

THE PREACHING OF HENRY TOTTING OF OYTA*

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ABSTRACT

This joint paper focuses on three previously unstudied sermons written by Henry Totting of Oyta, a famous theologian of the 14th century who started his career at the *studium generale* in Erfurt and was then active at the universities of Prague, Paris and Vienna. Riccardo Burgazzi examines the sermon *On the Passion of the Lord*, Francesca Battista the sermon *On the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, and finally Jan Odstrčilík the sermon *On the Nativity of John the Baptist*. Each of these sermons represents not only distinctive thematic areas, but were also written at different times and demonstrate the variety of influences that affected Totting's way of thinking: The sermon *De passione Domini* is probably one of his oldest recorded sermons and it still bears traces of Totting's career as a master of liberal arts. The Marian sermon *De assumptione BMV* shows a very firm scholastic structure and gives a relevant contribution to the contemporary area in Assumption theology. And finally the sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste* is a worthy and uncommon testimony of the early reception of Petrarch in Central Europe.

Keywords: University of Prague – Henry Totting of Oyta – Medieval Sermon – Liberal Arts – Marian Theology – Petrarch

Totting's life and his preaching activity**

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Henry Totting of Oyta was one of the most important masters of the first decades of the Universities of Prague and Vienna who was also active at the University of Paris and the Erfurt *studium generale*.¹ He was probably born in Oyta, today's Friesoythe, in East Frisia

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** The article is mainly based on three studies prepared for a book Henry Totting of Oyta: *Three Sermons of a Late Medieval Intellectual, De passione Domini, De assumptione beate Virginis Marie, De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste* (in print). It also introduces, however, some new findings.

¹ Totting's biography is mainly drawn from Albert LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten deutschen Universitäten und zur Problemgeschichte der Spätscholastik*, Münster 1937 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 33/4–5). Important new findings were made by Sönke LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense: Zum Erfurter Schulleben im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1989. For a summary of recent research see Dag Nikolaus HASSE, *Totting, Heinrich, von Oyta*, in: Burghart Wachinger et al. (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 11, Nachträge und Korrekturen, Berlin 2004, col. 1542–1556. See also the biographical introduction in Harald BERGER, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta: Schriften zur Ars vetus*, München 2015, pp. 7–9.

(Ostfriesland) in North-Western Germany in the diocese Osnabrück.² Not much is known about the first twenty or thirty years of his life. The mention of Henry Totting of Oyta appears in a note from the year 1360 in a Berlin manuscript where he is called rector of the Marienstift School in Erfurt.³

Henry Totting of Oyta stayed in Erfurt for several years and held important offices there. His name again appears in a petition to Pope Urban V dated January 17, 1363 in which he is called *rector superior studii generalis et solennioris Alamannie arcium Erfordensis*.⁴ This title brought him some problems as we learn from a petition written three years later (May 28, 1366)⁵ by Charles IV himself on behalf of Totting. Obviously, the papal court understood Totting's claim from 1363 to be the rector of the university in Erfurt and they applied the term *rector universitatis studii Erfordensis* in their consent in which they granted him the expectation of a benefice in Osnabrück. This fact provoked some of Totting's enemies (*sui emulatores*)⁶ to accuse him at the papal court of the false usage of the title in order to acquire the benefice,⁷ since there was no official university in Erfurt at that time (it was not founded until 1392).⁸ The Holy Roman Emperor and the Czech King denied that Totting had called himself rector of the university and excused his usage of the title *rector studii generalis arcium Erfordensis* by *loquendi consuetudinem* ('by the usual way of speaking') in Erfurt, *propter magnam studencium multitudinem, qui ad prefatum locum plus, quam ad aliquem alium locum tocius Alamannie confluere consueverunt* ('because of the large number of students who came to that place more often than to any other place in all of Germany').⁹ This petition seems to have resolved the case.

The first certain mention of Totting in connection with Prague University is one year earlier. In the rotulus of Charles IV from June 20, 1365, Totting is called a *magister in artibus, studens in sacra theologia in universitate* ('master of arts, a student in theology at

² Research is virtually unanimous on the birth place of Henry Totting of Oyta, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 7. Only Wilhem Hanisch has suggested that Totting could be born also in Oythe which is today a part of the city of Vechta, see Wilhelm HANISCH, *Heinrich Totting aus Oythe und Konrad von Vechta: Zwei Oldenburger in der Geschichte Böhmens*, Veröffentlichungen der ostdeutschen Forschungsstelle im Lande Nordrhein-Westfalen, Reihe A, 12 (Nordrhein-Westfalen und der deutsche Osten 9–11), Dortmund 1967, p. 70 and p. 79, note 6. The both places are situated in Lower Saxony and are about 50 km apart.

³ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. fol. 411, fol. 101rb: *Explicit metaurorum datum a magistro Hinrico (de Oyta, nunc magistro in sacra theologia egregio) regente apud beatam virginem (in Erfordia) anno domini M^o CCC^o LX^o in die dominico post nativitatem beate virginis*. Words in the brackets are written by another later hand in cursive. The note was found first by Bernd MICHAEL, *Johannes Buridan: Studien zu seinem Leben, seinen Werken und zur Rezeption seiner Theorien im Europa des späten Mittelalters*, I. Teil, Berlin 1985, p. 333, and the interpretation in Sönke LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense: Zum Erfurter Schulleben im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1989, p. 188. The original transcription by Bernd Michael included an error ('apud beatum' instead of 'apud beatam'), which I corrected upon an inspection of the manuscript.

⁴ S. LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense*, p. 186.

⁵ *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* (furthermore MVB), tomus III, No. 703, pp. 433–434.

⁶ MVB, tomus III, No. 703, p. 434.

⁷ On the problem of the name 'studium generale', see S. LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense*, p. 186.

⁸ The first papal bull was already issued in 1379 by Clement VII. However, because he was the Avignon Pope and the Holy Roman Empire finally decided to side with the Roman one, the bull lost its force. The second papal bull followed in 1389 issued by the Roman Pope Urban VI and after three years of preparation the teaching began in 1392, see S. Lorenz, *Studium generale Erfordense*, p. 56.

⁹ MVB, tomus III, No. 703, p. 433.

the university').¹⁰ Considering the short time between the petition of 1363 and the rotulus of 1365, it is plausible that Totting moved to Prague soon after the first petition.¹¹

The academic career of Henry Totting of Oyta seems to be stable. In the above-mentioned petition of Charles IV of May, 28 1366, Henry Totting is named as *cursor in theologia et magister in artibus* ('cursor in theology and master of arts'). The *Liber decanorum* of the Faculty of Arts records his teaching activity: between 1367 and 1370 Totting promoted sixteen bachelors and seven masters.¹² Probably shortly after the petition from 1366 he was also ordained a priest.¹³

The breaking point in Totting's life comes in 1369/1370. During this academic year Totting, as bachelor of theology, defended six controversial theses in a disputation.¹⁴ Adalbertus Rankonis de Ericinio (Vojtěch Raňkův z Ježova, ca. 1320–1388), a *scholasticus* of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Vitus Cathedral was present at the disputation and strongly disagreed with Totting. Gradually the conflict escalated to the extent that he accused Totting of heresy at the papal court in Avignon in 1371.¹⁵ Henry had to leave Prague and undergo a two-year trial before he was finally acquitted on 12 August 1373.¹⁶

Not much is known about Totting's activities in the following years. He may have come back to Prague¹⁷ or stayed in France.¹⁸ In any case, Totting is certainly attested in Paris in

¹⁰ It was previously supposed that Totting had studied at Charles University in the 1350s, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 10. This was based on a false dating of a petition of Charles IV to 1355, in which Totting was called Master of Arts and student of theology, Heinrich DENIFLE, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400. Erster Band. Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berlin 1885, pp. 591–595. The correct dating is, however, ten years later, i.e. 1365, see MVB, tomus III, *Acta Urbani V. (1362–70)*, Praha 1944, No. 585, pp. 353–355. See also S. LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense*, pp. 186–187 and D. N. HASSE, *Totting, Heinrich, von Oyta*, col. 1543. However, Harald Berger recently defended Totting's stay in Prague in the 1350s on the basis of two principal arguments: Firstly, Totting had to obtain his master's degree at some university. And since he was called a Master in Prague during his stay in Paris in 1370s and 1380s, he could only have obtained it in Prague. Secondly, in the above-mentioned note from 1360 from Erfurt Totting is already called a master, so he had to obtain his grade before he came to Erfurt, see H. BERGER, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta: Schriften zur Ars vetus*, p. 9. This does not seem to be convincing, since the usage of the title 'magister' could signify simply a teacher, see S. LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense*, pp. 190–191 and Mariken TEEUWEN, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2003, pp. 95–97. This does not exclude completely the possibility of Totting's study in Prague in the 1350s; it is still possible that new evidence will appear or that a careful analysis of Totting's early works composed in Erfurt will establish his connection to Prague.

¹¹ S. Lorenz stresses that Charles IV in his petition of 28 May 1366 speaks about 'many years' ('multi anni') which Totting spent at the University of Prague and in Erfurt, S. LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense*, p. 189.

¹² Jadwiga KRZYŻANIAKOWA, *Henryk Totting z Oyty i jego prasy uczeniowie*, p. 90; *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*, pars I, Praha 1830, p. 133sqq.

¹³ Franz FLASKAMP, *Der Wiedenbrücker Stiftspropst Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte 51 and 52, 1958/1959, p. 16; A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 8.

¹⁴ Published by A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 20–21. Republished by Jaroslav KADLEC, *Adalbert Rankonis de Ericinio*, Münster 1971, pp. 14–15.

¹⁵ J. KADLEC, *Adalbert Rankonis de Ericinio*, pp. 14–19.

¹⁶ A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 24 and D. N. HASSE, *Totting, Heinrich, von Oyta*, col. 1544. On the contrary, Kadlec mentions the date 13 August 1373, see J. KADLEC, *Adalbert Rankonis de Ericinio*, pp. 14–16.

¹⁷ A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 28; S. LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense*, p. 190.

¹⁸ William J. Courtenay concluded that one of Totting's very important works, the *Abbreviatio* of Adam Wodeham's Commentary on Peter Lombard's Sentences was written in Paris around 1375 or between 1373 and 1378, see William J. COURTENAY, *Adam Wodeham: An Introduction to his Life and Writings*, Leiden 1978, pp. 146–147.

the year 1377 when he is mentioned in the *Liber procuratorum nationis Anglicanae*.¹⁹ Totting's career in Paris was crowned by achieving a licentiate in theology in 1380.²⁰

At that time the situation in Paris was becoming difficult for German masters because they sided with the Roman Pope Urban VI against the Avignonese Pope Clement VII in the Papal Schism. For this reason many of them decided to leave Paris and return to the Holy Roman Empire in the early 1380s. Henry Totting of Oyta was among them and he arrived in Prague possibly as early as 1381.²¹

Back at the university in Prague he became its vice-chancellor and started to teach at the Faculty of Theology, but he did not stay for long. In 1384 he left the city and came to teach at the newly established Faculty of Theology in Vienna. It is supposed that it was his friend from Paris, Henry of Langenstein (c. 1340 – February 11, 1397), who invited him.²² His decision might also have been influenced by the early nationalist conflict in Prague over the filling of vacant positions in Charles College in 1384.²³

Totting also held important offices in Vienna. In 1385 he acted as a representative of the chancellor of the university and was elected dean of the Faculty of Theology in 1388 and again in 1395. He died May 12, 1397,²⁴ only a few months after his friend Henry of Langenstein.²⁵

There are many works written by Totting.²⁶ He is well known especially for his commentaries on the works of Aristotle²⁷ and on Peter Lombard's Sentences.²⁸ However, as a member of the university and a priest, his task was also to preach on many occasions. Thirty-five

¹⁹ A master Gerardus de Pellikem asked the congregation of the English nation to admit 'Henricum de Euta and Jacobam de Krakovia, quia essent magistri alibi et non Parisius' ('because they were masters somewhere else and not in Paris') to the university feast together with other masters, see *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 1, ed. Henricus DENIFLE, Paris 1894, col. 527 and Thomas SULLIVAN, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1371–1500. A Biographical Register*, Voll. II, *The Secular Clergy*, Leiden – Boston 2011, p. 526.

²⁰ See T. SULLIVAN, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology*, pp. 525–528.

²¹ See A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 31–34. About the whole situation see also Zenon KALUZA, 'Translatio studii': *Kryzys uniwersytetu paryskiego w latach 1380–1400 i jego skutki*, *Studia Mediewistyczne* 15, 1974, pp. 71–108.

²² It was A. LANG, who already expressed this opinion, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 37–38. See also D. N. HASSE, *Totting, Heinrich, von Oyta*, col. 1545. Kreuzer points out that both masters (i.e. Henry Totting of Oyta and Henry of Langenstein) were called 'principales' of the renewed University in Vienna by the Vienna Annals in the year 1384 and that they both received the first payment on the same day, see Georg KREUZER, *Heinrich von Langenstein: Studien zur Biographie und zu den Schismatraktaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Epistola pacis und der Epistola concilii pacis*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 1987, p. 80, note 238.

²³ A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 31–36. However, Martin Nodl has shown that the conflict actually happened after Totting's departure. His decision could therefore have been motivated by better financial terms in Vienna. See Martin NODL, *Dekret kutnohorský*, Praha 2010, p. 77.

²⁴ Originally it was supposed that Totting died on May 20, 1397, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 43. This was based on a preserved entry in *Acta facultatis artium Vindobonensis*, see Paul UIBLEIN (ed.), *Acta facultatis artium universitatis Vindobonensis 1385–1416*, Graz – Wien – Köln, 1968, p. 149. However, Paul Uiblein found the right date in two necrologies, see *ibidem*, p. 149, note 5. See also H. BERGER, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta: Schriften zur Ars vetus*, p. 9.

²⁵ The Vienna years are well documented by Albert Lang, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 37–43.

²⁶ See A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 43–137. Modern additions in D. N. HASSE, *Totting, Heinrich, von Oyta*, col. 1542–1556.

²⁷ For Totting's works concerning the Faculty of Arts see S. LORENZ, *Studium generale Erfordense*, pp. 197–200 and Olga WEIJERS, *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca. 1200–1500): IV. Répertoire des noms commençant par H et J (jusq' à Johannes C.)*, Turnhout 2001, pp. 68–73.

²⁸ See the study by Martin Dekarli in this volume. List of the commentaries to the Sentences of Peter Lombard, see Friedrich STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium commentariorum in sententias Petri Lombardi*, Würzburg 1947, pp. 156–160.

sermons have been attributed to Henry Totting of Oyta, of which thirty-one have been preserved to date.²⁹ Some of them seem to survive only in a single manuscript, like the sermon *De beata Virgine (On the Blessed Virgin)*.³⁰ Others are preserved in numerous copies, like the sermon *De concepcione Mariae Virginis (On the Conception of the Virgin Mary)*³¹ in at least thirteen manuscripts. Albert Lang gathered forty manuscripts containing at least one of the Totting's sermons. Without any special effort we were able to add to his list twenty-two more manuscripts. Thus, there are certainly many more manuscripts yet to be discovered and the following numbers therefore should be understood as very preliminary.

The majority of the manuscripts are kept today in a small number of libraries. Surprisingly, very few can be found in today's Czech Republic.³² Some other manuscripts, however, can be directly linked to Prague.³³ Most manuscripts are preserved in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (eight manuscripts), Vienna, Nationalbibliothek (eight manuscripts), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (six manuscripts), Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift (five manuscripts), and Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek (four manuscripts).³⁴ Klosterneuburg and Graz almost certainly had more manuscripts containing works of Henry Totting of Oyta and future research will try to locate them. So far, none of Totting's sermons have been found in Paris although he almost certainly preached there, too.

Although Totting's sermons are usually associated only with Vienna,³⁵ it seems probable that as a priest and a student of theology Totting was already active as a preacher in the 1360s and certainly later, when he received a licentiate in theology.³⁶ Albert Lang, in the only extant monograph on Henry Totting of Oyta, identified thirty-four sermons and categorized them into five groups:³⁷ sermons on the feast days of Jesus (eight sermons), sermons on the feast days of the Virgin Mary (eleven sermons), sermons on the feast days of saints (eight sermons), sermons on special occasions (five sermons) and finally Sunday sermons (two sermons). In the *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*

²⁹ Lost sermons are known from the Catalogue of the Carthusian monastery in Aggsbach and were a part of cod. B 10: *De assumptione Mariae* (inc. 'Exaltata sum in Libano', Eccl. 24,17), On the feast of one of the apostles (inc. 'Quam pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis', Is. 52,7), *Pro defunctis* (inc. 'Abraham mortuus est', Ioh. 8,52), and finally a sermon *Ad clerum* (inc. 'Deponentes mendacium loquimini veritatem', Eph. 4,25). The sermon *De assumptione Mariae* might have been found by Francesca Battista, see footnote 67.

³⁰ Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Amplon. quart. 150, fol. 270r–274r, inc. 'Murus est, edificemus super, Cantico-rum ultimo. Universi conditor orbis ordinatissima disposizione.'

³¹ Inc. 'Consurget virga de israel, Num. 24,17. Sanctissime Virginis Marie matris Dei.'

³² There is only one manuscript in Prague (Praha, Národní knihovna, VIII F 10) and one in Olomouc (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 323), both containing the already mentioned most successful sermon *De concepcione Mariae Virginis*.

³³ These include Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524 and 534, St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI 97, and Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 212.

³⁴ Exceptional is the Universitätsbibliothek in Kassel. Although it keeps only one manuscript with Totting's sermons, it is the manuscript which contains their highest number (12), see Konrad WIEDEMANN, *Manuscripta theologica. Die Handschriften in Folio* (Die Handschriften der Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel – Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel I,1), Wiesbaden 1994, pp. 139–142.

³⁵ Cf. A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 113–115, and others.

³⁶ It was only Václav Novotný, who supposed that 'assuredly many of them [i.e. sermons of Henry Totting of Oyta] have their origins in Prague and especially it is necessary to point out the sermon cycles on the body of Christ and his resurrection' ('jistě mnohé svými začátky sahají do Prahy, při čemž zvláště nutno vytknouti také cyklus kázání o těle Kristově a jeho z mrtvých vstání'), see Václav NOVOTNÝ, *Náboženské hnutí české ve 14. a 15. století*, část I, *Do Husa*, Praha 1915, p. 97.

³⁷ A. Lang identified thirty-four, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 113–123.

1350 bis 1500 also a sermon *De contemptu mundi* (*On the contempt of the world*),³⁸ which was unknown to Albert Lang, is listed.³⁹ In various manuscripts it was attributed, e.g., to Iodocus Weiler,⁴⁰ Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl,⁴¹ and Henry of Langenstein.⁴² However, the name of Henry Totting of Oyta is attested, e.g., in Clm 7601.⁴³

The audience of the sermons as well as the occasions on which they were delivered, are known only rarely. Especially precious are the sermons *De nativitate Domini*,⁴⁴ *In adventu Domini*,⁴⁵ and *De novo sacerdote*.⁴⁶ All of them are persevered in the manuscripts with the note that they were held in the Carthusian monastery of Mauerbach, which was situated near to Vienna.⁴⁷ For two of them we know even the dates: *In adventu Domini* was preached in 1387 and *De novo sacerdote* in 1391. The audience of these sermons probably consisted of monks and perhaps other secular clergy. However, Totting was a teacher at the Faculty of Theology as well, which means that he preached sermons also for an academic audience. Traces of these groups can be found in allocutions mentioning *scholares* and *doctores*. It is possible that the communication strategies and the structures of the sermons differ according to audience, but this is difficult to answer, since there are almost no editions and studies on them.⁴⁸

For these reasons we have chosen three different sermons for our preliminary comparative study: one out of each of the three main categories of sermons: *De passione Domini* (*On the Passion of the Lord*)⁴⁹ as an example of the preaching on Jesus Christ, *De assumptione BMV* (*On the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*)⁵⁰ as an example of Marian preaching, and *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste* (*On the birth of John the Baptist*)⁵¹ as one of the sermons on saints. Each of the selected sermons seem to be written at a different point in Totting's career or for a slightly different audience.

³⁸ Inc. 'Videte itaque, quomodo caute ambuletis, Eph 5,15. Ubi sciendum, quod apostolus Paulus consciens secretorum.'

³⁹ *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters 1350 bis 1500* [CD-ROM], based on the preparatory work of J. B. SCHNEVER, ed. Ludwig HÖDL – Wendelin KNOCH, Münster 2001, under the lemma Henricus Totting de Oyta.

⁴⁰ Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 211.

⁴¹ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3409, fol. 149r.

⁴² Wien, Schottenstift, 125.

⁴³ Inc. 'Sermo bonus Hainrici de Oyta de contemptu mundi etc. Videte quomodo caute ambuletis, non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes redimentes tempus, quoniam dies mali sunt [...] Ubi sciendum, quod apostolus Paulus', see München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7601, fol. 120va.

⁴⁴ Inc. 'Mane videbitis gloriam Domini, Ex 16,7 [...] Quia caligantibus atque.'

⁴⁵ Inc. 'Letare filia Syon, quia ecce ego venio [...], Zach 2,10. Beatus ille propheta David.'

⁴⁶ Inc. 'Qui bene presunt presbiteri duplici honore digni habentur. Scribitur prima ad Thy. 5°. Lex divina copiose.'

⁴⁷ See A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 41, 122.

⁴⁸ To date only Gustav Sommerfeld has published two sermons in full and another one in part: *In adventu Domini* or *De gradibus obedientiae*, inc. 'Letare filia Syon, quia ecce ego venio [...] Zach 2,10. Beatus ille propheta David', see Gustav SOMMERFELD, *Zu Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 25, Innsbruck 1904, pp. 598–603. *In adventu episcopi Pataviensis Viennam*, inc. 'Protegit te nomen dei Jacob, Psalmo 19. Si in Jacob attendimus', see Gustav SOMMERFELD, *Zwei politische Sermones des Heinrich von Oyta und des Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl (1388 und 1417)*, Historisches Jahrbuch 26, 1905, pp. 320–323. *De adventu Domini*, inc. 'Ecce salvator tuus venit, Ysaie 62, 11 [...] Pro sancti spiritus impetranda gracia', see Gustav SOMMERFELD, *Aus der Zeit der Begründung der Universität Wien*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 29, Innsbruck 1908, pp. 296–297.

⁴⁹ Inc. 'Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te, Dt 28. In hiis verbis mystice nobis proponitur.'

⁵⁰ Inc. 'In Ierusalem potestas mea, Eccli 24 et in epistula nunc instantis festivitatis. Reverendi patres et domini, virgo hodie gloriosa.'

⁵¹ Inc. 'Quis putas puer iste erit? Luce primo et in hodie festivitatis ewangelio. Reverendi patres et domini, sacra, sicut nostis.'

Sermo de passione Domini: Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te (Deut 28,66) Riccardo Burgazzi

The *Sermo de Passione Domini* (inc. ‘*Erit vita tua*’) by Henry Totting of Oyta has remained unpublished until now, and consequently unknown to critics.⁵² It is known from five extant manuscripts today: Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171, fols. 173va–177ra (around 1363),⁵³ Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 172, fols. 178ra–181va (first half of the 15th century),⁵⁴ Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A X 91, fols. 34v–37v and 148r–150r (mid-15th century),⁵⁵ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524, fols. 136r–139r (around 1400 and 1404)⁵⁶ and fragmentary in Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 229, fols. 264r–265r (14th century).⁵⁷ All of the codices are miscellanies of religious works written by various authors; the only evident similarity in their contents is the insertion of a long narrative treatise on the Passion of Christ immediately after the sermon in the manuscripts Augsburg, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524.⁵⁸

The sermon is divided into four parts: a prologue and three chapters. The prologue introduces the biblical quotation from Dt. 28,66: ‘*Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te*’ (‘And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee’),⁵⁹ and announces the subsequent themes. The three chapters are structured in a very regular way. Each of them begins with a very similar phrase, followed by a quadripartite analysis, and a conclusion.

Henry Totting of Oyta proposes to interpret the ‘mystical’ words of Dt 28,66 by meditating on the figure of Jesus as ‘the book of life’, which should be studied as a very proper, delicate and salutary exemplar, in order to correct our defects, to know the value of charity and to comprehend the fruit of eternal salvation. When Moses says ‘*Erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te*’, the Holy Spirit (who is the guide of this book) makes his disciples good doctors in three ways: he makes (*reddit eos*) them benevolent (*benivolos*), when he says *vita tua*; he makes them docile (*dociles*) when he emphasizes *pendens*; and he makes them

⁵² Totting also wrote another sermon on the same topic, inc. ‘*Nolite me vocare Noemi [...], Ruth 1,20. Consuetum est in principio*’, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 116.

⁵³ See Hardo HILG, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg: Cod. II. 1.2 91–226*, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg: Reihe 1. Die lateinischen Handschriften, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1999, p. 266.

⁵⁴ H. HILG, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften*, p. 271.

⁵⁵ Beat Matthias von SCARPATETTI, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz in lateinischer Schrift vom Anfang des Mittelalters bis 1550*, Bd. 1, *Die Handschriften der Bibliotheken von Aarau, Appenzell und Basel, Text- und Abbildungsband*, Dietikon – Zürich 1977, signature A X 91. The text in this manuscript is divided between two different sections of the codex and is unfinished. The cause is a scribal error between fols. 150r and 150v, which was likely prompted by the word ‘*meditationem*’, after which another text (on Christ’s burial) begins.

⁵⁶ Montague Rhodes JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of The Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, vol. II, Cambridge 1912, p. 475. The sermon *Erit vita tua* is situated before five other texts: a long narrative treatise on the Passion of Christ (also present in Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171) and four shorter meditative works (fols. 172rb–173vb; 173vb–174vb; 174vb–178va; 178va–182v) on the same topic.

⁵⁷ Margarette ANDERSON-SHMITT – Monica HEDLUND, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung Bd. 3. C 201–300*, Stockholm 1990, p. 117.

⁵⁸ Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171, fols. 177ra–264ra and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524, fols. 139ra–172rb, inc. ‘*Ut igitur vitam et miracula eiusque mirabilia opera que gessit*’.

⁵⁹ All English translations are cited according to the Douay-Rheims Bible <<http://www.drbo.org/lvb/index.htm>> (December 31, 2014).

attentive (*attentos*), when he adds *ante te*. The whole sermon develops around an analysis of these three adjectives, which date back to the rhetorical tradition attributed to Cicero and in particular to the first book of *De ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium*.⁶⁰

The Holy Spirit makes the disciples benevolent when he says ‘*Erit vita tua*’, because he wins their goodwill by speaking about life, which is usually very dear and sweet to men. Using this premise, Henry Totting explains that Christ represents the *causa* of our life, in every sense of the term: efficient, formal, material, and final. Then, he expands upon each of these points in turn. According to Totting, the best way to study the book (i.e. Christ) is to meditate on the Passion. Jesus laid (*iacuit*), sat (*sedet*) stood (*stetit*) and was hanged (*pependit*) for us. The second of the four parts of the sermon is based on these static verbs. In its conclusion, Totting makes an observation regarding the word *quasi*, from the verse in Deuteronomy: while Christ was hanging in front of the ‘insolent eyes’ of Jews completely, he hung in front of the ‘mental eyes’ of Christians only partially, because they believe that, through the crucifixion, Jesus went to sit at the right hand of the Father. Finally, the Holy Spirit makes disciples – that is, us – attentive (*attentos*) when he adds *ante te*, for instance every time we hear the chant *Ecce lignum* on Good Friday or we see a carved or painted image of the crucifix. According to this concept, later supported with further biblical quotations, Totting underlines four uses we can get from meditating on artistic representations⁶¹ of the Passion.

Was this sermon, authored by a master of liberal arts, written for Sunday homilies or was it to be read by an educated or academic public? Does it reveal anything about the university environment? Was it composed as an aid to a private and silent contemplation, or for public reading?⁶² Certainly, as previously mentioned, the work *Erit vita tua* of Henry Totting of Oyta presents typical structure of academic texts.⁶³ A contextualization of the sermon *Erit vita tua* should be looked for in the first stages of Totting’s academic career. The *terminus post quem non* for the dating of the sermon is given by Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171 and it is around the year 1363. Therefore, this work could have been written while he was rector of the *studium generale* in Erfurt, or very soon after his coming to Prague; and only after this year it could have been summarized by John of Zazenhausen (ca. 1310/20–1380) in the prologue of his two unpublished narrative treatises on the Passion.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ “Principium est, cum statim auditoris animum nobis idoneum reddimus ad audiendum. *Id ita sumitur, ut attentos, ut dociles, ut benivolos auditores habere possimus.*”

⁶¹ From the edition in preparation: “*Et assidue cum depictam vel sculptam ymaginem crucifixi intuemur: quare hoc nisi ut diligenter librum crucis inspiciamus? Et qualia quantaque pro nobis passus sit attendamus?*”

⁶² Louis-Jacques Batallion states about medieval sermons: “We have now to ask questions about the relation between the written text that was preserved and the oral form in which it would normally have been delivered as a sermon. First, was there always a spoken form? Some of the texts presented as sermons may have been spiritual treatises cast in the form of sermons as a literary device but actually made to be read and meditated upon: what Michel Zink calls ‘preaching in an armchair.’” See Louis-Jacques BATAILLON, *Approches to the Study of Medieval Sermons*, Leeds Studies in English 11, 1980, p. 21.

⁶³ Each chapter, indeed, announces a theme (*reddit* [...]), demonstrates it through four steps, and finally comes to a conclusion (*ergo* [...]).

⁶⁴ This author in fact wrote two different treatises on this same topic, one in Latin and one in German: see Tobias A. KEMPER, *Die Kreuzigung Christi. Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu lateinischen und deutschen Passionstraktaten des Spätmittelalters*, Tübingen, 2006, pp. 141–143 and 151–153. A textual comparison between Henry’s sermon and John’s prologue clearly shows that the latter resumed the work of the first and used it as a prologue for his

Since applying Aristotelian logic to theology and reasoning on the work of Peter Lombard⁶⁵ were milestones in the career of any medieval scholar, in order to place a sermon into an academic context, it is important to check whether it uses those two authors. The sermon *Erit vita tua* indeed cites both of these authorities. The use of Aristotle made here by Totting is fully conventional, but it should be noted that the Philosopher is quoted in order to introduce a strictly logical reasoning on the types of ‘cause’ (Christ is the efficient, formal, material and final cause of our life).⁶⁶ As for Peter Lombard, Henry Totting cites him to support his thesis on Christ intended as the material cause for our lives. So, both these quotations are not inserted to be commented on, but (as all the other quotations present in the sermon) in order to support the ideas which Henry Totting is sustaining.

What is remarkable is the kind of rhetoric used to organize the reasoning itself, or rather the presence of the adjectives of the Ciceronian tradition: *benivolos*, *dociles* and *attentos*. It seems that Totting, who was not yet a theologian while he was writing this text, was influenced by his studies in *liberal arts*. Thus, the sermon is, on the one hand, very formally structured, as a typical scientific text; on the other hand, the metaphor of the book combined with the words *more boni doctoris* (Henry says that Holy Spirit behaves as a good doctor who studies Moses’ words), with the Ciceronian rhetorical tradition and with the presence of philosophical terminology of an Aristotelian nature refer, once again, to an academic environment.

Whether this sermon was actually delivered orally or meant to be read in private is a different question, impossible to answer without some new explicit evidence (such as an authorial statement). In conclusion, it is very plausible that this sermon was delivered to a well-educated audience; and the renowned *studium generale* in Erfurt could have been the right place to compose it. Therefore, a contextualization of the sermon *Erit vita tua* should be looked for in the first stages of Henry Totting of Oyta’s academic career.

The multiple faces of Mary in the sermon *In Ierusalem potestas mea* (Eccli 24,15)

Francesca Battista

Mary has multiple faces in the Middle Ages. Those selected by Totting in his unedited sermon *In Ierusalem potestas mea* (*My power in Jerusalem*),⁶⁷ transmitted by four

works: see Jan ODSTRČILÍK – Riccardo BURGAZZI – Francesca BATTISTA, *Combining Active and Contemplative Life. Three Sermons of a Late Medieval Intellectual Henry Totting of Oyta*, Bern 2015 (in print).

⁶⁵ Within the year 1371 (when he left for Avignon to defend himself from the charge of heresy) Henry Totting of Oyta had already completed his first commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 17; but he had written many commentaries on Aristotle before he started to write commentaries on the Sentences, see D. N. HASSE, *Totting, Heinrich, von Oyta*, col. 1542–1556.

⁶⁶ The exegetes referred to the four Aristotelian causes to give a logic structure to their sermons; this use was firstly proposed by Gueric of Saint Quentin († 1245); see in this regard: Jacques VERGER, *L’esegesi dell’Università*, in: Pierre Riché – Jean Châtillon – Jacques Verger, *Lo studio della Bibbia nel Medioevo latino*, Brescia 1989, pp. 112–113.

⁶⁷ Inc. ‘*In Ierusalem potestas mea, Eccli 24 et in epistula nunc instantis festivitatis. Reverendi patres et domini, virgo hodie gloriosa.*’ Totting wrote three other sermons on the Assumption: 1) *Ascendit de deserto*, Ct 8,5; 2) *Sic in Sion firmata sum*, Eccli 24,15 (see footnote 75); 3) *Exaltata sum in Libano*, Eccli 24,17. See A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 118–119. The last of these sermons is supposed to be lost but, in my opinion, it might be the sermon contained in Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, incipit *Exaltata sum in Libano Eccli. 24. Reverendi patres et domini quam sui solemnis et suavis festivitas hodierna*, Ms. 163, fols. 264r–275v.

manuscripts known to date (14th–15th century),⁶⁸ position him within the Assumption theology of the time, between tradition and new spiritual needs.

The faces emerge in the telling of the *historia assumptionis*⁶⁹ which is based on the traditional exegesis of the triple Jerusalem and its interpretation as *visio pacis* ('vision of peace'), transmitted probably by Augustine.⁷⁰ The story of Mary's Assumption should be understood as the praising of her role in the history of salvation which is described through three stages *fastidivit* ('despised'), *custodivit* ('guarded'), *acquisivit* ('acquired') in three *membra* according to the university form of preaching. First, the *inventio* of the theme is given by the quotation from Eccli 24,15 (*In Ierusalem potestas mea*), which was the standard pericope read for the feast of the Assumption. Afterwards, there is the *prothema* introducing the main topic by quoting Saint Bernard. The conventional preacher's request to the audience to pray and the *introductio thematis*, in which Totting explains the nature of the feast, that is the Assumption of Mary into Heaven, follow. Then comes the *divisio*⁷¹ in which the theme is repeated in order to be divided and confirmed by biblical quotations. Totting states that the biblical verse Eccli 24,15 (*In Ierusalem potestas mea*) can be associated to the image of the triple kind of Jerusalem (carnal, spiritual, celestial), the triple type of peace (carnal pleasure, peace of mind, eternal beatitude) and the triple form of Mary's *potestas* (rigorous, gracious, glorious). This division is confirmed by specific biblical quotations (*confirmatio partium*) ranging from literal, through allegorical, to anagogical meaning, from the old Jerusalem to the new Jerusalem.

⁶⁸ Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 163, fols. 259v–264r; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. fol. 690, fols. 208r–212v; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College library, 534, fols. 126v–130r; Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 212, fols. 84r–90v. For the description of the manuscripts, see: Maria MAIROL, *Die datierten Handschriften in der Steiermark außerhalb der Universitätsbibliothek Graz bis zum Jahre 1600*, Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich 7, Vienna 1988, Hill Museum and Manuscript Library <<http://www.vhmdl.us/research2014/catalog/detail.asp?MSID=9563>> (April 4, 2016); *Codices manuscripti latini in folio (Mss. lat. fol.)*, Handschriftenkataloge der Königlichen Bibliothek und Preussischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Dienst-kataloge in Kopien 14; M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 584–586; Jiří KEJŘ, *Díla pražských mistrů v rukopisech knihovny Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis 26/2, 1986, pp. 109–148; Margarete ANDERSSON-SCHMITT – Monica HEDLUND, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 3, Mss. C 201–300, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 26/3, Stockholm 1990, pp. 33–37. The relationship of the manuscripts, the critical edition of the sermon, a more detailed description of its structure, the issues of the date and place of the sermon composition and its audience are included in the forthcoming study.

⁶⁹ See Rachel FULTON, *Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?: The Song of Songs as the Historia for the Office of the Assumption*, *Mediaeval Studies* 60, 1998, pp. 55–122.

⁷⁰ As for the 'divisio quietis' and its 'subdivisiones' Totting explicitly states that he bases them on Bernard ('recte' Guerric of Igny) sermon in 'omnibus requiem quesivi'.

⁷¹ An anonymous unedited sermon (Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 197, fols. 7r–8v) on the Feast of Assumption with the incipit "*In Ierusalem potestas mea et legitur exemplariter in hodierna festivitatis officio. Doctor gloriosus beatus Ieronimus potestatem atque exaltacionem virginis mariae exprimere [...] cupiens*" adopts the very same *divisio*. Besides, the first and third sermon parts are substantially and formally very similar to Totting's sermon one. A hypothesis on the relationship between these two sermons will be given in a study in press. The exact relationship between these two sermons is not completely clear. This issue will be a matter of future investigation. Another unedited Assumption sermon (Escorial Library, Real Bibl. de S. Lorenzo, O.I.8.III, fol. 242r–242v) by a Cistercian Guillelmus de Populeto (13th century?) is different from Totting's.

JERUSALEM	PEACE	MARY'S POWER
<p>Carnalis civitas (‘carnal city’) <i>Ierusalem Ierusalem, que occidis prophetas</i>, Mt 23,37</p> <p>(‘Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets’)</p>	<p>Voluptas carnis (‘carnal pleasure’) <i>Deceperint populum meum dicentes: Pax, pax et non erat pax</i>, Ez 13,10 (‘Because they have deceived my people, saying: Peace, and there is no peace’)</p>	<p>Rigorosa potestas (‘rigorous power’)</p>
<p>Spiritualis civitas (‘spiritual city’) <i>Pulchra es amica mea, suavis et decora sicut Ierusalem</i>, Ct 6,3 (‘Thou art beautiful, O my love, sweet and comely as Jerusalem’)</p>	<p>Tranquillitas mentis (‘peace of mind’) <i>Gracia vobis et pax multiplicetur</i>, I Pt 1, 2 (‘Grace unto you and peace be multiplied’)</p>	<p>Graciosa potestas (‘gracious power’)</p>
<p>Supernalis civitas (‘supernal city’) <i>Que sursum est Ierusalem, libera est; que est mater nostra</i>, Gal 4,26 (‘But that Jerusalem, which is above, is free: which is our mother’)</p>	<p>Beatitudo eternitatis (‘eternal beatitude’) <i>Deus pacis det vobis pacem sempiternam</i>, II Thess 3,16 (‘The Lord of peace himself give you everlasting peace’)</p>	<p>Gloriosa potestas (‘glorious power’)</p>

After the introductory section, the *historia assumptionis* follows with an extended treatment in three sermon parts. The audience virtually participates in Mary’s journey towards the palace of God through three phases. The first focuses on the *rigorosa potestas* that allows the Blessed Lady to defeat all the devil’s temptations represented by the carnal Jerusalem and its false peace; the second is devoted to the exploration of Mary’s *graciosa potestas* which is in the spiritual Jerusalem and is connected to the fact that she is full of grace; the journey concludes in the celestial Jerusalem rejoicing in the *visio pacis*, the perpetual vision of God. This three-stage analysis, together with specific aspects of the manuscript tradition of the text reveal a specific Mariology whose features are covered in the following sections.

The belief in Mary’s sinlessness and power is often associated with her bodily assumption to the palace of God and exemplified by the parallelism Mary-Eve (integrity *versus* sin). The fact of the corporeal rise of Mary has been questioned after the early appearance of the apocryphal texts on the topic.⁷² A significant contribution to the development of the doctrine of the Assumption was made by the *Tractatus de assumptione BMV* (around the end of the 11th c.), attributed erroneously to Augustine. The so-called Pseudo-Augustine⁷³ gave birth to a theological tendency in support of the bodily assumption of Mary, which

⁷² See Michel van ESBROECK, *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge*, Aldershot 1995, pp. 265–285; Brian REYNOLDS, *Gateway to Heaven, Marian Doctrine and Devotion Image and Typology in the Patristic and Medieval Periods*, vol. 1, New York 2012, pp. 293–329; Stephen J. SHOEMAKER, *Marian Liturgies and Devotion in Early Christianity*, in: Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource*, London – New York 2007, pp. 130–145.

⁷³ *De assumptione beatae Mariae Virginis*, see Aurelius AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 6, ed. Jacques Paul MIGNE (Patrologia Latina 40), Paris 1863, col. 1141–1148.

had a substantial influence throughout the Middle Ages.⁷⁴ It seems to have influenced Totting too: in his unedited sermon *Sic in Sion firmata sum* ('So I was established in Sion'), he extensively refers to the Assumption debate, supporting Pseudo-Augustine's *rationes*. He presents the position of those who consider them *non demonstrative*, not able clearly to persuade (*evidenter convincere*) about the issue of the bodily assumption of the Virgin, but declares that they are in fact sufficient to prove the issue itself (*ad probandum quescionem illam*) because they are based on both Scripture and faith, and they are also appreciable because they were made for the sake of increasing faith and piety (*ad augmentum fidei et pietatis*).⁷⁵

Although in the Assumption sermon *In Ierusalem potestas mea*, while Totting does not seem to quote Pseudo-Augustine directly, he clearly follows his teaching. This supposition appears to be in part supported by the usage of the principal *auctoritas* of the corporeal assumption agnosticism, the Pseudo-Jerome,⁷⁶ which is quoted with no concern for the context of the work and the author's purpose. It is noticeable that Totting observes Pseudo-Augustine's doctrine but incorporates various diverging points. The relationship between Mary's and God's power slightly changes. In Pseudo-Augustine there is a special emphasis on the Lord's power as the explanation of Mary's prerogatives (divine maternity, perpetual virginity, sanctity). The use of the formula *potuit, deuit, ergo fecit* ('he could do it, it was proper to do it, therefore he did') is especially emblematic in this way. In Totting's sermon, even if it is clearly declared that Mary's *potestas* is given by the all-powerful God,⁷⁷ the Blessed Lady seems to gain a more specific individuality. The sermon is in fact an eulogy of her special power. Furthermore, Mary's *potestas* continues to be associated with her state as a pure virgin, but there is also a great emphasis on her role as merciful mother. The recurrent image of Mary as Queen of heaven (*Maria Regina*) seated on Christ's right hand, indicates clearly her part played in the redemption of humankind. She is the *Mediatrix* of Divine Grace.

In Totting's sermon, the importance given to Mary's mediating role is drawn from Bernard of Clairvaux.⁷⁸ Assuredly, we come across quotations from the Cistercian master more often than any other non-biblical source. It seems Henry Totting would have these in most cases at first hand from Bernard, because they are quite long and often accurate. At any rate, it is certain that Totting had a special interest in the *doctor marianus* since, among the

⁷⁴ See Giuseppe QUADRIO, *Il trattato 'De assumptione B. Mariae Virginis' dello pseudo-Agostino e il suo influsso nella teologia assunzionistica latina*, Roma 1951.

⁷⁵ The reference is based on Jan Odstrčilik's transcription currently in progress (he will prepare the critical edition of several Henry Totting de Oyta's sermons) and on the study of the two manuscripts which preserve the sermon (Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, Ccl 73, fols. 150r–153r; Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, CC 97, fols. 122r–126v). See footnote 107.

⁷⁶ See Albert RIPBERGER, *Der Pseudo-Hieronymus-Brief IX 'Cogitis me': ein erster marianischer Traktat des Mittelalters von Paschasius Radbert*, Freiburg 1962.

⁷⁷ "Omne quod vult in celo et in terra tanto utique potencius quanto plenius introivit in potencias Domini, ita ut non sit ei impossibile apud Deum omne verbum."

⁷⁸ For Bernard's assumption sermons see Gerhard B. WINKLER – Alberich ALTERMATT – Denis FARKASFALVY – Polycarp ZAKAR (eds.), *Bernhard von Clairvaux sämtliche Werke: lateinisch/deutsch*, vol. 8, Innsbruck 1997, pp. 526–619.

saints, apart from Mary he is the only one, along with John the Baptist, to be selected as the subject of specific sermons.⁷⁹

Generally speaking, Totting takes from Bernard his special appeal to praise Mary especially using it in a soteriological perspective. It is clear that, for Totting, Mary's greatness and admirable dignity is rooted in the mystery of the Incarnation. In any case, the focus is shifted especially on her powerful openness and willingness to help human creatures.

Especially in the central and later Middle Ages there is a general interest in Mary's emotions and affective piety; mystics, such as Saint Bernard, had a very influential role in the development of Christian spirituality. Thus, Totting seems in part perfectly integrated in the general tendencies of the time.

In Totting's sermon, Mary's power cannot be explained only in terms of mercy and purity but also as an exemplary model of moral behavior that should be imitated in order to get the *armatura Dei* ('armor of God') and extinguish the 'fiery darts' of temptation.⁸⁰ Indeed, the German theologian depicts the Blessed Lady as a woman of great ethical qualities. She opposes the vices of the auditors of his preaching. This is also confirmed by the scribe himself as shown by the following passage that was most likely originally a marginal note afterwards incorporated by the copyist/collector in the running text and that testifies to the usage of this sermon as a model sermon: "*Hic introduci possunt vicia auditorum que intelliguntur per feces, scilicet avaricia, superbia, luxuria, que fetere faciunt odorem clericorum et quod nomen Christi in ecclesia blasphematur.*" ("Here the vices of the auditors may be introduced, that are understood as feces, that is, avarice, pride, lust, that make stink the smell of the clerics, and also that the name of Christ is blasphemed in the church.")⁸¹

Among the vices mentioned above, especially that of avarice gains a special place in the sermon. Totting connects it to three biblical passages: *in puncto ad inferna descendunt* ('in a moment they go down to hell', Job 21,13), *et relinquunt alienis divitias suas* ('and they shall leave their riches to strangers', Ps 48,11), *hec lata via istorum scandalum ipsis* ('this way of theirs is a stumbling block to them', Ps 48,14); and to their related three *dubitaciones*: 1) for which reason the iniquitous leave their goods to foreigners (*alieni*); 2) why the impious suffer because of narrowness even if their *via* is said to be *lata* and the just have their foot in a large space; 3) for which reason the doubts enounced can be applied also to the devout. The responses to the three questions are found in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and in Gueric of Igny.

It is relevant to note that Augustine's instruction receives special light in Totting through the quotation of the *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum* by Pseudo-Chrysostom. Totting insists on the relevance of virtuous behavior evoking the precepts of a life regulated by justice (*iusticia*) and discipline, which is a preparation for the eternal life: "*Arta via que ducit ad vitam est omnis iusticia. Et dicitur arta, quia intra regulam veritatis et discipline est inclusa et ambulantes in ea non quod delectat faciunt, sed quod debent.*" ("The narrow way that

⁷⁹ Albert Lang refers to two sermons devoted to Bernard of Clairvaux: The first with the incipit *Lex Dei eius in corde*, the second begins *Omnis qui se exaltat*, Luc 14,11, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 119.

⁸⁰ 'Ut possimus omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere.'

⁸¹ It is the only passage of the entire text in which an impersonal tone giving instruction to the preacher is used. For the notion of the usage of live sermons as model sermons and their related practical examples see Siegfried WENZEL, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif*, New York 2005, pp. 3–4 and 16–20.

leads to life is perfect justice. And it is said to be narrow because it is included between the norm of truth and discipline and those that go through it make it not because it delights, but because they must.”⁸² What is particularly remarkable is that this notion of ‘right mode of life’ is connected to the just and appropriate use of goods. Hence, the German theologian seems to be quite acquainted with one of Pseudo-Chrysostom’s primary subjects of the discourse, poverty, and with his ideal of the virtuous life in which wealth itself is not condemned, but only those who are rich without being charitable.⁸³

The last part of Henry’s preaching contains a further striking image of the Blessed Lady that emerges by analyzing the sermon manuscript tradition. Probably, it stands under the influence of the fourteenth century pre-reformation Bohemian environment.

All manuscripts read the same passage: “*Ut enim supernorum civium unita multitudo a laboribus suis beata et concors requiescit, sic et ipsa [sc. Maria] ab omni dolore et labore quieta gaudet se illis convivere, et esse in illis.*” (“Therefore as a united multitude of supernal citizens, blessed and concordant takes a rest from its sufferings, so she herself [sc. Mary] free from all pain and suffering is pleased to live together with them and to be among them.”) However, the following part has an important variation in the manuscripts. While three of the four codices continue: “*Quasi una ex illis, licet excellencior sit univērsis. Et paulo post: vere, potestas eius est in Ierusalem, quod enim vult omnes volunt.*” (“As she was one of them, although she exceeds in excellence all. And a little later: indeed, her power is in Jerusalem and what she wants, all want.”), the manuscript Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 163 differs significantly: “*Quasi una ex illis, licet excellencior sit univērsis, et Paulo plus. Vere, potestas eius est in Ierusalem, quod enim vult omnes volunt.*” (“As she was one of them, although she exceeds in excellence all and even more Paul. Indeed, her power is in Jerusalem and what she wants, all want.”)

This variant passage seems partly to recall in part the famous letter of Pope Innocent III (September 11, 1210), addressed to the bishops of Palencia and Burgos, and included in the *Decretales*, which contain a prohibition for Spanish abbesses to exercise the priesthood. This interdict is explained with the fact that “*licet beatissima Virgo Maria dignior et excellentior fuerit Apostolis univērsis, non tamen illi, sed istis Dominus claves regni caelorum commisit*” (“though the Blessed Virgin Mary exceeded in dignity and excellence all the Apostles, it was to them and not to her that the Lord has given the keys of the kingdom of heaven”).⁸⁴ The text variant in Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 163 especially seems partly to

⁸² *Homilia xviii*, see Johannes CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Opera omnia, quae exstant*, vol. 6, ed. Jacques Paul MIGNE (Patrologia Graeca 56), Paris 1862, col. 734–735.

⁸³ For the theme richness-poverty see especially J. CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Opera omnia, quae exstant*, vol. 6, col. 722 and 933 (already noted by Cesare MAGAZZÙ, *Motivi encratici nell’Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum*, in: Giulia Sfameni Gasparro (ed.), *Agathē elpis: studi storico-religiosi in onore di Ugo Bianchi*, Roma 1994, p. 430). For a comparison with Chrysostom’s homilies on poverty see Wendy MAYER, *John Chrysostom on Poverty*, in: Pauline Allen – Wendy Mayer – Bronwen Neil (eds.), *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity, Perceptions and Realities*, Leipzig 2009, pp. 69–111. According to Wendy Mayer, Chrysostom’s homilies on poverty do not seek to create a new social system, but both poverty and wealth should remain. Anyway, the poor gain a central place in the homilist’s social vision. The poor have fewer economic obstacles to gain salvation. Besides, poverty is providential because it gives hope of salvation. Indeed, voluntary poverty, which is directly connected to almsgiving, can be adopted by everyone; it corrects souls and leads to a virtuous life. Thus, the rich benefit from the poor: moral education and prayers to ask God to be merciful towards him who has been charitable.

⁸⁴ Emil FRIEDBERG (ed.), *Liber extravagantium decretalium*, vol. 2., Leipzig 1881 (Reprint Graz 1959), liber V, tit. 38, c. 10, col. 886–887.

evoke this sentence. In fact, it is declared that Mary owns a special nature that overcomes all human beings (*universis*), and even Paul (the Apostle). Besides, though it is not explicitly declared that Mary received the keys to Heaven from God, a related image that insists on her power was used, that of the *Regina coeli*: ‘*digna et electa mater est regis regum et domini dominantium*’ (‘[Mary] is the worthy and chosen mother of the King of Kings and Lord of Lords’). Furthermore, it is particularly noticeable, that in one of the four manuscripts which preserve Totting’s sermon, namely the manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. fol. 690, some lines later, the scribe replaces the word *populi* with *apostoli*, probably as result of the ambiguity contained in this passage.

In conclusion, Totting appears perfectly integrated in the mainstream of the theological tradition of the Assumption that recognizes the special nature of Mary as Mother of God, *Mediatrix* and Intercessor. At the same time, the ambiguity of some of the sermon passages and the authorial scribe writing open issues on the usage of the sermon and reveal a latent participation of the theologian to the new matters of the time, expressed by the urgent need of the Church for renewal and discussion of the religious status of women.⁸⁵

***Vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* in the sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste* (Luc 1,66)**

Jan Odstrčilík

The last important group of Totting’s sermons, which will be discussed in this joint article, are the sermons on other saints (and other occasions).⁸⁶ There are eight sermons in this group, but only six are attested in manuscripts known today. The sermon on the feast of an unknown apostle⁸⁷ as well as the sermon *Pro defunctis* (For those who passed away),⁸⁸ seem to be lost.⁸⁹ From the rest we have two sermons *De omnibus sanctis* (On all Saints),⁹⁰

⁸⁵ The issue around the female priesthood and in general about women’s suitability to transmit God’s word had to have attracted much interest in Totting’s age. In fact, not much before Wycliffe’s support of lay people preaching revealed a weapon of ‘encouragement to women, whose sex debarred them the priesthood’, see Patricia CRAWFORD, *Women and Religion in England: 1500–1720*, London – New York 1993, p. 25. In the similar historical period, analogous concerns involve also the mystic Bridget of Sweden. She calls Mary ‘Mother of Wisdom’ (*Sermo*, feria II, lectio I–II) and ‘magistra apostolorum’ (*Sermo*, feria VI, lectio I) that taught the Apostles before being assumed to heaven, see Mary Ellen WAITHE, *A History of Women Philosophers. Medieval, Renaissance and Enlightenment Women Philosophers A. D. 500–1600*, vol. 2, Boston 1989, p. 183; Claire Lynn SAHLIN, *Birgitta of Sweden and the Voice of Prophecy*, Woodbridge – Suffolk – Rochester – New York 2001, p. 97. For a discussion of the change of the meaning of the ordination during the Middle Ages (from a ‘functional’ to a ‘sacramental’ definition) and its connection to women, see Gary MACY, *The Hidden History of Women’s Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West*, Oxford 2008.

⁸⁶ A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, pp. 119–120.

⁸⁷ From the incipit is known only the biblical quotation on which it is based, i.e. ‘*Quam pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis*’, Is 52,7.

⁸⁸ As in the case above, from the incipit is known only the biblical quotation, i.e. ‘*Abraham mortuus est*’, Joh. 8,52.

⁸⁹ See the introduction above.

⁹⁰ Sermon with the inc. ‘*Gaudete et exultate*’, Mt 5,12, ‘*Beatus Augustinus in libro de cura pro mortuis agenda*’ and another sermon with the inc. ‘*Vidi civitatem sanctam Iherusalem*’.

two on St. Bernard,⁹¹ one *De caritate cuiusdam doctoris* (On the charity of some master),⁹² and finally a sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste* (On the birth of John the Baptist).⁹³ In this part, the focus will be put on the last of these sermons.

The sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste* is known from three manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 534, fols. 130v–133v,⁹⁴ St. Florian, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, XI 97, fols. 76r–78v⁹⁵ and Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, 180, fols. 58r–63r.⁹⁶ The most remarkable one is the manuscript from St. Florian which was written as early as 1383 and was bought to Prague, as is attested in the owner's note on the pastedown.⁹⁷ The composition of the manuscript seems to prove its Bohemian origin as well.⁹⁸ The manuscript in Innsbruck is a copy of the St. Florian manuscript written around 1400 and is, therefore, not relevant for the study. The last manuscript comes from Cambridge. Even though it is slightly younger than the manuscript from St. Florian, its origin can also be traced to Bohemia.⁹⁹ It is therefore highly probable, that the sermon was composed during Totting's stay in Prague between 1381 and 1384.¹⁰⁰

The sermon has a rather clear structure in its first part. It is based on the quotation from Luc 1,66: '*Quis putas puer iste erit?*' ('What an one, think ye, shall this child be?')

What follows, seems to be a typical sermon on this topic. Totting speaks about different *mirabilia* (miracles), connected with the birth of John the Baptist (numbers added):

- 1) *Sanctus Iohannes Baptista mirifice et humanitus, inconsuete ante conceptum eius in utero est ab angelo festive nunciatus,*
 - 2) *in utero a Spiritu Sancto repletive sanctificatus,*
 - 3) *post nativitatem eius ex utero a parentibus insolite nominatus.*
- 1) Saint John the Baptist was announced miraculously and humanly, unusually before his own conception in the womb and joyfully by the angel,
 - 2) [he was] sanctified by being filled by the Holy Spirit in the womb,
 - 3) after his nativity from the womb, he was named unusually by his parents.¹⁰¹

⁹¹ Inc. '*Lex Dei eius in corde*' and '*Omnis qui se exaltat*', Luc. 14,11., see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 119.

⁹² Inc. '*Mandatum novum dedi vobis ut diligatis invicem sicut dilexi vox. O homo, ecce tue forme sive discipline.*' See A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 120, incipit enlarged according to Wien, Schottenstift, 41 (Hübl 40), fol. 32rb.

⁹³ Inc. '*Quis putas puer iste erit? Luce primo et in hodieerne festivitatis ewangelio. Reverendi patres et domini, sacra, sicut nostis.*'

⁹⁴ M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 484–486.

⁹⁵ Catalogue description in Albin CZERNY, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian*, Linz 1871, pp. 43–44.

⁹⁶ Catalogue description of the manuscript in Walter NEUHAUSER, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck. Cod. 101–200*, Wien 1991, pp. 162–167. This manuscript was previously unknown to the research on Henry Totting of Oyta, cf. A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 119 and J. KEJŘ, *Díla pražských mistrů v rukopisech knihovny Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, p. 136.

⁹⁷ *Anno <domini M> CCC LXXX III in <stu>dio Pragen<si> comparatus est ille liber per magistrum Geor(iu)m (?) plebanum in .nst(er?). Et constetit VII flor(en)is minus 4^{or} g(ross)is*, see Alexander PATSCHOVSKY, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, Weimar 1979, p. 318.

⁹⁸ The most striking are articles of some heretics written on the pastedown, which are excerpted from one of the sermons of Matthew of Kraków, which was delivered in Prague in January 24, 1384, see A. PATSCHOVSKY, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, pp. 318–323. This addition confirms the dating of the rest of the manuscript to 1383. The codex also contains the sermon *De corpore Christi* of Jan Milič on fols. 78v–82r.

⁹⁹ J. KEJŘ, *Díla pražských mistrů v rukopisech knihovny Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, pp. 136–142.

¹⁰⁰ See the introduction.

¹⁰¹ All quotations are from the upcoming critical edition, which will be a part of a future longer study.

For a short comparison a sermon on the same biblical quotation *Quis putas puer iste erit*,¹⁰² composed by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl (ca. 1360–1433) sometime after the Council of Constance can be used.¹⁰³ The reason for this choice is that Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl was one of the Totting's students and later a younger colleague at Vienna University. We could therefore expect that the style of preaching might be similar:

“*Cum parentes et cognati ac vicini beati Iohannis Baptiste vidissent et considerassent magna mirabilia et insolita, que Deus circa eum fecit, atque singularia privilegia, que sibi Deus contulit, quorum aliqua fuerunt ipsius ab angelo anunnciatio, nominis sui ab eodem angelo expressio, patris per taciturnitatem punicio, ipsius pueri a sterili matre concepcio, eius ad Christi presenciam exaltacio, ipsius in matris utero sanctificacio et post suam natiuitatem officii ligue patris sui restitucio.*”

“After the parents and the relatives and neighbours of blessed John the Baptist had seen and reflected upon the great and unusual wonders which God made around him, and the privileges which God brought to him, of which some of them were announced by the angel, the announcement of his name by the same angel, the father's punishment through silence, the conception of the same child by a sterile mother, his leaping for joy in the presence of Christ, his sanctification in the mother's womb and after his birth a restoration of the use of his father's speech.”¹⁰⁴

Totting as well as Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, follow their propositions almost mechanically. They often use expressions such as *Dixi primo*, *Dixi secundo*, *Dixi tercio* (I stated first, second, third), *ubi advertendum* (here should be noted), *dubitacio* (doubt) etc. A very similar structure can also be found in Totting's other sermons, e.g. *De assumptione BMV* (inc. ‘*In Ierusalem potestas mea, Eccli 24 et in epistula nunc instantis festivitatis. Reverendi patres et domini, virgo hodie gloriosa.*’), discussed previously in this study by Francesca Battista. On the other hand, there are also sermons with a very different organizational principle, like the sermon *De passione Domini*, (inc. ‘*Erit vita tua*’), studied previously here by Riccardo Burgazzi. The sermon on the Passion of Christ does not include a single *dixi*, *innuitur*, or *dubitatur*. Instead, it is based on how the Holy Spirit makes his disciples *benivolos*, *dociles* and *attentos*.¹⁰⁵

Totting often uses enumerations in the sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptistae*, which are further explained by using new lists of evidence which are sometimes expanded by other enumerations. For example, Totting begins with the statement on the unusual annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist. Here, he quotes verses from Luc 1,13: “*Ne timeas, Zacharia, quoniam exaudita depreacio tua et uxor tua pariet tibi filium et vocabis nomen eius Iohannem.*” (“Fear not, Zachary, for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John.”) According to Totting, in these verses *tria innuuntur* (‘three things are meant’), i.e. the appearance of the angel, the naming of John and fulfillment of the father's prayers. In the same way, he proceeds in the major part of the sermon.

The real break in the structure comes at the point when Totting discusses the *sanctitudo vite* (‘holiness of the life’) of John the Baptist. Totting stops addressing all items in the lists

¹⁰² The whole inc.: ‘*Quis putas puer iste erit? Ita scribitur Luc 1 (66). Cum parentes et cognati ac vicini.*’

¹⁰³ Alois MADRE, *Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl: Leben und Schriften*, Münster 1965, pp. 238–239.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted according to Sankt Pölten, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 22, fol. 1r.

¹⁰⁵ See above.

individually and proceeds only in one way. Totting also starts to quote different authors than those in the first part, mainly Pseudo-Prospers's *De vita contemplativa* and Petrarch's *De vita solitaria*. Accordingly, the topic slowly shifts from John the Baptist to the more general subject of solitude and later even to the tension between the *vita contemplativa* ('contemplative life') and the *vita activa* ('active life'). Whereas Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl focuses on the private virtues of John the Baptist until the end of the sermon, for Totting it is only a starting point. Henry Totting of Oyta obviously wanted to discuss a different matter, which comes finally expressed in the question: "*Numquid omnes viri ecclesiastici volentes esse participes contemplative vite debent urbes deserere?*" ("Do all clergymen, who want to participate in the contemplative life, have to leave cities?")

To be able to answer this question, Totting distinguishes three different types of *solitudo*: *loci*, *temporis* and *mentis*. Although he admits the importance of the first two ('solitude of place' and 'solitude of time'), he stresses that only the *solitudo mentis* ('solitude of the mind'), is what really matters and this is what the aim of anybody who wants to live the *vita contemplativa* must be. According to Totting, this *solitudo mentis* is achievable even for clergy and scholars in the cities, and they can even reach a higher perfection of this solitude, because of their activity.

Totting is speaking here about "*virii ecclesiastici, scholastici, precipue autem prelati et aliorum pastorum et doctorum*" ("ecclesiastics, scholastics, but mainly prelates both of other shepherds and masters"). It shows how close both the worlds were: the students and teachers were usually also clerics and Totting was no exception. Although he used to preach for Carthusian monks in Mauerbach¹⁰⁶ – the order, which tried to seclude itself from the rest of the world more than others – Totting himself was very active at the university and here he defends his position.

There is also another sermon in which Totting alludes to a similar topic. It is one of his three sermons On the Assumption of Virgin Mary, i.e. *De assumptione BMV* (inc. '*Sic in Sion firmata sum*', Eccli 24^o. '*Reverendi patres et domini, solempnem festivitatem assumptionis*').¹⁰⁷ In the first third of the sermon Totting argues that Virgin Mary was perfect in both kinds of life, i.e. *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. Totting quotes again (amid other authors) Pseudo-Prospers's *De vita contemplativa*. He even comes to a similar question as in the sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste: An vita contemplativa impediatur per vitam activam?* (Whether the *vita activa* hinders the *vita contemplativa*?) And although Totting says that it seems to be so, he quotes Thomas Aquinas who argues the contrary: "*Exercitium vite active confert ad contemplativam, quod quietat interiores passiones, ex quibus fantasmata proveniunt, per que contemplacio impeditur.*" ("The exercise in active life helps contemplative life, because it calms inner passions, from which phantasmata come out, which hinder contemplation.")¹⁰⁸ Totting summarizes this part of his sermon,

¹⁰⁶ See p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ The following part is based on the working transcription of Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, Ccl 73, fols. 150r–153r and Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, CC 97, fols. 122r–126v, which were previously unknown to Lang, who knew only Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel, 2^o Ms. theol. 109, cf. A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁸ THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, II^a–II^{ae}, Editio Leonina, q. 182 a. 3 co. <<http://www.corpusthomicum.org/sth3179.html>> (April 4, 2016).

in which again his two backgrounds are clear, a life as a cleric as well as a teacher at the university:

“*Hic ergo normam vivendi sumant omnes christicole, precipue autem aliorum pastores, doctores et prelati, omnesque viri ecclesiastici, claustrales et seculares, sacerdotes et studentes ad quos plus aliis utriusque vite pertinet exercitium diligenterque attendant, ut ita se exercent in actione, quod perfici mereantur in contemplatione.*”

“All Christians should take precepts of life from this source, and especially shepherds of others, doctors and prelates, all men of the church, monks and seculars, priests and students, to whom more than to others exercise of both lives pertains, they should industriously strive to exercise themselves in action in such a way, that they should deserve to become perfect also in contemplation.”

Between the two worlds – secular and religious – there seem to be quotations from Petrarch’s book *De vita solitaria*. They are actually the longest ones in the sermon, taking more than 300 words. This means that they have a very privileged position in comparison to more usual sources used in the sermon such as Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, or Peter Lombard. Totting firstly introduces Petrarch’s book as one of the *hystoriis authenticis* (‘authentic histories’) and quotes a long passage from the second chapter of the second book about Adam who was lucky alone, but fell into misery in the company, and about other men seeking solitude. For the second time, Totting pronounces his name openly and recommends his book as further reading on the subject.

In the both cases Petrarch is quoted almost verbatim. There is only one, although significant, difference in comparison to the book: the biblical references, such as *ut patet Genesis 2^o et 3^o capitulis* or *Genesis 28*, are interpolated into Petrarch’s text. It is not clear whether or not it is an addition made by Totting. However, they are probably motivated by the effort to adapt Petrarch’s text for the usage in the context of preaching.

Totting’s choice of Petrarch, although uncommon, is not incomprehensible. *De vita solitaria* was read and used by different groups of readers, the religious one included¹⁰⁹ and the problem of *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* was discussed in Petrarch’s works again and again, as in *De otio religioso*, *De secreto conflictu cuararum mearum*, or *De remediis utriusque fortune*.¹¹⁰ His ideas were even close to the one of the Carthusian order, to which he was connected.¹¹¹

Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about Petrarch’s usage in Prague in the second half of the 14th century. According to the inventory of Czech and Slovak manuscripts containing the works of Petrarch, there is only one manuscript of *De vita solitaria* dated to the 14th century.¹¹² This could suggest that Totting learnt about Petrarch while he was still in Paris and that he served as a cultural transmitter or adaptor who introduced a new text to the academic audience in Prague.

¹⁰⁹ See Karl A. E. ENENKEL, *Einleitung*, in: Francesco PETRARCA, *De vita solitaria, Buch I, Kritische Textausgabe und Ideengeschichtlicher Kommentar*, ed. Karl A. E. ENENKEL, pp. XVII–XVIII.

¹¹⁰ K. A. E. ENENKEL, *Einleitung*, p. XIX.

¹¹¹ Cf. Demetrio S. YOCUM, *Introduction: Petrarch and the Carthusians*, in: Petrarch’s Humanist Writing and Carthusian Monasticism: The Secret Language of the Self, Turnhout 2013, pp. 1–26.

¹¹² Vyšší Brod, Klášterní knihovna, Ms CXLVI; see Erwin RAUNER, *Petrarca-Handschriften in Tschechien und in der Slowakischen Republik*, Padova 1999, pp. 455–456.

Conclusion

The sermons of Henry Totting of Oyta provide a remarkable testimony of many aspects of medieval preaching. The sermon *De passione Domini* is the oldest of Totting's sermons identified to date and it probably still bears traces of Totting's career as a master of liberal arts. The Marian sermon *De assumptione BMV* shows a very firm scholastic structure and gives a relevant contribution to the contemporary and controversial area of the Assumption theology; it bridges tradition and new spiritual concerns. On the other hand, the sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste*, featuring only at the first sight a similar construction with *De assumptione BMV*, is a worthy and uncommon testimony of the early reception of Petrarch in Central Europe in the context of preaching.

Although a lot remains to be done in this field, these three cases already show different aspects of Totting's work, that is, liberal arts, theology, as well as humanism. Totting was knowledgeable in all the three fields and was able to use them meaningfully in his sermons. Although the discussed sermons cannot be identified with absolute certainty as being written during his stay in Prague, their Prague origin is in one case very likely, in another case probable and in the last case possible. The sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste* is preserved in the manuscript dated to 1383,¹¹³ which was for sure bought by a scholar in Prague. The sermon *De assumptione BMV* is attested in manuscripts of Czech origin¹¹⁴ and in one of the oldest manuscripts can be found together with the sermon *De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste*,¹¹⁵ which suggest a similar date and place of origin. Last, but not least, the sermon *De passione Domini* is preserved in a manuscript written around 1363,¹¹⁶ i.e., around the time in which Totting moved from Erfurt to Prague.

At the same time, however, it is perhaps not necessary to insist on pinpointing individual texts to particular places of origin in a case like this one: Henry Totting of Oyta led a typical life of a late medieval intellectual – he gathered knowledge, ideas, and inspiration at a variety of places where he stayed, worked, studied, and taught. Prague formed part of this complex network: it was a significant stop in Henry Totting's career and it remains a crucial spot on the intellectual map of late medieval Europe.

¹¹³ St. Florian, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, XI 97, fols. 76r–78v, see above.

¹¹⁴ Cambridge, Corpus Christi Library, 534, fols. 126v–130r, and probably also Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 212, fols. 84r–90v.

¹¹⁵ Cambridge, Corpus Christi Library, 534, fols. 126v–130r and 130v–133v.

¹¹⁶ Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II. 1. 2° 171, fols. 173va–177ra.

Kazatelství Jindřicha Tottinga z Oyty

RESUMÉ

Přestože se dochovalo více než třicet kázání Jindřicha Tottinga z Oyty († 1397), dostalo se jim v minulosti jenom skromné vědecké pozornosti, a jejich obsah a charakter tak zatím zůstávají v drtivé většině neznámé. Společný článek tří autorů si proto bere za cíl představit tuto stránku Tottingovy činnosti, a to především na příkladu předběžných analýz jeho tří kázání zastupujících jeho hlavní tematické okruhy.

Riccardo Burgazzi se zabývá kázáním *O utrpení Páně (De passione Domini)*, které datuje do počátku 60. let 14. století. Jedná se o jeden z nejstarších dochovaných Tottingových textů vůbec. Tomu se zdají odpovídat i výrazné vlivy *artes liberales* v podobě ciceronské rétorické tradice a aristotelské terminologie. To by mohlo ukazovat na vznik kázání ještě před Tottingovou cestou do Prahy, kde započal studium teologie.

Francesca Battista se věnuje mladšímu kázání *O nanebevzetí blahoslavené Panny Marie (De assumptione Beate Marie Virginis)*. Tottingovy názory jsou v souladu s hlavními proudy teologické tradice, které uznávají zvláštní povahu Panny Marie jako boží rodičky a zprostředkovatelky (*mediatrix*). Zvláště patrné je ovlivnění sv. Bernardem. Pozornost je věnována také rukopisům, v nichž je kázání dochováno a které dokazují, že kázání bylo aktivně používáno jako modelové.

Za poslední příklad bylo zvoleno kázání *O narození Jana Křtitele (De nativitate Iohannis Baptiste)*, které zkoumá Jan Odstrčilík. Kázání se podařilo datovat do období okolo roku 1383, tedy do doby, v níž Jindřich Totting z Oyty pobýval v Praze. Na první pohled standardní kázání překvapuje ve své druhé polovině dlouhými citáty z Petrarkovy knihy *De vita solitaria*, které jsou postaveny na úroveň tradičních autorit. Totting tak prokazuje nejenom znalost v té době moderního díla, ale především odvahu použít jej v kazatelském kontextu pro svoje téma, totiž otázku, zdali může být z podstaty své činnosti kněz či akademik účasten *vita contemplativa*.

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