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Biblical Argumentation in a Synodal Sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* by Johannes Marienwerder

Argumentacja biblijna w kazaniu synodalnym *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* Jana z Kwidzyna

Abstract: Johannes Marienwerder (vel Jan z Kwidzyna) is the probable author of the late medieval synodal sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*. It is believed to have been delivered in Prague after 1384. The article analyzes the numerous biblical texts (more than eighty) used in the sermon. An analysis of a hermeneutical nature of these texts was also attempted. The main theme is the verse from Isa 57:1: “The righteous perishes, and no one cares.” The sermon has an elaborate internal structure and should be interpreted in reference to the so-called new theology, *devotio moderna*.

Streszczenie: Jan z Kwidzyna (vel Johannes Marienwerder) jest możliwym autorem późnośredniowiecznej mowy synodalnej *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*. Została ona wygłoszona w Pradze po roku 1384. W artykule poddano analizie liczne teksty biblijne (ponad osiemdziesiąt) przywołane w treści kazania. Podjęto próbę określenia głównych cech hermeneutyki tekstów biblijnych. Motyw przewodni stanowi werset z Iz 51. Sprawiedliwi ginie, ale nikt się tym nie przejmuje. Mowa posiada rozbudowaną strukturę wewnętrzną. Jednocześnie należy ją interpretować w relacji do tzw. nowej teologii *devotio moderna*.

Keywords: Johannes Marienwerder, *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*, medieval sermon, synods of Prague, biblical hermeneutics.

Słowa kluczowe: Jan z Kwidzyna, *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*, kazanie średniowieczne, synody praskie, hermeneutyka biblijna.

Introduction

The synodal sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* by Johannes Marienwerder (vel Jan z Kwidzyna) (1343–1417) is among the little-known writings of this author. This problem applies to all his theological works not directly related to the promotion of the cult of Dorothy of Montau, such as the treatise *De octo beatitudinibus* (Wojtkowski, Kowalczyk, 2017, 241–172) *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum* (Wojtkowski, Borzyszkowski, 2023), or other minor writings attributed to him (see Hipler 1889, 63–70; Borzyszkowski 1977, 539–549; Kwiatkowski, 2024, 20–24). A study of the manuscript of the sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* by Marian Borzyszkowski containing the printed text of the only known manuscript of this writing was published in 1969. This is manuscript X A 2 k. 57 r a – 62 r a from the University Library in Prague (Borzyszkowski 1969, 509–522). Since then, the sermon has so far remained outside the research effort. The following article attempts to characterize the biblical argumentation referred to by Johannes Marienwerder. The study addresses the following issues: 1) the problem of authorship; 2) the relation to the synods of Prague in the second half of the 14th century; 3) the structure and content of the sermon, and 4) the interpretation of biblical texts used in it. In the last point, attention was paid to the arrangement of the texts of Scripture in the structure of the sermon, the hermeneutics used and the possible connections with the new ecclesial currents.

1. The problem of authoring a sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*

It should be noted that the question of the authorship of the sermon is not obvious. There are reasons for some scholars of medieval literature to doubt the actual connection of this writing with Johannes Marienwerder. Only a single manuscript of the sermon is known. It ends with the statement: “Explicit Sermo synodalis Magistri [Mathei] Johannis Mernberg etc.” (k. 62 r a). Thus, a different author of the text is indicated. It is known that unlike other Prague personalities of his contemporaries, Johannes Marienwerder did not leave compact collections of sermons or postilles. Rather, his activity focused on the creation of works of a doctrinal and formative nature. However, there are clearly arguments that

can support the thesis of Johannes Marienwerder's possible connection with *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*¹. First of all, there is no mention in Prague at that time of Professor Johannes Mernberg, a professor of theology and synodal preacher (Borzyszkowski, 1968, 123). Hence the view that "Mernberg" is a misspelled "Marienwerder." The second, and main, proof of the sermon's connection to Johannes Marienwerder was presented by Marian Borzyszkowski by making a comparison of its content with a passage from Johannes Marienwerder's *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*. The introductory passus of the exposition of the fourth article of the Apostolic Composition contains a text almost identical to that in the *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* (Borzyszkowski, 1968, 123–124; Wojtkowski, Borzyszkowski, 2023, 115–116). In addition, similarities are pointed out in the form of the layout of the sermon and the speeches on the dead by Johannes Marienwerder, the way the Bible and church authorities are quoted (Borzyszkowski, 1968, 123). Therefore, it can be assumed that this sermon was delivered by Johannes Marienwerder during his stay in Prague after becoming a professor of theology.

2. The sermon of Johannes Marienwerder and the synods of Prague in the second half of the 14th century

Beginning in the mid-14th century, the Prague community was influenced by famous preachers. These included Konrad Waldhauser (+1369), John Milicz of Korymez (+1374), Vojtech Rankovy (+1388), Matthias of Janov (+1393), Henry Totting of Oyta (+1396) and Matthew of Krakow (+1410). The last two, in particular, had a close relationship with Johannes Marienwerder (Krzyżaniakowa, 1995, 102–108). The dynamically developing environment of Charles University, as well as the growing importance of Prague as a center of royal and imperial power, caused various mental and renewalist currents to intersect here (Monnet, 2021, 11–21). Other important reform centers included the located monasteries of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in Roundnice, the Cistercian monastery in Zbraslav, Prague's Mariengarten Carthusian Monastery or the Franciscan

¹ The authorship of the sermon is attributed to Johannes Marienwerder by, among others, Höffler, 1862, X–XI; Hipler, 1864–1866, 205; Truhlar, 1905–1906; Borzyszkowski, 1969, 509; Schönberger, 2024. It is negated by Rossmann, 1973, 221–253; Hörner, 1993, 25; Glauert, 2003, 490. It is omitted by Westphäliger, 2007, 39–40.

Monastery (Borzyszkowski, 1968, 115). The reformist views preached by some clergymen did not always find approval from official civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Sometimes the activities of the reformers were met with reaction and even accusations of disobedience and even heresy. Provincial and local synods had already been repeatedly convened here before the elevation of the bishopric of Prague to the status of archbishopric in 1344 in order to sort out orderly and disciplinary issues related to church life (see Hledíková, 2002, 13–23). Such synods were convened by Arnošt a Pardubic (1344–1364), Jan Očko of Vlašim (1364–1379) and Jan of Jenštejn (1379–1396) (see Zelený, 2002, 25–29; Polc, 2002, 33–51). These synods provided an opportunity to direct reform tendencies and express opinions on their legitimacy². They also addressed issues of church discipline, necessary legal additions regarding the administration of the sacraments, tenure and management of church property, etc. The synods of Prague were generally held twice a year on specific dates (Polc, 2002, 33). The first date was the feast of St. Vitus, the patron saint of Prague Cathedral. A session of the synod was held the day after it, that is, on June 15 or 16. The second date was associated with the feast of St. Luke falling on October 18.

M. Borzyszkowski suggests that Johannes Marienwerder delivered his sermon after 1384, since it is assumed that in 1384 he received the title of professor of theology (Hörner, 1993, 24). The content of the sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* indicates that it was probably preached on Holy Wednesday or Holy Week³ after 1384. Johannes Marienwerder may have preached his sermon before returning to Pomesania at the end of 1387⁴. It was one of two annual sermons of a synodal nature (Borzyszkowski, 1968, 125). They were customarily preached by professors of theology (Krzyżaniakowa, 1963, 35). Their purpose was mainly the formation of priests academically and educationally. In 1384, the synodal sermon *Quid est dilectus meus in domo mea...* was also preached by Matthew of Krakow (Krzyżaniakowa, 1963, 37). It resonated loudly, as in it he condemned the clergy's neglect of their duties, their secularism, materialism

² At the synod of 29.04.1381, the issue of the heresy of the Begards and Waldenses was taken up. On the other hand, before the assembly of the synods in Prague in 1388 and 1389, Matthias of Janov appeared, who revoked the views on daily Communion, see Polc, Hledíková, 2002, 215.243-247; Patschovsky, 2018, 51; Lahey, 2018, 1-21.

³ Johannes Marienwerder often refers to a sermon by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In feria IV Hebdomadae Sanctae sermo*, or for Holy Wednesday. It contains much of the passion content that appears in the Catholic liturgy as early as Palm Sunday.

⁴ Eight synodal sessions may have been held during this time, see Polc, 2002, 47-48.

and other scorching vices. Matthew of Cracow appeared as a synodal preacher several times (Krzyżaniakowa, 1963, 37–41). He also became famous as an author of theological treatises, commentaries and a reformer of the Church (see Senko, 1970; Senko, Szafranski, 1974, 47–56; Popowski, 2010, 67–92).

Johannes Marienwerder's sermon contains minimal allusions to specific abuses typical of the Church in Prague. This does not mean that the author was indifferent to the level of the clergy of the time. In his later writings, Johannes Marienwerder repeatedly expressed his concern and sadness about the lifestyle of the clergy (Karczewski, 2022a, 178–181) or disbelief in the sacraments (Karczewski, 2023, 32–38). There is no doubt that Johannes Marienwerder witnessed the ongoing discussion in Prague circles about the repair of the Church. He was aware of the various proposals for radical action and the dangers threatening Church unity.

3. Structure and content of the sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*

As in later eras, also in the Middle Ages the content of the sermon, its style, the choice of arguments depended on several factors. First, the audience and the circumstances in which the sermon was addressed were taken into account. The form of the sermon also depended on the ability and education of the preacher (see Doležalová, 2016, 11). The preaching of a sermon involved the transmission of knowledge and the formation of the audience (see Dobrowolski, 1990, 27–58). The historical-social, ecclesial, liturgical, etc. context played an important role. (Werhli, 2010, 109–118; Mertens, Schwier, 2013). Hence, one can speak of different types of sermons in the Middle Ages. In the case of *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*, we are dealing with a sermon in Latin addressed primarily to the clergy (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 509). The listeners were educated, well versed in biblical texts, statements of the Church Fathers and church authorities, and the principles of rhetoric. In formal terms, the synodal sermon of Johannes Marienwerder can be classified as a type of *sermo modernus* (see Grzybowska, 2011, 55–66; Wójcik-Zega, Zega, 2018, 143–144). This is indicated by the main theme expressed by a quote from Isa 57:1: “Justus perit et non est, qui recogitet in corde suo.” This quote is repeated several times and considered from different perspectives. In the sermon, biblical texts and statements by church authorities play an important role.

An extended layout of the structure of the sermon *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* was proposed by M. Borzyszkowski (1969, 509). Adding the arrangement of theological motifs, biblical quotations⁵ and other texts, we get the following table:

Leitmotif:

Justus perit et non est, qui recogitet in corde suo (Isa 57:1)

Scheme		Theological motif	Quotes and biblical allusions – Old Testament	Quotes and biblical allusions – New Testament	Other texts	Localization
<i>EXORDIUM</i>						c. 57 r a (p. 509)
<i>Thematis expositio</i>	Expergiscimini hodie anime devote...	Crucifixion of the Incarnate Son of God	Jer 5:30; Song 3:11; Ps 8:6; Job 16:17; Wis 2:14; Isa 53:2.4; ⁶ Jer 32:33; ⁷ Isa 57:1	Phil 2:7; Matt 27:29; Luke 22:38.	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>In feria IV Hebdomadae sanctae sermo</i> , n. 9; Ibid, n. 10; Ibid, n. 3; Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Sermo VI in Vigilia Nativitatis Domini</i> n. 11	c. 57 r a (p. 509–510)
<i>Thematis introductio</i>	Et quis est...		Isa 57:1			c. 57 r b (p. 510)

⁵ Psalms according to the numbering used in the Vulgate. References to biblical and other texts in the table according to the order in which they appear in the sermon text.

⁶ The sermon text misstated the location of Is 43.

⁷ The sermon text misstated the location of Yr 2.

Scheme		Theological motif	Quotes and biblical allusions – Old Testament	Quotes and biblical allusions – New Testament	Other texts	Localization
<i>Thematis divisio</i>	Dico primo , quod nullus, vel rarus sit, qui velit Christi passionem ac eius mortem cordialiter recogitare....	Reflecting on the Passion of the Righteous	Ps 87:12; Sir 29:20; Ps 101:4; Ps 21:16; Gen 4:10; Ps 122:2; Ps 59:4; Ps 21:18; Job 6:13.15; Ps 87:19; Ps 68:9' Isa 57:12; Prov 1:24–26; Wis 2:9; Ps 76:4; Job 21:13; Ps 48:15; Ps 87:9; Jer 2:12; Jer 2:31; Jer 2:19; Isa 57:1	Heb 13:16; 1 Pet 1:18; Heb 12:22.24; Matt 28:10; John 20:27; Heb 13:12; Mark 14:50.	Augustine, <i>Tractatus in evangelium S. Johannis</i> , tr. 12, cap. 3, n. 11; Cf. Augustine, <i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptism parvulorum</i> , I, cap. 32, n. 61	c. 57 r b (p. 510–513)
	Secundo dixi, quod rarus aut quasi nullus sit, qui uelit iustum hominem in sua iusticia fideliter conseruare	The subjugation of the Righteous	Isa 57:1 ; Job 12:4; Job 10:15; Wis 2:1. 10–12; Ps 72:8; Isa 24:2; Isa 57:1	Luke 10:16	Prosper of Aquitaine, <i>Sententiae ex Augustino delibatae</i> XXII; Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Sermones de Sanctis: In conuersione s. Pauli. Sermo I, 2–3</i>	c. 57 r b (pp. 513–514)
	Dixi tercio , quod rarus aut nullus sit, qui uelit iusticiam finaliter defensare	Defending justice	Ezek 13:5; Ps 36:25; Jer 22:15–17; Jer 6:13; Hos 4:1–3	Phil 2:21		c. 58 v d (pp. 514–515)
<i>Conclusio</i>	Ex premissis ad thema propositum		Isa 57:1			c. 59 r a (p. 515)

Scheme		Theological motif	Quotes and biblical allusions – Old Testament	Quotes and biblical allusions – New Testament	Other texts	Localization
DIVISIO (<i>thematicis repetitio</i>)	In quibus verbis tria possumus considerare... nam ibi erat crudelitas, perversitas et acerbitas		Isa 57:1; Sir 33:15; Qoh 7:16			c. 59 r a (p. 515)
ARGUMENTATIO						c. 59 r b
	Dico primo quod hic innuitur... crudelitas occisoris	The cruelty of the death of the Righteous	Isa 57:1; Wis 2:20; Deut 22:21; Lev 21:9; Levi 24:14; Lb 14:3; Deut 20:13; Deut 21:22; Levi 24:21; Lev 21:9; Deut 20:23; Deut 21:23	Gal 3:13; 2 Cor 5:21; Matt 27:38	Alexander of Hales, <i>Summa Theol.</i> , p. III, q. 34 and 47; Bonaventure, <i>De perfectione vitae ad sorores</i> , cap. 6 3; Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa Theol.</i> , p. III, q. 46, a. 4, c; Theophylact of Ohrid, <i>In Joannis Evangelium Enarrationes super</i> 3,14; Augustine, <i>Sermo 32 al. 101 de Tempore</i> , n. 4; Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Evangelium Mathaei</i> , lib. 4, cap. 27, vers 27; Leo the Great, <i>Sermo 52</i> , cap. 4; Augustine: <i>Tractatus super Johannes</i> 31, n. 11; Bede the Venerable, <i>In Mathaei Evangelium expositio</i> , 1.4 cap. 27;	c. 59 r b (pp. 515–517)

Scheme		Theological motif	Quotes and biblical allusions – Old Testament	Quotes and biblical allusions – New Testament	Other texts	Localization
					John Chrysostom, <i>Homily</i> 85 (84) n. 1; Augustine, <i>Quaestionum evengeliorum libri duo</i> , q. 47; Jerome: <i>Commentariorum in evangelium Matthei</i> , 1.4, cap. 24, vers 29.	
	Dixi secundo in verbis premissis etc. innuitur peccatoris peruersitas	The perversity of the sinner	Isa 57:1 ; Mic 6.3; Lam 2:15.16; Ps 87:4; Lam 3:15; Is 22:22; Song 8:6; Ps 68:21; Ps 2:8; Isa 53:12	Matt 23:34; Matt 27:40.42; Luke 22:65; John 19,5; Mark 15:29–32; Matt 22:32.38; John 15,22.24; Acts 3:17; Luke 23:34; John 19,11; John 19,15; 1 Cor 13:4; Rom 12:22; Luke 23:43	Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>Super evangelio "Ecce nos reliquimus omnia" – declamationes</i> ; Augustine, <i>Enarrationes in Ps. 87.3, V.4</i> ; Augustine, <i>Soliloquiorum animae ad Deum. Liber unus</i> , cap. 18; John Chrysostom: <i>Opus imperf. in Matth., hom. 45</i> ; Thomas Aquinas: <i>Summa Theol.</i> p. 2, q. 47, a. 6; cf. Earl Maur, <i>In Matth.</i> , l. 6, super 21,30; Be Venerable, <i>Expositio super Lucam</i> , 1. 6; Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>In feria IV Hebdomadae sanctae sermo</i> , n. 7; <i>Ibid</i> , n. 9;	c. 60 r a (pp. 517–520)

Scheme		Theological motif	Quotes and biblical allusions – Old Testament	Quotes and biblical allusions – New Testament	Other texts	Localization
	Dixi tercio etc. Innuitur acerbitas redemptoris	Bitterness of the Redeemer	Ps 68:8.22; Ps 87:8; Ps 21:17; Lam 1:12	Mark 15:34 Matt 27:46; Matt 16:24; Heb 5:7	Augustine, <i>Enarratio in ps.</i> 68,12; Bonaventura, <i>In III Lib. Sent.</i> d. 16, a. 2, q. 3; Bernard of Clairvaux, <i>In feria IV Hebdomadae sanctae sermo</i> , n. 10; Anselm, <i>Cur Deus homo</i> , 1. 1,19.	c. 61 r b (pp. 520–522)
CLAUSIO	Hanc misericordiam, nobis Christianis	God's mercy				c. 61 r b (p. 522)

Despite the elaborate sermon scheme, it lacks a protem and a prayer (Borzyszkowski, 1968, 125). Regardless of how many detailed rhetorical elements we extract in *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*, three main stages of the narrative are clearly discernible (cf. Burgazzi, 2016, 28–32): introduction to the topic; its detailed discussion; and development. After the extensive introduction, three issues arising from the theme are pointed out (cf. Wojcik-Zega, Zega, 2018, 143): a) there is no one or rarely anyone who wants to contemplate Christ's passion; b) there is rarely or almost no one who wants to keep righteous in justice; and c) there is rarely or almost no one who wants to defend justice. The last section broadens the perspective and draws three conclusions from considering Christ's passion. These are: a) the cruelty of the killer, b) the perversity of the sinner and c) the affliction of the Savior. The conclusion of the sermon is very brief, lacking a summary.

In the first main block of the sermon related to its theme, Johannes Marienwerder refers mainly to biblical texts, mostly from the Old Testament. In the second main section of the sermon concerning the conclusion, he also very often refers to church authorities (*auctoritates*). An important source of inspiration and background for Johannes Marienwerder's text is a sermon by St. Bernard

of Clairvaux for Holy Wednesday. It introduces an emotion-filled meditation on the passion of Christ (see Dinzelbacher, 2012, 177).

The theme of Johannes Marienwerder's sermon is developed in two perspectives. The first plan is the Passion of the Righteous One, i.e. Jesus Christ. This event is neglected by believers, while it should be constantly considered (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 511). For the Passion and death out of love for sinners was voluntarily undertaken by the incarnate Son of God. The bitterness of the passion events was foretold by the prophets. One considers the face of Christ disfigured by scourging, crowning with thorns and spitting. The righteous tormented Christ became a laughing stock. According to John, his contemporary's situation is similar. Few or no one cares about the passion and death of Christ, the righteousness of the righteous. Almost no one wants to defend justice. The second plan of consideration is the analogy between Christ and any man unjustly accused and persecuted. Johannes Marienwerder points out that many of his contemporaries consider the consideration of Christ's passion pointless (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 511). Meanwhile, Christ gave his life as the spotless Lamb on the tree of the cross for them as well. Christ's blood speaks more powerfully than Abel's blood. Therefore, one should not follow in the footsteps of unbelieving Thomas, but one must constantly gaze upon Christ's death. One should weep over His passion and die with Him. Fleeing from Jesus Crucified exposes Christians to persistence in sin and eternal damnation (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 512). Turning away from meditating on the Passion of Christ means insensitivity to the humiliation of the Righteous One. Disregard for the Righteous One is also manifested in the oppression of the righteous, the poor, the widows in the name of one's own delicious desires. It must be remembered that rejection of the Righteous One is consequently a rejection of Jesus Himself (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 514). Moreover, rarely, or almost no one stands up for justice. Referring to the prophets, Johannes Marienwerder sees all immoral behavior as a violation of justice (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 514). The cruelty of the murderer, the perversity of the sinner and bitterness are contained in Christ's passion. The cruelty of Christ's death is evident in the manner in which He is subjected to torment. Jesus is condemned as the greatest criminal to the most shameful punishment. Because Christ suffered righteous people should not fear any kind of death. Christ's exaltation above the earth resulted in the sanctification of not only the earth, but everything above it (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 516). The manner of Christ's death and his two companions on the crosses indicate the efficacy and redemptive nature of his passion. It is therefore necessary to be grateful

to Christ for the salvation accomplished on the cross. In Christ's passion, the perversity of the sinner is also discernible. Lack of reflection on what he receives from God as a gift leads to ingratitude. Ingratitude can be social and the result of human calculating (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 517–518). Man thinks that the most important thing is the temporal good. In doing so, he forgets that his time is passing. Therefore, it is easy to despise Christ, to consider Him as nobody important. Such an attitude causes Christ sorrow. Christ expects His passion to be imprinted in the believer's heart like a seal on the heart and on the shoulder. He desires to fully grant His mercy and forgiveness. The final feature of Christ's passion is its bitterness. In addition to physical pain, Christ also experienced internal pain due to the rejection and lack of gratitude of the human soul (Borzyszkowski, 1969, 520–521). His mercy was met with resentment and lack of compassion.

In the course of the sermon, the author encourages fervent meditation on the suffering of Jesus Crucified – the Righteous One. The meditation on the image of the head and face of the Son of God has a special place in it. Despite the sometimes provocative style of the sermon, it is full of hope and the conviction that everyone can correct their actions. The few references to hierarchy are very general and concern the proper exercise of authority. It should be a service to Christ himself.

4. Interpretation of biblical texts in *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*

4.1. Biblical texts in a sermon

Like many medieval theologians, Johannes Marienwerder was not only well versed in biblical texts, but also skillfully used them (see Karczewski, 2015, 265–281; Roszak, 2018b, 71). Great freedom and accuracy in the selection and juxtaposition of biblical texts in theological discourse is one of the characteristics of Johannes Marienwerder's later writings (Karczewski, 2021, 287–304; Dygo, 2023). Scripture is a unique source for him (see Karczewski, 2022, 245–257). It not only provides arguments to confirm theological truths, but at the same time gives birth to faith, nourishes it and strengthens it (Karczewski, 2021, 295). It is a source of wisdom, especially in situations of misunderstanding of the truths of faith, pride, unbelief and persistence in sin or error (Karczewski, 2021, 296). Above all, however, Scripture plays a special role on the path of knowing God

(Karczewski, 2021, 298). These are important arguments that cause Johannes Marienwerder to make biblical texts the primary point of reference in his sermon. The theme of the sermon, taken from Isaiah 57:1, has the character of a complaint and admonition: “The righteous perishes, and no one cares”⁸. This motif is treated as a timeless truth, also valid in the time of Johannes Marienwerder. In addition, there are more than eighty references to Scripture texts in the body of the sermon. Some of the texts are referred to several times. It is significant that the vast majority are from the Old Testament. Some of them are embedded in statements by church authorities or are allusions to one or more biblical texts. Their precise listing and arrangement in the structure of the letter is included in the aforementioned table. It shows that in the presentation of the theme of the crucifixion of the incarnate Son of God (*thematis expositio*) nine Old Testament texts and only four from the New Testament were cited. In the first main part dedicated to the three aspects of the main theme (*thematis divisio*), thirty-five quotations from the Old Testament and only twelve from the New were used. In the second main part (*argumentatio*) dedicated to aspects of the Passion of the Just, Johannes Marienwerder cited at least thirty Old Testament texts and more than twenty from the New Testament. The limits of the selection of texts are set by the passionate nature of the sermon and its main theme.

4.2. Methodology of interpreting biblical texts

In *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* one can see all the typical types of explaining the sense of biblical texts in the Middle Ages. In classical terms, four types of sense of the biblical text are spoken of: *littera*, *allegoria*, *moralis sensus* and *anagogia* (Burgazzi, 2016, 30). These four types of text interpretation fall into two distinct streams. Hence, it is sometimes said that there were two main meanings of the biblical text in the Middle Ages (Knapp, 2011, 250–251): the literal (historical) sense and the spiritual sense. The spiritual sense, however, can be understood as allegorical (typological); moral (tropological) and anagogical (eschatological). Their precise separation can sometimes be difficult (see Olszewski, 1995, 39–54; Roszak, Vijngen, 2015; Michalik, 2018, 167–191; Zielinski, 2023, 7–34).

In the sermon analyzed, the literal interpretation of the New Testament texts mainly concerns the facts related to the passion of Christ described in the Gos-

⁸ In the original context, the saddening sorrowful statement turns into a promise of reward for the righteous and judgment for sinful Jerusalem, see Isa 57:1–21.

pels⁹. On the other hand, the series of literal understood Old Testament texts deals with the issue of the types of punishment described in the Pentateuch¹⁰. At the same time, most of the Old Testament texts used are interpreted allegorically. This is especially true of references to the prophetic and wisdom books. According to the author of the sermon, it was in the Old Testament that Christ's passion and human reactions to suffering were foretold¹¹. The moral sense is related to the main theme of the sermon. It also appears in each of the elements of the meditation, in which the need to change behavior is indicated¹². The anagogical sense concerns the future fruits of meditating on Christ's passion¹³.

Johannes Marienwerder very freely combines biblical texts from the Old and New Testaments with different perspectives of meaning depicting content related to the theological dimension of Christ's passion. The quoted passages of biblical texts are formed into a closely connected theological and biblical discourse of pastoral character. One can distinguish extended thematic sequences: encouragement to meditate on the face of the tormented Righteous One¹⁴; the motif of the blood of Jesus; the spiritual dimensions of Christ's suffering; the frugality of man in the face of his passion.¹⁵

⁹ Mark 14:50; Matt 27:29; 28:10; Luke 23:28.34; Phil 2:7; John 19:5.11.15; 20:27.

¹⁰ Exod 19:12–13; Lev 21:9; 24:14.21; Num 14:3; Deut 20:13; 22:21.23.

¹¹ Jer 5:30; 8:16; Ezek 13:5; Mic 6:3; Prov 3:11; Ps 8:6; 68:8; Job 16:17; Lam 1:12; 2:16–18; 3:15; Wis 2:15; Is 24:4; 53:2–4.12; 57:1.11; Jer 32:33; Ps 21:16.18; 59:4; 68:9.22; 87:19; 101:4; 122:2; Wis 2:20; Mt 16:24; Luke 22:43; Rom 12:22; 1 Cor 13:4; Heb 5:7.

¹² Jer 6:13; Hos 4:1–3; Dan 13:9; Sir 33:15; Qoh 7:16; Matt 23:24; 27:38; John 15:22; Acts 3:17; Gal 3:13; 2 Cor 5:21

¹³ Isa 22:22; Ps 2:8; Prov 8:6.

¹⁴ See the sequence in the *Thematis expositio* (k. 57 r a): Jer 5:30: great miracles were performed; Luke 23:28: the daughters of Jerusalem; Prov 3:11: see King Solomon in the diadem given by his mother; Ps 8:6: the Father crowned Him with honor and glory; Matt 27:29: the stepmother (synagogue) crowned Him with a crown of thorns; Job 16:17: His face is swollen from weeping, striking; Wis 2:14: His sight is distressing; Isa 53:4: we considered Him a leper; Is 53:2: the husband of sorrows scorned, but the prophet longed to see Him; Jer 32:33: they turned their backs to Him, not their faces; Isa 57:1: the righteous perishes and no one cares. See Borzyszkowski, 1969, 509–510.

¹⁵ E.g., the sequence in the first part of the *Thematis divisio* (c 57 r b): Is 57:1: the righteous perish, but no one cares; Ps 87:12: will miracles be known; Heb 13:16: do not forget; 1 Pet 1:18: you have been redeemed by the blood of the Lamb; Ps 122:2: eyes fixed on the Lord; Heb 12:22.24: you have been given to the mediator Jesus and sprinkled with blood; Gen 4:10: the blood of a brother cries out; Matt 28:10: tell the brothers; John 20:27: touch the wounds; Ps 59:4: they have taken my life; Ps 21:18: they satiate themselves with my sight; 1

The interpretations of church authorities play an important role. The author does not refer to non-Christian authors. As mentioned, the passion sermon of St. Bernard of Clairvaux for Holy Wednesday plays an important role. It seems that his way of commenting on biblical texts is close to Johannes Marienwerder and provides a kind of model for meditating on the Passion. The author tries to imitate Bernard's spiritual way of interpreting the Bible. In addition, John mainly refers to Augustine (see Piechocka-Kłos, 2022, 375–389) and other authors. Referring to biblical texts and at the same time to the authority of the Church Fathers, saints and Doctors of the Church is typical of medieval exegesis (Böhl, Reinhard, 2013, 167). In the context of a sermon preached by a university professor to a group of trained theologians, the citation of an anthology of numerous biblical and theological texts testifies to his knowledge and erudition (see Böhl, Reinhard, 2013, 166; Roszak, 2018a, 123–135).

4.3. *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* and renewed theology

The medieval sermon was an important instrument for the propagation of new religious ideas. It also played an important role in the trend of renewal of philosophy, theology and piety known as *devotio moderna*, which had been developing since the 14th century (Bielak, 2002). Johannes Marienwerder's stay in Prague coincides with the period of dynamic development of this trend in Bohemia. His sermon contains some features typical of the renewed theology. These relate primarily to theological and pastoral content. These include an emphasis on the necessity of personal participation in Christ's passion; a rejection of external piety, uninvolved internally; a call to humbly follow Jesus, a call to meditation based on the Word of God, and a return to the original evangelical simplicity of faith (see Kranz, 1993, 17–25). Jesus Christ, the tormented Righteous One desires the proximity and gratitude of every person (Zhukovskaya, 2017, 165). Even a sinner can undertake repentance and benefit from God's mercy. This content is identical

Cor 2:2: I know only the Crucified One; Mark 14:50: yet at the moment of the Passion, all flee; Job 6:13.15: all have forsaken me (Christ weeps); Ps 87:19: I have become a stranger to my brethren; Is 57:11: I will declare your righteousness; Prov 1:24–26: you will despise my counsel; Wis 2:9: let us leave traces of pleasure; Ps 76:4: contemplating the Passion requires struggle; Job 21:13: the carnal descend into hell; Ps 48:15: they descend into hell, death grazes them; Ps 87:9: I am an abomination to them (says God); Jer 2:12: let heaven be stunned; Jer 2:31: the people have forsaken Me; Jer 2:19: your wickedness punishes you; Isa 57:1: the righteous perishes, and no one cares. See Borzyszkowski, 1969, 510–513.

to the ideas preached within the broader *devotio moderna* (see Lourdaux, 1988, 3–25). Scripture plays a primary role in *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote*, which is typical of preaching associated with the *devotio moderna* trend (van Biezen, 1988, 26–32). The author also does not shy away from arguments based on the views of the Church Fathers (see de van Dijk, 2013, 227–244). The inspiration of Bernard of Clairvaux’s preaching works indicates that Johannes Marienwerder drew from the treasury of the Church in an extremely thoughtful manner (see Lew-Dylewski, 2000, 13–14; de van Dijk, 2013, 234). The form of the sermon itself is more elaborate than the typical sermons associated with this trend (Simon, 2016, 23). The synodal sermon in question can therefore be seen as one of the testimonies of the developing theological renewal. It can be associated with the “via media” moderate current. It is also worth noting that research on various dimensions of *devotio moderna* is ongoing (see McGinn, 2008, 30–502; Roest, 2013, 245–262; Doležalová, 2016, 9–11). In the Prague milieu in the second half of the 14th century, renewal movements took various forms. The synodal sermon in question can be seen as a proposal to the clergy to renew the Church starting with themselves.

Summary

There are many indications that allow us to see in Johannes Marienwerder’s sermon an example of the search for spiritual depth. It does not call for reforming structures and changing doctrinal foundations. The author attaches a unique role to biblical argumentation. He is a master leading meditation on the passion of the Righteous One, the true meaning of which is forgotten and distorted. The picture of Jesus Christ is painted skillfully with the help of the texts of Scripture understood not only strictly theologically. The Word of God stirs feelings, shames, calls for a personal response to the proclamation heard. True religiosity is not expressed in mere intellectual speculation, but needs the involvement of all human authorities. The search for a personal relationship with Christ should be important for the clergy. Reflecting on the passion of the Righteous One teaches humility and allows one to see His face in every person. The question of authorship of *Expergiscimini hodie anime devote* is not obvious. However, there is no denying the similarities between its content and Johannes Marienwerder’s other major work *Expositio Symboli Apostolorum*. Regardless of how this problem is resolved, the medieval sermon under discussion is an excellent example of the author’s erudition and knowledge.

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