compared to Roman antiquity. The Roman world had been exhausted and needed the stimulus of a young and vital civilisation, that of the Nordic people. At first sight the Germanic invaders of the Empire wreaked havoc, but in fact it was the beginning of a period of fermentation that put new life into a dying culture. In his later work Herder is less positive, he is very critical of the role of the Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages. He accuses both of trying to stifle the national character of the new nations by imposing a foreign Latin culture on them, instead of fostering their own languages. Yet even there Herder sees impressive intellectual progress in the Middle Ages, the founding of universities is to him a sign of the coming victory of scholarship over barbaric Church despotism. And in the universities it is scholasticism, that sharpened men's wits and taught them to ask questions, which he, much like Robertson, admires. But the decisive factor of progress in the Middle Ages were the new cities, the true centres of culture of hard work and of responsible economic stewardship, they marked the transition to modern Europe.[15]

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[13] Wolfram von den Steinen, Mittelalter und Goethezeit, in: Id., *Menschen im Mittelalter*, Bern 1967, 294.

[14] W. Förster, Johann Gottfried Herder: Weltgeschichte und Humanität, in: H. E. Bödeker e. a., *Aufklärung und Geschichte. Studien zur deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1986, 364–365.

[15] Förster 1986, 365–366, 377–380.

What makes the work of men like Robertson and Herder, and I take them as representative of much of late eighteenth century historical thought, so essential in the development of new views of the Middle Ages is not the question whether they admired the period or not. They did not.[16] What matters is that in both their historical works the medieval period was no longer a regrettable incident between classical antiquity and its restoration, the sooner forgotten the better, but that it was an integral and necessary part of the development of all nations in Europe, that it had to be studied by everyone who wanted to make sense of the present. Herder was certainly keener on the Middle Ages than Robertson. He encouraged his countrymen to read medieval poetry (he was particularly fond of Ossian!), but that sprang from the conviction that Germans now would become freer, stronger and more united, if they studied the origins of their nation's spirit that was nowhere as purely expressed as in the ancient Germanic poets. But like Robertson Herder kept his distance, there was no time like the present: the French Revolution, when it occurred, was greeted by Herder as a decisive moment in man's progress to freedom and happiness. Herder had no feelings of nostalgia, nor did he present the Middle Ages as an alternative to modern culture. What he did achieve was to lay the foundations for a sensible and sober evaluation of the importance of the medieval period for European culture without that sense of loss that appeared in the romantic period and that in the end was going to do just as much damage to the reputation of the Middle Ages as humanist neglect.

III.

The myth of the unhistorical character of the Enlightenment versus the historical character of Romanticism, as described in Meinecke's classic *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (1936), has been exposed in all studies of eighteenth century historiography over the past twenty years. And, a reappraisal of the medieval past was part of that historical interest. It remains true all the same that it was the French Revolution and its aftermath of war and bloodshed that fundamentally altered the appreciation of the medieval period in all of Europe. In the years around 1800 historians, poets and philosophers began to idealise the Middle Ages in the same way that Classical Antiquity had been idealised for centuries.

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[16] See W.D. Robson-Scott, *The literary background of the Gothic revival in Germany*, Oxford 1965, 67–72.

To the generation that saw the Terror and the rise of Napoleon the price to be paid for freedom and equality seemed far too high. Equality led to chaos, and freedom turned men into beasts, that was the conclusion of the generation that grew up after 1800. The young German poet Novalis prophesied in 1799: "Blood will stream over Europe until the nations become aware of their extreme madness, a madness which imprisons them, and, touched and calmed by sacred music, they move, in colourful fusion, to previous altars… Only religion can awaken Europe, assure the existence of the nations and install Christianity in its old peace-making function with a new glory visible on earth…."[17] Novalis identified these "previous altars" with the Christian Middle Ages, in Novalis' eyes a society of peace, order, obedience and unity that had to be restored. Things had begun to go wrong in the era of the Reformation, and the destruction had been completed with the Revolution. Most of the German Romantics agreed with him, although only a few drew the consequence of converting to Catholicism, the thoughts of most turned to a restoration of the medieval *Reich*.

In France the influential political philosopher, Joseph de Maistre, thought that the cruelties of the Revolution clearly showed that the only way to guarantee order and peace was obedience to an authority not based on reason but drawing its legitimacy from God. Only thus could man's primitive instincts be reduced to acceptable levels. The only person who had such authority, according to de Maistre, was the Pope.[18] What was needed, therefore, was a restoration of the authority of the Roman Pontiff, just as it had been in the Middle Ages. He was not the only one who began to look back nostalgically to the Middle Ages as a period of social, political and religious integration; a period when a clear, hierarchical authority ruled the relationships between all ranks of society; a period when the Church had stood above all the parties and had played an intermediary and conciliatory role. Had not the Popes, in those days, been the mediators in conflicts between the secular princes? Had not the monasteries always been a refuge for people threatened by violence? Should it not be so again? Even protestant monarchs, such as the – very unromantic – Dutch King, William I (r. 1813–1840), toyed with the idea that the Pope could play an important part in the restoration of peace and order as the chairman of the assembly of national churches in Europe.[19]

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[17] Novalis (Fr. von Hardenberg), Christenheit oder Europa, in: *Schriften, 3: Das philosophische Werk II*, ed. R. Samuel, Darmstadt 1968, 523.

[18] I. Berlin, Joseph de Maistre and the Origins of Fascism, *The New York Review of Books*, 37/1990, no 14, 61–62, and no 15, 55–56.

Moreover, the young generation of 1800 was no longer interested in the delights of reason and enlightened philosophy. The cult of sentiment of the Gothic revival became a glorification of the irrational, the passionate and the supernatural. “Il n’est rien de beau, de doux, de grand dans la vie, que les choses mystérieuses,” said Chateaubriand in 1802 in his defence of the genius of Christianity against the enlightened citizens of the eighteenth century.[20] The great Gothic cathedrals of France gave him “une sorte de frissonnement et un sentiment vague de la divinité.” Like most of his contemporaries Chateaubriand believed that Gothic architecture was natural (as opposed to the artificiality of classicism), because in its play of columns and vaults it imitated the ancient forests of Gaul. By entering a cathedral Chateaubriand felt in touch with the deepest roots of French culture, with the simple and natural religion of his ancestors.[21] The influence of the Gothic revival of the eighteenth century is obvious. But what was a play then, now became deadly serious. In order to survive European culture must return to the living source, to the naďve simplicity of its origins and most creative period, to the Middle Ages.

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[19] J. A. Bornewasser, “Het credo… geen rede van twist.” Ter verklaring van een koninklijk falen, in: J.A. Bornewasser, *Kerkelijk verleden in een wereldlijke con*text, Amsterdam 1989, 132, 140–43.

[20] F.-R. de Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme*, ed. P. Reboul (2 vols.), Paris 1966, i. 60.

[21] Chateaubriand 1966, i.400–401.

IV.

Nostalgia for a society where everyone knew his place, where the Church was the guardian of peace and concord, nostalgia for the times when people were simple and natural, those were at the root of the romantic admiration for the Middle Ages. But that is not the whole story. Despite the wave of romantic nostalgia the innovative approach to the medieval period of the late eighteenth century survived. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were many historians and philosophers who did not so much consider the Middle Ages a lost civilisation to be restored, but as a stage in the development of modern Europe, as Herder and Robertson had done fifty years before. In France the reason for this was that many left-wing intellectuals, although they approved of the revolution in principle, agreed with their counterparts of the right that it had totally got out of hand with the reign of Terror under Robespierre in 1793–1794. Such a break with the past was humanly impossible and had, necessarily, led to the bloodshed of those two horrible years. Left-wing historians did not want to be seen as supporters of such radicalism and, therefore, had "to appropriate the historical field, to discover and celebrate precursors of their cause."[22] They had to show that the revolution in its first constitutional phase, with the abolition of feudalism and the establishment of a National Assembly, had not been a radical break with the past but, on the contrary, had been in continuity with the whole of French history. In 1827 Augustin Thierry came to the conclusion that the history of France must be rewritten to show that the spirit of liberty and independence had always been as strong in the French as in any other nation, ancient or modern. The problem with French history was that it had always been written as a history of its kings, insignificant men: "des ombres sans couleurs, qu'on a peine à distinguer l'une de l'autre." What was needed was a history of the people, beginning with the revolt of the burghers of the towns of northern France against their bishops in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It ought to celebrate the rise of the Third Estate in the fourteenth century, and to commemorate that Charles VII owed his throne to the courage and the patriotic fanaticism of the poor and of the militias of the towns and boroughs. These brave men had defeated the English, not the king. Thus it could be shown that "la nation souveraine" came into being in the days of Clovis and Charlemagne and became fully developed in 1789.[23] In much the same way Guizot, later prime minister under Louis Philippe, described the history of France as the rise of the Third Estate and the elimination of noble privilege, beginning in the Middle Ages and culminating in 1789.[24]

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[22] Ç. Crossley, *French historians and romanticism*, London 1993, 4.

Jules Michelet in his *Histoire de France* also set out to prove the continuity of France. But whereas Thierry treated the French people as a race, Michelet wanted to show that the French became a people by overcoming the confines of geography, localism and race, by forging themselves through a series of historical decisions into a united nation, in short that France was a product of history, not of nature, a triumph of will over fate, of spirit over matter: "La France voudrait devenir un monde social." [25] The Middle Ages were a crucial time in that process of forging the people. In the early Middle Ages the foundations were laid, the Church and its ally, the Franks, imposed a sort of first unity upon the many races that inhabited France. But it was not until the accession to the throne of the first native monarch, Hugh Capet, that the history of France as a nation really took off. [26] To Michelet the Crusades, which he characterises as a French enterprise, were an essential moment in overcoming the confines of race and localism. By heading the call of Pope Urban II the French people was drawn away from local servitude: "Ils cherchèrent Jérusalem et rencontrèrent la liberté." He sees the revolts of the cities of Northern France against their bishops as an immediate consequence of that new-found liberty.[27] The other guardian of liberty in the twelfth century was the Church, which in its struggle for freedom with the princes, represented at that period the interest of all mankind. About

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[23] A. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*, Lettre 1ère, Paris 1827, 14–20, quotation: 20.

[24] Crossley 1993, 77.

[25] J. Michelet, *Histoire de France*, II.iii, (1833^1), in: P. Viallanneix (ed), *Oeuvres Complètes de Michelet* (= OCM) IV, Paris 1974, 328.

[26] P. Raedts, Geografie en geschiedenis: Jules Michelet (1798–1874) en de oudste geschiedenis van Frankrijk, in: M. B. de Jong e.a., *Rondom Gregorius van Tours*, Utrecht 2000,137–147.

[27] Michelet, *Histoire de France* IV. ii and IV.iv, *OCM* IV, 422–423, 444.

Becket's conflict with Henry II Michelet notes: "Les libertés de l'Eglise étaient alors celles du monde."[28] The Church by fighting for its universal claims drew mankind out of its local and geographical boundaries. All that changes with the pontificate of Innocent III. Although he seemed to triumph over all his enemies, his use of violence against the Greeks, the English and the Albigensians, made his victories empty, because peace ought to be the weapon of the Church, not war. "Si l'agneau mord et déchire, si le père assassine," then it loses all claims to respect, it loses its sanctity. The real victor was the king of France, who inherited the sacred role that so far had been played by the Church. It was the irony of history that the holiest of all French kings, Louis IX, by virtue of his holiness, made this historic transfer possible, and thus made an end to the Christian age of the world.[29] With Philip the Fair and his humiliation of Boniface VIII the modern age began. The Church, because of its universal mission, had contributed its share to the triumph of history over geography, but from 1300 on was no longer a historical force.[30] Nevertheless in 1833 Michelet saw the period of the Christian Middle Ages as a necessary and positive contribution to the progress and happiness of mankind in general, and of France in particular.

V.

Michelet worked on his history of France till 1844. Then the work was interrupted, and not resumed before 1855, when he published the first volume on the Renaissance period. In the introduction to that volume Michelet recanted everything that he had said about the medieval period before. He claimed that in 1833 he had been merely describing the ideal of the Middle Ages, what he did now was describe "sa réalité, accusée par lui-mȩme."[31] Now he argued that all that had been done in the Middle Ages had in the end amounted to nothing. The Middle ages were bizarre, monstrous and artificial.

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[28] Michelet, *Histoire*, IV. v, 652, see also IV. vi, 655.

[29] Michelet, *Histoire*, IV. viii, 551, 582.

[30] Michelet, *Histoire*, V. préface, in: *OCM* V, 39: 'L'ère nationale de la France est le XIVe siècle. …Jusqu'ici la France était moins France que chrétienté… Aux prȩtres, aux chevaliers, succèdent les légistes; après la foi, la loi.'

[31] J. Michelet, *Histoire de France au seizième siècle*, in: *OCM* VII, 49.

There was no reason in the Middle ages, no freedom, the human spirit was castrated and denatured, till its recuperation in the Renaissance. The free towns had forfeited the freedom they won in the eleventh century and had been reduced to obedient children. The centralisation of government under Louis IX and Philip the Fair, which Michelet had hailed as the beginning of modern France in his earlier work, he now denounced as a ploy to universalise catastrophe and bankruptcy. Approvingly he quotes the Renaissance lawyer La Boétie: "Le monde est vide depuis les Romains."[32] Where he once saw growth, he now sees only decay, a world of fools and cowards, a people that was unable to live and chose death instead. When the revolution of the 16th century came, it met with a "mort incroyable, un néant, et partit de rien." The 16th century was a hero.[33]

Michelet's sudden change of opinion may have had personal reasons, but it was also typical of the changing appreciation of the medieval past in the 1840s and 1850s. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Middle Ages had been universally admired, either as a place of pristine happiness, peace and justice, or as the cradle of the nation, or both. Radicals and reactionaries agreed on this with very few exceptions. But in the 1840s, when political debate was revived and revolution was in the air once more, the debate about medieval history on the continent of Europe became a matter of contemporary politics. Michelets change of heart about the Middle Ages had nothing to do with scholarly research, but came when in 1842 he discovered, during the debate about the monopoly of the university, that the Catholic Church, far from being a romantic remnant of the medieval past, that could now be left in peace to die gracefully, was in fact a political force to be reckoned with. Michelet voiced his anger by writing angry pamphlets about the influence of priests on women and of the Jesuits in particular. After the failed revolution of 1848 things went from bad to worse in the eyes of a liberal like Michelet; the Church even regained part of the supervision of education that she had lost after 1830. That is why in 1855 he drew the bitter conclusion that the medieval world went on and on, and could not even be killed off, because it had been dead already for such a long time. Of all the dead medieval remnants the worst was the clergy: “Frappé par le temps, la critique et le progrès des idées, il repousse toujours en dessous par la force de l’éducation et des habitudes.”[34] It is a heartfelt though somewhat odd complaint for a historian, from whom one might expect that he deals with things as they are, not as they ought to be.

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[32] Michelet, *Seizième siècle*, 59–62.

[33] Michelet, *Seizième siècle*, 54.

The revolution of 1848 was a failure, not only in France, but in all of continental Europe. The main consequence of this all-out victory of the forces of the right was that it hardened the split between the left and the right, a split that was not really overcome until the end of the twentieth century. It is important to note that the churches invariably chose to associate themselves with the right, thus promoting a strong anticlericalism, and even secularism, on the left. In that conflict the Middle Ages became an instrument in the hands of the forces of reaction. The vague romantic nostalgia for the lost ages of faith and order, that had been so characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth century, now was forged into a political programme for the right, in which a return to the values of authority, obedience and religion stood on the top of the list.

Nowhere was that legitimating use of the medieval past as successful as in the Catholic Church. Up till 1848 the Church authorities had been very sceptical about the romantic dreams of a revival of the medieval Church. It was altogether too mystical and too radical for their taste. The condemnation of Lamennais in 1832 showed clearly that the Church had no use for romantic hotheads, even if they ranted on about the authority of the Pope. But after 1848 the romantic picture of the Christian Middle Ages with its emphasis on strong leadership of the Pope and the unquestioning obedience of the laity became a powerful historical image in the hands of the Church during the strong centralisation and the rallying of the Catholics around the papacy that took place in the period between 1850 and 1900. What in fact was perhaps one of the most thoroughgoing reorganisations that the Catholic Church had witnessed for many centuries was presented as a return to the halcyon days of Gregory VII and Innocent III.[35]

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[34] Michelet, *Seizième siècle*, 52.

[35] See P. Raedts, ‘Prosper Guéranger O. S. B. (1805–1875) and the Struggle for Liturgical Unity,’ in: R.N. Swanson (ed), *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, Studies in Church History 35, Woodbridge 1999, 333–344.

The cult around the person of Joan of Arc in France provides an excellent example of the monopolisation of medieval history by the Church and by the right. In 1803 Napoleon had restored the commemoration of Joan of Arc in Orléans cathedral, because her actions, as he said, proved that French genius was at its best when national independence was threatened. Once again it was Michelet who canonised Joan of Arc as a heroine of the people. For him Joan personified the French people at the moment of its greatest ordeal in history, the occupation of half of France by the English. Her decisive victory at the siege of Orléans obliged France to become “la France consciente et libre.”[36] But in 1869 the Church moved in, when Bishop Dupanloup during the annual commemoration of the siege of Orléans announced that he had requested the Pope to canonize Joan. It proved an immensely popular move, all the more since it happened on the eve of the defeat against Prussia in 1870. After that the right could hold up the example of Joan to prove that France could only be victorious if it honoured the Church and the King. On May 30th 1878, the anniversary of the death of both Voltaire (centenary) and Joan of Arc, the victory of the republic was celebrated at the Théâtre de la Gaieté in Paris, the fall of the monarchy in the fields of Domrémy, where Joan had heard the voices of her saints. Joan and the Middle Ages had become the property of the right, as Pope Leo XIII confidently stated in 1894: “Joanna est nostra.”[37]

VI.

In the German lands much the same thing happened, although it was the struggle for unification and the process of industrialisation more than the role of the Church that was decisive for the politicisation of the medieval past. Jacob Burckhardt was no doubt, after Ranke, Germany’s leading historian of the nineteenth century. The development of his views on the Middle ages provide a prime example of what happened to the Middle Ages in German historiography in general.

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[36] G. Krumeich, *Jeanne d’ Arc in der Geschichte,* Sigmaringen 1989, 61, 64.

[37] M. Winock, Jeanne d’Arc, in: P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire, III: Les France, 3: De l’archive à l’emblème*, Paris 1992, 708.

In his youth Burckhardt fully shared the romantic nostalgia for the Middle Ages of most of his German contemporaries, as he showed in his first published work, a biography of Conrad von Hochstaden, archbishop of Cologne (1238–1261), and the builder of its cathedral. The book appeared in 1842, the same year that Frederick William IV of Prussia announced that building on Cologne cathedral was going to be resumed, to create a witness in stone to the rebirth of the fatherland after so many centuries. Burckhardt was enthusiastic about this. In his book on Hochstaden he described the era of Frederick II as the heyday of the German spirit, when poetry and architecture had reached a perfection, that had not been seen again until his own days. Now was the time to revive those glorious days, maybe even restore the imperial throne.[38] But in the years between 1846 and 1854 Burckhardt turned away from the Middle Ages completely. His earlier admiration now seemed a youthful indiscretion, the sentimentality of an adolescent who refused to grow up and found support for that in a childish and naive period as the Middle Ages now were to him. In the 1850s Burckhardt embraced the ideal of the German "Bildungsbürger," the heir of Goethe and Schiller, a man with a liberal ethos and art as his religion. The result of this conversion was his masterpiece *The Culture of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860). Central to Burckhardt's argument is that the Renaissance was the time of the discovery of the world and of man as an individual. In the Middle Ages, so Burckhardt argues, man was neither aware of himself nor of the world. He lived in a dream, half asleep, and saw the world through a veil of faith, childishness and delusion. There was no way that medieval man could conceive of himself as an individual, he could only see himself as part of a race, a nation or a family or any other collective body. [39] Perhaps since Gibbon no historian has done so much damage to the memory of the Middle Ages as Burckhardt did in this classical passage. For once and for all he established a view of the Middle Ages as the culture that had stood for everything modern society rejected, the anti-culture in fact.

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[38] R. Stadelmann, Jacob Burckhardt und das Mittelalter, *Historische Zeitschrift* 142/1930, 474–475.

[39] J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur (or.: Cultur) der Renaissance in Itali*en, Wien 1860, IIer Abschnitt, 76.

So far Burckhardt's intellectual development showed a remarkable similarity to that of Michelet. Both had been ardent romantics in their youth and had hailed the Middle Ages as the time of Europe's innocent youth. Later on both came to see the Middle Ages as the contrast of modern culture, to be forgotten, and where it still existed, to be rooted out. Both had personal motives for their change of heart, but it is also obvious that the resounding defeat of liberal ambitions in 1848 profoundly shocked the solid Basel burgher just as much as the radical French professor. The interesting thing is, and here a major difference between French and German culture becomes visible, that Michelet stood by his verdict, but that Burckhardt in the 1870s once more turned to the Middle Ages for comfort. Not that he changed his view of the Middle Ages as the opposite of the modern, he held on to that, but what changed was that later in life he completely lost confidence in the modern, together with many of his contemporaries in Germany. Although as a Swiss citizen, teaching at Basel, he was an outsider to what happened on the other side of the Rhine, he was appalled by the cruelty of the French-German war of 1870, by the ruthless unification and centralisation of the German lands by Bismarck, and by the industrialisation of Germany which he saw as a Jewish plot. He once more began to view the Middle Ages as an alternative for the political, social and moral fiasco of modern society, in which individual persons had become tools.[40]

His cultural pessimism was shared by most German intellectuals after 1870. It remains an interesting question, though not for this essay, why a society that was so immensely successful and prosperous, generated a culture that was so pessimistic, inward-looking and distrustful of modernity. But that was what happened. In 1887 the founding father of sociology Ferdinand Tönnies published his classic *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. In that work Tönnies roundly condemned modern society for its cold and calculating rationality and presented the Middle Ages as viable alternative, a time of organic order (*Ordnung*), a time when community took priority over the individual, and freedom was wisely limited by benevolent authority. It became a commonplace in Germany to compare the German *Kultur*, founded in the Middle Ages, restored in the nineteenth century, with the superficial and ahistorical *Zivilisation* of the West, where the only things that counted were ruthless competition and rampant individualism. For the vast majority of German intellectuals that was sufficient reason to go to war with the West in 1914. The Republic of Weimar for most Germans was nothing but a victory of *Zivilisation* over *Kultur*. The call for a return to the Middle Ages, a return to community, obedience and strong leadership, became even stronger in the 1920s than it had been before 1914. What the new leader of Germany could look like, was described by Ernst Kantorowicz in his biography of the emperor Frederick II (1927). Just like Burckhardt had done, Kantorowicz idealised the era of the Hohenstaufen as Germany's heyday, and Frederick II as the messianic leader who in his person had united the German people. It was Kantorowicz's express intention with his biography not only to paint a picture of the past, but to present an alternative for the future. He did not have to wait long before the alternative presented itself.[41]

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[40] Stadelmann 1930, 494–512, 500: 'Wir halten [jetzt] die Individuen für bloße Werkzeuge.'

VII.

At the same time that on the continent of Europe the Middle Ages became the object of bitter political controversy between the left and the right, between Catholics, Protestants, anti-clericals and secularists, the opposite happened in England: a shared, uncontroversial image of the medieval past became part of the historical inheritance of all Englishmen. This had not always been so. In the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century the medieval past had been as much a matter of public, political debate in Britain as it became in continental Europe in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whigs and Tories had argued about the prerogative of the King, the antiquity of Parliament, and the status of Magna Carta, and historical discussion about these issues had always had a sharply contemporary political angle. But that changed after the Settlement of 1688. Perhaps David Hume was the last historian of the English Middle Ages who caused a serious political controversy, when he argued in his *History of England* that liberty was something that was established in the seventeenth century and not restored from some medieval precedent. Hume showed that the Anglo-Saxons were nor free warriors, but the clients of their lords. Post-conquest England was in many ways a despotic society, and under the Tudors the English enjoyed about as much liberty as the subjects of the Grand Turk. The arguments of the Whigs about the ancient English Constitution were historical nonsense, royalists such as Henry Spelman and Robert Brady had been much the better historians.[42] Hume was no supporter of Stuart absolutism, the point he wanted to make was that to understand the English political present, one need go back no further than the seventeenth century, the Middle Ages were irrelevant, everything had changed since then. Not everyone understood that, many Whigs thought that for the constitution of 1688 to be legal, it had to be the same as that of medieval England. In their view Hume was undermining the historical foundations of the Glorious Revolution by denying its medieval roots. But what could have become a source of bitter controversy between the advocates of historical change and those of an unchanging past, was in fact defused by Edmund Burke. He showed that such a choice between continuity and change was not necessary, continuity with the past was possible, even while all was changing.

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[41] O. Oexle, Das Mittelalter als Waffe. Ernst H. Kantorowicz' "Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite" in den politischen Kontroversen der Weimarer Republik, in: O. Oexle, *Geschichtswissenchaft im Zeichen des Historismus*, Göttingen 1996, 163–215.

Burke expressed his views on England's unique history most succinctly in his *Reflections on the revolution in France* (1790). The purpose of that book was to show that a clean break with the past, as had now happened in France, was the end of civilization and freedom, that it must lead to "a ferocious dissoluteness in manner, and of an insolent irreligion in opinions and practices."[43] True freedom was only possible, if it was tempered by a sense of obligation to the past, in Burke's words: "Always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers, the spirit of freedom, leading in itself to misrule and excess, is tempered with an awful gravity."[44] Note that Burke does not say that we should now act "as" our forefathers, but only "as if in the presence of" our forefathers, the difference is crucial, as can be seen from his discussion of the theory of the Ancient Constitution. Burke explicitly refers to the work of Henry Coke, perhaps the most uncompromising supporter of that theory. But the important thing to Burke is not whether Coke and other Parliamentarians were right in maintaining the unchanging nature of England's laws, it is the fact that they wanted to consider England's past as part of their present: "From Magna Charta to the Declaration of Right, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties, as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity."[45] Continuity in Burke's eyes is not an objective property of history, it is a way in which the present generation looks upon history, it is the will of the living to respect the authority of the dead. From there it follows that continuity does not exclude change; the English political system is not a dead weight, it is like a living organism, "a permanent body composed of transitory parts," it is constantly in the making, and yet remains the same. Burke concludes that in that constant dialogue with the past "we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy."[46] Burke was a man of the eighteenth century, not a romantic, so medieval England was not special to him, it was not an era to be singled out for special praise, or to be returned to (that would be 'the spirit of antiquarians'), but it was an essential part of the history of English constitutional development.

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[42] J. Burrow, *A liberal descent. Victorian historians and the English past*, Cambridge 1981, 25-27; Smith, *Gothic bequest*, 77-81.

[43] E. Burke, *Reflections on the revolution in France*, ed. Conor Cruise O'Brien, London 1986, 125.

Burke's influence on England's way of dealing with its past has been decisive. Burke himself was only talking about the English Constitution as a living organism, but in the course of the nineteenth century his model of continuity and change, was transferred from strictly constitutional history to the history of England as a nation.[47] In its finished form this Whig interpretation of history ran somewhat like this: Contrary to the unfortunate nations on the other side of the Channel it was England's great and unique privilege to have, since the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons at least, a history of unbroken continuity, where change only affirmed that continuity and strengthened it. It was a history of growing freedom, prosperity and success, the medieval stage of which was marked by Magna Charta and the beginning of Parliament. There was nothing in that past that an Englishman needed to be ashamed of, every period had made its own invaluable contribution to the nation's glorious progress in time, in Freeman's words: "Our ancient history is the possession of the liberal."[48] In the course of the nineteenth century it became a vision shared by all Englishmen of every political conviction.[49]

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[44] Burke, *Reflections*, 121.

[45] Burke, *Reflections*, 119.

[46] Burke, *Reflections*, 120.

[47] Burrow, *Liberal descent*, 106.

That is not to say that everyone in England felt as comfortable and happy about the country's present and past situation as the Whig interpretation of its history assumed. All through the nineteenth century there was a powerful undercurrent of unease, fed by romanticism, about the political and economic modernisation that was changing the country out of all recognition at the same time that the dominant ideology was celebrating its continuity. That unease was frequently expressed in the form of nostalgia for the simpler days of the lost Middle Ages, just like on the continent of Europe. In fact continental nostalgia was often fed by English romantic medievalists, mainly by Sir Walter Scott, undoubtedly one of the century's most popular novelists on either side of the Channel. Scott's descriptions of Saxon virtue, of their rough but honest manners and of chivalry as an ideology of altruistic leadership contained a strong note of criticism on the social customs of his own days, as did the fact that he always pictured the Middle Ages as a time of plenty, a time that no one ever went hungry. That was certainly not the case in his own days.[50] But Scott's critical notes remained very moderate, in the end he believed too much in a Burkean version of the English past to become a radical critic of his own society.[51] Later on in the century criticism of English complacency took much more radical form, with Carlisle, the Young Englanders in the Tory party and artists such as Ruskin and Morris. In the latter we can see that even socialism can have roots in an idealised picture of the Middle Ages. But important and intellectually challenging as these critics of liberal England may have been, they never, even for a moment, threatened the Whig consensus about the English past. And that was all the more true of the medieval past, it was the possession of all English, not just of a party or faction within England.

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[48] Burrow, *Liberal descent*, 3.

[49] Burrow, *Liberal descent*, 2, 241.

[50] Alice Chandler, *A dream of order. The medieval ideal in nineteenth-century English literature*, London 1970, 45.

[51] Smith, *Gothic bequest*, 134.

There are two reasons, I think, why the image of the medieval past could become such a common inheritance. The first is political. In Continental Europe the medieval past became controversial, because Europe was the stage of bitter political struggle all through the nineteenth century. England had fought its constitutional battles in the seventeenth century and had reached a consensus on essential matters by 1688, a Settlement that has been interpreted and developed, but that has never really been challenged since. Hume was right, of course, when he argued that the Act of Settlement was modern and had no real medieval precedent, but the appearance of continuity with the medieval past was preserved and religiously believed in by most. Moreover ceremonies such as the coronation of the monarch, the division of Parliament in a hereditary House of Lords (spiritual and temporal) and an elected House of Commons, the Established Church, it all may not have been medieval, but at least it looked medieval, certainly hundred years later when on the continent much more radical reforms of government were being advocated. Because this partly real, partly imaginary link with the medieval past was so woven into the constitutional consensus in England by 1800, it became a natural, unchallenged part of the success story of England as a nation when it was written up by the great historians of the nineteenth century.

The second reason has to do with the Church. In the nineteenth century everyone saw the medieval past as a Catholic past, in fact the most glorious part of the Catholic past. Claiming the medieval past, therefore, implied in some way heeding the claims of the Church of Rome. In Europe that proved a decisive stumbling block in accepting the whole of the medieval past as the nation's past, in the first place in Protestant countries, but perhaps even more so in Catholic countries where the Church remained a powerful political presence claiming an allegiance that, in an age of nationalism, rightly seemed to belong to the nation, as we saw from the example of Michelet. The amazing thing that happened in England was that the Established Church, although it was Protestant, managed to reclaim the medieval past as part of its inalienable inheritance. That was, of course, the work of the Oxford Movement, a religious revival unparalleled in the rest of Protestant Europe. In almost all Protestant Churches there was an orthodox revival in the nineteenth century to stem the tide of liberalism and state interference. In 1834 Dutch Protestants rose in revolt against a government that tried to turn the Reformed Church into a national church of an almost non-denominational character. But the purpose of their revolt was a return to a stern Calvinist orthodoxy, as had allegedly existed in the days of the Reformation.[52] The same happened in Scotland and Germany. What made England special was that the call for a purer and more independent Christianity took the form of a Catholic revival, a return to the doctrine of the Church Fathers and the authority of the medieval Church. The opposition against the Tractarians was massive, as Protestantism to most Englishmen was the religious counterpart of the English love of freedom. It became even worse when some of its most eminent leaders did join the Roman Church, but in the end the Oxford movement changed the face of the Church of England completely, not so much in its doctrine, but where it mattered most, in its rituals and its church interiors. Altars replaced pulpits, medieval vestments were introduced in worship, statues of saints were erected, church interiors became so ‘medieval’ that now it is hard to imagine what the interior of an Anglican church looked like in the eighteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century the Church of England was as much in possession of its medieval past as the nation, whose Church she was. The whole of the Middle Ages had been absorbed into the story of England's growth to prosperity and freedom.

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[52] One Protestant Dutch theologian, P. Hofstede de Groot, Beschouwing van den gang, die de de christelijke godgeleerdheid in het algemeen dus verre in Nederland heeft gehouden, *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkelijke geschiedenis* 2/1842, 121–190, tried to construct the history of Christianity in Holland as that of a Dutch national Church, that originated in the Modern Devotion, and was characterized by its dislike of pomp, its love of freedom, and its ethical character. Neither Protestants nor Catholics believed him for one moment.

Burke was quite right when he said that continuity is not a property of history but the will of the living to stay in communication with the dead. In that sense the English story of the medieval past as the beginning of the modern is just as much a construction as the continental myth of the Middle Ages as the opposite of the modern. In both constructions important parts of the medieval past tend to disappear from sight. English historians rarely emphasise the barbarous and violent character of medieval society, continental historians usually forget to tell that rationalism, individualism and even scepticism were as much part of the Middle Ages as faith and obedience. In the writing of history we need constructions, but we must always stay aware of the fact, that we do use them to tell our stories. Even more important is that we need to be aware that in using those constructions we help to shape the present as much as we try recreate the past. And it is precisely on this point that it is my "melancholy duty," as Gibbon would say, to conclude that continental medievalists have failed to see that truth. By presenting the Middle Ages as the prototype of a non-modern society, medieval historians have played into the hands of political and social reformers who wanted to limit or even abolish individual freedom, who preferred instinct and irrational passion to critical reason, and who put the ties of blood and race above those of citizenship. The English story of the medieval past may be a myth as well, but it can certainly help continental historians to take leave of the destructive nostalgia, that for so long characterised their work, and to make them aware of the fact that the Middle Ages are not an alternative to but a part of the history of modern Europe.

HUSSITES, PURITANS, AND THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS REVOLUTIONS

Stephen Baskerville, Washington

> “The Hussite war is the first war in the world’s history
> that was fought, not for material interests but… for ideas.”
> – *František Palacký*

Radical religion commands serious attention today’s politics. Religious radicalism is nothing new in the modern world, though it is now marked by a political assertiveness that has not always been apparent. This is evident even within the relatively stable politics of modern industrial societies. It is especially striking in many countries that are undergoing rapid economic development and especially pronounced in those that have strong monotheistic traditions where militant religious dissent most forcefully expresses itself. Here religious zealots have assumed the role of not simply another pressure group, but of a militant, sometimes terrorist, and above all revolutionary force that seeks fundamental social and political transformation.[1]

This tradition is not alien to the western political world, as we may be tempted to assume today. Religious revolutionaries have had a formative influence on the moral, cultural, social, and also the political values of the west. Here I propose to examine this influence in its origins by comparing two of its most important early manifestations: the Hussite revolt of the fifteenth century and the more extensive Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century. It is necessarily a lopsided effort: To the earlier of these episodes I am a newcomer, poorly equipped in the vernacular and heavily dependent on the work of others; with the later one I have a much more extensive experience. The aim of this article then is less to present new information about either of these movements than to point out some significant common features and to suggest some possible lines of inquiry into Hussite political thought for those better equipped to undertake them than I.

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[1] Henry Munson, Jr., *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East*, New Haven, 1988.

Comparative history is sometimes a suspect undertaking. Historians by nature are rightly suspicious of parallels which threaten to flatten the variety and particularity of historical events. Social scientists have fewer inhibitions, though they are wise to be cautious in seeking similarities between widely separated episodes and are usually most illuminating when emphasizing differences and contrasts. I justify the present effort with the observation that these are not distinct or disconnected historical events. Though separated by some two hundred years, they bracket a single era of which they are in a sense the beginning and end: the Protestant Reformation. Moreover they were each connected to the Reformation in similar and, between them, almost unique ways: they were probably the two most overtly political manifestations of reformed or what came to be Protestant ideology, the two instances in which reformed thought inspired not simply ecclesiastical dissent, but what the modern world has come to know as political revolution.[2]

That there was a direct connection between the two was acknowledged early on in the Puritan period. English Protestants repeatedly recognized the Hussites as their progenitors and expressed their debt to Hus and the Hussites in the transmission of reformed ideas. This was in part because it constituted a link back to their own native reformer John Wycliffe, who provided an English origin to the Reformation. In fact it is the Lollards with whom the Hussites are more often compared, and the influence of Wycliffe on Hus himself has long been a controversial topic (with significant political overtones).[3] But there was an important difference between the Lollards on the one hand and both the Hussites and Puritans: The former never succeeded (it is not clear that they ever tried) in organizing themselves into a political movement. The Hussites, on the other hand, directly challenged not only the ecclesiastical but also the secular authorities, and they did so using both political and military means. In this respect they anticipated the Puritans, who similarly innovated beyond their sixteenth century continental mentors by directing their revolt – eventually their armed revolt – not against the church as such, which became almost incidental, but more against the state.

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[2] That Hussitism was the beginning of the Reformation is argued in many works, including František Kavka, Bohemia, ch. 8 in: B. Scribner, R. Porter, and M. Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context*, Cambridge 1994.

[3] See R. R. Betts, English and Czech Influences on the Hussite Movement, in: *Essays in Czech History*, London 1969.

The question then arises of why these phenomena should have arisen when they did in these two countries and what this might say about the conditions that contribute to the development of violent religious and political movements. A number of common background circumstances immediately suggest themselves. For their day, both England and Bohemia were unusually self-contained and unified nations. What the sea did for England the mountains seem to have done for Bohemia: isolated it from the rest of Europe, and especially from the control of Latin Catholicism, and allowed it a measure of political autonomy and independence. If one accepts the theory that revolutions are, for whatever reason, part of the growing pains of the modern nation-state, these two peoples were becoming self-conscious nations before most others. In fact a streak of incipient nationalism is apparent in both. Especially in Bohemia the religious ideas were themselves intertwined with nationalistic ones, since the revolt against the ecclesiastical and secular authorities was also in large measure a protest against German control of both. In England no such foreign presence was significant, other than the remnants of the papacy itself. Nevertheless, quasi-nationalistic impulses did arise as the Tudor regime sought to channel what became a violent anti-Catholicism into patriotic loyalty to the English crown and state. The fact that the Puritan radicals shared this loyalty only very conditionally may indicate in part why their revolt was able to become a much more systematic and politically self-conscious revolution against that state.[4]

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[4] I have argued this in Protestantism as a Transnational Ideology, *History of European Ideas*, vol. xviii, no. 6 November 1994, against William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation*, London 1963 and others. František Šmahel similarly qualifies the "elect nation" thesis for the Hussites (F. Šmahel, *La Revolution Hussite, une Anomalie Historique*, Paris 1985, 93–94).

In terms of the state itself, both revolts followed periods of significant political consolidation and administrative development. Like the Tudors, the Přemyslid monarchs of the thirteenth century had created strong central institutions of finance, administration, and judicature which were developed further in the time of Charles IV.[5] This suggests that to the extent that the reformers were politically motivated and involved their campaign was built upon (and perhaps made possible by) a relatively sophisticated existing state apparatus and that their dissatisfaction may have stemmed as much from disappointment with older, more official reforms as with a need for reforms in the first place.

Despite the strength of the monarchy a few years before, by the time of Wenceslaus and Sigismund there had also been – and this parallels the early Stuarts – a steady erosion in the wealth and prestige of the crown and the enrichment of the nobility, who occupied many of the most important offices of state. A striking parallel between the two episodes is the dissolution of the monastic houses and the secularization of church wealth. In Bohemia this followed rather than preceded the popular religious uprising and was hardly an initiative of the crown, which by then no longer existed. Still, the effect was likewise to strengthen the financial resources of the great families, both Catholic and Hussite. This suggests another important parallel: an increasing assertiveness and self-confidence among the politically articulate laity and their strong involvement in not only secular but ecclesiastical politics. The schismatic and fissiparous tendency inherent in all radical religious (and political) movements was in both these instances constrained by lay involvement and even by parliamentary control over the new forms of ecclesiastical organization. In both episodes, parliament was elevated as the highest ecclesiastical authority.[6] (This was of course much less significant in Bohemia than in England, but then the rebellion there was less of a self-consciously political revolution, so I think my argument holds.) While this lay assertiveness clearly diluted the authority of both the

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[5] R. R. Betts, Social and Constitutional Developments in Bohemia in the Hussite Period, in: *Essays in Czech History*, London 1969, 271–2.

[6] Ibid., 267.

Hussite and Puritan clergy, it should not be seen as diminishing the power of religious motivations in the revolt; on the contrary, it "secularized" them, so to speak, in perhaps less pure but more active form in the persons of important political figures.

Associated with this is that both religious revivals arose immediately following periods of great humanistic and cultural development largely sponsored, like the administrative reforms, officially by the crown: the age of Charles IV in Bohemia, the Elizabethan period in England. While later followers were often poor and uneducated, the initial reformers in both countries were themselves trained in the humanist style and according to the latest humanist methods. The fact that they sometimes claimed to repudiate "human learning" as vain and impious cannot obscure the fact that they were themselves its product. This suggests what has often been observed about revolutionaries in general and religious ones in particular: that their revolt is one of the educated against their own background and that they see humanist learning not so much wrong (they continued to respect it despite their sometimes provocative rhetoric to the contrary) as in some way insufficient or inadequate for the world they faced.

This suggests another parallel in historical context, that of rapid social and economic change. Both Bohemia and England experienced dramatic changes and dislocations in the century or so preceding their upheavals. Rapid population growth and urbanization created both the cultural setting and the social problems that encouraged radical ideas, while price increases and sharp income differentials fostered instability through personal insecurity and "envy."[7] Problems such as crime and official corruption are much better documented for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England than for fourteenth and fifteenth-century Bohemia, but the degeneracy of the church is well-known in the both cases and is unlikely to have developed in isolation from similar problems in the secular society and state. In any event, the general effects of social and economic change were to cut off many people from their traditional ways and beliefs, to lead them to question truths they had previously assumed to be immutable and eternal.

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[7] Jaroslav Krejčí, *Great Revolutions Compared*, Brighton 1983, 23.

Such circumstantial parallels however are perhaps less interesting than the similarities of outlook within the movements themselves. In terms of theological beliefs and practices, each of the principles contained in the Four Articles of Prague – the principal Hussite manifesto – was to have an important counterpart in the Puritan platform. It is perhaps no accident that the first pertains to one of the most important and neglected characteristics of both groups: the preaching of the Word. The popularization of ideas, even aside from any consideration of their content, is perhaps the most radical act one can perform and the one that most threatens established power. Closely connected to this was the insistence on the authority of the Scripture alone, and the suspicion of all "human" learning, which set the text of the Bible as the ultimate authority against the hierarchy of the Church. This Hussite emphasis was to become a central feature of Protestantism generally and not only Puritanism, but it was the latter who took it furthest by incorporating the principle into their preaching, liturgy, and eventually politics. For both groups the Scripture was not simply a source of doctrine and a guide to personal and religious life; it also became a manifesto for social and political reconstruction. At various stages in their development each group attempted to establish entire communities, and from there to direct the apparatus of the state itself, according to biblical models, to re-create a latter-day version of the polity of the people of the Bible.[8]

As an extension of this, the popularization of religious worship was a central, almost a distinguishing feature of both movements. For the Hussites, their practice of administering the sacrament in both kinds to the laity, symbolized by the chalice, epitomized their egalitarian religion. For present purposes differences in the precise theology involved should probably be treated as secondary; it was the area of concern and the questions they raised that were of primary importance. Though only extreme Taborites anticipated Protestant doctrine by actually questioning the dogma of transubstantiation (which in Protestant England during the Puritan period was already settled), the identification of the sacrament as a political as well as a theological symbol tied together and made tangible otherwise abstract beliefs, and like the Puritans the Hussites used sacramental symbols for organizational purposes to rally support to a mass movement and attack the spiritual pretensions of the clergy. In fact a striking feature of both movements that has received almost no attention, at least in English (and one inherited by modern, apparently non-religious revolutionaries), is what might be termed the secularization of sacramental symbolism in political and especially military affairs. The Hussites, for example, used the symbol of the chalice as a battle standard by soldiers who sung hymns such as the following:

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[8] Šmahel 1985, 67.

> You who are the warriors of God
> And of his law,
> Pray for God's help
> And believe in him.
> So you will with him always remain victorious.
>
> Christ will reward you for what you lose,
> He promises you a hundred times more.
> Whoever gives his life for him
> Will gain life eternal.
>
> This our Lord bids us not to fear
> The destroyers of our flesh
> …
> Never fear the enemies,
> Do not mind their great numbers
>
> Keep your Lord in your hearts,
> Fight for whim and with him
> And do not ever retreat before your enemies!
> …
> Attack with the cry, God is our Lord!

This is one area where the absence of printing in the Hussite period makes their practices difficult to recover, but among the far better documented Puritans, such religious language provided not only the occasion but the means and techniques for their insurrection.[9]

Hussitism never seems to have developed the systematic program of liturgical purification associated with Puritanism, but spontaneous popular iconoclasm was present from early on and became especially marked later among the Taborites. Preaching against the veneration of images was especially associated with Matthew of Janow and Jacobellus of Stříbro. The dislike of vestments and of venerating the host was another Puritan characteristic limited largely to the more extreme Taborites. Later, during the Hussite wars, the popular attack on the monasteries was based in part on the wealth of sacred objects they were known to contain.[10]

Anticlericalism and the attack upon the wealth and corruption of the clergy is too well-known a feature of both movements to require elaborate comment. It was hardly unique to them, since humanists and other reformers had long attacked the worldliness of the clergy without this spilling over into doctrinal deviation. What distinguished Hussitism however, and later Protestantism as well, was not their attack on the corruption of the clergy so much as the way they called into question the very pretensions and efficacy of clerical powers themselves (*e.g.*, insisting the clergy should not be celibate rather than attacking them for not being celibate). More to the point here, no one else to my knowledge made it the object of a sustained political let alone military campaign. An attack against one of the most powerful interests of the day was bound to become openly political, and again the expropriation of church property along with the fact that most of it went to the nobility (including the Catholic nobility), provided not only an economic incentive, but perhaps more importantly the necessary economic power to diminish that of the Church.[11]

Finally – and I would argue possibly more important than has been recognized – was the obvious "puritanism" of the Hussites in the popular sense of the term: the moral strictness, the prohibitions against adultery, lying, gluttony, gambling, and other forms of vice, the sumptuary regulations against personal luxury, the military prohibition on plunder and concern that the spoils of victory would corrupt the soldiery. Among their more noted characteristics was the attack on the numerous brothels of Prague and other towns.[12] Self-personal purification and self-denial are functionally necessary to every revolution, and it is hardly accidental that the world's first revolutionaries were moral as well as ecclesiastical ”puritans.”

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[9] Hymn quoted in Frederick G. Heymann, *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution*, Princeton 1955, 497–8. For the Puritans, see my Blood Guilt in the English Revolution, *The Seventeenth Century* XVIII, 2 – Autumn 1993.

[10] Heymann 1955, 68–9, 81, 166–8, 245; Šmahel 1985, 74; Count Lutzow, *The Life and Times of Master John Hus*, London, 1909, 50–2, 151–2, 356f.

[11] Heymann 1955, 154.

Other features of both movements can be mentioned briefly. In each there was a marked emphasis on the role of women, who participated in numbers that were disproportionate to their influence elsewhere in society.[13] During their political period each came to be characterized by an intense chiliasm or millenarianism, a belief that a second return of Christ would bring a final, temporal judgement and with it an end to all things.[14] More contentiously but perhaps most significantly for our purposes, both movements seem to have contained a certain implicit, almost subconscious tendency towards republicanism.[15] This was not initially obvious in the theory of either movement (though there were certainly strong indications), but it is perhaps no accident that throughout most of the Hussite period there was no king in Bohemia and that the Hussite wars were fought largely against the Bohemian monarch. In this respect too, they anticipated the Puritans, who fought the first sustained war against monarchy and were responsible for the first revolutionary regicide in modern history. Perhaps this subliminal influence is most clearly indicated in the way the more theoretical and systematic republican ideology of later modern revolutions, most notably the American and French, took over and temporalized many of these previously religious features of Hussitism and Puritanism, of which the American variety in particular has been called a “secularized version.”[16]

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[12] Heymann 1955, 68–70, 102, 125, 166–7, 481.

[13] Heymann 1955, 128, 191, 207; Lutzow 1909, 57.

[14] Heymann 1955, 40; Šmahel 1985, 67–70.

[15] Šmahel 1985, 75–6; R. R. Betts, Social and Constitutional Developments, 267.

[16] Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*, New York 1969, 418. I have tried to apply this and the points in the following paragraphs in *Not Peace but a Sword: The Political Theology of the English Revolution*, London 1993.

Here one begins to get a different glimpse of Hussitism and of a significance for modern politics that has perhaps not been fully appreciated. Many generations, including our own, have extolled and at times idolized an individual like Jan Hus as a dissenter, a champion for religious and political freedom, a proponent of moderate nationalism, a lone figure standing courageously against the domination of a foreign nation, an authoritarian church, a repressive state, an intolerant society. His followers have not fared so well in the historical imagination. Like the Puritans and other religious zealots, the Hussites do not always command similar respect either among historians or in popular opinion. Their fanaticism, brutality, intolerance, and moral rigidity are not likely to win many fans in an academic environment whose fashions currently require us to extol values such as tolerance, democratization, and the "open society." Yet if we consider them within the context of their own time it is likely we may better come to understand what moved them. It is possible that in their age they supplied a need that still haunts us today, though we are only occasionally conscious of it. The Puritans stood at the center of a social and intellectual world that has subsequently proved to be one of the richest political cultures in western history in terms of both its wealth of political ideas and success at implementing them within practical politics. Their precise contribution to this culture is difficult to define. But however unattractive their personalities or the theocratic society they tried to construct, the political world that immediately succeeded their experiment is the one that has been most often, and is in this day still held up as the model for the newer democracies of the world. That there is a connection between the two has not been obvious to most historians and is something I cannot prove. But it is perhaps also worth observing that one nation in central Europe today has had some history of liberal democracy, free republican institutions, toleration of minorities, and respect for individual rights, and that is the nation once ruled by religious fanatics. Why precisely this is so is a larger subject than I can go into here; the only way to explain it is to read the works of the Hussites and find out not only their formal and abstract beliefs but the popular fears and anxieties to which those beliefs offered an answer. We need to confront not only the qualities we value or admire in our past but also its less attractive features with some measure of sympathy or at least detachment rather than the kind of disapproval that has marked the attitude of the scholarly world to prophets of unwelcome messages. In this case, that is something I am not equipped to do, but it is something that should be done.

Michael Rohde, ***Luther und die Böhmischen Brüder nach den Quellen***

Dissertation der Hussitischen Fakultat der Karlsuniversität in Prag vorgelegt am 16. 12. 2002.

Der Autor betrachtet als Ziel seiner Dissertation, „eine chronologische Übersicht über die Kontakte zwischen Luther und den Brüdern zu geben und in einem Überblick gemeinsame Themen nach (diesen) Quellen festzustellen und Problemfelder aufzuzeigen.“ (S. 162) Die Quellen, mit denen der Autor gearbeitet hat, sind einerseits die Quellen der Böhmischen Brüder, meistens verschiedene Ausgaben der Konfessionen der Brüder, die in den von A. Molnár herausgegebenen „Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder-Unität“, Band III, Hildesheim 1979 erschienen sind, und die Schriften von einem der grössten Theologen der Brüder, Lukas aus Prag, in deutscher Übersetzung. In einigen Fallen arbeitet der Autor mit dem tschechischen Original, andererseits stellen die Werke von Luther in der Weimarer Ausgabe für das Thema der Arbeit eine reiche Fundgrube dar, welche in einer erschöpfenden Weise ausgenutzt wird. Die chronologisch angeordnete Zitierung und Kommentierung der Weimerana-Texte, die das Thema in dessen innerer Entwicklung beleuchten, stellt einen wichtigen Beitrag für die weitere Forschung dar. Es ist wichtig besonders für die tschechischen Forscher, die dieses Material nicht bearbeitet haben und sich auf die Texte der Brüder beschränkten. Auch für die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung, die diesem Thema, wie der Autor zeigt, keine breitere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet hat, sucht diese Arbeit eine Lucke zu füllen.

Der Autor teilt die Kontakte zwischen Luther und den Brüdern auf zwei Phasen auf. In der ersten Phase (1522–1529) werden die Kontakte zwischen Luther, der seine reformatorische Gedanken erst suchend formuliert, und dem Bischof Lukas von Prag behandelt. Im Unterschied zu Luther hat Lukas, der an der hussitischen Prager Universität studiert und den Titel *baccalaureus* erlangt hat, seine Position in Fragen der Gnade und der Werke, der Eucharistie und der Ekklesiologie in den Streitigkeiten in der Unität schon fest eingenommen und verteidigt sie im Gespräch mit Luther. Er stützt sich dabei gemeinsam mit Luther auf die Argumentation aus der Heiligen

Schrift. Lukas zeigt eine positive Einstellung zur Tradition, auch zur Patristik und sogar zur Scholastik, wie auch seine Ausführungen über die Seinsweisen der Gegenwart Christi bezeugen. Die Dissertationsarbeit stellt eine Herausforderung dar, den tieferen Hintergrund beider Theologen, ihre Verankerung in der Tradition und ihre differenzierte Reflexion der kirchlichen Tradition zu analysieren.

Dem Studium dieser Fragen dient auch die als Anhang I. beigefügte Herausgabe der Gegenschrift von Lukas „Odpověď Bratří na spis Martina Luthera“, Litomyšl 1523. Rohde verifiziert die Übersetzung von J. Th. Müller (bearbeitet von E. Peschke) und gibt sie in der neuen Rechtsschreibung heraus (Seiten 1–59). Diese Herausgabe lädt die Forscher ein, den Text mit den Quellen, aus denen Lukas geschöpft hat, zu vergleichen – eine Aufgabe, die auch für die liturgischen Formulare des Lukas wichtig ist. Ebenso ruft die Verwurzelung von Hus und Luther in der Theologie Augustins auf zu einer Suche nach den gemeinsamen Wurzeln von Luther und Lukas, aber auch nach den unterschiedlichen Aspekten der Tradition in der utraquistischen Theologie, besonders der Theologie der Taboriten, die Lukas beeinflusset haben. Der Unterschied ist zum Beispiel an der Frage der Seinsweisen Christi zu beobachten. Luther ist der Tradition, aus der Lukas diese Lehre schöpfte, nicht begegnet und hat sie nicht verstanden, während Lukas sie als eine bekannte Tradition voraussetzt. Es handelte sich sicher nicht um seine eigene Theorie.

In der zweiten Phase (1528–1542) ist der Bischof Jan Augusta die führende Persönlichkeit auf der Seite der Brüder. Für diese Zeit spielen die geschichtlichen Ereignisse in Europa, die die Zukunft der Reformation betreffen, eine grosse Rolle. Der Autor gibt in seiner Arbeit nur eine kurze Übersicht der geschichtlichen Lage und des Lebens von Lukas und Augusta. Dabei stützt sich Rohde meistens auf die deutsche Literatur, in der die ziemlich komplizierte kirchliche und konfessionelle Lage des Hussitentums und der Brüder im 16. Jahrhundert nicht genug differenziert und nuanciert in ihrer Spezialität, die durch die hundert Jahre der bedrohten Existenz des Hussitentums (nach A. Molnárs der „Ersten Reformation“) gegeben war, geschildert wird. (Zum Beispiel meint J. Th. Müller, der zitiert wird, dass die Neo-Utraquisten Lutheraner waren). Die tschechische Geschichtsschreibung aus dem Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts (Ferdinand Hrejsa, Kamil Krofta) analysierten die kirchliche und geistliche Lage des Utraquismus im 16. Jahrhundert und kamen zu differenzierten Ergebnissen. Das Hussitentum, aus dem Lukas und Augusta gekommen sind, kann man in der Fraktion des Neoutraquismus nicht einfach mit dem Luthertum identifizieren. In der Unität kam zu Wort das Erbe der Taboriten, was der Autor – Molnár folgend – erwähnt. Die Bedeutung dieses Erbes für das Verständnis der Eucharistie in der Unität, wie es Lukas vertrat, ist unübersehbar.

Der geschichtliche Raum, in dem die Brüder fast fünfzig Jahre vor Luther auftraten, die hussitische Revolution erkämpften und gegen die Kreuzzüge offen für die Gedanken der Reformation einstanden, ermöglichte es den Brüdern, in den Fragen der Taufe, der Eucharistie, der Ekklesiologie in der Theologie des Bruders Lukas einige Schritte zu tun, für welche M. Luther erst den freien Raum und das Verständnis der Gläubigen suchen musste. Die Absichten des Papsttums einerseits und das Erscheinen des Anabaptismus und Spiritualismus und die sozialen Konsequenzen seiner Lehre andrerseits haben bald den freien Raum, in dem sich Luthers Theologie bewegen konnte, unter einen Druck gesetzt.

Die Brüder haben an die reformatorischen Anfänge Luthers angeknüpft. Diese Anfänge bei Luther und die Theologie der Brüder, wie sie in der Frömmigkeit ihrer Gemeinden lebte, waren sich sehr hahe. Diese innere Verwandtschaft dokumentiert auch die Tatsache, auf die der Autor aufmerksam macht, dass die erste Schrift Luthers, die in die tschechische Sprache übersetzt wurde, der „Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament“ (1519) war. Laut einigen skandinavischen lutherischen (I. Brilioth) und einigen anglikanischen Theologen (Hebert) stellt diese Schrift die Anfänge seiner eucharistischen Theologie dar, die er später nicht mehr entfaltet hat. Diese Schrift, die die Gegenwart Christi in den Gläubigen, in dem Nächsten hervorhebt, war den Brüdern sehr nahe, wie aus den Ausführungen von Lukas über die Gegenwart Christi in der Gemeinde ersichtlich ist. In diesem Kontext bewegen sich auch die Gedanken Luthers in der Vorrede zur *Formula missae*, in der sich Luther mit der Frage des Aufbaus der Gemeinde der Gläubigen befasst; Luther bejaht sie zwar prinzipiell, hat aber dafür keine Leute. Das führt ihn dazu, der „Volkskirche“ die Tür zu öffnen. Hier, in der Ekklesiologie, ensteht dann die Spannunng zwischen Luther und Lukas. Lukas lehnt die „volkskirchliche“ Ekklesiologie grundsätzlich ab und sieht keinen Platz für die Eucharistie in einem volkskirchlichen Kontext. Das Heilige Abendmahl kann nur dann legitim ausgeteilt werden, wenn es in einer Gemeinde geschieht, welche auf der Taufe, das heisst auf dem Bekenntnis und auf der Bereitschaft zum gemeisamen Leben im Glauben, Liebe und Hoffnung diszipliniert ist.

Die Arbeit stellt indirekt auch die Frage, warum die Brüder zu Lukas zurückgekehrt sind. Ich meine, dass dabei die entscheidende Rolle die Frage der Obrigkeit gespielt hat. Luther hat unter dem Druck der geschichtlichen Ereignisse der Obrigkeit eine grössere Rolle in der Kirche zugelassen als die Theologie von Lukas, die vor der politischen öffentlichkeit, vor dem Gebrauch der Macht immer zurückhaltend war. In der Unität blieb das Erbe von Peter Chelčický lebendig.

Diese Anregungen, die die Dissertationsarbeit beim Lesen hervorruft, sollen nicht als negative Kritik betrachtet werden. Im Gegenteil. Sie zeigen, wie anregend die Arbeit ist. Die Methode, sich auf die Quellen zu konzentrieren, die direkt über die Kontakte mit Luther sprechen, hat viele neue Aspekte beleuchtet. Sie kann jedoch die Problematik ohne Zuhilfenahme anderer Texte nicht erschöpfend behandeln. Der Autor ist sich dieser Tatsache bewusst: „Diese Arbeit stellt den ersten Versuch einer Auseinandersetzung mit den Quellen zu einem noch längst nicht erforschten Themenkomplex dar, der vor allem noch um die Untersuchung der theologischen Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen Bruder Lukas und Jan Augusta einerseits und Martin Luther andererseits zu erweitern sind“ (S. 165).

Die Arbeit bearbeitet kritisch, erschöpfend und interpretierend die direkten Quellen zu dem Thema mit wissenschaftlicher Tüchtigkeit, wie auch aus dem Literaturverzeichnis (S. 166–182) ersichtlich ist. Sie öffnet neue Themen und Anregungen für die weitere Forschung, von welchen ich einige angedeutet habe.

Josef Smolík, Prague

Lenka Veselá-Prudková, *Židé a česká společnost v zrcadle literatury*. Od středověku k počátkům emancipace [Jews and the Czech Society in the Mirror of Literature: From Middle Ages to the Beginning of Emancipation]

Lidové noviny, Praha 2003, p. 155, ISBN 80-7106-430-0.

The young historian and librarian Lenka Veselá-Prudková, has given us a small book which, in a new way, informs us of the relations between Christians and Jews in Czech Lands between the 16th and 18th centuries. This book is different from other works which depend on the great material of Bondy-Dvorský (*K historii Židů v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku*, Praha 1906) and others

Veselá-Prudková's book is, for this reason, very useful for new scholars interested in this topic. The list of books printed in the Czech Lands in that time, which is the basis for her work, speaks for itself as the author points out in this citation: "the book market influenced and formed meaning and opinions of the reader but itself also had to relate to the needs and wishes of a majority of all readers." Although we might already know all that was written and printed in Bohemia and Moravia between 1500 and 1800 AD, we should still feel thankful for a work like the Veselá-Prudková's is.

The book is divided into eight parts, each with its own chronology. The first, "Jewish culture in the eyes of Christians," is about Christian view of the so called *Hebraists*, about the city of Prague as an important center of Hebrew printing and bookmaking in 16th century Europe, and about those Jesuits who studied Hebrew in the Czech Lands from 17th to the 18th century.

The second part, "Jews as the mirror to Old Testament history," describes the unique role which the Old Testament and the works of Josephus Flavius played in forming Christians' knowledge of Jewish history.

In the third part, "Legality and the Jews," the author shows how the status of the Jewish minority in a Christian society, i. e. the relationship of Christian and Jew, depended on and was formed by the constitution of the land, various councils, city law, and church's directions.

The next part, "Jews in Czech historiography," describes the view of Jews as depicted by the Czech annalists, and notes the importance of the famous Václav Hájek z Libočan's *Kronika česká* (*The Bohemian Chronicle*).

In "Feasts and descriptions of the Prague ghetto," the fifth part, the author considers festive processions as reflections of how the Jewish minority celebrated its Christian kings and rulers and presents some impressions recorded by Christians who had visited the ghetto.

The sixth part is entitled "Jews in Foreign Countries." This is about Jews outside the Czech Lands. The emphasis is on those living in their traditional homeland but Veselá-Prudková includes descriptions by Bohemian Pilgrims of Jewish origin in the Holy Land.

Finally, in "Polemics against the Jews," the author cites anti-semitic writings in which any reader might find arguments to support hostility against the Jewish people, such as: usury, ritual murders or cooperation with enemies of Christians.

In conclusion, Veselá-Prudková summarizes the topic and its problems. In reading her book we can recognize that the victory of Roman Catholics in war against Protestants in the 1620's was not only the end of non-Catholic churches but was also a victory over Protestant attemps to tolerate the Jewish minory during those years. The author makes her case for placing blame for any anti-judaistic mood in the Czech Lands especially on the Catholic Jesuits. However, although non-Catholics, in the view of this writer, had a better position in their relationship with the Jews before 1620, she feels it is but an illusion to find among them words suggesting greater toleration generally. When one recalls Martin Luther's position on anti-semitism and Lutheran Germany's in the holocaust of the 20th century, Catholics and Protestants are, as it is said, "in the same boat."

Lenka Veselá-Prudková's work is a very important source of knowledge in the field of Jewish-Christian relations in our past. It should be translated from the Czech language because it is not only history of our Czech Lands but includes a general history. In the future, those who want or need to know about this topic, should not miss this book. One could hardly find another volume that would serve as well for a starting point in understanding this same problem today.

Ota Halama, Prague

Gregg Easterbrook, ***The Progress Paradox: How Life Gets Better While People Feel Worse***

New York: Random House 2003

Some books in the social sciences should be brought to the attention of theologians and pastors; some books in the social sciences specially merit theological commentary. This book is both.

Easterbrook is a fellow in economics at the Brookings Institution, but his expertise goes far beyond financial matters. He is able to integrate specialized studies in economics, sociology, psychology, and history as they relate to his question: Why are people in the West so terribly unhappy even though life has become and is becoming so much better in so many ways? This is The Progress Paradox.

His research is somewhat American oriented, but Easterbrook regularly points out the broad similarities between the US and the EU in the trends which he calls "Progress." What are some of those trends?

1. Life spans (and the time of good health) are getting continually longer, so that people today enjoy almost twice as long a life as most people in all of history.
2. Even most of the poor in the developed countries have enough to eat and can easily eat too much.
3. Inflation adjusted incomes are steadily rising.
4. Because of machines, the typical person does less than half the physical work of our ancestors in the nineteenth century.
5. We have low cost access to information, art, and literature.
6. The cold war and the threat of a nuclear holocaust ended peacefully.
7. There have been great advances in all sorts of freedom in the West, and simultaneously there has been a rapid expansion of free democracy around the world.
8. Across the developed world crime rates are going down, often quite significantly, while ever increasing numbers of people are getting advanced educations.

9. Efforts to control pollution and protect the environment have been quite successful and become more successful every year.

10. The dire warnings of a generation ago about running out of natural resources were almost all mistaken.

11. For more than a decade, the average number of people killed each year in war or armed conflict has been declining around the world.

12. For almost 20 years military spending around the world has been declining.

So why, in light of so much good news, are people in the developed world no more happy than in the past? Why do so many people consistently say, “Our parents had it better than we do?” Why is unipolar depression (which, unlike other types of depression, is not medically caused) consistently rising? Why are people complaining, even though life today is better than many people dreamed about in the Utopias of previous generations? “Our forebears, who worked and sacrificed tirelessly in the hopes their descendents would someday be free, comfortable, healthy, and educated, might be dismayed to observe how acidly we deny we now are these things.” (P. 119) Why?

Easterbrook outlines several reasons why people generally do not acknowledge that things are getting better. People seem to prefer bad news. Social elites strongly prefer bad news, and their views are communicated in the media. Politicians prefer bad news, since that is what they use to get elected. Newspapers and television stations prefer bad news, even crisis, because that gains readers/viewers. To this list he adds: choices anxiety (What school? What job? Which person to marry? Which house?), the blurring of a distinction between needs and wants, excessive individualism, and undo consumerism. Running through and around all of these factors is a well-established truth, that wealth does not bring happiness, even though people seem to consistently expect wealth to bring happiness. “Now most men and women of the Western nations have attained the condition of which previous generations dreamed, and although this is excellent news, the attainment makes it possible for society to verify beyond doubt that personal liberty and material security do not in themselves bring contentment. That must come from somewhere else, making it time to awaken from the American dream.” (P. 187)

Easterbrook says we have moved “from material want to meaning want.” (P. 210) The pursuit of meaning, he thinks, can be either religious or philosophical/secular, but his study of social science leads him to emphasize three things as essential to finding meaning, happiness, and contentment: 1. The practice of forgiveness (whether for secular or religious reasons); 2. The expression of gratitude (whether to people or to God); and 3. Helping people in need. In this way, he claims, we can find a higher degree of happiness, meaning, and contentment, while also making the world a better place for more people. His claim that this is the way to happiness is not presented as merely his personal opinion or experience; he roots it in serious studies in the social sciences. He is quite optimistic about the future in world terms, thinking that most of the problems facing both the developed and the developing world can be successfully addressed, but he knows there will always be things that people can use to make themselves unhappy. In his ironic terms, “World peace is more likely than comfortable airline seats.” (P. 316)

Pastoral Advice: In light of this and similar studies in the social sciences, pastors and preachers should take courage that the great themes of biblical faith speak to the deep spiritual needs of people today. Meaning, forgiveness, gratitude, and helping the needy, have always been central themes in the faith. And if Easterbrook is even close to being right in his assessment of the West, these old themes in the biblical message may be exactly what people need today. And in presenting the faith, we do not need to sound like we think the whole world is falling apart. The context for a call to faith, forgiveness, and gratitude is our sinful ingratitude, not a claim that our world or our culture is about to fall apart. The Pauline claim, that ingratitude for what we have been given is at the heart of sin (Romans 1), may be especially apt right now.

Theological Comment: Studies like this one from Easterbrook should move theologians to once again talk about two works of God. Luther talked about the work of God’s “left-hand,” which dealt with the external matters of life, in contrast with the work of God’s “right-hand,” which had to do with the gospel and one’s personal faith. Calvin wrote about God’s “general grace” that preserves the world, in contrast with God’s “special grace” which leads to knowing God by faith. Speaking about two works of God, whether in language more like Luther or more like Calvin, would allow us to recognize that the external peace and prosperity we enjoy is a gift of God, while also making clear that there is much more to life than material things. We also need God's right hand, his special grace. Jesus taught us to pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," but then he went on to teach, "Man does not live by bread alone." Our modern world has tried to live by bread alone, and now that we have too much bread, our world may be ready to also think about what else we need. Recognizing that what we have is a divine gift may be a first step toward faith, forgiveness, meaning, and helping others.

But a note of caution is also needed in exactly how we accept Easterbrook's message. If I am not mistaken, some of the ancient Hebrew prophets came proclaiming impending judgment and destruction exactly at the times when the external matters of life in Israel and Judah were going fairly well, when they had economic prosperity, political stability, and military peace. I am not aware of a divine promise that the peace and prosperity of the West will continue for ever and ever. There may be a similarity in tone between Easterbrook and some of the extremely optimistic writers of the late nineteenth century, whose optimism was destroyed in 1914 by the beginning of the "War to end all wars," which led to the worst of all wars a few years later. Easterbrook is surely right to call us to greater levels of gratitude, forgiveness, mercy, and justice, but we must beware of false security.

Thomas K. Johnson, Prague

ADDRESSES OF THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Stepehn Baskerville sbaskerville@cox.net
Howard University in Washington
Department of Political Science
Washington, DC 20059, USA

Drahomíra Breedvel-Baránková drahomira_barankova@hotmail.com
Masaryk University in Brno
Centre for Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Texts
A. Nováka 1, CZ-660 88 Brno, Czech Republic

James H. Charlesworth james.charlesworth@ptsem.edu
Princeton Theological Seminary,
313 Lenox House, Princeton, NJ 08542, USA

Detlev Dormeyer dormeyer@fb14.uni-dortmund.de
Universität Dortmund, Fachbereich 14,
Abteilung Kath.Theologie, Emil-Figge-Straße 50,
D-44227 Dortmund, Germany

Ota Halama ohalama@etf.cuni.cz
Charles University in Prague,
Protestant Theological Faculty
Černá 9, CZ-115 55 Praha 1, Czech Republic

Thomas K. Johnson Johnsons@bohem-net.cz
Na Rokytce 8/1081
CZ 180 00 Praha 8, Czech Republic

Peter G. J. M. Raedts P.Raedts@let.kun.nl
Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
Faculty of Arts, Erasmusplein 1
NL-6525 HT Nijmegen, Holland

Josef Smolík Charles University in Prague,
Protestant Theological Faculty
Černá 9, CZ-115 55 Praha 1, Czech Republic

The authors of the articles herein published are responsible for their contents, and while the editors have presented their ideas for discussion, they need not agree with them.

Communio viatorum is indexed in the *ATLA Religion Database*, published by the American Theological Library Association, 250 S. Wacker Dr., 16th Flr., Chicago, IL 60606, E-mail: atla@atla.com, WWW: http://www.atla.com.