

## The Effects of Christ's Coming into the Soul. A Case Study on a Group of Anonymous Treatises in Ms. Cambridge, Corpus Christi Library 524

Jan Odstrčilík

Since the seventeenth century, the Corpus Christi College at Cambridge University has been in possession of a group of manuscripts (Mss. 499–538) that are important for medieval studies in Central Europe. They were transported to England from the Brigittine convent in Elbąg (Poland). A number of them were written in Prague in the late fourteenth century. Among others, they contain valuable treatises written by pre-Hussite masters at Prague University and several not yet identified texts. There is only one overview study on this group of manuscripts, which was written by Jiří Kejř more than 20 years ago.<sup>1</sup> This paper is concerned only with one small group of anonymous treatises, located together in Ms. CCC 524 on fol. 112r to 131v. The number of scribe's errors and uncertainties prove that none of them is an autograph.<sup>2</sup> Nor it is clear whether a scribe copied this collection of treatises from a single source or from multiple sources.

In the first part of this little case study I will examine how these treatises are connected by their common structure and subject matter. I will then go on to give particular attention to the short treatise *Effectus adventus Domini*, included in this group. Though the autograph remains unknown, other treatises were found with which it has many similarities. This creates an excellent opportunity for a comparison of individual versions of the *List of*

<sup>1</sup> Jiří Kejř, "Díla pražských mistrů v rukopisech knihovny Corpus Christi College, Cambridge" [The Works of Prague Masters in the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, vol. 26:2 (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1986), 109–48.

<sup>2</sup> A nice example of the scribe's uncertainties is the transcription of some words at the beginning of the treatises, e.g., at the beginning of the *Effectus adventus Domini* on fol. 126v the scribe wrote first *Adventus dei in animam tamen multos habeat affectus* [sic!] and then corrected to *Adventus dei in animam cum multos habeat effectus*. Another example can be found at the beginning of the treatise *Effectus nativitatis Christi* on fol. 128r. In this case the scribe wrote first: *Spiritualis necessitas* [sic!] *Christi in anima per omnem modum est delectabilis*, then corrected the word *necessitas* to *adventus* and at last to *nativitas*. And just a few lines later the same mistake occurs again.

*Effects of Christ's Coming [into the Soul]* and a consideration of significant forms this subject could take. The treatise is quite remarkable for its elaborate structure and colourful narrative, in particular when compared with other treatises from the same group.

### The content of the manuscript

The group of texts which are the aim of this work are found in Ms. CCC 524, which was identified by Jiří Kejř as one of the manuscripts that came to Cambridge from Prague via Elbaĝ. The reason for this assumption seems to be the inclusion of the treatise *Passio Domini* written by Master Henrik Totting van Oyta, active at Prague University in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The manuscript contains a number of religious treatises, including *De gradibus virtutum* by Ps. Bonaventura, a part of the *Synonyms* by Isidore of Seville, and the above-mentioned treatise by Henrik Totting van Oyta. There is also the mnemonic tool *Summarium biblicum* by Alexander de Villa Dei, which served as an aid for the memorisation of the Bible.

### Unidentified treatises

On fol. 112r to 131v (that is, in the second half of the manuscript), there are several unidentified short treatises written by the same hand and sharing a similar structure and theme. They are

	Location	Name
(a)	112r--126v	<i>De effectibus dominici corporis et sanguinis</i>
(b)	126v--128r	<i>Effectus adventus Domini</i>
(c)	128r--129v	<i>Effectus nativitatis Christi</i>
(d)	129v--131r	<i>De VI pheodis &lt;divinitatis in anima&gt;</i>
(e)	131r	<i>De 7 sensibus spiritualibus</i>
(f)	131r--131v	<i>De quidditate gracie</i>

From this list I have managed to identify two treatises, *De 7 sensibus spiritualibus* and *De quidditate gracie*, as excerpts from Bonaventura's *Breviloquia*, from his chapter on the grace (*gratia*) of the Holy Spirit. Especially the second excerpt is distinguished from the others by its style. Unlike the others, it is not primarily a list of the effects, along with an explanation. It is a more complex treatise on grace as a gift of God.

The treatises marked as (a) to (d) have the same fixed structure. In the beginning the individual effects [or *pheodallfeuda* – *fiefs* as they are called in the

case of treatise (d)] are named and then explained one by one. In treatise (a), *De effectibus dominici corporis et sanguinis*, the effects are not structured hierarchically, and their number seems to be unimportant. The main organisation principle is the mnemonic verse. It is a poem consisting of four hexameters (fol. 112v):

*Liberat, emollit, purgat, solidat, pia lux est  
et favus, innovat, exhilarat, comes, arraque dux est,  
conciliat, confert, vitamque medetur, adauget,  
inflammat, reddit, signat, reparat, coadunat.*

Lucie Doležalová, who has studied verses on the effects of the Eucharist,<sup>3</sup> claims that such type of poem is reminiscent of keyword-based mnemonic verses such as the *Summarium biblicum* (which is also included in Ms. CCC 524). She also shows that in such enumeration the number of the effects varies.

The texts (b) to (d) are organised differently. There, the hierarchisation is more important than the verses and mnemonic principles. The first words of each treatise explain how many effects (or *fiefs*) will follow. Then they are all named and assigned an order (*primus, secundus, tertius effectus*) and at last commented upon. The sequence of the effects is far from accidental. Especially in treatises (b) and (c) the underlying logic is easy to discern – the effects are listed in order from the superficial to the profound (in both treatises the ultimate effect is the complete entrance of the Lord into the soul). In treatise (d), *De VI pheodis*, this hierarchisation is not so apparent, possibly because of the abstractness of the subject. But otherwise, the structure is similar to the two other treatises. The latter treatise is highly interesting on account of the abstract and metaphorical use of the word *pheodum* – which seems to be quite uncommon. The *fief* refers to what God can lend to the soul.

The following table shows the complete list of the effects and fiefs that are discussed in treatises (b) to (d). From their formulation the difference in the degree of hierarchisation between the first two treatises and the third treatise is clear:

In treatise (b) the first three effects are preparatory. The soul removes its carnal desires, then its desire for eternal things is *fattened up*, becoming bigger and bigger. After that the soul forgets the mutable things and prepares itself for the coming of Christ into the soul. And this coming is the subject of the following *effects*.

Treatise (c) describes the spiritual birth of Christ in the soul in a similar way. The first four effects are related to one's preparation for the spiritual birth of the Lord: remorse for one's sins, weeping and internal consolation, which is followed by the elation of the soul. Only then the spiritual birth of Christ in

<sup>3</sup> Lucie Doležalová, "The Verses on the Effects of the Eucharist: Memory and Material Text in Utraquist Miscellanies," in *Situating Religious Controversy: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership, 1378-1536*, ed. Michael van Dussen and Pavel Soukup (Turnhout: Brepols, in print).

humans can happen. In this process, the human state of mind is changed from a state of suffering for remorse for one's sins to the final (not temporary but endless) joy.

(b) <i>Effectus adventus Domini</i>		(c) <i>Effectus nativitatis Christi</i>		(d) <i>VI pheoda &lt;divinitatis in anima&gt;</i>
<i>infrigidacio ab estu carnalium Desideriorum</i>	Gradual penetrating of the Lord into the soul from the first touch to complete penetration and cutting off the natural life.	<i>compunccio anime</i>	A gradual process which goes on in the soul before the coming of Christ.	<i>distincta personarum in trinitate familiaritas</i>
<i>impinguacio desideriorum eternorum</i>		<i>effusio lacrimarum</i>		<i>familiaritate plena deliciandi societas</i>
<i>oblivio rerum Mutabilium</i>		<i>interna consolacio</i>		<i>in societate deliciarum varietas</i>
<i>penetracio interiorum anime</i>		<i>mentis elevacio</i>		<i>delicati simul et deliciarum inalterabilitas</i>
<i>exestuacio in intimis anime</i>		<i>celestis seminis infusion</i>	The spiritual birth of the Lord in the soul from its conception to its parturition.	<i>iocunda sanctorum participancium societas</i>
<i>Inspiracio</i>		<i>divine sobolis procreacio</i>		<i>perfecta eorumdem caritas</i>
<i>reseccio/defeccio naturalis vite</i>		<i>inmutacio</i>		
		<i>cordis inflacio</i>		
		<i>spiritualis procuracio / parturicio</i>		
		<i>exultacio</i>		

Treatise (d), which describes spiritual fiefs that the sanctified soul can obtain from God, does not have a strict hierarchical structure. However, this is understandable since it is difficult to determine what the appropriate order would be, for example, if the absolute nearness to God (the first fief) is more important for the soul than the attainment of perfect love (the sixth fief). The fiefs are therefore organised according to what the soul can obtain from God: firstly it is the nearness to the Holy Trinity, then it is complacency toward the latter. Though each member of the Holy Trinity gratifies the soul by other means, they work together. The pleasures are always new, though they are

immutable. The soul feels them not alone, but in communion with other sanctified souls. The last gift the soul receives is perfect love, *que est unica lex omnium*.

If one considers these treatises (a) to (f) together, one can see how they supplement each other. The set starts out with (a) Effects of the Eucharist, continues with (b) The Coming of the Lord into the Soul, which is followed by (c) His Spiritual Birth in the Soul. The set ends with the description of gifts, which the sanctified soul is able to obtain. The two excerpts from Bonaventure's *Breviloquia*, texts (e) and (f), are a more complex treatment of the subject.

### *Effectus adventus Domini*

Treatise (b), *On the effects of the coming of the Lord into the soul*, the main subject of this paper, has possibly the most complex and elaborate structure of all the treatises. In the beginning, the author states how many effects he is to describe:

*Adventus dei in animam cum multis habeat effectus, septem tantum hic notantur.*

(Though the Lord's coming into the soul has many effects, only seven are to be discussed.)

This is followed by a list of all the seven effects:

*Primus igitur effectus est ab estu carnalium desideriorum infrigidacio. Secundus [in] desideriorum eternorum impinguacio. Tertius omnimoda rerum mutabilium oblivio. Quartus interiorum anime penetracio. Quintus in intimis anime exestuacio. Sextus inspiracio hoc est spiritus in spiritum transicio vel magis in eandem ymaginem transformacio ut vult apostolus I. ad Cor<inthios> iii<sup>o</sup>. Septimus et ultimus est naturalis vite reseccio.*

(The first effect then is the cooling from the fire of fleshly desires. The second one is the fattening up of the desires for the eternal things. The third one is the complete oblivion of mutable things. The fourth is the penetrating of the inner part of the soul. The fifth effect is the boiling up inside the soul. The sixth is the "inspiration", that means a transition of the spirit into the spirit or, better, the transformation into the same image, as the Apostle says in I Cor 3. The seventh and final effect is the cutting off of the natural life.)

Next, the general principle for ordering the effects is explained – the degree of proximity to God during the contemplation; and contemplation seems to be also the main goal of the treatise.

*Ordo accipitur in istis secundum accessum ad deum propinquiores in actu contemplacionis ...*

(The effects follow the order of increasing proximity to God during the act of contemplation.)

Then the principle for defining the individual effects is explained. The author cites the Bible – from the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah:

*... et fundantur quatuor primi super illud Ysai<ae> liiii<sup>o</sup>: Quomodo descendit ymber et nix de celo et illuc ultra non revertitur sed inebriat terram et infundit eam usque huc. Tres autem super illud Ie<remiae> xvi<sup>o</sup>: Factus est in corde meo quasi ignis estuans, claususque in ossibus meis: et defeci, ferre non sustinens.*

(The first four effects are based on the words of Isaiah 55: The rain and snow fall from the sky and do not return, but instead water the earth and make it produce.<sup>4</sup> However, the last three are based on the words of Jeremiah 16: [his message] becomes like a fire locked up inside me, burning in my heart and in my bones. I grow weary of trying to hold it in; I cannot contain it.)

There are many references to these words included in the text, and they are the key to understanding the formulations of the effects. This explains why they are often expressed through the processes of nature, like cooling off (*infrigidacio*), boiling up (*exestuacio*), etc.

The connection of passages from the Bible and the listed effects is as follows:

	Effect	Quote from Bible	Crucial word
1.	<i>ab estu carnalium desideriorum infrigidacio</i>	<i>Is 55:10: et quomodo descendit <b>imber</b> et nix de celo et illuc ultra non revertitur sed <b>inebriat terram et Infundit eam</b></i>	<i>Imber</i>
2.	<i>desideriorum eternorum impinguacio</i>		
3.	<i>omnimoda rerum Mutabilium oblivio</i>		<i>inebriat terram</i>
4.	<i>interiorum anime Penetracio</i>		<i>infundit eam</i>
5.	<i>in intimis anime Exestuacio</i>	<i>Jr 20:9: Factus est in corde meo quasi <b>ignis estuans, claususque in ossibus meis: et defeci, ferre non Sustinens.</b></i>	<i>ignis estuans</i>
6.	<i>inspiracio hoc est spiritus in spiritum transicio vel magis in eandem ymaginem Transformacio</i>		<i>claususque in ossibus meis</i>
7.	<i>naturalis vite reseccio/defeccio</i>		<i>defeci, ferre non Sustinens</i>

<sup>4</sup> English translation of the *Bible*, ed. W. Hall Harris, NET Bible (Garland, Texas: Biblical Studies Press, 2005).

The narration is built on the interpretation of verses from the Bible, not just Isaiah and Jeremiah, but also the Song of Songs, the Psalms, Daniel, Job and both the Epistles to the Corinthians. The author also quotes a number of Church authorities, from St. Augustine to Gregory the Great and St. Bernard. It is striking how frequent his use of the *Glossa ordinaria* is..

Although the autograph is unknown, two similar enumerations of effects without complex explanation and interpretation have been found in two older texts – in the *Glossa tripartita* and in the sermon of Meister Eckhart celebrating St. Augustine. No direct affiliation among these versions can be proved (nor it is plausible), nevertheless, the comparison of these versions can help us to understand each of them better.

### *Glossa tripartita*

The *Glossa tripartita* is a compilation that arose in the late thirteenth century as an extensive commentary on the Song of Songs, probably written in a Parisian university environment. Although by now this version is the oldest known enumeration of the *Effects of the coming of the Lord* from the said three, it does not seem to be the original source for this enumeration, simply because of its character as a compilation.

This very short enumeration is to be found as a commentary to the introductory verse of the fifth chapter of the Song of Songs: *veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum*. There are not seven effects, as in treatise CCC 524, but only six – there is no *impinguacio eternorum desideriorum*, that is, amplification of desires for eternal things. The important aspect is that it includes the same biblical reference to Isaiah (although the wrong chapter is listed) and to Jeremiah. After these quotations, however, the enumeration ends without any explanation of how these verses are connected with the effects. The entire note (or gloss) covers only a few lines:<sup>5</sup>

*Nota hic sex effectus istius spiritualis aduentus quos figuratiue et pulchre °77rb° satis hic innuit sponsus qui sunt carnalium desideriorum in frigidacio rerum mutabilium obliuio interiorum anime penetracio in intimis precordijs estuacio in diuinum spiritum transformacio naturalis vite defectio. primi quatuor possunt accipi secundum illud ysaias 54 quomodo descendit imber et nix de celo etc. sed alij duo secundum illud Ieremias \*xx factus est michi cor meum quasi ignis estuans.*

(Notice here six effects of his spiritual coming that is at this place metaphorically and beautifully expressed by the groom and which are: cooling from carnal desires, oblivion of mutable things, penetration into the depths of the soul, ignition in the depths of the soul, transformation into the divine spirit and death of natural life. The first four can be

<sup>5</sup> The transcription of this part of the *Glossa tripartita* from ms. Clm 21244 (formerly U1m 44) of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich was kindly provided by Kees Shepers.

understood by a verse of Isaiah 54: *The rain and snow fall from the sky.*  
 The two remaining by a verse of Jeremiah 20: *[he] is in my hearth as a burning fire.*)

The structure can be schematically described as follows:

	Effect	Basic quotation
1.	<i>Carnalium desideriorum infrigidacio</i>	Is 55:10: <i>et quomodo descendit imber et nix de caelo et illuc ultra non revertitur sed inebriat terram et infundit eam</i>
2.	<i>rerum mutabilium Oblivio</i>	
3.	<i>interiorum anime Penetracio</i>	
4.	<i>in intimis precordiis Estuacio</i>	
5.	<i>in divinum spiritum Transformacio</i>	Jr 20:9: <i>Factus est in corde meo quasi ignis estuans. claususque in ossibus meis: et defeci, ferre non sustinens.</i>
6.	<i>naturalis vite defectio</i>	

It is worthy of attention that the fourth effect, that is, *in intimis precordiis estuatio* (or *in intimis anime exestuacio*), is associated with a quotation from Isaiah and not Jeremiah, as in the later treatise *Effectus adventus Domini* from Prague. This connection seems, however, less logical, because in the words of Isaiah, there's no speech about flame or fire, but only water making the earth produce its fruit. It is therefore possible that at this point there is a scribal error.

The second difference is the wording of the fifth effect, that is, *in divinum spiritum transformacio*. Though it corresponds to the formulation *est spiritus in spiritum transicio* from the treatise *Effectus adventus Domini*, it does not follow a reference to Paul's letter to the Corinthians, that is, *in eandem ymaginem transitio*.

The sermon of Meister Eckhart celebrating St. Augustine

A third version of the enumeration of the effects of the coming of the Lord into the soul is found in the works of Meister Eckhart, specifically in his sermon delivered in Paris, in either 1302 or 1303, on the occasion of the feast of St. Augustine. He begins his list with the assertion that we can know God only through his work (through his *effectus*). Therefore, Eckhart states that he will look at the ways (*modi*) in which grace enters the soul (in the treatise described

as *vas ornatum*, that is, decorated vessel).<sup>6</sup> This is a small, but significant difference from the other two versions of this enumeration.

*Sed quoniam non contingit nos de deo aliquid scire nisi per effectus, ideo distinguamus septem modos gratiae adventus in vas taliter ornatum.*

(Because we cannot know anything about God except through its effects, let us distinguish seven ways in which grace enters such a decorated vessel.)

There are seven effects of the coming of grace into the soul, according to Meister Eckhart, and their wording resembles that of the treatise *Effectus adventus Domini*:

*Venit enim prior per modum nivis refrigerantis, et sic relinquitur eius effectus in anima, scilicet ab aestu carnalium desideriorum refrigeratio. Secundo venit per modum roris impinguentis, et sic relinquitur eius effectus in anima, scilicet aeternorum desideriorum impinguatio. Tertio venit per modum vini inebriantis, et sic relinquitur eius effectus in anima, scilicet omnimoda rerum mutabilium oblivio. Quarto venit per modum olei subiectum penetrantis, et sic relinquitur eius effectus in anima, scilicet illuminatio dei et inflammatio. Quinto venit per modum ignis depurantis, et sic relinquitur eius effectus in anima, scilicet perfecta purgatio. Sexto venit per modum lucis se cum subiecto unientis, et sic relinquitur eius effectus in anima, scilicet „in eandem imaginem“ cum deo transformatio. Septimo venit per modum spiritus vehementer impellentis, et sic relinquitur eius effectus in anima, scilicet naturalis vitae defectio.*

(Firstly it comes in the manner of cooling snow, and so leaves its effect in the soul: obviously cooling from the heat of carnal desires. Second it comes in the manner of fertilizing dew, and so leaves its effect in the soul: obviously strengthening the desire for eternal things. Thirdly it comes in the manner of inebriating wine, and so leaves its effect in the soul: obviously total oblivion of all mutable things. Fourth it comes in the manner of oil penetrating into the material and so leaves its effect in the soul: obviously divine enlightenment and enthusiasm. Fifth it comes in the

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<sup>6</sup> The sermon by Eckhart is based on the words from Eccl 50,10: *vas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide pretioso*. St. Augustine is pictured just as this vessel: *Ad commendationem beati Augustini potest proprie introduci haec auctoritas, et inter cetera commendatur sub vasis metaphora in tribus quae in vase continentur: primo in pretiositate materiae, quia per aurum intelligitur sapientia, ibi: vas auri, secundo in dispositione formae, ibi: ornatum omni lapide pretioso, tertio in ponderis quantitate, ibi: solidum*. This analogy can be applied, however, also to other holy souls. Cf. a similar sermon by Eckhart in German on the same biblical verse [Meister Eckhart, *Deutsche Predigten und Traktate*, ed. Josef Quint (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1955), 224]: “Ich habe ein Wörtlein gesprochen auf lateinisch, das liest man heute in der Epistel; das kann man auf Sankt Augustinus anwenden und auf eine jegliche gute, heilige Seele: wie die einem goldenen Gefäß gleichen, das da ist fest und beständig und die Kostbarkeit aller Edelsteine an sich trägt.”

manner of purifying and so leaves its effect in the soul: obviously a perfect purification. Sixth it comes in the manner of light, which combines with the substance, and so leaves its effect in the soul: obviously the transformation to the same image with God. Seventh it comes in the manner of wind violently pulsating, and so leaves its effect in the soul: obviously death of the natural life.)

The primary and most interesting difference is that Meister Eckhart does not mention any connection between his manners of entrance and the biblical verses from Isaiah and Jeremiah. However, when we consider the ways in which grace enters the soul, the connection with these biblical sources is at least partially clear:

	Seven effects of the grace	Seven ways in which the grace comes into the soul	Possible biblical references	Connecting term
1.	<i>ab aestu carnalium desideriorum refrigeratio</i>	<i>per modum nivis refrigerantis</i>	Is 55:10: <i>et quomodo descendit imber et nix</i>	<i>nix</i>
2.	<i>aeternorum desideriorum impinguatio</i>	<i>per modum roris impinguentis</i>	<i>de caelo et illuc ultra non revertitur sed inebriat</i>	<i>ros (imber)</i>
3.	<i>omnimoda rerum mutabilium oblivio</i>	<i>per modum vini inebriantis</i>	<i>terram et infundit eam</i>	<i>Inebriat</i>
4.	<i>illuminatio dei et inflammatio</i>	<i>per modum olei subiectum penetrantis</i>	?	<i>infundit eam? ignis?</i>
5.	<i>perfecta purgatio</i>	<i>per modum ignis depurantis</i>	Jr 20:9: <i>Factus est in corde meo quasi ignis</i>	<i>Ignis</i>
6.	<i>“in eandem imaginem” cum deo transformationio.</i>	<i>per modum lucis se cum subiecto unientis</i>	<i>estuans, claususque in ossibus meis: et defeci, ferre non sustinens.</i>	<i>claususque in ossibus meis</i>
7.	<i>naturalis vitae defectio</i>	<i>per modum spiritus vehementer impellentis</i>		<i>Defeci</i>

As is evident from this summary, the fourth effect differs from the others. *Illuminatio dei et inflammatio* as well as the description *per modum olei subiectum penetrantis* sounds like a synthesis of the two biblical citations. From Isaiah the metaphor of the penetrating rain could be used (liquid, and therefore oil) into the ground to be fertilized, from Jeremiah the metaphor of fire. The text of the fifth effect is also different: *perfecta purgatio* instead of *in intimis anime exestuacio* of *Effectus adventus Domini*. This theme of the perfectly pure soul, however, can be found also in the Prague treatise:

*Sicut enim necesse est calorem naturalem accedere postquam cibum traiecit ad per corpus, quo purum ab impuro separetur et digestio ultima celebretur, sic et ignis divinus postquam anime interiora penetrata sunt et estuat in illis et virtute sua omne imperfectum, scilicet consumit in anima.*

(As it is essential that a natural glow sparks after food has entered the body to separate the pure from the impure in the final digestion, so in the same manner the fire of God burns in the depths of the soul after it is penetrated, because it consumes everything unclean in the soul by its power.)

The interest of the formulation of the sixth effect "*in eandem imaginem*" *cum deo transformatio* comes from the following comparison of the various formulations in all of the versions of the enumeration of the effects of the coming of the Lord into the soul:

<i>Glossa tripartita</i>	<b>Sermon of Meister Eckhart</b>	<i>Effectus adventus Domini</i>
<i>in divinum spiritum transformacio</i>	<u>"in eandem imaginem" cum deo transformatio</u>	<i>inspiracio hoc est spiritus in spiritum transicio vel magis in eandem ymaginem Transformacio</i>

It seems that the formulation of *Effectus adventus Domini* is something like a synthesis of variants contained in the *Glossa tripartita* and in the sermon of Meister Eckhart.

An editor and translator of this particular sermon of Meister Eckhart, Bernhard Geyer, claimed that at this point Eckhart is being "uneckhartisch"<sup>7</sup> and that this content had been drawn from Bernardian mysticism. This exact source is, however, unknown. In my opinion it is justified to say that Meister Eckhart did not just mechanically quote an interpretation from the University of Paris, but rather it is likely that he creatively transformed this subject by adding the description of the ways in which grace comes into the soul.

<sup>7</sup> Meister Eckhart. "*Sermo die b. Augustini Parisius habitus*," in *Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke, Die lateinischen Werke*, ed. Bernhard Geyer (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936), 88.

His description is more straightforward than the one in the treatise of Prague University, and we can say that it is the opposite strategy of the author of the original list. The former describes the way in which grace comes into the soul, which is basically a very physical metaphor: cooling snow, inebriating wine, and purifying fire. Only after this short metaphorical description does the naming of the effect come: cooling from the heat of carnal desires, forgetting about mutable things, perfect (internal) purification. The whole thing is very clearly established.

In contrast, the whole theme in *Effectus adventus Domini* is not at all easy to understand. The individual effects are first enumerated, then the two biblical verses follow, on which the effects are based (even though it is not always obvious how), and last comes the complex interpretation.

## Conclusion

After the comparison of three available versions of the effects of the coming of the Lord into the soul the treatise *Effectus adventus Domini* seems to be (in the form of CCC 524) the most complete example of this type. Only in this version is it explained how all seven effects are connected with the two biblical references and it is also the only one to offer their complete interpretation. This allows the reader to better understand the subject in the other two treatises. The sermon of Meister Eckhart then helps to reveal its structure and shows how the author may have processed material that was handed down to him at Paris University.

The French origin of the two earlier enumerations, that is, *Glossa tripartita* and the sermon of Meister Eckhart, support the idea that the origin of the *Effectus adventus Domini* might be found in the environment of the French university. Proof or refutation of this as well as the discovery of other enumerations remains a task for future research.

## Edition

### Critical note

The text of the treatise *Effectus adventus Domini* is found in CCC 524 on f. 126v to 128r. The name is taken from the header of f. 126v. There is also an alternative title, *Effectus adventus Christi in anima*, in the header of f. 127v.

The transcript preserves the original orthography with the typical features of medieval Latin. For easier understanding, punctuation has been added and upper and lower case letters are changed following today's rules. The brackets <> mark a complementation of the full name of cited biblical books. Other abbreviations are transcribed in the common way. Obvious scribal errors are corrected: Sometimes the wrong case is used, for example, *te excitas* instead of *tu excitas* or *Anima enim que magnam habet caritatem, magna est, que parvam,*

*parvam (!), que nullam nichil* instead of correct *que parvam, parva*. Smaller errors, which could already be present in the source text and do not hinder the understanding of the treatise, were preserved.

### *Effectus adventus Domini*

[126v] *Adventus dei in animam cum<sup>8</sup> multos habeat effectus,<sup>9</sup> septem tantum hic notantur. Primus igitur effectus est ab estu carnalium desideriorum infrigidacio. Secundus in desideriorum eternorum impinguacio. Tertius omnimoda rerum mutabilium oblivio. Quartus interiorum anime penetracio. Quintus in intimis anime exestuacio. Sextus inspiracio hoc est spiritus in spiritum transicio vel magis in eandem ymaginem transformacio ut vult apostolus 1. ad Cor<inthios> iii<sup>o</sup>.<sup>10</sup> Septimus et ultimus est naturalis vite reseccio.*

*Ordo accipitur in istis secundum accessum ad deum propinquiorem in actu contemplacionis et fundantur quatuor primi super illud Ysai<ae> liiir<sup>o</sup>.<sup>11</sup> Quomodo descendit ymber et nix de celo et illuc ultra non revertitur sed inebriat terram et infundit eam usque huc. Tres illud le<remiae> autem super xvi<sup>o</sup>.<sup>12</sup> Factus est in corde meo quasi ignis estuans, claususque in ossibus meis: et defeci, ferre non sustinens.*

*Primus itaque est ab estu carnalium desideriorum infrigidacio. Unde sponsa in Cant<ico> ii<sup>o</sup>.<sup>13</sup> Sub umbra illius quam desideraveram. Glosa interlinearis.<sup>14</sup> Quasi ab estu carnalium desideriorum infrigidacio: sub adventus illius protectione requievi. Et bene dicit quod tunc quievit quia nichil sufficit quietare animam rationalem nisi solus deus a quo creata est ut sit<sup>15</sup> et ad quem facta est, in illo beata sit.<sup>16</sup>*

<sup>8</sup> Formerly written *tamen*, deleted and changed to *cum* by the same hand.

<sup>9</sup> Formerly written *affectus*, changed to *effectus* by the same hand.

<sup>10</sup> II Cor 3,18.

<sup>11</sup> Is 55,10.

<sup>12</sup> Ier 20,9.

<sup>13</sup> Ct 2,3.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Glosa interlinearis [K. Froehlich, K. and M. T. Gibson, *Biblia Latina cum Glosa ordinaria: Introduction to the Facsimile Reprint of the editio princeps*, Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992, 711): *quasi ab estu desideriorum carnalium sub adventus illius protectione requievi vel umbra, id est divina scriptura*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, *De natura et gratia* [ed. Karl Franz Urba and Joseph Zycha. (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1913), 284]: *non enim abnuimus humanam naturam posse esse sine peccato aut ullo modo negare debemus perfici posse, quam proficere non negamus, sed gratia dei per iesum christum dominum nostrum; eo adiuuante fieri dicimus, ut iusta et beata sit, a quo creata est ut sit*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Augustinus Hipponensis, *De uera religione* [ed. Josef Martin and Klaus D. Daur, in CC SL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962)], cap. 44: *et ideo rationalis anima si creatori suo seruiat, a quo facta est et per quem facta est et ad quem facta est, cuncta ei cetera seruiant, et uita ultima, quae tam uicina illi est et est adiutorium eius, per quod imperat corpori, et ipsum corpus, extrema natura et essentia, cui omnimodo cedenti ad arbitrium dominabitur nullam*

Unde Augustinus in primo Confessionum.<sup>17</sup> Tu<sup>18</sup> excitas ut laudare te delectet quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te. Hunc effectum tangit Ysaï<as> ubi comparat adventum domini in animam ymbri veneunti super terram et infundenti eam. Sed quanto plus anima tepescit<sup>19</sup> ab estu carnalium desideriorum, tanto plus incalescit desideriorum eternorum.

Unde secundus effectus est impinguacio in tali desiderio et hic magis accedit ad deum, hunc tangit ubi comparat eum ymbri dicens:<sup>20</sup> Quando descendit ymber de celo. Et Osee.<sup>21</sup> Ymbri comperavero ut dictum est impinguant et provehenti. Unde David postquam flumen dei repletum est aquis<sup>22</sup> ut pluviam voluntariam segreget deus hereditati sue<sup>23</sup> dicit.<sup>24</sup> Pinguescent speciosa deserti. Desertum est anima qua soli deo habitabilis et pervia quia de nichilo creavit eam. Speciosa eius sunt et vires naturales: rationalis, irascibilis, concupiscibilis secundum quas speciosissima omnium creaturarum quia expresse ad ymaginem [127r] Dei facta. Harum motus quanto plus intenduntur in Deum, tanto pinguiore in eo morsellos interne refeccionis inveniunt et ipsa anima tanto maior in se fit et pinguescit magnitudine naturali que est ex caritate. Anima enim que magnam habet caritatem, magna est, que parvam parva,<sup>25</sup> que nullam nichil est, ut dicit Bernardus et apostolus I. ad Cor<inthios> xiii.<sup>26</sup> Si non habuero caritatem nichil sum. Ysaye liii (?).<sup>27</sup> Audite audite audientes me et comedite me, scilicet qui summum sum bonum, et delectabitur in crasitudine anima vestra. In Ie<remia> xxxi.<sup>28</sup> Animas sacerdotum inebriabo pinguedine.

Hunc sequitur tercius qui adhuc magis coniungit deo et est omnino [???]<sup>29</sup> rerum mutabilium oblivio. Hunc tangit Ysa<ias> cum dicit.<sup>30</sup> Sed

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de illo sentiens molestiam, quia iam non ex illo nec per illud quaeret beatitudinem, sed ex deo per se ipsam percipiet.

<sup>17</sup> Augustinus Hipponensis, *Confessionum libri tredecim* [ed. Luc Verheijen. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981)], lib. 1, cap. 1.

<sup>18</sup> tu ] te.

<sup>19</sup> tepescit ] tempescit.

<sup>20</sup> Is 55,10.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Os 6,3: vivificabit nos post duos dies; in die tertia suscitabit nos. et vivemus in conspectu ejus. Sciemus, sequemurque ut cognoscamus Dominum: quasi diluculum prae-paratus est egressus ejus, et veniet quasi imber nobis temporaneus et serotinus terrae.

<sup>22</sup> Ps 64,10: visitasti terram et inebriasti eam multiplicasti locupletare eam flumen Dei repletum est aquis.

<sup>23</sup> Ps 67,10: Pluviam voluntariam segregabis, Deus, haereditati tuae.

<sup>24</sup> Ps 64,13.

<sup>25</sup> parva ] parvam.

<sup>26</sup> I Cor 13,2.

<sup>27</sup> Is 55,2.

<sup>28</sup> Ier 31,14: et inebriabo animam sacerdotum pinguedine et populus meus bonis meis adimplebitur ait Dominus.

<sup>29</sup> The word can't be read.

<sup>30</sup> Is 55,10.

*inebriat terram et bene dicit quod inebriati sunt. <Sicut><sup>31</sup> enim ex cibo recocto et resolutio in stomacho, vapores vel fumositates incendunt cerebrum et retrahentes spiritus animales ab actionibus exterioribus obnubilant virtutem; sic vapor divine dulcedinis in desiderio percepto elevatur in summum anime ubi est intelligencia, memoria, voluntas, una et vera essentia. In his tribus potencies ipsa dico mens et quia invenit trinitas in hac parte animam aptam ad pleniorum sui gustum percipiendum eo quod actualiter resplendeat hic ymago trinitatis et remote sunt iste potencies multum a sensibus carnis non tam iam stillatim potat sed totam inebrians sompno interne contemplacionis occupat et competit ei dicere illud Cant<icorum> v.<sup>32</sup> Comedite amici mei et inebriabimini. Sic quidem inebriatus erat Ieremias qui dicit xxiii.<sup>33</sup> Factus sum quasi vir ebrius et quasi homo madidus vino a facie domini et a facie verborum eius.*

*Ad hunc effectum continuatur quartus qui adhuc magis aproximat deo qui est interiorum anime petetratio. Hunc tangit Ysai<as> qui dicit.<sup>34</sup> Infundit eam, id est intus se fundit spiritus increatus per spiritum creatum et hoc in hac superiori parte anima. Sicut enim in sompno naturali cibus trahitur ad membra corporis per spiritus quosdam<sup>35</sup> in venis discurrentes in subiectum coalescat sic et spiritus spirituum et deus deorum et in sompno contemplacionis traicit se ad intelligenciam, voluntatem et memoriam, ut intelligencia non querat ultra [??] quia puer iste insufficiens doceret (?).<sup>36</sup> Num quem diligit anima mea vidisti? Nec ab Ysai<a>.<sup>37</sup> Quia pulluta labia hoc quin (?) potius dicit.<sup>38</sup> Loquere, Domine, quia audit servus. Videt enim veritatem perspicuam irradientem super se, et ipsa voluntas quod est virtus affectiva ordinata ad summum bonum in hac parte anime bonam vitam bibit in suo fonte.*

*Et memoria secundum quod est coacervacio percepti boni cum percipiente totum tenet presens quod amet.*

*Et hoc est tercium celum sive visio internalis in quam raptus fuit Paulus<sup>39</sup> quando iam non sub scisitudine (?) rerum rerum corporalium ymaginabatur deum suum nec in figura lucis huius regine celorum quamquam pulchre lucem sibi incomprehensibilem reformavit. Sed facie ad faciem est contemplatus. In hac contemplacione efficitur quis iam totus dei, non sui.*

*Ad hunc ordinatur quintus qui est in intimis anime divini ignis exestuatio qui facit esse proximum deo. Sicut enim necesse est calorem naturalem accedere postquam cibus traiectus est ad membra<sup>40</sup> per corpus, quo purum ab impuro*

<sup>31</sup> In the ms.: *inebriati Sunt enim ex cibo.*

<sup>32</sup> Ct 5,1: *comedite, amici, et bibite, et inebriamini, carissimi.*

<sup>33</sup> Ier 23,9.

<sup>34</sup> Is 55,10.

<sup>35</sup> *quosdam* ] *quondam*.

<sup>36</sup> Ct 3,3.

<sup>37</sup> Is 6,5.

<sup>38</sup> I Sm 3,9.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. II Cor 12.

<sup>40</sup> *membra* ] *membro*.

separetur et digestio ultima celebretur, sic et ignis divinus postquam anime interiora penetrata sunt et estuat in illis et virtute sua omne imperfectum, scilicet consumit in anima. Deus enim noster ignis consumens est,<sup>41</sup> et perficit animam et preparat ut eam sibi inspuret, id est in se totam traiciat. De hoc effectu Gregorius super Ezechielem dictum quod:<sup>42</sup> mens que iam talis est, nullam presentis vite consolacionem [127v] recipit, quia ad illum quem diligit medullitus aspirat, fervet, anhelat anxiatur, vilisque fit ei ipsa salus corporis quia transfixa est vulnere amoris. Mala autem salus est que huius vulneris dolorem non sentit. Cum vero anhelare in celeste desiderium et sentire vulnus amoris ceperit fit anima salubrior ex vulnere que prius egrotabat ex salute. Hunc effectum tangit Ieremias dicens:<sup>43</sup> Factus est in corde suo quasi ignis es-tuans.

Adhuc sequitur immediate sextus qui est inspiracio, spiritus in spiritum transicio et ista causa non approximat deo, sed unit cum deo. Qui enim adheret deo, unus spiritus est cum eo.<sup>44</sup> Hunc tangit Ieremias cum dicit:<sup>45</sup> Claususque in ossibus meis. Nichil enim in ossibus clauditur nisi medulla que iam transit in substanciam carnis et sanguinis et in spiritum. Sed spiritus enim hominis quamvis non transeat in substanciam divinam, tamen transit quasi in unam cum deo speciem ut unus cum deo spiritus esse videatur instar profecto ignis qui aerem quem inflamat dum suum ei calorem impremit induitque colorem non ignitum sed ignem fecisse cernitur<sup>46</sup> ut dicit Bernardus et apostolus ii Cor<inthios> iii.<sup>47</sup> Nos omnes revelata facie, id est expedita ratione ut dicit Glos<s>a<sup>48</sup> Eo modo quo supradictum est gloriam domini speculantes in eadem ymagine trasformamur auctoritate<sup>49</sup> in claritatem hoc est a claritate interiora in claritatem sensuum exteriorum quoad pulchritudinem morum. Sicut utique Maria postquam concepit dominum corporaliter in utero in figura spiritualis conceptionis eius in anima emisit radios divinitatis scintillantes ex oculis in figuram huius transfiguracionis et hoc tamquam a spiritu domini inspirante in faciem anime spiraculum vite gracie.

Ad hunc sequitur septimus et ultimus qui est naturalis vite defeccio. Hunc tangit Ieremias cum dicit:<sup>50</sup> Defeci ferre non sustinens. Hic corrui Hester viso

<sup>41</sup> Hbr 12,29.

<sup>42</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* [*Sancti Gregorii Magni Homiliae in Hiezechielem*, ed. M. Adriaen, CC SL 142 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971)], lib. 2, hom.: 3).

<sup>43</sup> Ier 20,9.

<sup>44</sup> I Cor 6,17.

<sup>45</sup> Ier 20,9.

<sup>46</sup> Bernardus Claraeuallensis *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* [ed. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot and Henri Rochais, *Bernardi opera*, vol. 1 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957)], 111).

<sup>47</sup> II Cor 3,18.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Glossa interlinearis* (Froehlich, *Glossa ordinaria*, 341): *expedita ratione*.

<sup>49</sup> Sic! Correct form: *a claritate*.

<sup>50</sup> Ier 20,9.

*Assuero in gloria sua. Hec immutatur sanctus Daniel sicut dicit x:<sup>51</sup> Species mea immutata est in me et emarcui nec habui in me quicquam virium. Hic micant firmissime columpne domus domini: Petrus, Iohannes et Iacobus quando Ihesus transfiguratur in oculis et contingit hoc ex eo, quod anima secundum superiorem sui partem contra inmititur (?) supra dilectum suum et in res sensitive potencie et rationabilitatis et inferiores omnino cessant et quiescunt ab accionibus suis. Potencia enim rationalis secundum quod comparacionem habet ad inferiores et est motor corporis comparatur ad sensitivam potenciam. Sicut artifex ad organum et ulterius ad corpus, sicut artifex ad instrumentum. Sicut enim artifex mediante organo movetur<sup>52</sup> instrumentum sic et ipsa mediante sensitiva potencia eius viribus movet corpus. Unde contingit quod dum illud quod intellectum dei est in anima totum occupatur circa deum et illi soli vacant vires inferiores, sopiuntur et quiescunt a suo actu quia illud quod moveret eas circa hoc quod inmensum et infinitum est, id est circa deum operatur et hoc est quod dicit ille lob iii<sup>o</sup>:<sup>53</sup> In horrore visionis nocturnae quando sopor solet occupare homines, id est quando quiescunt vires sensibiles ab actibus suis. Sopor enim est, ut dicit philosophus, quies virium inferiorum cum intencione superiorum. Pavor tenuit me et tremor<sup>54</sup> et accepit hic pavorem pro defectum naturalis vite qui contingit ex irradiacione luminis inmensi super animam, et tremorem pro horripilacione qui contingit in membris ex defectu naturalis caloris et retraccione sensuum ad interiora. Perterrita sunt omnia ossa mea<sup>55</sup> et accepit homo ossa pro confidencia quam habuit ex bono testimonio consciencie prius quam hanc dulcedinem gustaret que eum fortem facit et constantem. Sed modo perterretur hoc est a presumpcionem quod animam deicitur quia bene sentit quod sic haberet omnem sanctitatem quam ab inicio mundi [128r] omnes sancti habuerunt ex condigno non meretur perfrui ista dulcedine sed ex liberalitate ipsius dei. Unde clamat unus talis:<sup>56</sup> Omnia ossa mea dicent: Domine similis tibi. Talis consideracio habenda est circa adventum dei in animam.*

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<sup>51</sup> Dn 10,8.

<sup>52</sup> *movetur ] movetis.*

<sup>53</sup> lob 4,13.

<sup>54</sup> lob 4,14.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem.*

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MEDIUM AEVUM  
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HERAUSGEGEBEN  
VON GERHARD JARITZ

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG  
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

**KULTUR  
NIEDERÖSTERREICH**



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## Vorwort

Die vorliegende Ausgabe von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* soll neuerlich die Breite vermitteln, in welcher Bereiche des mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Alltags in der Quellenüberlieferung unterschiedlichster Inhalte, Autoren, Datierung, Provenienz und sozialer Gruppierungen auftreten können.

Während sich Francesca Battista mit „erotischen“ Musterbriefen des Heinrich von Iserna aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert beschäftigt, konzentriert sich Jan Odstrčilík auf anonyme Texte böhmischer Herkunft in einer Handschrift des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Corpus Christi Library in Cambridge, welche sich mit dem Eintritt Gottes in die menschliche Seele auseinandersetzen. Auch Kateřina Horníčková widmet sich Lebensäußerungen im böhmischen Raum und zwar den Reliquiensammlungen von Angehörigen der Prager Eliten bereits vor dem Zeitraum und den diesbezüglichen Bestrebungen Kaiser Karls IV.

Elisabeth Vavra untersucht Totentanz-Darstellungen des deutschsprachigen Raumes aus dem fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert und kann feststellen, dass die in diesen auftretenden Kleidungsdarstellungen der wiedergegebenen Protagonisten zur Kenntlichmachung der Standeszugehörigkeit derselben dienen sollten und nicht, um visuell auf deren standestypische Verfehlungen hinzuweisen. Ievgen A. Khalkov untersucht die letztwilligen Verfügungen der Bewohner der Venezianischen und Genueser Handelstationen von Tana am Schwarzen Meer aus den Dreißigerjahren des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts hinsichtlich ihrer Aussagen zur materiellen Kultur und weist auf die herausragende Stellung des Kleidungswesens hin. Irina Savinetskaya liefert Ergebnisse ihrer Forschungen zur Konstruktion des Fremdbildes von Franzosen in deutschen Quellen des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts und deren Verhältnis zur Selbstbeurteilung der Deutschen.

Damit liefern die sechs Beiträge wichtige Ergebnisse zu Alltag, spiritueller und materieller Kultur von Angehörigen unterschiedlicher sozialer Schichten profaner und klerikaler Provenienz. Sie können dadurch mithelfen, die komparative Erforschung mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Lebensgestaltung erfolgreich voranzutreiben.

Gerhard Jaritz