

JAN OF MÝTO'S BACHELOR LECTURE ON THE PSALMS AND ITS SOURCES IN THOMAS WALEYS'S WORK. A NEW LIGHT ON ENGLISH-CZECH CONNECTIONS IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES*

DUŠAN COUFAL

ABSTRACT

The study is, on the larger background of Prague university exegesis, analysing the bachelor lecture on Psalms by Jan of Mýto, which has been written most probably in 1395–1401 and survived in the only known incomplete copy in the codex of the National Library of Czech Republic III B 13 (Ps. exegesis 26–41,10). The author bases his study with the use of probe method on Jan's exegesis of the Psalm 29. He observes, that moral exposition with numerous exempla from the sphere of natural and social phenomena dominates Jan's exegesis, and he finds out that Jan of Mýto mostly compiled this exegesis from the lecture on Psalms written by the English Dominican Thomas Waleys († 1349?). The study observes the reception of Waleys' lecture in Bohemia during 15th century and it mentions a probable way it spread in Central Europe through Dominican order studies.

Keywords: Jan of Mýto – Thomas Waleys – Prague university – Biblical exegesis – Bachelor lectures – 14th century – Dominicans

Biblical commentaries were, in the late Middle Ages, an integral part of instruction at theological faculties of medieval universities. Leaving aside sermons, the academic exegesis of the Bible had essentially two forms. Holy Scripture was either expounded by Masters, professors of theology, or Bachelors. The exegeses of Masters were more extensive and sophisticated. Unlike the lectures of Bachelors, they consisted primarily of *quaestiones* related only indirectly to biblical exegesis.¹ One example of such an interpretation is the exegesis of the first fifty Psalms by Heinrich Toting of Oyta that first saw the light of day in Vienna after he left Prague, and which has, up to a point, survived in his own hand-written text.²

* This study came into existence as part of the scientific research activities of the Hussite Museum in Tábor.

¹ About exegesis at medieval universities see e.g. Jacques VERGER, *L'exégèse de l'Université*, in: Pierre Riché – Guy Lobrichon (eds.), *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, Paris 1984, pp. 199–232; Gilbert DAHAN, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval. XII^e–XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1999, pp. 109–120; Lesley J. SMITH, *The Use of Scripture in Teaching in the Medieval University*, in: John van Engen (ed.), *Learning institutionalized. Teaching in the medieval university*, Notre Dame, Ind. 2000, pp. 229–243 (Notre Dame conferences in medieval studies 9).

² Included in the register of Friedrich STEGMÜLLER – Klaus REINHARDT, *Repertorium biblicum Medii Aevi* [digital] (hereafter RB [digital]), no 3219 <<http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebhome.tc/>> (November 5, 2014). For more detail about this exegesis (and its survival) see Albert LANG, *Heinrich Toting von Oyta. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten deutschen Universitäten und zur Problemgeschichte der Spätscholastik*, Münster i. W. 1937, pp. 79–81 and 86–90 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen, Band 33, Heft 4/5).

For now, however, we will focus on the lectures of Bachelors, as the exegesis of Prague master Jan of Mýto mentioned above in the title is exactly such a piece of work. Let us begin with the general characteristics of these lectures as they would have been taught at a medieval university.

The studies at theological faculties were naturally subject to the statutes. In the case of Prague we know only a fraction of them, so when forming our ideas about the basic outline of theological studies in Prague, we cannot, broadly speaking, manage without consulting analogous statutes of cognate faculties, such as the Viennese one.

According to the Viennese statutes the student of theology could become biblical bachelor (*biblicus*) or bachelor cursor (*cursor*), at the earliest, six years after his enrollment in theological studies. And as W. J. Courtenay has found out, in the case of the prototype Parisian faculty, it was highly unusual here for a student in the 2nd half of 14th century to finish the prescribed period of 6 years earlier.³ Within this period *theologiam audire* was his main duty. In practice it meant that he was supposed to listen to the lectures of his older colleagues bachelors, perhaps even the lectures of masters themselves. Their topics were the Bible and the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Thereafter, with the recommendation of one of the professors, a mere student became a bachelor and also a member of the theological faculty.

Recently graduated bachelors first delivered a so-called *principium* (or *introitus*) along with a commendation of Holy Scriptures (*commendatio Sacrae scripturae*) during their graduation ceremony. They mostly chose a piece of text from a book of the Bible as a basis for their speech and began to expound on the book thereafter. According to the extant excerpt from the Prague statutes the bachelor cursor was expected to read only a book of the Bible stipulated by the faculty or its Dean. The faculty was supposed to ensure that they, if possible, duly go through the whole Bible step by step. The cursor in Prague was supposed to read for one year every designated day (*omni die legibili*) and should he miss anything on any given day, he was expected to catch up with arrears of work either in the following year or during the holidays. Moreover, no one was supposed to expound on more than one chapter during one lecture, except in the instances that the chapter was too short. The bachelors then usually expounded on two books of the Bible, or their parts.

The extant excerpts of the Prague statutes, however, tell us nothing more about the exegetic method of these lectures. According to the Viennese statutes the bachelor was supposed to expound on the text *ordinate et solide* during the cursor lectures and, at the same time, to introduce *glossas notabiles*, which was in accordance with the Parisian course style. The bachelor in Heidelberg pledged *non extense, sed cursorie legere litteram dividendo et exponendo*. According to the Erfurt statutes he could, moreover, if he wanted to, touch upon even some *dubia literalia* briefly.⁴

Also based on these formal instructions it is generally assumed that the cursor's expositions were only superficial, an exegesis centered around the literal meaning without deeper

³ William J. COURTENAY, *The Course of Studies in the Faculty of Theology at Paris in the Fourteenth Century*, in: Stefano Caroti (ed.), *Ad ingenii acuitionem. Studies in Honour of Alfonso Maierù*, Louvain-la Neuve 2006, pp. 67–92, here p. 71.

⁴ For a full exposition cf. Dušan ČOUFAL, *Einleitung*, in: *Magistri Iohannis Hus Enarratio Psalmorum* (Ps. 109–118), eds. J. Nechutová et al., Turnhout 2013, pp. ix–lxviii, especially pp. ix–xxxiii (CC CM 253), where the reader will also find references to relevant sources and literature.

theological speculation. Even though their intention was indeed mainly to demonstrate the bachelor's familiarity with the text and the history of exegesis, as we have been recently warned by William Courtenay, it would be a mistake to consider these expositions, based on the term *cursor* or *cursorie*, superficial.⁵ The lecture of Jan of Mýto provides evidence for this.

This master from Prague was born in Vysoké Mýto in East Bohemia, probably in the sixth decade of the 14th century, but his death is mentioned as early as October 1402. He belonged to the first generation of Czech professors at Prague University, which breded the ingoing generation of Prague reformists headed by Jan Hus. He became Master of Liberal Arts in January 1385 and he was placed second out of 55 examinees, which was, in itself, a great success. Perhaps this was the reason why, sooner or later, he earned the title of Sophist (*Sophista*). He began his career as a university teacher at the Faculty of Arts in the Spring of 1389. His pedagogical activities were extensive and he was one of the most sought-after professors, a fact well documented by 31 determinations (graduation ceremonies) and 19 inceptions under his auspices. Jan is also mentioned in the years 1394–1395, first as a Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and thereafter as a Rector of the whole Three-Faculty University. Another significant honour was bestowed upon him on March 15, 1400, when he delivered a ceremonial speech, both in Czech and German, at a coronation of Queen Sophia of Bavaria, the wife of Wenceslaus IV. Several extant graduation ceremony speeches – so called recommendations (*recommendationes*) – attest to his art of rhetoric, including a commendatory speech delivered during the graduation ceremony of Jan Hus in 1393.⁶

Jan's theological studies, on the other hand, are a big unknown for us; largely because the relevant official records of Prague theological faculty have not survived. Thus it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty exactly when he entered the theological faculty and when he became a bachelor. We know that he is mentioned as a bachelor of theology around October 15, 1400, however it is not clear from the given source whether at that

⁵ W. J. COURTENAY, *The Course*, p. 74.

⁶ Jan of Mýto has been so far most comprehensively treated by Václav FLAJŠHANS in *Předchůdcové Husovi* [Hus's Predecessors], *Věstník České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění* 14, 1905, pp. 437–443. His literary activity was described by Pavel SPUNAR, *Repertorium auctorum Bohemorum proventum idearum post Universitatem Pragensem conditam illustrans*, I, Wratislaviae etc. 1985, pp. 92–94, no 198–209 (*Studia Copernicana* 25), cf. also Jana NECHUTOVÁ, *Die lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen*, übersetzt von H. Boková – V. Bok, Köln 2007, pp. 281–282 (*Slavistische Forschungen* 59). His biographical data, especially from university years, more recently included in the register of Josef TRÍŠKA, *Životopisný slovník předhusitské pražské univerzity 1348–1409* [Biographical Lexicon of Pre-Hussite Prague University 1348–1409], Praha 1981, pp. 281–282, however Jan is mentioned as a priest in South-Bohemian Volyně already in December 1393, see Věra JENŠOVSKÁ (ed.), *Regesta Bohemiae et Moraviae aetatis Venceslai IV. (1378 dec. – 1419 aug. 16.)*, 1/4, Praha 1976, p. 976, no 4023. Some of his recommendations were published by Bohumil RYBA, *Promoční promluvy mistrů artistické fakulty Mikuláše z Litomyšle a Jana z Mýta na Univerzitě Karlově z let 1386 a 1393* [Graduation Ceremony Speeches of the Masters of the Faculty of Arts Mikuláš of Litomyšl and Jan of Mýto at Charles university from years 1386 and 1393], Praha 1948; Pavlína MAZÁČOVÁ has dealt with them recently, see e.g. *Rekomendace Jana z Mýta na pražské univerzitě sklonku 14. století* [Jan of Mýto's Recommendations at Prague University at the End of 14th century], in: Helena Krmíčková et al. (eds.), *Querite primum regnum Dei. Sborník příspěvků k počtě Jany Nechutové* [A collection of Contributions in Honor of Jana Nechutová], Brno 2006, pp. 313–321. The copy of at least one of his speeches (but also of the Heinrich Reczkow de Ribbenicz's speech) has survived also in the manuscript Universitetsbibliotek Uppsala, C 220, cf. f. 142–154v. For the only known 'quaestio' of Jan of Mýto see Jana NECHUTOVÁ, *Autorita Bible a její překlady podle kwestie Jana z Mýta Utrum sanctorum patrum* [The Authority of Bible and its Translations according to the quaestio of Jan of Mýto *Utrum sanctorum patrum*], *Česká literatura* 47, 1999, pp. 510–514.

time he was a biblical bachelor or already a bachelor of Sentences (*sententiarius*), the latter option being more probable.⁷

The second known piece of evidence of his theological studies at this point is the above mentioned lecture of Psalms.⁸ There is no need to emphasize at length that Psalms were an important part of Christian faith, piety and culture in the Middle Ages.⁹ Along with the Book of Isaiah and the Gospel of Matthew, they indisputably were the most commented on medieval biblical texts.¹⁰ The reason was simple. On one hand it is due to the presence of Psalms both in Mass Liturgy and the daily devotions, but, most importantly, the medieval theologians were convinced that the Psalms are ‘*totius theologiae paginae consummatio*’ (P. Lombard), so they were perceived as a pivotal textbook of catechism.¹¹ Therefore it is understandable that several lectures on Psalms from the circles of Prague University of the pre-Hussite period have survived to this day: aside from the text of Jan of Mýto also the lectures of Conrad of Soltau, Mikuláš of Rakovnik and Jan Hus.¹² These texts will shortly help us when examining the Sophist’s lecture.

The commentary is so far known from the only manuscript from the National (formerly University) Library in Prague III B 13. It is to Jan of Mýto the text is attributed by an anonymous 15th century writer on its front end-sheet: *Lectura magistri Iohannis de Muta super secundum nocturnum Psalterii*. The manuscript comprises 196 folios covered with the handwriting of a single scribe and is dated by the codicologists to the turn of the 15th century.¹³ Nevertheless, as I will explain later, there is an indication that the text was written into the codex around the year 1414, at the earliest. It contains the exegesis of little less than 16 Psalms, while the entry begins with the 26th Psalm and ends with the 10th verse of the 41st Psalm, if calculated according to the Vulgate (i.e. Ps. 26–41,10). It is obvious, mainly because of the unfinished exegesis of the last Psalm, that we are dealing with a fragmentary text, in which case we are not able to tell how many Psalms were originally expounded by

⁷ See Ferdinand TADRA (ed.), *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské* [Judicial Files of Prague Consistory], IV, 1401–1404, Praha 1898, p. IX, note *: “Ac Johannes dictus Zophista baccalarius s. theologie, plebanus in Wolina.”

⁸ See RB [digital], no 4821 <<http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tcl>> (November 5, 2014) and P. SPUNAR, *Repertorium*, I, p. 92, no 198. About it so far only V. FLAJŠHANS, *Předchůdcové*, pp. 441–442.

⁹ Nancy VAN DEUSEN (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, Albany 1999; Susan GILLINGHAM, *Psalms Through the Centuries*, I, Oxford 2008, pp. 77–130.

¹⁰ Arduin KLEINHANS, *Der Studiengang der Professoren der Heiligen Schrift im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Biblica 14, 1933, p. 390; A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting*, p. 81. About commentaries of Psalms until 1350 Martin MORARD, *Entre mode et tradition: les commentaires des Psaumes de 1160 à 1350*, in: G. Cremascoli – F. Santi (eds.), *La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell’esegesi*, Firenze 2004, pp. 323–352.

¹¹ The meaning of the Psalter was accurately described by Heinrich Totting of Oyta, see A. LANG, *Heinrich Totting*, p. 87: “In hoc libro, qui dicitur psalterium, est totius theologie (!) pagine consummatio, misteriorum christi patens reservatio et leta divine laudis declaratio.” For this cf. e.g. James R. GINTHER, *The Scholastic Psalms’ Commentary as a Textbook for Theology: The Case of Thomas Aquinas*, in: Anne J. Duggan – Joan Greatrex – Brenda Bolton (eds.), *Omnia disce: Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle*, O. P., Aldershot 2005, pp. 215–216 and 219.

¹² About them in a larger context of psalm exegesis in Prague at D. COUFAL, *Einleitung*, pp. xxxiii–xxxviii. About the exegesis of Conrad of Soltau more recently IDEM, *Glosovaný výklad Žalmů Konráda ze Soltau a počátky české reformace* [Commented Psalm Exegesis of Conrad of Soltau and the beginnings of Czech Reformation], in: Ota Halama (ed.), *Amica – sponsa – mater. Bible v čase reformace* [The Bible in the Time of Reformation], Praha 2014, pp. 45–84.

¹³ Cf. Josef TRUHLÁŘ, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in c. r. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur. Pars prior*, Pragae 1905, p. 163, no 422. The codex along with the description is available in the database Manuscriptorium (www.manuscriptorium.com).

Jan of Mýto.¹⁴ Although we equally cannot tell with certainty when it happened, based on the above-mentioned facts from his biography and also based on the usual procedures at the Faculty of Theology, I tend to suppose that the text was written in the interval between the years 1395 to 1401.¹⁵

Jan's lecture is divided in the manuscript liturgically in two 'Nocturns'.¹⁶ It corresponds to traditional eight-fold division of Psalter in Nocturns according to the Rome daily Office (Ps. 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97 and 109).¹⁷ On the contrary, the scribe's method of first mentioning a couple of introductory words from the verse to be expounded (at some places we find only one word) while its whole wording is inserted as late as in the closing part of the exegesis seems unusual. This was also the reason why the Czech literary historian Václav Flajšhans, who has been so far the only one who inquired into Jan's text, assumed that originally the exegesis visually took the form of an interlinear gloss, which the scribe did not apparently respect and re-wrote the text as one unit.¹⁸ Nonetheless this is a wrong assumption, because this method was most likely chosen by Jan himself, in accordance with one of his model texts that I will explore later in greater detail.¹⁹ Even the fact that interlinear glosses do appear anywhere in the text of particular verses in the closing part of the exegesis cannot change that.²⁰

When it comes to Jan's exegesis and its method per se, I have to state beforehand, that it was not in my power to study the whole text thoroughly. Therefore I will at least introduce it by analysing Jan's 29th Psalm exegesis.

Although this Psalm has 13 verses according to current counting, Jan has divided it into 14 parts.²¹ According to the title it is a song at the Dedication of the House of David. The formal structure of the exegesis is traditional. It is a continuous commentary²² which Jan first begins with a brief introduction or *accessus*, where he deals with the author, subject, structure and purpose of the Psalm. At the same time he already distinguishes here in accordance with the medieval hermeneutical theory the understanding of the Psalm on

¹⁴ V. FLAJŠHANS, *Předchůdcové*, p. 441, presumes, that Jan originally expounded the whole Psalter, but that is, with regard to his exegetic method and the scope of similar bachelor lectures, improbable. We would rather expect that he expounded this way at most Ps. 26–51, it means second and third 'Nocturn' (see below). Jan Hus expounded for instance only Ps. 109–118, even if his exposition of Ps. 118 is naturally extensive.

¹⁵ Jan of Mýto began studying theology in year 1389 at the earliest, when he became master regent at the Faculty of Arts. After 6 years of studies he would thus become biblical bachelor the very year 1395.

¹⁶ See the marginal glosses in folios 1v (Ps. 26): 'Nocturnus secundus incipit' and 149v (Ps. 38): 'Nocturnus tercius'.

¹⁷ See e.g. Annie SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages, 1300–1450*, Oxford 2015, p. 249; John HARPER, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 2001, pp. 69–71.

¹⁸ V. FLAJŠHANS, *Předchůdcové*, p. 441, who has been prompted by the lecture of Mikuláš of Rakovník, which is indeed laid out like that in the manuscripts and it has a character of a gloss, see e.g. ms. National Library of the Czech Republic (hereafter NL) Prague, III D 4.

¹⁹ It is the below mentioned lecture of Thomas Waleys.

²⁰ See e.g. ms. NL Prague, III B 13, f. 13r. However, the nature and origin of these isolated glosses have to be first thoroughly examined.

²¹ The division in verses, as we know it today, was different during the Middle Ages and different systems coexisted as well, see e.g. Paul SAENGER, *The British Isles and the origin of the Modern Mode of Biblical Citation*, *Syntagma: Revista del Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura* 1, 2005, pp. 77–123.

²² For various types of exegeses see G. DAHAN, *L'exégèse chrétienne*, pp. 142–159; Jan's lecture most resembles 'le commentaire continu', see pp. 154–156.

several levels, i.e. the literal and the spiritual.²³ Jan expounds on the text about King David, referring to him as to the author of the Psalm, in the basic literal or historical sense (*ad litteram*). In the mystical or allegorical sense (*mystice sive allegorice*) he expounds it as being about the head, which is Christ, and about the body, which is Church. The main topic of the Psalm is resurrection and its purpose (*intentio*) is that those who hold hope of the resurrection were not afraid of suffering, but praised God. Anagogically, the Psalm talks about a perfect future Church, and in the end, tropologically, or rather morally (*moraliter*), about any chosen one (*electo et fideli*), who learns that his sins have been forgiven and he thanks God for it.²⁴ Jan gives to moral exegesis by far the widest scope.

Despite such a complex introduction in Jan's expounding of particular verses we encounter here only a limited number of microstructures of biblical exegesis as distinguished by Gilbert Dahan, the leading expert on medieval hermeneutics.²⁵ The basic structure of a gloss (see e.g. the exegesis of Ps. 29,4) prevails and then a so-called accumulation of exegeses (subsequent expositions indicated as: *potest etiam alio modo exponi, vel, vel potest referri, vel aliter, vel sic* etc.). Few or no other microstructures are present there. Particularly the small number of distinctions popular among the preachers is intriguing. The Sophist's exposition thus in this light does not seem to be that all-inclusive in comparison with a cognate lecture of Jan Hus.²⁶

Jan's above-mentioned exegetic preferences depended however, to a large extent, on the choice of sources he used when composing his expositions. Jan expounds the Psalm being about Christ, in terms of mysticism based on the classic Psalm commentary by Peter Lombard.²⁷ Jan speaks of the work of Lombardus simply as of a Gloss (*Glosa dicit*), (just as Jan Hus also does later for instance),²⁸ which manifests the fact that it played the role of a basic exegetic manual. We can see this practice also in an older Prague lecture by Conrad of Soltau, albeit in a different form. Conrad refers to Lombard's exposition as to *Glosa ordinaria*, while referring to a somewhat older *Ordinary Gloss* of the Cathedral School of Laon by a simple term *Glosa*. As for the historical meaning Jan of Mýto, too, consulted *Postilla litteralis* by the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra (cf. e.g. the exegesis of Ps. 29,1–2).²⁹ To a limited extent he apparently also used (cf. the exegesis of Ps. 29,10b) a standard commentary of the French Dominican Nicholas of Gorran († 1295), yet it is not possible to prove it positively based only on the analysis of the exposition of Psalm 29.³⁰

Jan of Mýto consults the aforementioned established commentaries mainly when he expounds the Psalm in the mystical sense as a Psalm about Christ, or in a historical sense as a Psalm about King David. But when he chooses the moral exposition, which is dominant in his exegesis, his apparatus is significantly richer. This happens primarily because while

²³ Henri DE LUBAC, *Medieval exegesis. The four senses of scripture*, II, transl. by E. M. MACIEROWSKI, Grand Rapids 2000; G. DAHAN, *L'exégèse chrétienne*, 5th and 6th chapter.

²⁴ Cf. ms. NL Prague, III B 13, f. 28v–29r.

²⁵ G. DAHAN, *L'exégèse chrétienne*, pp. 122–141.

²⁶ For Hus's method of the exegesis of particular verses see D. COUFAL, *Einleitung*, pp. xxix–xxi, for that matter Libor ŠVANDA, *Husova Enarratio Psalmorum: K Husově metodě výkladu žalmů* [Hus's Enarratio Psalmorum: On Hus's Method of the Exegesis of Psalms], *Studia historica Brunensia* 56, 2009, pp. 37–47.

²⁷ RB [digital], no 6637 <<http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tcl>> (November 5, 2014).

²⁸ D. COUFAL, *Einleitung*, p. xxv.

²⁹ There are many editions of Lyra's *Postillae* since the 15th century.

³⁰ There is no edition of the commentary as yet, for the ms. cf. RB [digital], no 5750 <<http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tcl>> (November 5, 2014).

doing so he summons for help numerous spiritually and morally instructional exempla which are based on the quotations from ancient and medieval literature, mainly dealing with natural phenomena. In the exposition of the 29th Psalm we can come across quotations of Aristotle, Valerius Maximus, Petronius, Horace, Pliny the Elder, Vegetius, Seneca the Younger, Isidore of Seville, Avicenna, Albert the Great, Alexander (of) Neckam, John of Hauville (*de Hauvilla*) and other personalities or anonymous works. As far as theologians are concerned, Jan refers in his moral exposition to John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, Saint Gregory the Great or Bernard of Clairvaux.

Even though Jan of Mýto had undoubtedly an exceptional literary scope when it came to classical or secular literature, as his recommendations suggest,³¹ it is a fact that he is not the author or a compiler of the aforementioned moral instruction. He took large sections with moral exposition from another, about 70 year older, commentary of Psalms written by an English Dominican, Thomas Waleys.³²

Waleys, who was in the sources called mainly Thomas the Englishman (*Thomas Anglicus*), studied and briefly – between 1317–1321 – taught theology at Oxford. Afterwards, approximately between the years 1326–1331, he worked as a lecturer of the Dominican Order in Bologna. In Italy he got involved in the debate of *visio beatifica* in the 30's and was in papal prison for a short time. After he was released he returned to England. Waleys wrote, among others, a number of exegetic *Moralitates* on several books of the Old Testament. Thereafter, during his lecturing stay in Bologna he started to expound the psalter in a literal and moral sense, however his commentary in its extant form is unfinished (we know the exposition of Ps. 1–38,2). According to the English historian Beryll Smalley we can see a tendency in 14th century biblical exegesis to give more scope for exempla and to explaining the moral meaning of natural phenomena. The exegetists would connect collections of exempla with biblical commentaries in such a way that their text was used as a thread on which they would string non-biblical stories, and Waleys in particular was among the first who systematized the new techniques.³³

In the light of this understanding, it is not surprising that it was Waleys's exegesis that Jan of Mýto chose as one of his main sources. It undoubtedly matched his literary taste,

³¹ His knowledge of ancient literature however came mainly from medieval florilegia and such works as Ps.-Burley's *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum antiquorum*, see the unpublished dissertation of Pavlína MAZÁČOVÁ, *Iohannis de Mutha recommendationes (Rekomendace Jana z Mýta)* [Jan of Mýto's Recommendations], Brno 2001, pp. 123–128. For the knowledge of antiquity in late medieval Bohemia in general, see e.g. Anežka VIDMANOVÁ, *Antika v literatuře středověkých Čech* [The Antiquity in the Literature of Medieval Bohemia], in: Eadem, *Laborintus. Latinská literatura středověkých Čech* [Laborintus. Latin Literature in Medieval Bohemia], Praha 1994, pp. 172–185.

³² For Waleys's lecture, its survival in a manuscript and its editions cf. RB [digital], no 8245–8247 <<http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tcl>> (November 5, 2014); Beryll SMALLEY, *Thomas Waleys O. P.*, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 24, 1954, pp. 50–107, here primarily pp. 66–71 and Thomas KAEPPELI – Emilio PANELLA, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. IV, Roma 1993, pp. 403–404, no 3890. Below I am relying on the edition: *Commentarius super Psalmos F. Tho. Iorgii Anglici ord. praed.*, eds. Sixtus LAMBERTUS – Paulus BERTI, Venetiis: Apud Euangelistam Deuchinum 1611 (the digitized copy Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, sg. 1552797 2 Exeg. 280), in which the Waleys's text is erroneously attributed to a different English Dominican Thomas of Jorz († 1310).

³³ Mainly Beryll SMALLEY dealt with his life and work: aside from the above mentioned work *Thomas Waleys O. P.*, cf. also *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Oxford 1960, pp. 75–108, here especially pp. 80–88, where there are more details about his exegetic method and working with exempla (i.e. with the moralization of the natural and social phenomena); from here I also draw the last-mentioned statement, see p. 83.

especially when, (and we must not forget this point), the aim of the aforementioned explanation of moral meaning was to raise the reader from secular to spiritual reality. On the other hand, Jan's massive borrowing from Waleys's text does not necessarily demonstrate that he had limited creative abilities. On the contrary, Jan of Mýto, completely in accordance with what was expected from a biblical bachelor, manifested himself as an original compiler of the basic exegetic concepts of biblical texts: a doctrinary-theological one from a gloss of Peter Lombard (*mystice*), a historical one from a postil of Nicholas of Lyra (*litteraliter*) and a moral-theological one from a lecture of Thomas Waleys (*moraliter*).³⁴ However when it came to using the latter, Jan the Sophist could only follow it up to the exposition of the 2nd verse of the 38th Psalm, because Waleys's text ends there. Thus at least Jan's exposition of the last four Psalms in the manuscript III B 13 was composed with the help of other sources,³⁵ yet not necessarily in a different way, as it seems upon a cursory inspection in the aforementioned part.

No matter how close the morally instructive comparisons were to Jan's heart, this rhetorical device turns out to be unusual in lectures on the Psalms in Prague.³⁶ It is very obvious when we make a comparison with the lecture of Jan Hus, which is otherwise quite close to Sophist's exposition.³⁷ Jan Hus actually did not use exempla in his lecture at all. That is interesting, all the more so because we know that in his 3–5 years older collection of sermons *Puncta* Hus was not averse to using exempla yet, including those that came from various fables and fantastical phenomena. This transformation is attributed to Hus's embracing John Wycliffe's ideas that were against the usage of similar fabrications.³⁸ Thus there can

³⁴ Because of the delimitation of this publication I retreated from presenting an editorial illustration of Jan of Mýto's exegesis.

³⁵ I.e. f. 149v–196v. We are repeatedly dealing here above all with *Moralitates in Iob* of Saint Gregory the Great. It is noteworthy, that between the Sophist's exposition of Ps. 37,23 and 38,1, i.e. between f. 148v and 149v, there are several blank pages. This could be the consequence of the change of liturgical division from first to second Nocturn.

³⁶ Actually, except for the aforementioned Prague lectures, I am not encountering similar exempla even in the anonymous psalm expositions of Czech origin, extant in manuscripts from 15th century, for those see Jindřich MAREK, *Husitský výklad Žalmů v rukopise Národní knihovny ČR XIII G 25* [Hussite Psalm exegesis in the Manuscript of the National Library XIII G 25], *Studie o rukopisech* 37–38, 2007–2008, pp. 3–23 and Dušan COUFAL, *Kdo je 'Remigius' v Husových Enarrationes Psalmorum? K problematice citování této autority v bohemikálních výkladech Žalmů první poloviny 15. století* [Who is 'Remigius' in Hus's Enarrationes Psalmorum? To the problems of quoting this authority in bohemical expositions of the Psalms of the first half of 15th century], *Studia historica Brunensia* 58, 2009, pp. 62–64. The fact is, however, that most of these commentaries are closer more to the preacher exegetic homilies than to a university lecture, and some are already clearly of Hussite origin.

³⁷ For one such remarkable congruity in quoting Pseudo-Remigius see D. COUFAL, *Kdo je 'Remigius'*, especially pp. 58–60.

³⁸ On *Puncta* with so far most detail see Jan SEDLÁK, *XIII. Husův vývoj dle jeho postil* [XIII. Hus's Development according to his Postils], in: Idem, *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým, II, Studie a texty k životopisu Husovu* [The Studies and Texts on Czech Religion History, II, Studies and Texts on the biography of Jan Hus], Olomouc 1915, pp. 395–399 and IDEM, *M. Jan Hus*, Praha 1915, pp. 83–88, who attributes the transformation mentioned precisely to Hus's embracing of the thinking of John Wycliffe. Otherwise the way Hus explains the moral meaning in *Puncta* is no different from the practice of Jan of Mýto (for that matter of T. Waleys). Let's present as an example Hus's exemplum about phoenix in the sermon at the St. Peter and Paul's saint's day, see ms. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, 4310, f. 68v: "Secundo Venit in partes Cesaree Philippi [Matth. 16,13]. Racio prima: [...]. Racio 2^a moralis: Illa tota regio Fenicis dicebatur, que avis ibi conversatur inter montem Damasci et terre promissionis. Fenix secundum naturales solum comedit odorifera, dormit inter ligna aromatica et cum vixerit per 300 annos, congregat ligna aromatica, que faciliter incenduntur a radiis solis, et est masculus, et cum revixerit, ascendit montem libani et ubi sit, non veniunt serpentes. Iesus – non elegit putrida, Psalmus [118,155]: Longe

be a far more profound dimension hidden behind the aforementioned fundamental difference between the bachelor lectures of both Jans, than just a different exegetic taste.

But let's go back to the reception of Waleys's commentary by Jan of Mýto in Bohemia in the late Middle Ages, because this phenomenon leads us to some remarkable and so far unforeseen connections.

It is a lecture of the Sophist from the very end of 14th century that (to my knowledge) constitutes the oldest evidence of Waleys's commentary being known in Bohemia. Nonetheless, it is thanks to Jan of Mýto that Waleys's exegetic ideas echoed in Prague even a little later when the Hussites started giving communion to the laity under both species, bread and wine. The copy of Jan's lecture in Prague codex III B 13, generally speaking, contains very few marginalia. In Jan's exposition of the 29th Psalm we encounter them only in one place, the 10th verse, which asks: '*Que utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendo in corrupcionem?*' The Sophist expounds here through Waleys extensively, what is the three-fold efficacy of the Blood of Jesus, and he claims that this Blood is not only very useful, but essential for a Christian, and as evidence of it he adds a quotation from the Gospel of John 6, 53: '*Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis eius sangwinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis.*'³⁹ The scribe who wrote the manuscript at this spot noted on the edge of folio 34r: '*De sangwine Cristi; utilitas* ^{3ex}; *necessitas.*' We can explain why he took a particular interest in this matter by the fact that another of the Sophist's disciples, Jacob of Mies (Jakoubek of Střibro), similarly promoted and defended the introduction of the lay chalice.⁴⁰ Therefore I presume that the above-mentioned scribe was at least a witness (if not a downright supporter) of the aforesaid Hussite practice, so he could have written the text around the year 1414, at the earliest. On the other hand, I have not found, so far, any direct link of Jacob of Mies's or any other Utraquists' ideas to the Sophist's or Waleys's text.

On the Czech Hussite scene, at least in the second half of the 15th century, Waleys's text was read and used directly as well, without being mediated by the Sophist. We know that because one of the extant copies of Waleys's lecture was finished in Tábor, in south Bohemia, by a supporter of the Hussite chalice Jan of Bakov in year 1466. From the marginal note in this manuscript we learn among others, that 'this material' was preached in Nymburk in central Bohemia in the years 1491 and 1492.⁴¹ We know at the same time that Waleys's exegetical work returned again to Prague University at the end of the 15th century. The German master Johannes of Lübeck († 1502), a bachelor of theology from Rostock,

a peccatoribus salus, Apocalypsis 7 [recte 22,15]: Foras canes, venefici; quievit in triduo inter aromatica, Matthei [...]; congregat ligna odorifera, id est beatos; succendit igne amoris, Luce 12[49]: Ignem veni mittere in [...]; ascendit in celum, in Symbolo: Ascendit in celum, sedet."

³⁹ Johannes DE MUTA, *Lectura super Ps.* 29, 10, ms. NL Prague, III B 13, f. 34r; Thomas ANGLICUS, *Commentarijvs syper Psalmos*, pp. 32–33 (*Lectura secundi nocturni*).

⁴⁰ For this cf. e.g. Howard KAMINSKY, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, Los Angeles – Berkeley 1967, pp. 108–115; more recently Dušan COUFAL, *Polemika o kalich mezi teologií a politikou 1414–1431. Předpoklady basilejské disputace o prvním z pražských artikulů* [The Controversy over the Chalice Between Theology and Politics 1414–1431. The circumstances of the Dispute in Basel about the First of the Four Articles of Prague], Praha 2012, pp. 25–37, where we can read about Jakoubek's emphases on the necessity, the order and the usefulness of taking in the blood of Christ (by laity).

⁴¹ It is a manuscript The Archive of Prague Castle – the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter by St. Vitus (hereafter The Chapter Library) Prague, B 31. I am adopting the mentioned data from the catalogue: Adolf PATERA – Antonín PODLAHA, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské. První část: A–E* [The register of the Manuscripts of the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter. The first part: A–E], Praha 1910, p. 201, no 330.

who converted to utraquism in Prague and from 1467 was teaching theology at the University, compiled a part of his expositions of Psalms based on Waleys's commentary.⁴² The reception of Waleys's exposition of Psalms thus had quite a long standing in Bohemia in the late Middle Ages.

We should add for the sake of completeness, that the exposition of Psalms by Thomas Waleys was not his only copied and well known text in Bohemia. In two manuscripts, apparently still from the 14th century, we find his extant commentary of Augustine of Hippo's *De civitate Dei*,⁴³ whereas one of these manuscripts belonged to Pavel of Slavikovice, a bibliophile who became a bachelor of arts and a priest in Prague.⁴⁴

Even if this study does not aim to deal with all possible ways in which Waleys's oeuvre was spreading in Bohemia, I will bring to attention at least one connection that comes to mind, thanks to the survival of Waleys's lecture on Psalms. From 19 so far known copies, 14 are extant in the continental libraries.⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that 8 of them belong to the area of Central Europe – Bamberg, Eischstätt, Melk, Prague, Regensburg,⁴⁶ Vienna, Wrocław – the geographical center of this area being Prague. It is also the only place where no less than two copies from the 15th century have survived in the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter by St. Vítus.⁴⁷ At least three, or more precisely four manuscripts belonged to Dominican convents in the cities mentioned (Eischstätt, Regensburg, Wrocław; the manuscript of

⁴² Jan of Lübeck, called Libek, was brought under research by František Michálek BARTOŠ, *Příspěvky k dějinám Karlovy university v době Husově a husitské*, V, *Německý bohoslovec husitský na Karlově universitě* [The Contributions to the History of Charles University at the time of Hus and the Hussites, V, The German Hussite Theologian at the Charles University], *Sborník historický* 4, 1956, pp. 65–70, here especially pp. 67–68. An exhaustive register of literary activity of Jan of Lübeck catalogued by Pavel SPUNAR, *Literární činnost utrakvistů doby poděbradské a jagellonské* [Literary Activity of the Utraquists at the Podiebradian and Jagiellonian Era], in: Amedeo Molnár (ed.), *Acta reformationem bohemicam illustrantia* [I]. *Příspěvky k dějinám utrakvismu* [The Contributions to the History of Utraquism], Praha 1978, pp. 165–269, here p. 248, no 173. Bartoš and Spunar know 3, for that matter 4 manuscripts of Libek's exegesis (they include Ps. 1–67, i.e. 4 parts) and date its origin ca. to 1494–1502. I was again comparing only the exposition of Ps. 29, meaning the exposition of Jan of Lübeck in the manuscript NL Prague, III F 14, f. 37v–47r, especially f. 43v–44r (Ps. 29, 10a), with the corresponding place of an edition of Waleys's lecture (see the note 32 above). The spirit of late utraquism manifests itself in Libek's exposition, if he inserts into Waleys's exposition the note (f. 44r): "Vereor, ne apud perosque descendat [i.e. the Blood of Christ, DC] in corumpcionem, qui indigne calicem Domini sumunt perditis moribus vitam agentes, dum plus ad ista terrena corumptibilia affectum tendunt."

⁴³ For Waleys's commentary on the first 10 books *De civitate Dei*, which is in manuscripts and prints often supplemented with Nicholas Trevet's († after 1334) complete exposition on that very Augustine's book, cf. B. SMALLEY, *Thomas Waleys O. P.*, pp. 86–98, which warns, that the medieval scholars understood the mentioned Augustine's work as an introduction to the history of the Antiquity, which was certainly in tune with Waleys's interests.

⁴⁴ See ms. NL Prague, VII C 21 (2nd half of the 14th century) and VIII B 2 (14t/15th century), which belonged to Pavel of Slavikovice and deals primarily with material of antiquity. About this Hussite priest and his library see Karel HRUZA, *Liber Pauli de Slaukouicz. Der hussitische Codex 4937 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien und sein ursprünglicher Besitzer*, in: Gustav Pfeifer (ed.), *Handschriften, Historiographie und Recht. Winfried Stelzer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wien – München 2002, pp. 128–152, here especially pp. 131–133. I have not investigated further which textual tradition of Waleys's work both manuscripts represent.

⁴⁵ I base it on the registry works of B. SMALLEY, F. STEGMÜLLER and Th. KAEPPEL-E. PANELLA, mentioned above, in the note 32.

⁴⁶ Now ms. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm. 13501.

⁴⁷ The Chapter Library Prague, ms. B 31 and A 79/4. And apparently of Czech origin is also the manuscript Stiftsbibliothek Melk, 1861, see Christine GLASSNER, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk, I, Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400*, Wien 2000, p. 479 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 285, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters II,8,1).

Viennese Dominicans has not survived).⁴⁸ Thus it seems that the lecture given in Bologna by the English Dominican was logically spreading first of all in this (and not only in this) area within the Dominican Order and its Order's studies, and this was the way it could reach even Prague and its University either from Italy or England in the 14th century. The Dominicans of St. Kliment in Prague who were certainly the recipients of numerous literary novelties thanks to their extensive contacts with foreign lands, actually had through their Order's studies precisely in the 2nd half of 14th century close personal relations with Prague University.⁴⁹

The reception of Waleys's lecture in Bohemia shows again that the scholarly literary contacts between England and Prague, between the Englishmen and Czechs, took on many forms and did not necessarily have to be related solely to the case of John Wycliffe, as we have been recently reminded by the historian Michael Van Dussen in connection with another exposition of Psalms which was read in Bohemia, written by the English hermit Richard Rolle.⁵⁰

Jan of Mýto's bachelor lecture is therefore a text of many layers and connections, I mentioned here just some of them. Although compilatory in its nature, which is a common outcome of academic activities in the late Middle Ages, it carries specific traits that open up new prospects on intellectual work, and not only of Prague University, in the 14th and 15th centuries. To study further the bachelor lecture of Jan Sophist is thus still more than desirable.

Translated by Veronika Teryngerová

⁴⁸ See RB [digital], no 8245 <<http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebihome.tc/>> (November 5, 2014).

⁴⁹ For this cf. Jaroslav KADLEC, *Řeholní a generální studia při Karlově universitě v době předhusitské* [Monastic and General studies at Charles University in the Pre-Hussite Era], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 7, 1966, pp. 63–88, here p. 64–79 and especially Pavel SPUNAR, *The Literary Legacy of Prague Dominicans and the University in Prague*, in: Zofia Włodek (ed.), *Société et église. Textes et discussions dans les Universités d'Europe centrale pendant le moyen âge tardif. Actes du colloque international de Cracovie, 14–16 juin 1993, Turnhout 1995*, pp. 91–100.

⁵⁰ See Michael VAN DUSSEN, *From England to Bohemia. Heresy and communication in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 37–62; IDEM, *Mezi Anglií a Čechami. Preláti v Římě a šíření anglických kontemplativních textů* [Between England and Bohemia. The Prelates in Rome and the Dissemination of English Contemplative Texts], in: Pavlína Rychterová – Pavel Soukup, *Heresis seminaria. Pojmy a koncepty v bádání o husitství* [Heresis seminaria. The Notions and Conceptions in the Research of Hussitism], Praha 2013, pp. 49–73.

Bakalářská lektura Žalmů Jana z Mýta a dílo Thomase Waleyse jako její pramen. Anglicko-české vazby v pozdním středověku v novém světle

RESUMÉ

Bakalářské biblické lekture byly klasickým produktem vzdělávání teologů na středověkých univerzitách. Řadí se k nim i lektura na Žalmy pražského mistra Jana z Mýta († 1402). Patřil ke generaci českých učitelů na pražské univerzitě, která vychovávala nastupující generaci českých reformistů v čele s Janem Husem. Ačkoliv na artistické fakultě patřil k vyhledávaným mistrům, méně jasné je jeho působení na fakultě teologické. Jedním z mála dokladů je právě Janova lektura na Žalmy, dochovaná ve fragmentární podobě v jediném známém rukopise Národní knihovny ČR III B 13 (zahrnuje výklad Ps. 26–41,10, počítáno podle Vulgáty). Vznikla nejspíše mezi lety 1395–1401 a autor studie s ní čtenáře seznamuje prostřednictvím Janova výkladu Ps. 29 (Ž 30). Ten sestává z úvodu k Žalmu (*accessus*) a doslovného (historického), alegorického (mystického) a morálního výkladu jednotlivých veršů. Převažuje morální výklad, který obsahuje četná exempla, respektive moralizaci přírodních a společenských jevů. Ve skutečnosti ale Jan z Mýta rozsáhlé pasáže morálního výkladu, včetně exemplů, nepřiznaně převzal z lekture Žalmů (ve známé podobě zahrnuje výklad Ps. 1–38,2) anglického dominikána Tomáše Waleyse († 1349?), který studoval v Oxfordu a poté působil jako lektor řádového studia v Bologni, kde také jeho lektura vznikla. Waleys byl známý svými humanistickými sklony a zálibou v antice a patřil k prvním, kdo tyto své znalosti systematicky využil při výkladu Bible. Na druhou stranu využívání exemplů se zdá být v pražských či bohemikálních biblických lekturách (Žalmů) ojedinělé a na příkladu díla Jana Husa se lze domnívat, že zvláště po roce 1400 to může souviset i s proměnou exegetických důrazů na pražské univerzitě v souvislosti s recepcí myšlenek Jana Wyclífa. Waleysova lektura byla nicméně opisována, čtena a při exegezi využívána i v husitských Čechách přinejmenším na sklonu 15. století. Doklady pro to máme z Tábora, z pražské univerzity, ale i ze sčedočeského Nymburka, kde byla využívána při kázání. Dochované rukopisy Waleysovy lekture pak obecně svědčí o její oblíbenosti ve střední Evropě, kde se nejspíše šířila prostřednictvím dominikánských řádových studií.

Dušan Coufal
Centre for Medieval Studies
Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague
coufald@gmail.com