

ADAM POZNAŃSKI

A LAST TRIBUTE TO A MEDIEVAL PROFESSOR.
THE EULOGY AT THE FUNERAL
OF NICOLAUS GOLTBERG (†1429)*

INTRODUCTION

At a medieval university, any occasion, any kind of a ceremony, was good to deliver a speech. In fact, in terms of genres, it is hard to find a difference between such speeches and sermons given during a mass. This is because those speeches were structured in the same way as sermons, and moreover, they were very often used as instruments of religious instruction or moral edification. In manuscripts they were usually called *actus* or *sermo*, or in specific cases: *collacio*, *exhortatio*, *recommendacio*, etc. (Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy* 7-8)¹. Of course, we must not forget that universities were at that time dominated by clergymen, so apart from being masters the professors were also priests, and thus one of their duties was to preach. In addition, they had neither spouses nor children; therefore, in a way, they treated their university community as their family. In this respect, all the university ceremonies probably played a more important communal role than representing just professional meetings.

According to the research of Maria Kowalczyk, there are at least two hundred and ten extant speeches held at the University of Cracow in the first half of the fifteenth century. She also claimed that in her study she did not

Dr ADAM POZNAŃSKI – Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego; adres do korespondencji: e-mail: adam.poznanski@uwr.edu.pl; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7201-5701>.

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¹ For a recent study on the history of the University of Cracow in the 15th century see Knoll, where further bibliography is found, mostly in Polish.

take all of them into account, passing over the ones that were already edited or examined by other scholars (Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy* 11-12). As a result, she focused on speeches of rectors and deans (e.g. when a new rector or dean took up his position), the ones related to the faculties of arts and law (e.g. at graduation), and the funeral orations (when one of the professors passed away). Although editions were not provided, she described the content and background of each speech. Thanks to her meticulous work, it is now possible to easily search through those texts and locate them in manuscripts².

In this paper I will present a speech from the last category, a eulogy made at the funeral of Nicolaus Goltberg³. Most likely he came from Nysa (Germ. Neisse), but his year of birth is unknown. He entered the University of Cracow in 1403 and received a master's degree in 1408. Later, in 1412, he became an altarist at the Church of St. Barbara in Cracow. For the year 1421 he was elected a rector of the university. His collection of books, 23 volumes, was inherited by the library of the St. Mary's Basilica in Cracow.⁴ I chose this particular text to edit, because unlike the other eulogies for rectors it is preserved in four copies (descriptions below). Obviously, I am aware that in the course of time an unknown number of medieval manuscripts could have been lost, so it is difficult to draw conclusions based on the number of extant codices. Still, I assume that four copies, in this specific context, is a high enough number to consider this eulogy as being of interest for the medieval public. As far as the authorship is concerned, the secondary literature ascribes the eulogy to Nicolaus Tempelfeld, born in Brzeg (Brieg) in a bourgeois family at the end of the fourteenth century. Not only did he pursue an academic career in Cracow, in the Kingdom of Poland, at one of the oldest universities in that part of Europe, but also, later, a political one in Wrocław, in Silesia which at the time was a fief of the Kingdom of Bohemia. And that is why he drew the attention of scholars already in the nineteenth century. The course of his life was thoroughly described by J. Drabina, who

² Eleven of those speeches, but no funeral orations, were edited and translated into Polish in Jung-Palczewska, Elżbieta, editor. *Prima verba. Krakowskie mowy uniwersyteckie*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2000.

³ In Wrocław, there was another priest named Nicolaus Goltberg who died in 1443. Although some scholars consider them as one person (see Jujeczka 365), I agree with Maria Kowalczyk (*Krakowskie mowy* 126) that they were different people.

⁴ About Nicolaus Goltberg, see Pietrzyk, Zdzisław. *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1400-2000*. Jagiellonia SA, 2000, p. 45. As far as his books are concerned, only one manuscript is identified. It belongs to the Jagiellonian Library: MS. 1327.

based his observations on the research conducted by earlier historians (Drabina).⁵ Below I am going to follow his findings. The main sources used to reconstruct Tempelfeld's biography were various documents, as well as the history of Wrocław written by the contemporary urban chronicler Peter Eschenloër. The latter work depicts a complicated political situation of the city in the mid-fifteenth century and shows how decisions of those in power affected its welfare.

Tempelfeld entered the University of Cracow in 1414, after five years he became a bachelor at the faculty of arts, then two years later he obtained a master of arts degree, and probably in the same year he began to study theology. His academic work appreciated so in 1428 he was elected dean of the faculty of arts, and in 1433 in the summer semester rector of the university. Before 1439 he received a doctorate in theology; however, his interests extended further, for example to Pseudo-Aristotle's *Physiognomonica* (Devriese 235-36). In the years 1438-1448 he was also a preacher at the Saint Mary's Church.

Around 1453 he moved to Wrocław, but the reason for that is not clear. Before, in 1446 he became a member of the Cathedral Chapter there. As soon as he settled down in the new place, he got involved in political activities. As a preacher at the Saint Elisabeth Church, which was considered to be a prestigious position, he was able to change the minds of the most influential people in the city. Apparently, he took upon himself to fight for the greater independence of Wrocław from the Kingdom of Bohemia at the time ruled by the Hussites. He was convinced that it is not appropriate that a catholic city pays homage to heretics, especially to the king George of Poděbrady, against whom he wrote three polemical treatises. In 1467, after the city lost a battle against the king's troops, he retired from political activities.

Tempelfeld died in Wrocław in 1473 or 1474. Although he is commonly mentioned as an author of the eulogy, my observations will show that such attribution is doubtful.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

A = Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1272

300 x 210 mm. Paper. 292 ff. Date: 1444-1450.

Contents: various sermons and speeches held at the University of Cracow.

⁵ Tempelfeld's biography and list of works are also presented in Jujeczka 386-87 and Roth.

Sermo in exequiis Nicolai Goltberg on ff. 12ra-14ra.

The paper of the corresponding gathering (ff. 4-16) can be dated to ca. 1438-1445.⁶

Provenance: Laurentius de Ratiboria (1381-1448).

Scribe(s): many hands, one identified: Laurentius de Ratiboria (on various ff. but not 12-14).

Binding: original from ca. 1444: leather covers with simple linear ornament over wooden boards.

Remarks: Title on front cover: *Collaciones et sermones ad clerum*. Each sermon or speech is indicated by a number. According to the note on f. Iir the codex belonged to Laurentius de Ratiboria and was used at the University of Cracow.

Further bibliography: Kowalczyk, *Catalogus* 15-44; Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy* 27-28.

B = Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 2014

210 x 155 mm. Paper. 475 ff. Date: 1432-1443.

Contents: various sermons, speeches and questions, mostly by professors of the University of Cracow.

Sermo in exequiis Nicolai Goltberg on ff. 289v-294v [the copy does not provide the name of the deceased].

The paper of the corresponding gathering (ff. 286-287) can be dated to ca. 1429-1431.⁷

Provenance: Thomas de Strzempino (1398-1460).

Scribe(s): Thomas de Strzempino for the entire codex except for ff. 349r-370r (one other hand).

Binding: original: wooden boards without covers preserved only partly.

Remarks: Title on ff. Ir: Actus theologicales. The medieval owner is indicated on f. Iv.

Further bibliography: Zawadzki 38-39; Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy* 26-27.

C = Kraków, Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 6641

295 x 220 mm. Paper. 241 ff. Date: First half of the fifteenth century.

Contents: various letters, documents and occasional sermons.

⁶ The watermarks (the bull's head with a cross above) are similar to Piekosiński 894.

⁷ The watermarks (the bull's head with eyes and flower with six petals above) are very similar to DE8100-PO-64749 (<https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/?ref=DE8100-PO-64749>).

Sermo in exequiis Nicolai Goltberg on ff. 187v-189r.

The paper of the corresponding gathering (ff. 184-195) can be dated to ca. 1438-1439.⁸

Provenance: Cathedral Chapter in Włocławek.

Scribe(s): many unidentified hands.

Binding: resewn; original leather covers over wooden boards, two clamps.

Remarks: The former owner is indicated on the remnant of the front parchment flyleaf. The codex was in the possession of Jan Fijałek (1864-1936), who willed it to the present owner.

Further bibliography: Danowska and Knapiek 86-93.

D = Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, I Q 381

220 x 160 mm. Paper. 488 ff. Date: First half of the fifteenth century.

Contents: various sermons, speeches and questions.

Sermo in exequiis Nicolai Goltberg on ff. 12v-16r.

The paper of the corresponding gathering (ff. 4-16) can be dated to ca. 1433-34.⁹

Provenance: Nicolaus Tempelfeld; Dominican Monastery of St. Adalbertus in Wrocław.

Scribe(s): many unidentified hands.

Binding: original; leather covers with blind tooling over wooden boards.

Remarks: The codex has two inscriptions indicating the medieval owner: Nicolaus Tempelfeld (on the front cover and f. 1r); however, both were written in the seventeenth century. A sticker indicating the Dominicans in Wrocław as owners of the codex before the dissolution of Silesian monasteries in 1810 is placed inside the front cover.

Further bibliography: Günther 204r-208r; Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy* 23-24.

THE EULOGY

The speech begins with a short introduction (lines 1-12) that explains the occasion, mentions the name of the deceased, and provides the *thema*, a quotation from the Bible or other important source, on which the whole sermon

⁸ The watermarks (the figure of bird viewed from the side with eyes, wings and claws) are very similar to DE2040-PO-42193 (<https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/?ref=DE2040-PO-42193>) and DE2730-PO-42195 (<https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/?ref=DE2730-PO-42195>).

⁹ The watermarks (the bull's head with eyes and a star above) are similar to DE8100-HBI116_999d (https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/?ref=DE8100-HBI116_999d).

is based. In this case it is a paraphrase of John 11:39: *Iam fetet in monumento*.¹⁰ This refers to the dead Lazarus, whose corpse had already been in the sepulchre for four days and had started to decay. The next part is a *prothema* (lines 13-25), where the audience is encouraged to listen attentively. The author states that all the actions of men happen at the will of God. Then the *thema* is repeated once again, and two observations about earthly life follow (lines 25-47). First, the real joy comes only from the Creator and not from creatures, and second, since this life is full of misery and hardships, it should be considered to be death rather than life. Next, after repeating the *thema* for the third time, the main part of the eulogy begins (lines 48-266). It is based on the idea that mankind should abandon any love or attachment to this world. And this can be achieved by becoming aware of three things. The first one is the uncertain brevity of life (*uite presentis infirma breuitas*). Since our lives are so fragile and death is so unpredictable, we should direct our minds to heaven. Nothing that we collect or gain on earth has any value after death, especially material goods and reputation among other mortals. The second one is the unbreakable severity of a strict verdict (*iudicii districti irrefragabilis seueritas*). Not only evident sinners, but all people are supposed to reflect upon their deeds, because during the final judgement everyone will have to give an account of his or her life. To support this admonition, the author states that he finds it more reasonable to refer to pagan authorities such as the Sentences of Sextus and Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. A quotation from the latter work is supposed to prove that heaven, a place where happy people live forever, exists. The third one is the endless calamity of the punishment in hell (*pene gehennalis interminabilis calamitas*). All condemned will experience such horrible tortures that a human mind cannot imagine them. Therefore, Christians are advised to be aware of the cruelty of those punishments, but they should also remember and pray for the souls in purgatory. And this obligation arises not from the fact that someone is Christian, but that someone is human. In the last part of the speech (lines 267-285) the author commemorates the deceased, Nicolaus Goltberg, and describes him as an ornament of the university, a person gifted with deep intellect, sharp perception, understanding of truth, knowledge of customs, ability to share good examples, and finally a speaker, who was able to bring up relevant and irrelevant topics equally well.

¹⁰ In the Vulgate the whole verse reads: Ait Jesus: "Tollite lapidem. Dicit ei Martha, soror ejus qui mortuus fuerat: Domine, jam foetet, quatruiduanus est enim." The Douay-Rheims translation: "Jesus saith: Take away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith to him: Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days."

The speech was written to pay last tribute to Nicolaus Goltberg and to console the mourning members of the university. In fact, it seems to be a sermon on eschatology rather than a eulogy. Nevertheless, since the text circulated, we may assume that it appealed to the taste of the medieval audience. In the face of the death of one professor, the others were reminded of the vanity of present life and the harsh punishment of sinners. In other words, they were encouraged to improve, and the motivation was fear of hell. The author, in accordance with medieval writing habits, used various authorities to support his standpoint. Apart from the Bible, he quoted most frequently from the *Moralia in Iob* of Gregory the Great (not all quotations are explicit, see for example lines 175-188), and also from canon law, which is not that common in this type of sermons.

As a matter of fact, the eulogy provides very limited information about the deceased: only few sentences without any details in the last paragraph. The main part of the text talks about a Christian attitude towards life and death in a general way, so it could be used at any funeral. This is the case of *B*, where no name of the dead is given, and probably this is also one of the reasons why medieval readers found this eulogy worth copying. Apart from that, in my opinion, its stylistic features may have played some role as well. Right at the beginning, the author declares that his goal is to appeal to both learned and common people, therefore he is going to employ a simple style (lines 7-10). As far as clarity of expression is concerned, this promise is fulfilled. The text is also properly structured, and the quotations support the author's purpose. On the other hand, the vocabulary cannot be described as simple. It rather reveals that the author was well-read in Latin literature. Furthermore, he uses rhetorical figures skilfully: alliteration: ... *iustus iuste iudex iudicabit* (lines 158); anaphora: **Cito** *siquidem mors omnibus finem imponet, cito corpora ... in cineres conuertentur. Cito cecus erit oculus ...* (lines 105-109); antithesis: *Vbi ignis inestimabilis semper ardebit et numquam lucebit, semper exuret et numquam consumet, semper afficiet et numquam deficiet* (lines 208-209); congeries: *En [homines] intrant mundum ... debiles ad bene agendum, faciles ad seducendum, fragiles ad resistendum, proni ad cadendum et tardi ad resurgendum* (lines 100-102); rhetorical question: *Quid autem cercius uerbo Dei, quid lucidius ueritate?* (lines 133-134).¹¹ All such *colores rhetorici* are supposed to enrich the text and impress the audience. In this case, I think that they did it successfully.

¹¹ More on the rhetorical figures in medieval texts see Arbusow.

AUTHORSHIP

Originally, the speech was attributed to Nicolaus Tempelfeld by Maria Kowalczyk (23, 184-85), and this information was then repeated in many other sources. However, this attribution was never proved sufficiently. No copy provides the name of the author, and none of them can be identified as written by Tempelfeld. The Wrocław manuscript (*D*) very likely belonged to him,¹² but the part containing the university sermons consists of quires from different codices sewn together. Therefore, the conclusion that the owner of a codex is at the same time the author of its contents does not seem convincing. Although Kowalczyk indicated that some other speeches were written by Tempelfeld, she did not explain that assertion in any way. Even if she had found his colophon and compared the script, she never stated it.¹³ Another argument against the authorship of Tempelfeld is that *D* contains evident copyist errors, e.g.:

line 36: quoquo] quoque *D*

line 88: fumus] *om.* *D*

line 116: clamate] clamare *D*

line 137: malus] malos *D*

line 169: comparere] compararere *D*

If the sermon was by Tempelfeld, I find it unlikely that he copied or dictated it with such errors. If just the codex *D* belonged to him, why would he have collected an erroneous copy of his own text? Finally, the author quite often refers to the Canon Law and seems to know it much better than a regular theologian. What is more, he uses special legal terms, e.g.: ... *cessabunt tunc apostoli reuerenciales et multis dabuntur refutatorii* (lines 170-171).¹⁴ In my opinion, it is very unlikely that a person without legal background would have written in this way, which is the reason why I assume that the author of the eulogy was a professor at the faculty of law. As far Tempelfeld is concerned, it is known that he studied arts and theology (Bauch 110), not

¹² On the ownership of *D* see Budkowa.

¹³ The full list of speeches investigated by Kowalczyk can be found in: Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie mowy* 150-86. A colophon from 1464 with the name Nicolaus de Brega can be found in MS. III F 14, f. 41v, however, the copied text is a medical treatise, and we have no record that Tempelfeld was interested in medicine.

¹⁴ *Apostoli reverenciales* and *apostoli refutatorii* were letters provided by judges in response to appeals. The former meant that a judge accepted the appeal, and a higher court can proceed with the case, the latter, on the contrary, expressed the judges's opinion that the appeal should be refused, see Naz.

law. Since there is no direct proof that he was the author of the speech, I consider it to be anonymous. More speeches held at the University of Cracow in the 15th century need to be edited in order for this assertion to be investigated more thoroughly.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MANUSCRIPTS

As already mentioned, there are four surviving witnesses of the text, and according to the examination of the paper on which they are written, only *B* may have been contemporary with the time of delivery. We also know the scribe of *B*: Thomas de Strzempno, who taught at the Faculty of Arts at the time (Pietrzyk 59). It is very likely that he was present at the funeral; however, his copy provides *m.n.* or *n.* instead of the name Nicolaud Goltberg. This means that the copy was supposed to be used on different occasions as well. Apart from that, it contains quite many significant errors of its own, so it could not have been the exemplar of the other copies.

As far as the content of the witnesses is concerned, there are following university speeches that occur in at least two of them:

- 17.¹⁵ Ioannes de Radochonic, *Ipse convertet credulos...* (a speech of a new rector delivered in 1431).
- 114. *Clama, ne cesses...* (a speech at a graduation ceremony for a doctoral degree).
- 200. Nicolaus Tempelfeld [?], *Hora est...* (a eulogy made at the funeral of Nicolaus Hering, 1429).
- 201. Nicolaus Tempelfeld [?], *Iam fetet in monumento...* (a eulogy made at the funeral of Nicolaus Goltberg, 1429, edited in a present article).
- 202. *Quid fecisti nobis...* (a eulogy made at the funeral of Stanislaus de Scarbimiria, 1431).
- 205. Ioannes Elgot, *Estimate vos mortuos...* (an oration for the anniversary of the death of Jadwiga (Hedwig), the Queen of Poland, before 1440).

Then, if we look the order of these texts in each codex, we could try to trace some relations between them (Table 1).

¹⁵ The numbers were given by Maria Kowalczyk and that is how she referred to them in her book.

Table 1

A	B	C	D
17	17	17	other text
other text	other text	other text	other text
114	114	other text	other text
other text	other text	other text	other text
other text	200	other text	200
201	201	201	201
202	other text	202	other text
205	other text	205	other text

It seems that *A* and *C* may have had a common exemplar. *B* has some similarities to *A*, and *D* does not seem to belong to one family with any other witness. Similarly, the textual variants do not show clearly how the witnesses are related. In the sentence: '*Dolor est cum formidine, flamma cum obscuritate, et in eorum intuitu ipsa a suis qualitibus tormenta discordant, quia a conditoris uoluntate, dum uiuerent discrepabant ...*' (lines 232-234), which is a quotation from Gregory the Great, in all four manuscripts there is an erroneous reading *intuitu* instead of *interitu*.¹⁶ It looks like all four witnesses are in error at the same time, which confirms the existence of archetype; however, the error is in the quotation, so this is not a very strong evidence.

There are several errors that occur in two witnesses, but they do not let us divide them easily into groups, since all the combinations (apart from *A D*) are possible:

line 38: penalitibus] penalitabus *A*, penalitibus *C D*

line 92: fetiditatem] feditatem *A B*

line 122: prima] *om. A C*

line 135: refutacio] refricacio *A B*

line 137: recesserint] recesserunt *A C*

line 274: illi erat] erat illi *B C*

All the other errors are *lectiones singulares* and can only prove that none of the witnesses is a codex descriptus. For example:

line 4: uenerabilis uiri] *om. A*

line 102: resurgendum] refugandum *A*

line 81: nec scio] *om. B*

¹⁶ See Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, Lib. IX, c. LXVI, 100 (CCSL 143, p. 528, line 10-20).

lines 228–229: adiuncta, propter quod] *om.* *B*

line 4: translati] sublati *C*

line 241: pietatis] bonitatis *C*

line 88: fumus] *om.* *D*

line 137: malus] malos *D*

In two witnesses, *A* and *D*, there are corrections *secunda manu*; however, in my opinion, they may have been done without the help of other witnesses.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

Since it is impossible to establish the *stemma codicum*, the text of the edition was reconstructed in an arbitrary way. The readings that seemed more likely to be correct were chosen, and the others were recorded in the *apparatus criticus*. All the quotations and allusions are included in single quotation marks and their sources are indicated in the *apparatus fontium*. The names of the books of the Bible which are abbreviated in the manuscripts are not expanded in the edition; however, exact biblical references are given in the *apparatus fontium*. Proper nouns and *nomina sacra* are capitalised. Punctuation and paragraph division is editorial. The orthography of the manuscripts has mostly been retained, except in the following cases:

- 1) *ci/ti* before vowels is transcribed as *ci*;
- 2) *u* and *v* are normalized and transcribed as *u* in the lowercase and *V* in the uppercase;
- 3) the long *j* is transcribed as *i*;
- 4) *y* is transcribed as *i*, except for two words of Greek origin: *ypocrita*, *Pythagoricus*.
- 5) in several cases where single consonant instead of double were used (or inversely), e.g. *affliccione/aflliccione*, *satagite/satagitte*, the classical spelling is adopted;
- 6) variant spelling of three words: *caput/capud*, *sicut/sicud*, *uelut/uelud* is normalized according to Classical Latin, since for each of them none of the forms is predominant;
- 7) in two words with variant spelling: *immundus/inmundus*, *immergi/inmergi* the former form was chosen;
- 8) the omission of *h* in various words in *B*, e.g. *exhibere/exibere*, *hortabatur/ortabatur* is not recorded.

ABBREVIATIONS

<>	verba supplenda includunt
c.	capitulum
C.	canon
Ca.	causa
corr.	correxerit
d.	distinctio
Lib.	Liber
n.	numerus
P.	Pars
p.	pagina, paginae
q.	quaestio
sup. l.	supra lineam
sent.	sententia
tit.	titulus

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Ps. Augustinus Hipponensis

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 C - Biblioteka PAN i PAU, MS. 6641, f. 187v–189r
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⟨Sermo⟩ in exequiis Magistri Nicolai Goltberg

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, 'in quo uiuimus, mouemur et sumus.'

Locuturo michi uerbum ad hanc almam congregacionem in officio exequiarum illius uenerabilis uiri Magistri Nicolai Goltberg de medio nostri nuper translati, illud menti potissime illabitur in medium proponendum esse, quod nostro profectui magis foret accomodum mentesque excitare posset salutaria caritatis officia prefati uiri anime exhibere. Eapropter subtilitates sententiarum, allegacionum intricaciones uerborumque inanes abrogando picturas, simplici proposui stilo procedere, quatenus sermo meus non peritis solum, sed magis communibus et rudibus, quemadmodum expedit, loqui uideatur. Pro aliquali ergo exhortacione assumpsi uerbum, quod scribitur Ioh. XI et lectum est in festiuitatis beati Lazari nuper transacte officio 'Iam fetet in monumento.'

Reuerendi patres, doctores et magistri ceterique domini et fratres in Christo dilecti! Quia ut ait beatus Augustinus in libro de baptismo paruulorum 'Iuste agere uel iusticie preceptum eciam in parte implere non possumus, nisi adiuuemur a Deo. Nam sicut oculus corporalis non nisi lucis presidio uidet, ita incassum intrinsecus oculus ad rimandum ueritatem attollitur, nisi diuine confortacionis beneficio fulciatur,' quoniam 'Omnis racio superne sciencie uel terrene creature in eo est, qui ipsarum caput est et auctor' XXXVII distincione 'Sed econtra,' qui est Christus dominus, 'in quo sapiencie et sciencie thesauri sunt absconditi' ad Colo. II. Nullus ergo ipso inuito philozophabitur, nullus potencias loquetur domini, nullus eo renitente obtinebit, quoniam 'ipse est scienciarum dominus' primi Reg. II et 'uerum lumen, quod illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum' Ioh. primo. Vt igitur mentibus nostris lumen istud irradiet et de absconditis suis aliquid reuelet, matrem luminis ex more salutemus dicentes Aue Maria gracia plena.

'Iam fetet in monumento' scribitur ubi supra. Venerabiles patres et domini, in labentis seculi stadio nobis currentibus et in hac miseriarum ualle positis, si mentis

1 ⟨sermo⟩ in exequiis magistri nicolai goltberg] sermo pro defunctis B, om. C D 2 in nomine domini] om. A nostri ...sumus] om. A, amen B 4 illius] om. A magistri nicolai goltberg] m. n. B translati] sublati C 6 foret] ad sup. l. add. D² 7 intricaciones] inter raciones A, intricaciones in marg. A² 11 et] om. B festiuitatis beati lazari] presentis diei B, festiuitate beati lazari C nuper] om. C transacte] om. B, transacti C 13–14 patres ...dilecti] etc. A 14 in] om. C 20 ergo] om. A 21 renitente] reuertente A, renittente B 22 uerum lumen] lumen uerum B 22–23 illuminat] illuminet A 26 et domini] etc. A 27 miseriarum ualle] ualle miseriarum C

2 Act. XVII 28 11–12 Ioh. XI 39 14–17 Cf. Augustinus: *De peccatorum meritis*, Lib. II, c. V (CSEL 60, p. 75, v. 10–17) 18–19 Cf. *Decretum Gratiani*, P. I, dist. XXXVII, C. VII (CIC-Friedberg I, col. 137). 19–20 Col. II 3 22 I Reg. II 3 22–23 Ioh. I 9

nostre oculos ea, qua debemus, attencione in obiectum illud supersubstantialiale primum et beatificum attollere curauerimus, profecto luce clarius cognoscemus, quod
 30 quamuis omnis iocunditas creata aut in creaturis inuenta, omnis suauitas, omnis decor, pulcritudo et opulencia, honor et |B f. 290r| diuiciarum affluentia afficere quidem cor hominis possunt, saciare uero minime poterint ipsum. Verum namque gaudium et solum illud est, quod de creatore non de creatura concipitur et habetur, cui comparata |A f. 12rb| omnis aliorum |C f. 188r| quesita iocunditas meror est, omnis suauitas
 35 dolor est, omne dulce amarum, omne decorum fedum, et omne aliud, quod delectare quoquo modo possit, molestum.

Et idcirco uita hec, qua mundani homines mundo uiuere gestiunt, plena penalitibus, miseriis et erumpnis comprobatur, ubi nulla pax, nulla securitas, ubi perfectum, ubi semper nichil est, et profecto quia mors finis eius, iam non uita, sed mors merito potest appellari. ‘Omnibus enim statutum est semel mori’ Ad Hebr. X. Inspecite
 40 namque omnia, que sub circulo lune continentur, qualia sint, et ecce sapiens clamat ‘Vidi omnia sub sole et ecce omnia uanitas’ Ecclesias. primo. Igitur cum hic non sit uera animi sacietas, pax, beatitudo et felicitas, alibi est. |D f. 13r| Quia in celesti uita, cuius comparacione uita presens instabilis et caduca, non uita, sed quasi mors esse
 45 conuincitur, que multa mutabilitate uariatur et cursu breuissimo terminatur, quoniam ‘breues dies hominis sunt’ Iob XIII. Et qui nuper uiuere dicebatur, ecce ‘iam fetet in monumento.’

De hac uita beatus Augustinus in libro supputacionum parte secunda capitulo II dicit ‘Non uita sed mors dicenda est, in qua momentis singulis morimur et per uarios
 50 mutabilitatis defectus diuersis generibus mortui rapimur.’ Et hinc quidem aut ad uitam, ubi quidquid boni est, sufficienter reperitur, aut ad mortem, ubi omne malum et plus quam dici possit est et sentitur. Ex quibus infero, quod ab amore presentis seculi nos retrahere debent: uite presentis infirma breuitas, iudicii districti irrefragabilis seueritas et pene gehennalis interminabilis calamitas.

Que tria sine ulteriori diuisione breuiter resumendo dixi primo, quod ab amore presentis seculi nos retrahere debet uite presentis infirma breuitas. Qui namque hodie
 55 sunt, cras non erunt et postquam delati sunt ad tumula, sic erant quasi non fuissent. Vnde Iob X ‘Fuissem quasi non essem de utero translatus ad tumulum.’ Et merito dicit |B f. 290v| ‘quasi non essem,’ quia secundum beatum Gregorium XV Moralium super illo Iob XXI ‘In puncto ad inferna descendunt.’ ‘Omnis longitudo temporis uite presentis punctus esse cognoscitur, cum fine terminatur. Cum enim ad extremum quisque
 60 perducitur, de preterito iam nichil tenet, quia tempora cuncta dilapsa sunt, de futuro nichil habet, quia unius hore momenta non restant. Vita ergo, que sic angustari potuit, merito punctus fuit’ hec ille. Et idem tractans illud Iob X ‘Gaudium ypocrite ad instar

31 decor] omnis *add. B* 36 quoquo] quoque *D* 37–38 penalitibus] penalitibus *A*, penalitibus *CD* 38 comprobatur] comparatur *A* 41 sint] sunt *B* sapiens] sapiens *A* 42 primo] viii *C* 45 cursu] curso *A* 48 uita] dicit *add. A* 49 dicit] *om. A B* 55 ulteriori] uteriori *A* 64 ad] *om. A*

40 Hebr. IX 27 42 Eccle. I 14 46 Iob XIII 5 49–50 Cf. Ps. Augustinus: *Liber meditationum*, c. XXI (PL 40, 917). 58 Iob X 19 60 Iob XXI 13 60–64 Cf. Gregorius Magnus: *Moralia in Iob*, Lib. XV, c. XLIII, 49 (CCSL 143 A, p. 779, v. 4–9). 64–65 Iob XX 5

puncti' inquit 'Si ab ipso humani generis exortu usque ad hoc tempus, in quo sumus, 65
 mentis oculos ducimus, omne, quod finiri potuit, quam breue sit, uidemus. Ponamus
 enim quemlibet hominem a primo die mundi conditi usque ad hodiernum diem uitam
 ducere, hodie tamen eandem, quam quasi longam ducere uidetur, finire. Ecce finis
 adest. Preterita iam nulla sunt, quia cuncta transierunt. Futurum |A f. 12va| in hoc
 mundo nichil est, quia nullum ad uitam uel breuissimum restat momentum. Vbi est 70
 ergo longum tempus, quod inter initium finemque deprehensum ita consumitur ac si
 breuissimum semper fuisset.'

Et quamuis ita breuis sit hec miseranda uita nostra, non tamen sine tedio et af-
 fliccione spiritus pertransiri potest propter multipliciter paciendi ingruentibus tri-
 bulacionibus innatis et illatis. Propter quod dicit propheta 'Defecit in dolore uita mea 75
 et anni mei in gemitibus' Ps. XXX. Et Iob XIII dicitur 'Homo natus de muliere' et
 ideo cum reatu 'breui uiuens tempore' et ideo cum metu 'repletur multis miseriis' et
 ideo cum gemitu et fletu, qui 'quasi flos egreditur' periculose nascendo 'et conteri-
 tur' laboriose uiuendo 'et fugit uelut umbra' continue ad mortem proximando. 'Quis
 namque est homo, qui uiuet et non uidebit mortem' Ps. 88, reuera nullus. Dicit enim 80
 beatus Augustinus 'Nec initium nec finem scio nec scio, unde uenio aut quo uado,
 sed plane scimus, quod mortales sumus. Nichil enim morte cercius et nichil incercius
 hora mortis' hec ille. Quid est ergo uita hominis nisi flos desiccatus super herbas,
 spuma congregata super aquas, lanugo maturata super tribulos? 'Transit uita nostra
 tamquam uestigium nubis et sicut nebula dissoluitur, que effugata est a radiis solis et, 85
 a calore |D f. 13v| illius aggrauata' |B f. 291r| Sap. II. 'Transit uita nostra uelut lanugo,
 que a uento tollitur, tamquam spuma gracilis, que a procellis dispargitur, tamquam
 fumus, qui ab ore diffunditur, tamquam memoria hospitis unius diei pretereuntis' Sap.
 V et Iacobi III dicitur 'Que est uita nostra, uapor est ad modicum parens et deinceps
 exterminabitur.' 90

Vnde et sapientissimus Salomon 'Quid est homo nisi lutum et cinis?' Lutum in-
 quam quantum ad corporis fetiditatem, cinis quantum ad uite fugacitatem. Et Iob
 dicit 'Memento queso, quod sicut lutum feceris me et in puluerem reduces me.' Hinc
 et Deus inquit ad hominem 'Cinis es et in cinerem reuerteris' Gen. III. Si enim homi-
 nes cinis non sunt, ubi queso sunt reges et principes olim incliti, ubi prelati quondam 95
 gloriosi? Quid eis profuit inanis gloria, breuis leticia, mundi potencia, magna familia
 et secularis pompa? Transierunt omnia uelut umbra nec apparet ipsorum uestigium.
 Vbi sunt eorum mundane excellencie, corporis deliciae et diuicie multe, que possesse
 onerant, amate inquinant, amisse cruciant et habite non saciant appetitum? Respicite

70 restat] restet A 72 semper] eciam D 73 ita] om. B 73-74 affliccione] affeccione C 75
 defecit] deficit A 76 dicitur] dicit D 77 uiuens] uiues A metu] motu A 78-79 qui...pro-
 ximando] om. C 78 qui] et B 81 nec scio] om. B 85 effugata] affugata A solis et]
 solaribus A, solis CD 88 fumus] om. D 91 salomon] salamon A 92 fetiditatem] feditatem A
 B 94 ad] om. A 97 nec] ut B 98 diuicie multe] multe diuicie C

65-72 Cf. Gregorius Magnus: *Moralia in Iob*, Lib. XV, cap. III, 3 (CCSL 143 A, p. 750, v. 17-27). 75-
 76 Ps. XXX 11 78-79 Iob XIV 1-2 79-80 Ps. LXXXVIII 49 81-83 Cf. Ps. Augustinus:
De spiritu et anima, c. XXXI (PL 40, 800). 84-86 Sap. II 3 86-88 Sap. V 15 89-90 Iac. IV
 15 91 Cf. Innocentius III: *De contemptu mundi*, Lib. I, c. II (PL 217, 703B). 93 Iob. X 9 94
 Gen. III 19

100 queso, qualis sit status hominum! En intrant mundum cum dolore, continuant uitam cum labore, et exeunt cum tremore, debiles ad bene agendum, faciles ad seducendum, |A f. 12vb| fragiles ad resistendum, proni ad cadendum, et tardi ad resurgendum.

Cum ita sic est, quod homines cinis sunt, ut quid superbiunt, ut quid se contra Deum et ecclesiam sanctam erigunt, quorum potentatus breuis, longum uero tormen-
105 tum erit. Cito siquidem mors omnibus finem imponet, cito corpora hec, que modo sunt purpura uelata aut bisso cincta in cineres conuertentur. Cito cecus erit oculus, qui curiosa uel amabilia uidit, auris surdescet, que melodiis uanis et ludicris intenta fuit, tactus fetebit, qui per luxuriam aut libidinem arsit, gustus et olfactus putrescet, quibus homo saporibus et odoribus deliciose inhesit. Vos autem non sic, sed sagaci
110 animo satagite, ut mentes uestras non in terra, sed in celo defigatis! Ecce enim uero semper futura nascuntur, semper presencia moriuntur, quia quodcumque est, preteritum est quasi mortuum est. Morimur enim, dum uiuimus, et tunc |B f. 291v| desinimus mori, cum uiuere desinamus. Vnde et qui nudius sextus nobiscum erat, iam non est, sed 'fetet in monumento.' Et tantum de primo etc.

115 Dixi secundo, quod ab amore huius fallacis seculi nos retrahere debet districti iudicii Dei irrefragabilis seueritas. Iohelis enim primo dicitur 'Clamate ad dominum, quia prope est dies domini et quasi uastitas a potente |C f. 188v| ita ueniet,' in quo iudicio, ut testatur scriptura, 'Vix iustus saluabitur' Prima Petri III 'impius ergo et peccator ubi parebunt.' Propter quod nedum malus, sed et bonus quilibet seueritatem
120 iudicii districti pertimescat iugique meditatione consideret, quasi iam Iudex ille eternus cum maiestate et gloria ad iudicandum adueniat, reddens unicuique secundum opera sua. 'In momento siquidem et in ictu oculi' teste Apostolo Prima Cor. XV. In propriis corporibus que nunc gestamus, resurgemus, ut districtam 'Deo reddamus' de nostris operibus, uerbis mitibus, cogitationibus et uoluntatibus 'racionem nec ultra
125 poterimus uillicare' Luc. XVI. Nec enim latere poterit quempiam dies |D f. 14r| illa tremendi iudicii, eo quod 'Deus noster manifeste ueniet et non silebit. Ignis exardescet in conspectu eius et in circuitu eius tempestas ualida.'

Nam 'Et de ore ipsius sedentis in throno procedet gladius bis acutus' Apoka. I et 'De priuilegiis, Ex ore.' Quapropter 'scitote uenturum esse iudicium' Iob XIX. Scitote,
130 quod sine fallo 'Aduocabit celum desursum et terram discernere populum suum' Ps XLIX. Vnde ut de hoc iudicio certi omnes essemus, ipse idem, qui uenturus est, dicit 'Venit hora et nunc est, quando mortui,' qui in monumentis sunt, 'audient uocem filii Dei, et qui audierint, uiuent' Ioh. V. Quid autem cercius uerbo Dei, quid lucidius ueritate? Et ut taceam de pluribus scripturis catholicis, quia talibus insistere uidetur esse

102 resurgendum] refugandum A 103 quid] quod A quid] quam A 107 surdescet] surdescit D 108 olfactus] olefactus A C putrescet] putrescit A, putrescunt D 114 et] om. C 116 enim] om. C clamate] ergo add. A, clamare D 122 prima] om. A C 123 deo reddamus] reddamus deo C, deo reddimus D 125 nec] unde A 126 ignis] om. C exardescet] om. C, exardescit D 127 conspectu] circuitu C eius] ignis exardescet add. C et] om. C circuitu] conspectu C 133 v] x D

116–117 Iohel I 14–15 118–119 I Petr. IV 18 122 I Cor. XV 52 123–125 Cf. Luc. XVI 2 126–127 Ps. XLIX 3 128 Cf. Apoc. XIX 15; *Decretalium Gregorii*, Lib. V, tit. XXIII, c. XVII (CIC-Friedberg II, col. 862). 129 Iob XIX 29 130 Ps. XLIX 4 132–133 Ioh. V 25

notissimorum refutacio in hac parte. Ecce et gentiles resurreccionem ad penam uel 135
 premium profitentur. Vnde Sixtus Pythagoricus in Sibilinis sentenciis sic inquit ‘Male
 uiuentes, [A f. 13ra] cum e corpore recesserint, [B f. 292r] cruciabit malus demon, usque
 exigat ab eis eciam nouissimum quadrantem, beatus uir cuius animam nemo repre-
 hendit ad Deum pergentem.’ Et infra ‘Sapientem de corpore si quis extrudat iniuste,
 iniquitate sua beneficium ei prestat, absoluitur enim tamquam de uinculis’ et postea 140
 dicit ‘Qualia gesserit studia anima corpus inhabitans, tales habebit testes in iudicio.
 Immundam animam immundi demones sibi uendicant.’ Et in prologo Macrobbii su-
 per sompnum Scipionis dicitur ‘Certum esse in celo diffinitum locum, ubi beati ewo
 sempiterno fruuntur.’

Vos ergo scitote, quia ‘ueniet dies Domini magna et amara ualde’ Iohel. primo. 145
 Et tunc ‘erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis’ Luce XXI ‘sol obscurabitur et luna non
 dabit lumen suum.’ ‘Tanta enim’ secundum beatum Augustinum in sermone primo
 de sermone domini ‘erit splendoris eminenca in Christo, ut eciam clarissima celi lum-
 inaria pre fulgore diuini luminis abscondentur et tenebrescent. Tunc stelle cadent,
 quando apparebit signum filii hominis in celo. Crux enim fulgebit et obscuratis di- 150
 lapsisque celi sideribus, sola radiabit’ secundum ipsum. ‘Tunc mouebuntur uirtutes
 celorum,’ ‘quia tam terribile erit iudicium, ut eciam’ prout ait idem doctor ubi supra
 ‘ab angelis timeatur.’ Nec mirandum est hoc, quoniam sicut rege aut principe terribili
 iudicante non solum rei, sed et familiares iusti, qui nil de malis per iudicem propo- 155
 sitis sibi sunt conscii, propter terrorem iudicantis tremunt. Ita cum genus humanum
 iudicabitur, celestes ministri pauebunt et terribili apparatu iudicem contuentes con-
 tremiscent. Et ibi quidem nedum iniusticias, sed et iusticias, nedum peccata, sed et
 illa, que de genere bonorum uidebantur, iustus iuste iudex iudicabit Ps. LXXVIII ‘Cum
 accepero tempus, ego iusticias iudicabo.’

Ideo beatus Gregorius libro III Moraliu dicit ‘Necesse est ut non solum intueamur 160
 mur, quid agamus, sed et cum quanta discrecione peragamus. Nam ante terribilis iu-
 dicitis examen, non solum mala, que commisimus, sed et ipsa et si qua in nobis sunt
 bene gesta timeamus, quia sepe in eius iudicio culpa esse deprehenditur, quod uirtus
 esse putatur, et unde expectatur pia [B f. 292v] merces operis, inde supplicium iuste se-
 quitur ulcionis’ hec ille. Nullus ergo de suis operibus [D f. 14v] sibi blandiatur. Pensate 165
 insuper, qualis erit angustia in hoc iudicio, ubi ex una parte peccata accusabunt, ex
 altera demones incusabunt. Rodet intus consciencia, foris iudicis irati erit facies tre-
 mebunda. Subtus chaos inferni apparebit dolore plenum, supra signa dominice pas-

135 refutacio] refutacio AB 137 e] om. B, de D recesserint] recesserunt AC malus]
 malos D 147 suum] om. D 148 splendoris] om. B 149 cadent] cadant AC 153 mirandum]
 miraandum D 154–155 propositis sibi sunt] sibi propositis simulant A 160 solum] om. C 161
 quid] quantum D 163 quia] qui A 164 inde] unde B 168 chaos] cahos A

136–139 Cf. *Enchiridion Sexti*, sent. 39–40 (ed. Chadwick, p. 17). 139–140 Cf. ibidem, sent. 322
 (p. 49). 141–142 Cf. ibidem, sent. 347–348 (p. 53) 143–144 Cf. Cicero: *De re publica*, Lib. VI,
 c 17 (ed. Powell, p. 137, v. 21–23). 145 Ioel I 15 146 Luc. XXI 25 146–147 Mat. XXIV 29
 147–151 Cf. Ps. Augustinus: *Sermo CLV*, n. 10 (PL 39, 2051). 151–152 Mat. XXIV 29 152–153
 Cf. ibidem (PL 39, 2052). 158–159 Ps. LXXIV 3 160–165 Cf. Gregorius Magnus: *Moralia in
 Iob*, Lib. III, c. XIII, 24 (CCSL 143, p. 130, v. 67–68, 72–78).

170 sionis erunt in testimonium, ubi latere erit impossibile, et comparere penalissimum et
intollerabile. Ibi a sententia iudicis nullus poterit appellare, cessabunt tunc apostoli
reuerenciales [A f. 13rb] et multis dabuntur refutatorii. Ibi aduocatorum astucia aut
oratorum eloquencia nichil poterit prodesse, quia nullus poterit fallere illius iudicis
sapientiam aut ipsius flectere iusticiam, cum 'nec Iob nec Daniel neque Noe rogare
tunc poterint pro quoquam' XIII questione II 'In presenti.'

175 'Attendamus ergo uiam uite presentis, quod peccato et defectui subiecta est. Con-
sideremus, quod eciam nec hoc quidem sine aliquo reatu nostro est, quod laudabili-
ter gessisse uidemur, si pietate remota iudicemur. Quis eciam nostrum Dauid melior,
Paulo iuscior, Iacobo sanccior et Iohanne aquila superior siue alcior? Et tamen Da-
uid trepidat districtum prospiciens examen, dum inquit 'Non intres in iudicium cum
180 seruo tuo domine, quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis uiuens.' Paulus ex-
pauescit, dum dicit 'Nichil mihi conscius sum, sed in hoc iustificatus non sum' Ad
Cor. quarto. Iacobus humanam naturam sub defectu considerans inquit 'in multis of-
fendimus omnes' Iaco. III. Iohannes uolens eciam iustos reddere timoratos, ne forte
ex securitate periculum incidant, dicit 'Si dixerimus, quia peccatum non habemus,
185 ipsi nos seducimus et ueritas in nobis non est' primo Ioh. primo. Si ergo hec et alie
quam plurime ad districtum Dei iudicium contremiscunt columpne, quid facient tabu-
le, quomodo stabunt mobilia uirgulta, si huiusmodi pauoris turbine cedri quaciuntur?
Vnde et uos timete iudicium et tantum de secundo.

Adieci tercio et conclusiue, quod ab amore presentis [B f. 293r] seculi nos retra-
190 here debet pene gehennalis interminabilis calamitas, de qua Ieremias propheta dum
dixisset 'Ollam succensam uideo et faciem eius a facie aquilonis' et audierat domi-
num dicentem 'Ab aquilone pandetur omne malum' Ieremi. primo, hortabatur post-
modum ad illud spectaculum contuendum inquiring 'Leuate oculos uestros et uidete
eos, qui uolant ab aquilone.' Per aquilonem, quippe que est regio intemperatissima a
195 sole elongata, datur intelligi infernalis pena, in qua erit acerbitas intollerabilis miserie
et summa elongacio a sole iusticie. 'Sicut enim regnum celeste plenum est pacis et ca-
ritatis, sapientie, glorie, honestatis et dulcedinis eterne, melodie, leticie, beatitudinis
perhennis et omnis boni ineffabilis, quod 'nec dici potest nec cogitari,' Prima Corin.
II., sic e regione infernus plenus est tenebrarum, discordie, odii, stulticie, miserie, [D
200 f. 15r] turpitudinis, amaritudinis et doloris, sitis, famis, ignis inextingwibilis, tristicie
perhennis et uniuersaliter omnis mali, ultra quam dici potest uel mens hominis [C f.
189r] cogitare.'

169 comparere] comparare A D, comparare corr. D² 173 nec] om. C 175 quod] quia A C
177 dauid] esse add. C 181 dum] cum D 183 uolens eciam] eciam uolens eciam B 186 fac-
cient] faciant D 187 uirgulta] uugulta A 188 et] om. C 192-193 postmodum] postmodo D
193 spectaculum] postmodum add. C leuate] lauate A 201 dici potest] potest dici C 202
cogitare] cogitari A

173-174 Cf. *Decretum Gratiani*, P. II, Ca. XIII, q. II, C. XX (CIC-Friedberg I, col. 727). 175-187
Cf. Gregorius Magnus: *Moralia in Iob*, Lib. XXIV, c. XI, 33 (CCSL 143 B, p. 1212, v. 260-274). 179-180
Ps. CXLII 2 181 I Cor. IV 4 182-183 Iac. III 2 184-185 I Ioh. I 8 191 Ier. I 13 192
Ier. I 14 193-194 Ier. XIII 20 196-202 Cf. S. Patricius: *De tribus habitaculis*, c. I (PL 53, 831CD).
198 Cf. I Cor. II 9

‘In regno Dei nihil inuenitur, nisi quod placet, delectat et saciat. At contra in lacu
 miserie perhennis nichil uidetur nec sentitur nisi quod displicet, offendit et cruciat. Ibi
 omne bonum, hic uero omne malum habundat.’|A f. 13va| Ibi siquidem ‘fletus et stri- 205
 dor dencium,’ ut legitur Math. XIII, inuenitur, ibi ‘mali transibunt de aquis niuium ad
 calorem maximum,’ ex quibus penis duabus procedent diuersa genera tormentorum.
 Vbi ignis inestimabilis semper ardebit, et numquam lucebit, semper exuret, et num-
 quam consumet, semper afficiet, et numquam deficiet. Vbi impii quasi morte depasti,
 reuiuiscunt ad mortem ut eternaliter moriantur. Vbi querent homines mortem, et non 210
 inuenient eam. Desiderabunt eam, et fugiet ab eis. Et insuper quis cogitare potest,
 qualis erit meror, que tristitia, quis luctus, quando separabuntur reprobi a consorcio
 iustorum, et tradentur potestati demonum, quibus associati ibunt in eternum ue et
 supplicium, ubi erunt sine fine in luctu et gemitu, numquam refrigerium habituri.

Cogitandum igitur est cunctis mortalibus, quantum sit malum a facie Christi de- 215
 lectabili et iocunda separari, a gaudio |B f. 293v| diuine contemplacionis excludi, bea-
 tissima sanctorum omnium societate priuari, mori uite eterne, et uiuere morti sem-
 piterne, profundo fluctuantis gehenne immergi, et edacissimis dentibus in eternum
 laniari. ‘Vbi dampnati in tanta erunt discordia, quod eciam corpora sua odio habeant,
 pro eo quod cogitata opere compleuerunt.’ Nec tamen releuabuntur reprobi peniten- 220
 ciam intra se agentes et spiritu gementes, quoniam secundum beatum Augustinum de
 fide ad Petrum ‘In inferno etsi erit stimulus penitudinis, nulla tamen erit ibi correctio
 uoluntatis, a quibus ita culpatur iniquitas sua, ut nullatenus possit ab eis uel diligi uel
 desiderari iusticia’ hec ille.

Quibus tortura ueniet, tum quia omnis ipsorum gloria transiuit uelut umbra, tum 225
 quia tempus merendi et uitam emendandi preterit, eo quod iuxta dictum Iere. VIII
 ‘Transiuit estas, finita est messis.’ Tum quia beatitudo, quam habere poterant, per-
 petuo est amissa. Tum quia societas demonum horrenda est adiuncta, propter quod
 ‘unusquisque tunc ad proximum suum stupebit, quia facies’ ‘combuste wltus eorum’
 Isa. XIII. Tum eciam quia mansio malorum erit tenebrosa et horrida. Vbi eciam non 230
 solum erit penarum uarietas, sed et earum contrarietas, quoniam ibi secundum bea-
 tum Gregorium in *Moralibus* ‘Dolor est cum formidine, flamma cum obscuritate, et in
 eorum intuitu ipsa a suis qualitatibus tormenta discordant, quia a conditoris uolun-
 tate, dum uiuerent discrepabant, fit miseris mors sine morte, finis sine fine, defectus
 sine defectu, quia mors semper uiuit et finis semper incipit, et defectus deficere nescit, 235
 |D f. 15v| quia mors perimit et non extingwit, dolor cruciat et pauorem non fugat.’

Et ut habetur in libro de ordine creaturarum ‘Dampnati erunt |A f. 13vb| post iudi-

203 saciat] saciet A, faciat C at] ac C D 206–207 ad calorem maximum] in calorem niuium
 C 211 inuenient] inueniant C 222 erit ibi] ibi erit C 226 preterit] preterit A D, preterit in
 marg. D² 227–228 perpetuo] perpetue D 228–229 adiuncta ...facies] om. B 229 eorum] om.
 C

203–205 Cf. *De triplici habitaculo*, c. I (PL 40, 992). 205–206 Mat. XIII 42 206–207 Iob
 XXIV 19 219–220 Cf. Eadmerus: *De S. Anselmi similitudinibus*, c. LXIV (PL 159, 639A). 222–224
 Cf. Ps. Augustinus: *De fide ad Petrum*, c. 38 (PL 40, 765). 227 Ier. VIII 20 229 Is. XIII 8 232–236
 Cf. Gregorius Magnus: *Moralia in Iob*, Lib. IX, c. LXVI, 100 (CCSL 143, p. 528, v. 14–15, 17–19, 24–28).
 237–238 Cf. Ps.-Isidorus, *Liber de ordine creaturarum*, c. XIII, 10 (PL 83, 947A).

cium sicut demones in inferno.' 'Demones autem' ut habetur in libro de collacionibus collacione prima, 'mortali odio sese inuicem persequuntur.' Ibi ergo 'nullus ordo, sed
 240 horror inhabitat sempiternus' Iob X. Moueant ergo flagella duos corde, quos diuine pietatis beneficia non emolliunt ad penitentiam nec inducunt, moueant laquei mortis, dolores inferni, metus gehenne et cruciatus eterni, ut 'etsi non uirtutis amore, penarum saltem [B f. 294r] formidine a sue temeritatis audacia refrenentur' 'De electione, Cum in cunctis' et LXII distincione . Omnes insuper nos hic in uia constitutos mo-
 245 uere debent, nedum hec, que premissa sunt terribilia, sed et ignis ipse purgatorius compescere debet ab omni eo, quod oculos diuine maiestatis offendere possit. 'Hic namque ignis' ut habetur XXV distincione 'Qui in aliud:' 'etsi non sit eternus, miro tamen modo grauis est, et superat omnem penam, quam umquam homo passus est in hac uita, et quicumque in aliud seculum distulerit fructum conuersionis, prius
 250 purgabitur igne purgacionis' hec ibi.

Nam secundum catholicam doctrinam necesse est omnem hominem, mox ut anima resoluta fuerit a corpore, aut esse in purgatorio, tamquam in uia ad terminum, aut in celo, ubi erit et est sanctorum felicitas consummata, aut in inferno, ubi miseria sempiterna. In hunc ergo locum omnes, qui purgari hic incipiunt per penitentiam,
 255 sed propter defectum uite purgacionem non perficiunt, destinantur nec umquam uidebunt Deum uisione glorie, donec soluerint usque ad nouissimum quadrantem. 'Soluantur autem anime ille a penis quatuor modis:' 'aut oblacionibus sacerdotum, aut precibus sanctorum, aut carorum elemosinis, aut ieiunio cognatorum' XIII questione II 'Anime defunctorum.' Et ita opera uiuorum prodesse possunt defunctis causa
 260 questione 'Pro obeuntibus.' Ad hec autem opera pietatis liberandis animabus unusquisque nostrum obligari se agnoscat uinculo naturalis obligacionis, ex qua surgit et oritur miseratio miserie compassiua. Vnusquisque enim uero nostrum non solum quia christianus est, uerum etiam ex naturali affectione, quia homo est, defunctis ad
 265 multa est obligatus. Si namque proximum, quamdiu uiuit, ex caritate et naturali affectu secundum facultatem in necessitate constitutum iuuare teneris, multo amplius, quando maiori necessitudine in purgatorio urgetur.

'Sancta ergo est cogitacio pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccatis soluantur' II Machab XII. Sed nouit ipse Deus, quos sermones proferre wlt mutus. Vos etiam, domini

239 persequuntur] persequitur D 241 pietatis] bonitatis C 245 purgatorius] purgacionis D
 246 diuine maiestatis] maiestatis diuine C possit] posset A 252 fuerit a corpore] a corpore
 fuerit A 254 ergo] om. A purgari hic] hic purgari A 255 purgacionem] om. C perficiunt]
 perficiant A 256 soluerint] soluunt D usque] om. D, usque in marg. D² 256-257 soluuntur]
 soluunt C 257-259 aut oblacionibus ...defunctis] ut in sequenti sermone usque C 262 enim uero]
 enim C 268 proferre wlt] wlt proferre C D, proferre wlt corr. D²

238-239 Cf. Ioannes Cassianus: *Collatio I*, c. XIII (PL 49, 497D-498A). 239-240 Iob X 22 242-
 243 Cf. *Sexti decretalium*, Lib. III, tit. IV, c. XVIII (CIC-Friedberg II, col. 1027) 243-244 Cf.
Decretalium Gregorii, Lib. I, tit. VII, c. VII (CIC-Friedberg II, col. 52). 244 Cf. *Decretum Gratiani*, P.
 I, dist. LXII, C. II (CIC-Friedberg I, col. 234). 246-250 Cf. *Decretum Gratiani*, P. I, dist. XXV, C. V
 (CIC-Friedberg I, col. 94). 256-258 Cf. *Decretum Gratiani*, P. II, Ca. XIII, q. II, C. XXII (CIC-Friedberg
 I, col. 728). 260 Cf. *Decretum Gratiani*, P. II, Ca. XIII, q. II, C. XXI (CIC-Friedberg I, col. 728). 267
 II Mach. XII 46

mei, bene nostis, quid sibi uolunt hec uerba. Scitis inquam, quomodo amara mors
 mori nescia tulit a nobis |B f. 294v| in dierum medio, uirum illum uenerandum, cuius 270
 ad presens agimus |A f. 14r| exequias Magistrum Nicolaum Goltberg, decorem corpo-
 ris nostri, electum membrum uniuersitatis nostre. Suo gladio mors amara mutilauit,
 doctrine lucide micantes radios occultauit, et ea parte induxit tenebras super faciem
 terre. Datus enim illi erat intellectus profundior, sensus perspicax, intelligencia ueri-
 tatis, informacio morum, gracia exemplorum. Facile namque sibi fuit non solum de 275
 magnis, sed et de maximis proferre informantem sermonem. Et idcirco merito no-
 bis dolendum |D f. 16r| iudico, quia raptus est, et translatus a nobis, cuius presencia
 quam plurimis perutilis erat. Sed quid ualet ingeminare dolores non alleuiandos do-
 loribus, sed potius augmentandos, cum uideatur potius graciaram ei referenda accio,
 qui tantum apud |C f. 189v| nos fidele depositum dignatus fuit collocare. Recepit ergo, 280
 cum uoluit. Reliquit nobis, quantum sue placuit beneplacito uoluntatis. Et quecumque
 facit, ideo facit, quia nobis profutura cognoscit. Hunc igitur uenerandum uirum recor-
 dacione felici uniuersitati uestre perpensus recommendo, ut emissis uestris deuotis
 oracionibus et oblatis pro ipso salutaribus sacrificiis, uite perhennis gaudia defunctus
 noster celerius assequatur. Ad quam nos perducat Deus per secula benedictus. Amen. 285

269 quomodo] quam C 271 nicolaum] n. B C goltberg] golberg A, om. B C 272 mors
 amara] om. C 274 illi erat] erat illi B C perspicax] perspicacior B 276 merito] om. B
 276–277 nobis] om. A, merito add. B 277 dolendum] nobis add. A iudico] iudicio A 283
 felici] falici A, filici C 285 deus ...amen] om. C