

**DENYS THE CARTHUSIAN AND HEYMERIC DE CAMPO
ON THE PILGRIMAGES OF CHILDREN
TO MONT-SAINT-MICHEL (1458)**

WITH A FIRST EDITION OF DENYS'S *EPISTOLA DE CURSU PUERORUM* AND
HEYMERIC'S *DETERMINATIO SUPER PEREGRINATIONE MULTORUM IUVENUM**

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Résumé

Les pèlerinages d'enfants au Mont-Saint-Michel en 1458 ont attiré l'attention des chroniqueurs et des savants. Les enfants étaient-ils conduits par l'Esprit-Saint ou par Satan ? Le présent article offre le texte de deux traités inédits sur le sujet, dus à Denys le Chartreux et à Heymeric de Campo. Ils sont replacés dans le contexte du culte médiéval de l'archange saint Michel et confrontés aux informations données par les chroniqueurs.

Summary

The children's pilgrimages to the sanctuary of the archangel Saint Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel in 1458 attracted the attention of chroniclers and scholars : were the children driven by the Holy Spirit or by Satan ? In the present study two treatises on the subject, written by Denys the Carthusian and Heymeric de Campo, are edited for the first time and placed against the background of the medieval cult of the Archangel and the information on the pilgrimages provided by the chronicles.

Zusammenfassung

Die Kinderwallfahrten zum Heiligtum des Erzengels Michael zu Mont-Saint-Michel im Jahre 1458 erfuhren im späten Mittelalter überall Beachtung. Sie werden in vielen Chroniken und von manchen Gelehrten erwähnt, denn es erhob sich die Frage, ob die Kinder vom Heiligen Geist oder vom Satan geführt wurden. In dem Beitrag werden zwei derartige Traktate von Dionysius dem Kartäuser und Heymericus de Campo zum ersten Mal ediert und vor dem Hintergrund der mittelalterlichen Verehrung des heiligen Michael und mehrerer Chroniken näher erforscht.

1. INTRODUCTION

About 1457 or 1458, a large number of children went on pilgrimage to Mont-Saint-Michel, a sanctuary dedicated to the archangel Saint Michael at the Atlantic coast in Normandy in France¹. These processions drew a lot of attention, as the phenomenon was widespread and intense. In many contemporary chronicles the events are described, sometimes in a very lively and elaborate manner². The chroniclers were fascinated by the enthusiasm of the children, the orderly fashion of the processions, and the many hazards to which the children exposed themselves: at the time the winters were severe and the sanctuary of Saint Michael was situated on a rocky island in the ocean near the coast, where the tide was treacherous³.

The phenomenon also engaged the attention of fifteenth-century scholars. Several treatises have survived in which theologians discuss the pilgrimages in great detail and where they try to decide by which force the children were driven – whether it was the Holy Spirit or Satan – as the children seemed to be completely possessed by their wish to visit Mont-Saint-Michel. These scholarly reactions are diverse in nature. They range from a rejection of the pilgrimages to a careful admission that the question of which force the children are possessed by cannot be solved by humans, but is only known to God⁴. As such, these treatises shed light on the different ways fifteenth-century scholars dealt with contemporary historical events and how they tried to evaluate them on the basis of their scholarly convictions and conventions. These writings thus bear witness

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(1) Most of the older literature on the pilgrimages to Mont-Saint-Michel is listed in J. DELALANDE, *Les extraordinaires croisades d'enfants et de pastoureaux au Moyen Age. Les pèlerinages d'enfants au Mont-Saint-Michel*, Paris 1962, 131-134. A more recent study on the subject is E. R. LABANDE, « Les pèlerinages au Mont-Saint-Michel pendant le Moyen Age », *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, ed. M. BAUDOT (Millénaire monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel, 3), Paris 1971, 237-250.

(2) The evidence provided by the chronicles will be dealt with below.

(3) On Mont-Saint-Michel, see G. BAZIN, *Le Mont-Saint-Michel. Histoire et Archéologie de l'origine à nos jours*, new edition, New York 1978.

(4) The pilgrimages were heavily criticized by Nicholas de Wachenheim, theologian at the University of Heidelberg, whose *Tractatus seu opusculum contra errores quorundam iuuenum masculorum* has been preserved in Vat. Pal. Lat. 192, fol. 207^r-218^v. On his attack, see G. RITTER, *Die Heidelberger Universität. Ein Stück deutscher Geschichte*, vol. 1: *Das Mittelalter (1386-1508)*, Heidelberg 1936, 346f. On the other hand, Denys the Carthusian and Heymeric de Campo are much more careful in their judgement, if not positive, as we will see below.

to the extension of the territory of the late medieval scholars, who were no longer confined to the traditional realm of learning and of education⁵.

The scholarly treatises on the pilgrimages to Mont-Saint-Michel never have been edited before. Yet, an edition of these texts seems desirable and necessary, so as to make them available to modern research, not only because they give us insight into the attitude of late medieval scholars toward a spectacular contemporary phenomenon, but also because the little information provided on the treatises in the secondary literature is unreliable, if not untrue⁶. In the present study, I have sought to focus on the treatises written by Denys the Carthusian and Heymeric de Campo, that is, the *Epistola de cursu puerorum*, and the *Determinatio super peregrinatione*. Other treatises on the subject will be discussed in a future study. To introduce the edition, we will briefly consider the cult of Saint Michael, as it is against this background that the treatises gain their meaning and significance. Also we will compare the information on the pilgrimages provided by our treatises with the evidence found in contemporary chronicles.

2. THE CULT OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

In the medieval Western Church, the cult of Saint Michael was varied and for the most part influenced by the different roles given to the Archangel in the Bible⁷. First, he was venerated as protecting the human souls as they leave the

(5) The changing position of the late medieval scholar is brought out clearly by M. H. SHANK, *'Unless You Believe, You Shall Not Understand'. Logic, University, and Society in Late Medieval Vienna*, Princeton, New Jersey 1988. See also my « Academics and Intellectual Life in the Low Countries. The University Career of Heymeric de Campo († 1460) », *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 61 (1994), 173-209.

(6) For example, according to J. DELALANDE, *Les extraordinaires croisades*, 94, Denys the Carthusian expressed himself against the pilgrimages in his *Epistola de cursu puerorum*, which is not in accordance with the monk's view of the matter. The same view is put forward by E. R. LABANDE, « Pèlerinages au Mont », 248. These scholars do not mention any copy of the treatise on which they have based their mistaken view. We will discuss Denys's treatise below.

(7) On the medieval cult of Saint Michael, see O. ROJDESTVENSKY, *Le culte de saint Michel et le Moyen Age latin*, Paris 1922 ; M. GASNIER, *Saint Michel archange*, Paris 1944 ; R. RINGOT, *Saint Michel. Très glorieux prince des archanges*, Arras 1951, and the articles in *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*. Interesting material is also provided by *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 6, Berlin 1934/1935, 232-240, s.v. Michael, hl..

Important for the medieval view is also the german passage from the *Legenda aurea* of JACOB OF VORAGINE, which is so rich that it bears quoting (ed. Th. GRAESSE, Osnabrück 1968, reprint of the 3th edition of 1890, cap. 140, 642-653, esp. 642) : « (...) Ipse (sc. Michael) enim, ut Daniel testatur, in tempore Antichristi consurget et pro electis tamquam defensor et protector adstabit ; ipse cum dracone et angelis ejus pugnavit et ipsos de coelo ejiciens victoriam fecit magnam ; ipse cum dyabolo de Moysi corpore altercatus est eo, quod dyabolus ejus corpus perdere voluit, ut ipsum pro Deo Judaeorum populus adoraret ; ipse

body and seek their way to heaven. As such he played an important role in the ritual of the Office for the Dead, as for example in the Cluniac abbeys, where the deceased were commemorated on the night before Saint Michael's day, September 29⁸.

Second, he was regarded as the angel protector and guardian of the entire Church who helped to combat and persecute the powers of evil. At the end of the world he will fight the Antichrist and judge the human souls. He is the herald of Christ. He will announce the future coming of the Lord and his voice will awake the deceased⁹.

This double picture of Michael has not only been preserved in many written sources, but also in numerous reliefs, sculptures and paintings, of which the Cathedral of Bourges – with its 13th century Day of Judgment where the Archangel has been portrayed as judge and protector of the human soul – is an impressive example¹⁰. Images of Michael as patron and guardian of the soul can also be found on many graveyards and cemeteries in Western Europe. Churches dedicated to him were preferably built on elevated places, so as to give expression to the conviction that the Archangel is a mediator between God and creatures¹¹.

For medieval people, the Archangel with his sword raised over the dragon (Satan) and holding the scales of judgement must have been a majestic and powerful character, who appealed to the imagination of many, especially in times of catastrophe and warfare. It is no wonder, then, that the children who went on pilgrimage were impressed by the power of the Archangel and may

sanctorum animas recipit et in paradisum exsultationis perducit ; ipse olim princeps fuit synagogae, sed nunc constitutus est a domino in principem ecclesiae ; ipse, ut dicitur, plagas Aegyptiis intulit, mare rubrum divisit, populum per desertum duxit et in terram promissionis introduxit ; ipse inter sanctorum acies angelorum signifer Christi habetur ; ipse ad domini imperium Antichristum existentem in monte oliveti praepotenter occidet ; in voce ipsius archangeli Michaelis mortui resurgent ; ipse crucem, clavos, lanceam et coronam spineam in die iudicii praesentabit. (...) ». On the *Legenda aurea*, which has survived in more than 1000 manuscripts, and on its influence, see *Legenda aurea : sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. B. DUNN-LARDEAU, Paris 1986, and B. FLEITH, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda aurea*, Brussels 1991 (Subsidia hagiographica, 72).

(8) M. BAUDOT, « Saint Michel dans la liturgie chrétienne », *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, 23-27, esp. 27. Compare in this connection Lc 16, 22 : « And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom ». On September 29, in the early 6th century, the Roman basilica in the via Salaria was dedicated to the Archangel. Since then, that day has been fixed as the day of Saint Michael. See M. BAUDOT, « Origine du culte de saint Michel », *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, 15-22, esp. 19f.

(9) Compare J. FOURNÉE, « L'Archange de la mort et du jugement », *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, 65-96 (with an extensive bibliography).

(10) See *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, plate 19/2.

(11) Concerning the cult in the various regions of Western Europe, see the materials collected in *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, 339-520.

have felt protected by him, thus encouraging them to undertake the journey to the sanctuary of the glorious fighter against evil ¹².

3. PILGRIMAGES TO MONT-SAINT-MICHEL

The pilgrimages of children of the late 1450s may not be considered as an isolated event. They are part of a much older tradition ¹³. Already in the early 8th century, at the time of the Merovingian king Childeric III, the first pilgrimages to Mont-Saint-Michel began. Originally, the cult was only of regional significance. This changed rapidly however. From the 11th century onward, people came from all over Western Europe to visit Mont-Saint-Michel in order to venerate the Archangel. At different places, villages were built dedicated to the Archangel, and churches were also made with stones taken from the church at Mont-Saint-Michel ¹⁴. The pilgrimages reached a peak in the late medieval period. Historical records mention that the place became so crowded that people died of suffocation ¹⁵. It was at that time of great interest in Saint Michael that most of the children pilgrimages took place. The first children came to the sanctuary in 1333, after they heard heavenly voices saying 'Go to St. Michel' ¹⁶. The phenomenon recurred several times during the Hundred Years War ¹⁷. In 1457 and 1458, after the ending of the hostilities, the veneration came to a head, with numerous children from many different regions coming to visit the sanctuary with great enthusiasm and devotion ¹⁸. With this last episode, Denys the Carthusian and Heymeric de Campo concerned themselves in their treatises.

(12) It needs to be noted in this connection that the children had banners with them carrying the image of Saint Michael (see below).

(13) The tradition of the pilgrimages is dealt with by E. R. LABANDE, « Pèlerinages au Mont », 237-240.

(14) *Ibidem*. See also the literature referred to in n. 11 above.

(15) J. DELALANDE, *Les extraordinaires croisades*, 116, who is referring to the *Obituarium* (1318) that has been preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Avranches.

(16) *Ibidem*, 58. The events of 1333 have been recorded in the *Historiae Montis sancti Michaelis volumen minus*, written about 1400, as follows (cited according to DELALANDE, 64): *Une M seule, comme semble, / Trois C, trois X, trois I ensemble, / En l'an MCCCXXXIII / A saint Michiel sa grant fiance / Fist venir au mont grantenois / De pastoreaus grant habundance.*

(17) *Ibidem*, 82f.

(18) *Ibidem*, 86-93. The enthusiasm and devotion of the children is mentioned in an anonymous poem, which begins with the lines (cited according to DELALANDE, 87):

Nondum fluit millesimus / Nec non quadricentenus / Ab ortu Christi septimus / Annusque quinquagenus : / Rure, villis et urbibus / Plebs ingens Almanorum / Senum cum junioribus / Et turbis puerorum, / Inductu nempe spiritus / Magne devocionis / Currebat in Normanniam.

4. THE CHRONICLES

As indicated earlier, the events that happened in the years 1457 and 1458 are pictured in many chronicles. These writings give us valuable information on the behaviour of the children and their undertaking and, more importantly, they corroborate the accounts of the pilgrimages given in the treatises of Denys and Heymeric. Let us consider some of the evidence of the chronicles ¹⁹.

1. *Chronica, tybboek en gheschietbibel, van aenbegin der werelt tot den jaere 1536 verlengt, pars 2 : Chronica der keyzers ende werelt*, UB Nijmegen 98 a 1, [s. l.] 1595, fol. 53b :

Pelgrimagie tot sinte Michiel. Anno duysent vier hondert seuenenvijftich quam op de pelgrimagie nae sinte Michiel / daer trocken veel ghesellen teghen haer vader ende moeders wille / henen / ende gheschieden aen haer veel teekenen.

2. *Chronicle of Johann Kerkhörde*, in : *Die Chroniken der westfälischen und niederrheinischen Städte*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1887 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, 20), 136 :

Op Philippi et Jacobi [May 1, 1458, MH]. Nu gengen vele kindere an groten hopen mit karmen to St. Michele ; dit was seer vrombt dink.

3. *Chronicle of Koelhoff*, in : *Die Chroniken der niederrheinischen Städte*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1877 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, 14), 799f. :

In dem selven jair [1455] ²⁰ was ein groisse vart zo sent Michel in Normandien, dat is ein lant und herzogdom under dem koninge van Frankrich, ind dat werde wail bi 2 jair, ind dat hoiven an clein kinderchin van 8, 9, 10 ind 12 jairen uis allen landen, steden, dorpen, uis Duitschlant ind Weschlant ind ouch uis anderen landen. si vergaderten sich mit groissen houfen ind liessen vader ind moeder ind gingen alle zosamen paer ind paer in einre procession ind hatten ir vanen die men in vurdroich, und darup stont sent Michel gemailt. ind wat kinder die uis einre stat of uis eime dorp waren die hielten sich zosamen, ind up den vanen stoint ouch irs heren wapen, da si under gesessen waren. ind dat was jemerlichen zo sein, dat die kinder irren alderen buissen irren willen so enwech zoigen sonder zeirgelt. doch quamen si sere widder gesunt zo lande,

(19) On medieval chronicles and annales, see K. H. KRÜGER, *Die Universalchroniken*, Turnhout 1976 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, 16) ; M. MCCORMICK, *Les annales du haut Moyen Age*, Turnhout 1975 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, 14). Both works contain valuable bibliographies.

(20) The chronicler places the event in the year 1455. However, this should be 1458. See the note in the *Chronicle of Johann Kerkhörde*, in : *Die Chroniken der westfälischen und niederrheinischen Städte*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1887 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, 20), 136.

ind in wart overal up dem wege genoich van cost und drank gegeven. ind wanne si zo sent Michel quamen, so offerden si die vanen sent Michel. zo leste leifen die alde lude ouch dar, man ind vrouwen, knecht ind meide.

4. *Chronicon Elwacense*, in : *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. 10, Hannover 1852, 48 :

Eodem anno [1458] pueri octo annorum citra vel ultra, in numero 400 peregrinauerunt ad Sanctum Michaellem situm in medio maris in monte alto, sic quod mare se divisit singulis diebus, ita quod pueri siccis pedibus intraverunt, et ibidem domino Deo ac sancto Michaeli suas preces obtulerunt.

5. *Fasciculus temporum*, Louvain 1476, UB Nijmegen Inc 94, fol. 64^r :

[1457] Pueri sancti michaelis peregrinantur cum magno fervore per turmas viam longam ad mare. Et fit timor cunctis ne spiritus nequam agitare eos. Sed statim cessavit propter taedium itineris et famem quam patiebantur.

6. *Mémoires of Jacques du Clercq*, III, 3, in : *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France*, vol. 3, Paris 1837, 621f. :

Audit an aussy, environ le caresme et après Pasque, l'an 1458, grande multitude d'Alemans et des Brabanssons et d'aultres pays, tant hommes que femmes et enfans en tres-grand nombre, par plusieurs fois passerent par le pays d'Artois, et les pays d'environ, et alloient en pèlerinages au Mont-Sant-Micquel, et disoient que c'estoit par miracles que monsieur Saint-Micquel avoit faits en leur pays : entre aultres choses ils racomptoient que ung homme mourut soudainement en battant son enfant, pource que l'enfant vouloit aller au Mont-Sant-Micquel : ils disoient que monsieur Saint-Micquel le avoit fait mourir, aulcuns disoient aussy que communément cette volonté leur venoient et ne sçavoient pourquoy, sinon que nullement ne pouroient avoir repos, par nuict, qu'ils n'eussent volonté de aller visiter le saint lieu du Mont-Saint-Micquel, et en y passa des milliers par plusieurs fois.

In the following, we will compare the information provided by the chronicles with the statements of our two authors.

According to the explicit of Heymeric's treatise, the pilgrimages took place in 1458²¹. This dating is confirmed by the *Chronicle of Johann Kerkhörde* (2), which places the beginning of the events on the first day of May, the day of Philip and Jacob. Generally, the pilgrimages to Mont-Saint-Michel took several months. It is therefore only natural that the children began their journey early in the year²². Some other chronicles mention the year 1458 too, such as the

(21) Cod. Cus. 105, fol. 34^v : «Explicit feliciter determinacio Magistri Heimerici de Campo super peregrinacione multorum iuuenum et adultorum utriusque sexus cateruatim confluencium ad Sanctum Michaellem in Francia anno 1458».

(22) Cf. J. DELALANDE, *Les extraordinaires croisades*, 89.

Chronicon Elwacense (4) and the *Mémoires of Jacques du Clercq* (6), in which the pilgrimages again are dated to the spring season. Nevertheless, the phenomenon started earlier. In the *Chronica, tytboeck en gheschietbibel* (1), the beginning of the pilgrimages is placed in the year 1457, which is also referred to by other sources²³.

The chronicles underline that the number of pilgrims that went to Mont-Saint-Michel was very large. This is in accordance with what is stated by Denys (*copiosa peregrinatio*) and Heymeric (*multi iuvenes*). The *Chronicon Elwacense* (4) mentions a number of 400 pilgrims, which may refer to a specific case. The pilgrims came from all different regions and places, as we learn from the *Chronicle of Koelhoff* (3). The same is put forward by the *Mémoires of Jacques du Clercq* (6), which in this connection add that most of the pilgrims went through the region of Artois, which is situated in the very northern part of France²⁴.

In his treatise, Denys remarks that at first only boys (*pueri*) marched to Mont-Saint-Michel, but that afterwards the young pilgrims were accompanied by older men and women. The same is reflected in the chronicles. The *Fasciculus temporum* (5), who places the event in 1457, speaks only of boys (*pueri*), as does the *Chronicon Elwacense* (4). However, the *Chronicle of Koelhoff* (3) indicates that eventually older men and women went along with the children. Also the *Mémoires of Jacques du Clercq* (6) mention men and women, and not only children²⁵.

Both Denys and Heymeric highlight that the children were very enthusiastic and completely possessed by the idea of going to Mont-Saint-Michel, to which Denys adds that they left their homes promptly and without hesitation. Again, the same information is provided by the chronicles. The *Fasciculus temporum* (5) says that the children marched passionately (*cum magno favore*) and the *Mémoires of Jacques du Clercq* (6) remark that they were driven by a blind force. In line with this is the observation of the *Chronica, tytboeck en*

(23) The *Fasciculus temporum* (5) and the poem given in n. 18 above date the event in 1457. In at least two chronicles there is a mention of a comet that was visible in 1457, see *Chronicon Elwacense*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. 10, Hannover 1852, 48: « 1457. (...) Anno eodem cometa apparuit », and *Annales Zwiefaltenses*, *ibidem*, 63: « 1457. Hoc anno visa est cometa per plures dies circa festum Iohannis baptiste [June 24, MH] ». This heavenly object may have prompted the children to go on pilgrimage, since comets were regarded as of prophetic significance. On comets, see R. R. NEWTON, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth*, Baltimore 1972, 669-683, and *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, München 1991, 1276f., s.v. Kometen.

(24) Information on the routes to Mont-Saint-Michel is provided by C. BOUHIER, « Les chemins montais dans les anciens diocèses d'Avranches et de Coutances », *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, 251-270. For general information on routes that pilgrims used, see R. OURSEL, *Les pèlerins du moyen âge*, Paris 1963, 41-83.

(25) The same is true of the poem in n. 18.

gheschietbibel (1) and the *Chronicle of Koelhoff* (3) that the children left their home against the will of their parents, as soon as the other children came by²⁶.

Denys shows in his treatise that he is impressed by the orderly and devotional character of the pilgrimages. His description matches the remarks in the *Chronicle of Koelhoff* (3), where it is stated that the children marched two by two, carrying a banner ahead. That the children were singing, as Denys says, has also been noted in the *Chronicle of Johann Kerkhörde* (2). Other chronicles record that the children sacrificed these banners at the sanctuary of the Archangel²⁷.

On the ending of the pilgrimages, the chronicles conflict. According to the *Chronicle of Koelhoff* (3) the children came home safely, whereas the *Fasciculus temporum* (5) indicates that the pilgrimages had a less successful ending : they stopped because of exhaustion of the participants. In all likelihood, the account of the *Fasciculus temporum* (5) is nearest to the truth, as other historical records say that the winter of 1458 was extremely cold and that many people died of exhaustion on their journey to Mont-Saint-Michel²⁸.

5. DENYS THE CARTHUSIAN AND THE *EPISTOLA DE CURSU PUERORUM*

It is to the treatise of Denys the Carthusian that we now have to turn. The authorship of the *Epistola de cursu puerorum* is identified by the explicit of the treatise, where it is stated : *Frater Dionysius ad carthusienses in Ruremunda*. The work is also mentioned in the inventory of Denys's writings published by Dirk Loër in 1530²⁹. In the second, more exhaustive list compiled by Loër, which was edited in 1532 and in 1535, the treatise appears again, and now the

(26) A similar phenomenon, but much more famous, may be that of the Pied Piper of Hamelin.

(27) The *Chronicle of Koelhoff* (3) remarks that on these banners Saint Michael was portrayed.

(28) E. R. LABANDE, « Pèlerinages au Mont », 248, refers to a document of 1439 according to which the journey was so hard that many pilgrims died. The situation in 1457 and 1458 will not have been very much different from that in 1439. As for the winter of 1458, see the *Chronicle of Dietrich Westhoff* in : *Die Chroniken der westfälischen und niederrheinischen Städte*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1887 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, 20), 325 : « In dissem jaer [sc. 1458] was een kalt winter, dat alle putte to gevoren, dat ouch in menschen gedechtnusse nicht war ader jewelde gehoert (...) ». The usefulness of chronicles for determining medieval climatic conditions is demonstrated in P. ALEXANDRE, *Le climat au Moyen Age en Belgique et dans les régions voisines (Rhénanie, Nord de la France). Recherches critiques d'après les sources narratives et essai d'interprétation*, Louvain 1976 (Centre Belge d'Histoire Rurale, 50).

(29) *Elucidissima in divi Pauli Epistolas commentaria Dionysii ... Vita authoris, simul et operum illius cathologus ...*, Cologne 1530, fol. C5^r-C7^v. The list of Dirk Loër (1530) is discussed and published by K. EMERY in *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, vol. 1, Turnhout 1991 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 121), 87-99, esp. 98. Our treatise is referred to as : « *Epistola de cursu puerorum ad sanctum Michaellem* ».

incipit is added³⁰. There seems to be no serious doubt, then, as to the authenticity of the treatise.

That the work is not mentioned in earlier inventories, the first of which dates from the 1470s, is not surprising, as the compilers of the inventories had no knowledge of the letters of Denys or were not specially interested in them. The oldest inventory, which goes back to a catalogue established by Denys himself and which has been preserved in an Oxford manuscript, does not mention any letter, and the catalogue of Trithemius and the Register of the Rooklooster list the letters together under one heading³¹. It is therefore impossible to determine whether or not Trithemius and the compiler of the Rooklooster Register had any knowledge of the treatise.

As to the inventories that, unlike the above mentioned, list the letters separately, an interesting observation can be made concerning when the letters became known. The oldest catalogue, now in a Trier manuscript dating from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, has seven letters, whereas the first inventory of Dirk Loër (1530) has nine letters, to which four are added on the list of 1532. Apparently, the letters of Denys were discovered relatively late, which may have been due to the fact that they were hidden between treatises of a completely different nature, as is the case in our manuscript³². It is also telling in this respect that a number of the letters mentioned by Loër have not yet been found again³³.

A comparison of the *Epistola de cursu puerorum* and the other letters of Denys that have survived shows a similarity in composition and style. The letters have very little of the classical format of the *epistola*³⁴. The introductory part (the *salutatio* and the *captatio benevolentiae*) and the ending (*conclusio*) are extremely short, whereas the middle part (the *narratio*) is long and characterized by a large number of quotations and by many scholastic notions and distinctions. The style of the letters is in all respects similar to that of his other writings. It is no wonder, then, that some of his letters, as the *Epistola ad*

(30) Cf. *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, 99-118, esp. 116 : « Epistola de cursu ad S. Michaellem. Prooemium. Desuper illustrari ». The second list of Loër was published in *D. Dionysii Carthusiani, Doctoris extatici vita, simul et operum eius fidissimus catalogus*, Cologne 1532, fol. Eij^v-Fvij^f, and in *D. Dionysii Carthusiani, De his quae secundum sacras scripturas et orthodoxorum patrum sententias ... Liber quartus*, Cologne 1535, 588-592 (I owe these references to Emery).

(31) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson, C. 564, fol. 2^f-5^v. Cf. EMERY, *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, 54-60 and 71-87 (with an edition of the catalogues mentioned).

(32) See the description of the manuscript below.

(33) Cf. EMERY, *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, 133-135.

(34) On the classical art of letter writing, see M. CAMARGO, « Ars dictandi, dictaminis », *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. 1, Tübingen 1992, 1040-1046 (with bibliography). In the *Opera Omnia* edition (Tournai 1896-1913), six letters of Denys have been published : vol. 36, 501-524 ; vol. 38, 143-155 ; vol. 41, 609-611, 613-615, 616-618, 619-620.

universos principes Christianos and the *Epistola consolatoria ad quandam viduam*, were also considered as separate treatises in the 1532-35 catalogue of Dirk Loër³⁵.

Our treatise is not dated, but must have been written around 1457 or 1458, in the period in which most of the pilgrimages took place. At that time, Denys was living in the Charterhouse in Roermond, which he entered after his study at the University of Cologne in 1424 or 1425 and which he left only very occasionally³⁶. The Carthusians had a monastic ideal marked by silence and solitude. They spent most of their time individually, contemplating in their cells. External activity was not allowed³⁷. This however does not mean that Denys wrote his many works in absence of the society of others. As is exemplified by his letters, he engaged himself in topical matters ranging from the reform of the Church to the conflict between the Duke of Geldern and his son³⁸. He was in contact with secular and ecclesiastical powers, was often consulted for advice, and wrote many of his treatises on request. In this respect, it is significant that he was asked by Nicolaus of Cusa to accompany him on his visit through the Rhine and Maas region in 1451-1452³⁹. Our letter most surely was prompted by this kind of practical and pastoral concern.

Denys addressed the *Epistola* to an anonymous 'praeceptor', as is apparent from the opening words⁴⁰. Comparing this with the information from the explicit cited earlier that the letter was directed to the Carthusians of Roermond, the 'praeceptor' of his own house must have been envisaged here⁴¹. Although the Carthusians have no official function of 'praeceptor', we may surmise that he is the person in charge of leading the house⁴². By addressing the letter to the

(35) Cf. EMERY, *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, 107 n. 62 and 116 n. 169; 112 n. 128 and 116 n. 178 (catalogue of Dirk Loër, 1532-35).

(36) Concerning Denys's biography, see A. STOELEN, « Denys le Chartreux », *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique*, vol. 3, Paris 1957, 430-449.

(37) Information concerning the Carthusian Order is provided by *Historia et spiritualitas Cartusiansis*, ed. J. de GRAUWE, Destelbergen 1983; *Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche*, ed. M. ZADNIKAR and A. WIENAND, Cologne 1983.

(38) See the letters referred to in n. 34.

(39) For these details, see A. STOELEN, « Denys le Chartreux », 431.

(40) Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, XIII 857, fol. 46^r: « Desuper illustraui, reuerende domine doctor atque in Christo predilecte preceptor (...) ».

(41) Roermond is situated in the South East part of the Netherlands, near the German border. On the Charterhouse of Roermond, see H. J. J. SCHOLTENS, « Het Roermondse Kartuizerkonvent vóór de 16e eeuw », *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 86/87 (1950/51), 187-245; M. ZADNIKAR and A. WIENAND, *Die Kartäuser*, 343f. (with bibliography).

(42) That the Carthusians have no official function of 'praeceptor', at least in the medieval time, appears from their statutes. I have used *The Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes from the 'Consuetudines Guigonis' to the 'Tertia Compilatio'. Documents*, vol. 1-3, ed. J. HOGG, Salzburg 1989 (Analecta Cartusiana, 99). According to DU CANGE, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, vol. 5, Paris 1845, 392b, s.v. 'praeceptor', the term was used to denote the abbot of a monastery. From 1446 until 1472, prior in the Charterhouse of Roermond was Wouter of Leendt. See SCHOLTENS, « Het Roermondse Kartuizerkonvent », 218f.

'praeceptor', Denys may thus have intended to reach the whole of his community. The treatise is therefore to be considered as an open letter, which perfectly matches the absence of any personal remarks and accounts for the scholastic character of its discourse.

In the *Epistola de cursu puerorum*, Denys has a triple focus. First, he deals at some length with the problem of which spiritual power the children are possessed by. Next he considers the significance of the pilgrimages: why are the children marching to Mont-Saint-Michel, and not to some other sanctuary? Finally, closely connected with the foregoing item, he highlights the persecution of the clergy and the wrongs of the late medieval Church.

As to the problem of what moves the children, he is very clear in maintaining that the matter cannot be decided by us⁴³. Creatures are unable to investigate the mind of God, who causes all meritorious actions, which makes it impossible for humans to know exactly what has happened to the children. Nevertheless, Denys continues, there are indications that point toward divine inspiration, e.g., that the children march in a very orderly and peaceful manner, and that those who have tried to stop them have been struck with disasters. Therefore, the pilgrimages have to be evaluated positively, as long as there are no signs of superstition or bad behavior among the children⁴⁴.

The next problem is dealt with in much the same way: only by divine revelation would humans be able to know exactly why the children have chosen to go to Mont-Saint-Michel. Yet, some insight in the matter may also be gained by other means, namely by divine inspiration, by reading the Scripture carefully, and by paying attention to the signs around us. Denys then understands the children's pilgrimages as an omen, saying that Saint Michael will have to support the Church in fighting its inside and outside enemies, but that before then the Church will have to reform itself and to be penitent of its wrongs, mirroring itself in the devotion of the children, so as to make itself worthy of the helping hand of the Archangel⁴⁵. He thus takes the pilgrimages as an occasion to

(43) Information on Denys's philosophical and theological views is provided by A. STOELEN, « Denys le Chartreux », 434-449. For a recent bibliography, see *Wörterbuch der Mystik*, ed. P. DINZELBACHER, Stuttgart 1989, 118.

(44) *Epistola de cursu puerorum*, Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, XIII 857, fol. 46^v-47^r: « Itaque ex his ad propositum accedendo uidetur sine temeraria assercione pie sperandum quod itineracio ista puerorum sit in partem meliorem interpretanda, presertim si et quamdiu non inuenitur in ea aliquid superstitiosum aut bonis moribus contrarium ».

(45) *Ibidem*, fol. 49^r: « Quod ergo pueri cum suis uexillis tam copiose atque insolito modo Sanctum uisitant Michaellem, uidetur pretendere aut significare quod tempore suo, immo ut pie credendum est uidetur quod cito, sanctus Michael debet succurrere ecclesie, eritque dux, custos, adiutor ac signifer exercitus christiani ad deiciendum aduersarios Christi et ad recuperandum hereditatem ipsius, terram sanctam, christiano populo. Hec iuxta pretacta. Antequam fiet hoc, oportet in ecclesia emendacionem, penitenciam, reformacionem quandam precedere, quoniam tantis tamquam enormibus eius demeritis stantibus indigna prorsus est beneficio tanto hoc tempore ».

focus on the endangered Church of the time and to plead for its reform, a theme he was occupied with in many of his writings of the 1450s⁴⁶.

6. HEYMERIC DE CAMPO AND THE *DETERMINATIO SUPER PEREGRINATIONE*

As far as the authorship of the *Determinatio super peregrinatione* is concerned, the treatise is attributed to Heymeric in the explicit⁴⁷. Moreover, the work has been preserved in a manuscript that contains another treatise ascribed to Heymeric, the *Summarius Dominicae passionis epilogus*. The manuscript only has these two treatises⁴⁸.

The *Determinatio super peregrinatione* is also mentioned as a work of Heymeric in the Rooklooster Register. There the incipit is added⁴⁹. Catalogues from the later period list the treatise under the writings of Heymeric, as the *Bibliotheca Belgica* of Foppens and the *Bibliotheca Coloniensis* of Hartzheim. These two registers add that Heymeric wrote the treatise at the instigation of Denys the Carthusian. As their source they refer to the *De rebus mirabilibus* of John of Meerhout⁵⁰. However, I have not yet been able to verify this claim. There is no mentioning of Heymeric's treatise in the work of John of Meerhout⁵¹. Yet, there may be some truth in the statement of Foppens and Hartzheim, as there is reason to believe that Heymeric and Denys were personally acquainted. Heymeric was Master of Arts at the University of Cologne by the time that Denys was studying there⁵². And also earlier Denys had tried to enter

(46) For this concern of Denys, see A. STOELEN, « Denys le Chartreux », 431.

(47) Cod. Cus. 105, fol. 34^v : « Explicit feliciter determinacio magistri Heimerici de Campo super peregrinatione multorum iuuenum (...) ».

(48) For a description of the manuscript, see below.

(49) Z. KALUZA, « Trois listes des œuvres de Heimeric de Campo dans le Catalogue du Couvent Rouge (Rouge Cloître) », *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 17 (1973), 3-20, esp. 15 « (65) De peregrinatione multorum iuuenum determinatio catervatim confluentium ad sanctum Mychaelem in Francia anno Domini 1458. Principium : Occasione ».

(50) J. F. FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, vol. 1, Brussels 1739, 433b : « Denique ad hunc Heimericum legitur Dionysii Carthusiani Epistola, de pueris anno 1458 catervatim euntibus ad S. Michaëlem, quam recitat Joannes à Meerhout in libro suo MS de mirabilibus eventibus, cap. CXXIX ubi et iudicium subjungitur Heimerici de Campo de iisdem pueris » ; J. HARTZHEIM, *Bibliotheca Coloniensis*, Cologne 1747, fol. 111 : « Judicium de pueris anno 1458 catervatim euntibus ad S. Michaellem ; quo scripto respondet Dionysio Cartusiano de hoc mirabili eventu ad Heimericum scribenti, teste Joanne à Marhout L. MS. de mirabilibus Cap. CXXIX ». Compare K. Emery in *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, 121 and 344.

(51) I have used the autograph of Meerhout's *De mirabilibus eventibus*, as preserved in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. sn 12830.

(52) G.-R. TEWES, *Die Bursen der Kölner Artisten-Fakultät bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne 1993 (Studien zur Geschichte der Universität zu Köln, 13), 48 ; A. STOELEN, « Denys le Chartreux », 430.

the Charterhouse at Zelem, which was situated near Diest, where Heymeric then stayed ⁵³.

The dating in the explicit of the *Determinatio* 'anno 1458' refers to the year in which the pilgrimages took place. As the treatise presents itself as a discussion of a current event, it is likely that it was written in the same year. This has a consequence for the dating of the *Epistola* of Denys. Supposing that Heymeric wrote his treatise as a reply to Denys's *Epistola*, then the latter work could not have been written later than 1458.

The *Determinatio* belongs to the later works of Heymeric, who died in 1460 ⁵⁴. At the time he wrote the treatise he was professor at the University of Louvain in charge of the most important course in theology ⁵⁵. His field of activity was not confined to the university, however. He gave courses on the thinking of Raymond Lull in Bethlehem, a monastery near Louvain ⁵⁶. As a result of his being rector and member of the University Council many times, he was used to handling academic matters and also to negotiating with other parties, such as the City Council, the Duke of Brabant, and the Bishop of Liège ⁵⁷. In the course of his career, he wrote several reports on cases of dubious orthodoxy, comparable to our treatise. They are concerned with erroneous theological views, the monastic rule of the Regular Canons, and the revelations of Saint

(53) K. EMERY in *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, 15. Information on the Charterhouse at Zelem is provided by *De Kartuziers en hun klooster te Zelem*, ed. F. HENDRICKX (Diestsche Cronycke, 7). Concerning Heymeric's stay in Diest, see my « Academics and Intellectual Life in the Low Countries », 182-185.

(54) Heymeric's writings are listed by L. BURIE, « Proeve tot inventarisatie van de in handschrift of in druk bewaarde werken van de Leuvense theologieprofessoren uit de XV^e eeuw », *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432-1797*, ed. E. J. M. VAN EIJL (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 45), Louvain 1977, 215-272, esp. 221-237; J. D. CAVIGIOLI and R. IMBACH, « Quelques compléments aux catalogues des œuvres d'Heymericus de Campo », *Codices Manuscripti* 7 (1981), 1-3.

(55) Heymeric was paid as a professor of theology by the City of Louvain until he died in 1460. See, e.g., the remark on the payroll of June 1460, *Comptes de la ville de Louvain, 1459-1460*, fol. 75^v-76^r, as edited by E. REUSENS, « Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797) », *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 30 (1903), 5-284, esp. 128: « Ander vvtgheuen der doctoren lesende jnder scolen vander Vniuersiteit alhier (...). Eerst meester Eemeryck vanden Velde, doctuer jn theologia, voer syn wedden van sinen ijden quartier jaers geuallen opden lesten dach van meye lx ». I have discussed Heymeric's position in Louvain in my « Academics and Intellectual Life in the Low Countries », 191-196.

(56) PETRUS IMPENS, *Chronicon Bethlemiticum*, Lib. 3, art. 7, § 4, fol. 118^v, as cited in E. PERSOONS, « Het intellectuele leven in het klooster Bethlehem in de 15de eeuw », *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique*, 43 (1972), 47-84, esp. 58 n. 60: « <Heymericus> qui tempore magnarum vacantiarum apud fratres bethlemiticos feriatu degens, pluribus fratribus complementa artis et sciencie Raymundi Lulli, quod omne scibile prenotavit, edocuit ». See also J. D. CAVIGIOLI, « Les écrits d'Heymericus de Campo (1395-1460) sur les œuvres d'Aristote », *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 28 (1981), 289-371, esp. 302 n. 34.

(57) See my « Academics and Intellectual Life in the Low Countries », 193-196.

Birgitta of Sweden⁵⁸. Interestingly, two treatises bear in their title the term 'determinatio', as the *Determinatio super peregrinatione*. Apparently, the term was meant as a *terminus technicus*⁵⁹.

In the treatise, Heymeric puts forward an opinion that is similar to that of Denys. It is impossible, he says, to have knowledge of what is in the mind of spiritual beings. Therefore we cannot determine what spiritual force moved the children and how. This is only possible to God, who is the first and highest of all spiritual beings. Humans can judge the matter, but only afterward⁶⁰. If the event appears to turn out well, the children were possessed by the Holy Spirit. If not, they were misled by the devil.

The keystone of Heymeric's view is the neoplatonic theory attributed to Proclus, the *Liber de causis*, and Alan of Lille, that pure spiritual beings have knowledge only of themselves⁶¹. Their thinking is just thinking of their thinking. Consequently they cannot know what other spiritual beings know. Only the higher spiritual beings have knowledge of the lower, since the latter's being is included in and caused by that of the former. God, being the first cause, thus knows everything. Humans on the other hand, who in the hierarchy of spiritual beings occupy the lowest level, cannot possibly know which of the higher pure spirits, Satan or the Holy Spirit, inspires the children and why. Therefore Heymeric gives the children the benefit of the doubt⁶².

(58) *Ibidem*, 202-208.

(59) L. BURIE, « Proeve tot inventarisatie », 230 : « Tractatus quidam continens determinationes magistri Heymerici de Campo contra quosdam articulos erroneos contentos in duobus libellis comparatis (= compertis ?, *MH*) apud quendam bogardum reclusum circa renum », and 231 : « Determinatio super clausura canonicorum regularium magistri Heymerici super eadem re scriptum ». For the different meanings of the term 'determinatio' in scholastic discourse, see S. CLASEN, « Collectanea zum Studien- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters », *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 42 (1960), 159-206, 247-271, esp. 180 s.v. determinatio, and O. WEIJERS, *Terminologie des universités au XIII^e siècle*, Rome 1987 (Lessico Intellettuale Europeo, 39), 430b (index).

(60) HEYMERIC DE CAMPO, *Determinatio super peregrinatione*, cod. Cus. 105, fol. 34v : « Hinc liquet qualiter casus propositus est tantum per euentum sui effectus ultimi a nobis de noto ad ignoti noticiam prepostere procedentibus certitudinaliter iudicabilis ».

(61) *Determinatio*, cod. Cus. 105, fol. 33r : « Proclus una cum actore *Libri causarum* dicit quod omnis spiritus intellectualis est simpliciter ad seipsum conuersus, rediens in qualibet operatione sua ad suam substantiam redicione completa, id est, circulariter perfecta, et hoc, teste Alano, per modum intelligibilis sphere circa centrum suum circulariter girantis et regirantis, sicque lumen cognitionis sue intra huiusmodi girum clausum aliis spiritibus circumscriptis extra eiusdem circuli ambitum existentibus occultantis ».

(62) *Ibidem* : « Talis instinctus potest esse, diuisim aut coniunctim, diuinus, angelicus, diabolicus uel humanus, secundum quadruplicem spiritus ubi uult intencionaliter spirantis (cuius est finalis impetus) differenciam, prout innuit Apostolus, ubi dicit quod sicut 'nemo nouit que Dei sunt nisi spiritus eius, ita nemo noscit que hominis sunt nisi spiritus qui in ipso est', ac pari ratione tam angelus bonus quam malus est dumtaxat hoc modo sui proprii spiraculi conscius ».

7. SCHOLARS AND THE PILGRIMAGES

As is apparent from the treatises, Denys and Heymeric are sympathetic towards the children and their pilgrimages. They are cautious not to take a possible divine inspiration mistakenly for Satan's. Yet in the foundation of their views, there is a difference. Heymeric has a theoretical and systematic approach. He builds his thesis on a philosophical theory that a spiritual being has knowledge only of itself. This is in accordance with the rest of his works, where he has the same attitude⁶³. Denys on the other hand is a compiler, who puts together the views of others to substantiate his claim that humans are moved by divine powers and that it is impossible to know how and on which grounds, a procedure he is also following in his other writings⁶⁴. Moreover, he is engaged with the particulars of the pilgrimages and has a strong practical concern focused on the problems of the Church and its reform. The treatises of Denys and Heymeric thus exemplify two different ways in which a historical event was discussed by late medieval scholars, each with their roots in a different background. Denys, a silent Carthusian monk, was used to preaching with his pen, while Heymeric as an academic was thoroughly conversant with the subtleties of abstract philosophical discourse.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS

Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, XIII 857

The *Epistola de cursu puerorum* of Denys the Carthusian has survived in only one manuscript, which is now in Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, XIII 857⁶⁵. The codex is written in a *bastarda* and originates from the second half of the fifteenth century, as can be gathered from the watermark

(63) I have dealt with Heymeric's philosophy in my *Heymeric van de Velde. Eenheid in de tegendelen*, Baarn 1990 (Geschiedenis van de Wijsbegeerte in Nederland, 4), 24-52.

(64) See, e.g., K. EMERY in *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, 20.

(65) I owe the information on the manuscript to H. HÄRTEL and F. EKOWSKI, *Handschriften der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1982, 200f. See also *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, ed. G. H. PERTZ, vol. 8, Hannover 1843, reprint 1979, 643. The manuscript is mentioned in K. EMERY, *Dionysii Carthusiensis Opera Selecta*, vol. 1, Turnhout 1991 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 121), 121, NE 155.

(1469)⁶⁶. The material is paper. The written surface measures mm. 183 x 105. The volume counts 58 folios and contains five historical treatises :

1. fol. 1^r-22^v : VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS, *Speculum Historiale*. ... Ad inferendam ultionem ... strenue sigillantes clauserunt [incomplete].
2. fol. 23^r-45^v : JOHANNES DE ESSENDIA, *Historia belli contra Saxones*. Dicit beatus Augustinus ... In primis igitur ante omnia ... qui de Saxonibus originem traxerunt.
3. fol. 46^r-50^r : DENYS THE CARTHUSIAN, *Epistola de cursu puerorum*. Desuper illustravi reverende domine ... in Christo pietas vestra etc. Explicit cursus puerorum. Frater Dionysius ad carthusienses in Ruremunda.
4. fol. 50^r-52^r : CHARLEMAGNE, *Privilegia Frisonum*. Karolus divina favente ... anno regni nostri secundo etc. Et sic est finis privilegiorum Frisonum.
5. fol. 52^v-58^v : *The conversion of Widukind in Hohensyburg*. Cronica in Syborch. Anno nativitatis domini septingentesimo septuagesimo sexto ... Sanctus etiam Leo papa mille armatos de istis partibus secum assumpsit versus Romam cum quibus contra ... [ends abruptly].

Most of the manuscripts of the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek in Hannover were collected in period from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. The focus was on historical writings, with an emphasis on local history, as is apparent from our manuscript too. One of the first collectors, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who bought many codices on behalf of the library, was mainly interested in acquiring works of historiographical interest, so as to build up a research library that would serve the historian's need. His followers pursued the same end. A large number of codices were obtained at auctions. Other manuscripts were borrowed for matters of historical research but not returned to their owners. Our manuscript has been acquired before 1867, as it appears in the catalogue of Bodemann published that year⁶⁷. Judging from the auction catalogue number on top of the first page (B 25), it seems to have been bought at a public sale.

Interestingly, all the works included in the manuscript, except the *Epistola* of Denys, deal with the same historical subject, which concerns the rebellion of

(66) G. PICCARD, *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen*, vol. 2/1-2, Stuttgart 1966 (Veröffentlichungen der staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Sonderreihe, 2/1-2), Abteilung IX, n. 188. Statistically, within a period of five years after the production the paper was used. See the interesting study of TH. GERARDY, *Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen. Beispielhaft dargestellt an der Gesamtproduktion der Schaumburgischen Papiermühle Arensburg von 1604-1650*, Stuttgart 1968.

(67) E. BODEMANN, *Die Handschriften der Königlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover*, Hannover 1867, 167f.

the Saxons during the reign of Charlemagne (772-804)⁶⁸. As Hannover is situated in the old territory of the Saxons, the manuscript might have attracted the special attention of the librarian. Why the *Epistola* of Denys the Carthusian is inserted, is unclear. The work can certainly be considered as a historical document, but has no bearing on the Saxons.

Cues, Hospital, cod. Cus. 105

The *Determinatio super peregrinatione*, or as it is also called the *Determinatio casus alicuius*, of Heymeric de Campo has been preserved in cod. Cus. 105, together with a treatise on Christ's passion by the same author. It is the only copy of the *Determinatio* that has survived, as far as we know⁶⁹. The manuscript contains merely the two writings mentioned. It is written in a cursive hand of the second half of the fifteenth century and counts 34 folios. The material is paper and measures mm. 224 x 156. In both treatises Heymeric is identified as the author.

1. fol. 1^r-32^v : HEYMERICUS DE CAMPO, *Summarius dominice passionis epylogus*. Affectuoso mystici passionis ... Adam novus abluit ... Pariformiter trifaria. Summarius passionis dominice epylogus a Magistro Heymerico de Campo compositus explicit feliciter.
2. fol. 33^r-34^v : HEYMERICUS DE CAMPO, *Determinacio casus alicuius*. Occasione curiosi quorundam ... procedentibus certitudinaliter iudicabilis. Explicit feliciter determinacio Magistri Heimerici de Campo super peregrinacione multorum iuvenum et adultorum utriusque sexus catervatim confluentium ad Sanctum Michaellem in Francia anno 1458.

The codex was originally owned by Nicolaus Cusanus. Consequently it must have been written between 1458 (the date mentioned in the *Determinatio*) and 1464 (the death of Cusanus). It was part of the collection the Cardinal

(68) The chapters from the *Speculum historiale* that are copied in the manuscript cover the reign of Charlemagne. The treatise of Johannes de Essendia, a Dominican of the fifteenth century, deals with the war against the Saxons at the time of Charlemagne (compare *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. socii bollandiani, vol. 1, Bruxelles 1898-1899, n. 24, 245. The work is edited by CH. L. SCHEIDT in *Bibliotheca Historica Goettingensis*, vol. 1, Göttingen 1758, 19-63). The fourth piece in the manuscript lists the privileges Charlemagne granted the Frisians for putting down the Saxons (compare J. F. BÖHMER, *Regesta Imperii*, vol. 1, reprint Hildesheim 1966, n. 393, 176f.). The last treatise in the manuscript deals with Widukind, leader of the Saxons in the war against Charlemagne (compare, e.g., J. DETTMER, *Der Sachsenführer Widukind nach Geschichte und Sage*, Würzburg 1879).

(69) Cf. L. BURIE, « Proeve tot inventarisatie », 231. I have based my information concerning the manuscript on J. MARX, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues*, Trier 1905, n. 105, 105.

bequeathed to the library of the Hospital in Cues after his death⁷⁰. This collection contained at least 67 volumes on various subjects. It included treatises on theology, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and canon and civil law. Among the original manuscripts there was also a second one with writings of Heymeric, which is now cod. Cus. 106. This codex contains marginal notes by the Cardinal⁷¹. Heymeric and Nicolaus were in close contact from 1425 onward, when Nicolaus matriculated in Cologne. This explains why the Cardinal's collection included manuscripts with writings of Heymeric⁷².

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In the edition, the complete text of both treatises is given as preserved in the manuscripts mentioned. I have retained the medieval orthography. Rejected readings are noted in the critical apparatus. Punctuation and capitalization are according to modern usage.

As to the sources referred to by the authors, I have tried to identify them to the best of my knowledge. Citations are indicated by quotation marks, as also when a citation is almost but not verbatim. In the apparatus I have quoted at length those sources that facilitate the understanding of the edited text.

The following abbreviations have been used :

<...>	=	words supplied by the editor
[...]	=	words that should be deleted
<i>add.</i>	=	addit
<i>ms.</i>	=	manuscript
<i>lin.</i>	=	linea
<i>del.</i>	=	delevit
example	=	crossed out in the manuscript

(70) The foundation of the Hospital in Cues was made possible by Nicolaus himself. As it is apparent from the testament, he demised his complete collection to the Hospital : « Suos autem libros omnes dedit et legavit dicto eius hospitali volens illas (!) ibidem adduci et reponi » (cited according to J. MARX, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung*, IV). Concerning the library of the Hospital, see the introduction to the catalogue of J. Marx, and *Das Werk des Nicolaus Cusanus*, ed. G. HEINZ-MOHR and W. P. ECKERT, Cologne 1963, 111-163.

(71) The codex is also described in J. MARX, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung*, n. 106, 105f.

(72) On the connections between Nicolaus and Heymeric, see E. COLOMER, « Zu dem Aufsatz von Rudolf Haubst 'Der junge Cusanus war im Jahre 1428 zu Handschriften-Studien in Paris' », *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft*, Band 15, Mainz 1982, 57-70, esp. 67-70, and my *Heymeric van de Velde*, 48-51.

DIONYSIUS CARTHUSIENSIS
EPISTOLA SUPER PEREGRINATIONE PUERORUM AD SANCTUM MICHAELEM

<Introductio>

(Hannover, XIII 857, fol. 46^r) Desuper illustraui, reuerende domine doctor atque in Christo predilecte preceptor¹, ut dominacioni uestre ac studiositati insinu<ar>em sibi uelit, quid pretendat, quid sign<ific>et insolita copiosa et uelox ista puerorum ad Sanctum peregrinatio Michaellem. Ad hoc respondere labor est ante me. De secretis iudicare², 'cordium scrutatori' et 'quibus reuelauit ipse', arbitrator relinquendum. Et quod sine periculo ignoratur, diffiniendum temere non uidetur.

<Auctoritates>

Aristotiles, qui teste glorioso Hieronymo³ in regula sua fuit grande miraculum in tota rerum natura, tractatu *De bona fortuna* disseruit⁴: 'In his qui per diuinum instrumentum seu instinctum mouentur, non expedit consiliari secundum rationem humanam, immo sic desuper motis expedit interiorem sequi

(1) According to the explicit the letter is addressed to the Carthusians of Roermond. The 'preceptor' therefore must be a member of that community, perhaps the prior. It needs to be noted, however, that officially in the carthusian order there is no such office as that of 'preceptor'.

(2) Cf. Sap. 1, 6; 1 Cor. 2, 10; 1 Petr. 1, 12.

(3) I have not been able to trace the source. Perhaps it is a reference to HIERONYMUS, *Commentarii in prophetas minores: In Jonam*, cap. (s.s.) 3, 6/9, ed. M. ADRIAEN, Opera 1/6, Turnhout 1969 (CCSL 76), 408: « Quid ualeat apud homines saeculi eloquentia et sapientia saecularis, testes sunt Demosthenes, Tullius, Plato, Xenophon, Theophrastus, Aristoteles et ceteri oratores ac philosophi qui uelut reges habentur hominum, et praecepta eorum non ut praecepta mortalium, sed quasi oracula accipiuntur deorum ». Yet, although the manuscript unmistakably has *Hieronymo*, the wording of the phrase is much more reminiscent of AVERROES, *In De anima*, III, comm. 14, ed. F. S. CRAWFORD, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1953 (Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem, Versionum Latinarum Vol. 6/1), 433: « Credo enim quod iste homo (sc. Aristoteles) fuit regula in Natura, et exemplar quod natura inuenit ad demonstrandum ultimam perfectionem humanam in materiis ». Averroes's praise of Aristotle was well-known at the time, as it had been included in the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*. See J. HAMESSE, *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis. Un florilège médiéval. Étude historique et édition critique*, Louvain 1974 (Philosophes Médiévaux, 17), 190 (189).

(4) Denys is not quoting Aristotle but THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologiae*, I-II, quaest. 68, art. 1: « Et Philosophus etiam dicit, in cap. de Bona Fortuna, quod his qui mouentur per instinctum diuinum, non expedit consiliari secundum rationem humanam, sed quod sequantur interiorem instinctum: quia mouentur a meliori principio quam sit ratio humana ». The text is a paraphrase of Aristotle's *Eudemian ethics*, VII, cap. 14, which together with the *Magna moralia*, II, cap. 8, forms the *De bona fortuna*. As to *De bona fortuna*, see TH. DEMAN, « Le 'Liber de bona fortuna' dans la théologie de s. Thomas d'Aquin », *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 17 (1928), 38-58.

instinctum. Mouentur namque a meliori ac sublimiori principio, quam humana sit ratio'. Hoc ipsum sanctus Thomas in Secunda Secunde questione 6 allegat et asserit⁵. De hoc quoque *Super Danielem* Albertus scribit diffusius et Ciceronem allegat dicentem⁶ 'uix aliquem esse, qui non interdum diuinis tangatur oraculum'. Denique, hec philosophica^a dicta sapientie consonant christiane, in qua docemur 'sine actuali mocione spiritus sancti nil meritorie posse agi', et idem 'quod dona gratie gratis date bonis et malis hominibus extent communia' et 'quod per utraque a spiritu sancto perhibemur moueri'. Hinc Iob 33⁷ Heliu loquitur: 'Per somnium in uisione nocturna aperit Deus aures uirorum et erudiens eos instruit disciplinam'. Et post pauca⁸: 'Hec omnia, inquit, operatur Deus uicibus tribus per singulos'. Hinc doctores precipui: Thomas, Albertus, Bonauentura, Egidius, cum suis (fol. 46^v) sequacibus, super tertium *Sen<ten-*
ciarum> concorditer <dicunt>⁹, quod septem dona spiritus a uirtutibus realiter distinguantur, quia per dona efficimur bene promptequae mobiles a spiritu sancto, quemadmodum per uirtutes morales a ratione. Preterea, secundum dominum Antisiodorensem in sua *Summa* et Alexandrum de Hales¹⁰: Omnipotenti supergloriosissimo creatori proprium est immediate imprimere in uoluntates creatas eas ad libitum inmutando, afficiendo, accendendo, confortando, deiciendo, flectendo. Propter quod Salomon dixit Prouerbiorum 7¹¹: 'Cor regis in manu Dei est. Quocumque uoluerit, inclinabit illud'. <Et in> Iob <patet>, quod sic fertur¹²: 'Deus immutat cor principum terre'. De hoc Thomas in *Summa contra gentiles* <in multis> locis satis profunde^b ubi et disputat contra Originem in libris *Periarchon* dicentem quod pro tanto Deus asseritur

(a) philosophica] physica ms. (b) profunde] unde add. ms.

(5) This undoubtedly is a reference to the text quoted in the foregoing note, where Thomas cites the *De bona fortuna* twice. There is no mention of the treatise in the *Summa theologiae*, II-II, quaest. 6.

(6) I have not been able to identify the text quoted by Denys in ALBERT THE GREAT, *Commentaria in librum Danielis prophetae*, ed. A. BORGNET, vol. 18, Paris 1893, 447-642.

(7) Iob 33, 15-16.

(8) Iob 33, 29.

(9) ALBERT THE GREAT, *Commentarii in III Sententiarum*, d. 34 c, art. 1, ed. A. BORGNET, vol. 28, Paris 1894, 616b-620a; BONAVENTURA, *Liber III Sententiarum*, d. 34, pars 1, a. 1, q. 1-3, Florence 1941 (*Opera theologica selecta*, 3), 734-744; THOMAS AQUINAS, *Scriptum super Sententiis*, III, d. 34, q. 1, a. 1, ed. M. F. MOOS, vol. 3, Paris 1956, 1111-1115; GILES OF ROME, *In tertium librum Sententiarum*, dist. 33-40, q. 1, Rome 1623, reprint Frankfurt 1968, 627-629. Compare DENYS THE CARTHUSIAN, *In librum III Sententiarum*, d. 34, q. 1, Tournai 1904 (*Opera omnia*, 23), 538-546.

(10) The concurrence of divine and human will is treated in WILLIAM OF AUXERRE, *Summa aurea*, II, tract. 13, ed. J. RIBAILLIER, vol. 2/2 (*Spicilegium Bonaventurianum*, 17), 470-509, and ALEXANDER OF HALES, *Summa theologica*, Pars I, inq. 1, tract. 4, quaest. 4, cap. 2, n. 158, and tract. 6, quaest. 6, n. 287-294, Quaracchi, Florence 1924, 239f. and 407-412.

(11) Prov. 21, 1.

(12) Iob 12, 24.

causa actionum hominum, quia est causa operatiue potentie habitusque infusi, quo contra Sanctus Doctor ex sacra probat canonica scriptura¹³ quod Deus frequenter causa sit eciam effectiua et immediata actuum humanorum, presertim meritoriorum, dicente Apostolo¹⁴ 'Deus est qui operatur in uobis uelle et perficere pro bona uoluntate', id est, ex sue uoluntatis benignitate. Denique, beato Augustino testante¹⁵, est quedam secretissima gratia spiritus sancti et mocio eius, cui nullus resistit, quoniam ipsa omnem obicem tollit. De hoc Henricus de Gandauo^c in suis *Quodlibetis* et Doctor Subtilis pulcherime conscribunt¹⁶.

<Propositum>

Itaque ex his ad propositum accedendo uidetur sine temeraria assercione pie sperandum quod itineracio ista puerorum sit in partem meliorem interpretanda, presertim si et quamdiu non inuenitur in ea (fol. 47^r) aliquid supersticiosum aut bonis moribus contrarium :

Primo quia, ut ait ille excellentissimus doctor Alexander de Hales¹⁷, pondus humanitatis ad hoc inclinatur, ut dubia in partem trahantur meliorem.

(c) Gandauo] ganduno *ms.*

(13) THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa contra gentiles*, III, cap. 89, n. 2644-2647 : « Quidam uero non intelligentes qualiter motum uoluntatis Deus in nobis causare possit absque praeiudicio libertatis uoluntatis, coacti sunt has auctoritates male exponere : ut scilicet dicerent quod Deus causat in nobis uelle et perficere, in quantum causat nobis uirtutem uolendi, non autem sic quod faciat nos uelle hoc vel illud ; sicut Origenes exponit in III *Periarchon*, liberum arbitrium defendens contra auctoritates praedictas. Et ex hoc processisse uidetur opinio quorundam qui dicebant quod providentia non est de his quae subsunt libero arbitrio, scilicet de electionibus, sed providentia refertur ad exteriores eventus. Non enim qui eligit aliquid consequi uel perficere, puta aedificare uel ditari, semper poterit ad hoc peruenire : et sic eventus actionum nostrarum non subiacent libero arbitrio, sed providentia disponuntur. Quibus quidem auctoritatibus Sacrae Scripturae resistitur euidenter. Dicitur enim Isaia 26, 12 : *Omnia opera nostra operatus es in nobis, Domine*. Unde non solum uirtutem uolendi a Deo habemus, sed etiam operationem. Praeterea, hoc ipsum quod Salomon dicit : *Quocumque uoluerit, uertet illud*, ostendit non solum diuinam causalitatem ad potentiam uoluntatis extendi, sed etiam ad actum ipsius ». Origenes discusses free will in *De principiis Libri IV*, III, cap. 1, ed. H. GÖRGEMANNS and H. KARPP, Darmstadt 1976 (Texte zur Forschung, 24), 462-560.

(14) Phil. 2, 13.

(15) Perhaps Denys is referring to AUGUSTINUS, *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, 1, quaest. 2, cap. 17, ed. A. MUTZENBECHER, *Opera* 12/1, Turnhout 1970 (CCSL 44), 43 : « Sed si hoc mouet quod uoluntati eius nullus resistit, quia cui uult subuenit et quem uult deserit, cum et ille cui subuenit et ille quem deserit ex eadem massa sint peccatorum et, quamuis debeat uterque supplicium, ab uno tamen exigatur alteri donetur – si hoc ergo mouet, o homo, tu quis es, qui respondeas deo ? »

(16) HENRY OF GHENT, *Quodlibet VII*, q. 3, ed. G. A. WILSON, Louvain 1991 (*Opera omnia*, 11), 35-37 ; JOHN DUNS SCOT, *Ordinatio*, II, d. 37, q. 2, ed. L. WADDING, vol. 6/2, Lyon 1639, reprint Hildesheim 1968, 990-1006.

(17) ALEXANDER OF HALES, *Summa theologica*, II-II, inq. 3, tract. 3, sect. 1 quaest. 2, tit. 1, cap. 4 n. 366, Quaracchi, Florence 1930, 369b : « Et licet plura sint mala quam bona et pronior sit homo ad malum quam ad bonum, de factis proximorum non debemus interpretari in

Secundo, quia sanctorum limina uisitare est bonum ex genere.

Tercio, quoniam tam generalis et concors inclinatio uoluntatum puerorum adhuc pro magna parte innocentum uidetur opus omnipotentis, cui, ut tactum est, <tanquam> proprium conceditur uoluntatem creatam ad libitum inclinare, flectere et mouere.

Quarto, quia in pueris istis uidentur signa cuiusdam precipue deuotionis. Nempe, ut dicitur, procedunt alacriter et iocunde, concorditer et orantes frequenter. Hoc autem in pueris communiter fieri non uidemus, immo eciam in ecclesia, in choro et in scolis et processionibus solent contendere non obstante quod magister cum uirga ambulet iuxta eos.

Quinto, quia insolita iam facta sunt in pluribus locis que uidentur ascribenda miraculo, immo et plagaciones quorundam irreuerenter reprobantium opus istud¹⁸.

Sexto, quoniam mire immutationes apparuerunt in pueris multis, ita quod cum corporali impetu et tremore, improuise ac subito afficiebantur ad iter istud, sic quod apparet hoc fieri ex redundancia quadam superioris appetitus in inferiorem, quorum inferior mouetur a superiori quemadmodum sphaera a sphaera secundum Philosophum¹⁹.

Septimo^d, quoniam multi concorditer et credibiliter sunt testati se in sompno esse admonitos, aut imaginaria uisione aut motu seu modo consimili ad

(d) septimo] metaphysice *add. sub lin. ms.*

deteriorem partem, ubi dubium est de utraque, sed in meliorem: hoc enim est in laudem liberalitatis divinae, quae potest inclinare in bonum cum uult. Si autem quaeratur ex qua causa interpretari debet homo in melius quod dubium est in proximo, cum dubium, quantum est de se, in neutram partem inclinet; respondendum est, secundum quod dicit Seneca, quod ex humanitate debemus interpretari in melius; sapiens enim, quidquid accidit, bene illud interpretando leuat, id est magnificat; quidquid dubium est, ex humanitate inclinat in melius».

(18) J. HUYNES, *Histoire générale de l'abbaye de Mont-Saint-Michel au Pêril de la Mer*, written between 1630 and 1640, has the story that on the second day of March 1457 a father who kept his child from joining the pilgrimage shouting 'Come back in the name of the devil!' died immediately. The unlucky passage is cited in J. DELALANDE, *Les extraordinaires croisades*, 88f.

(19) This seems to be a reference to the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *Liber de causis*, prop. 19(20)-22(23), ed. A. PATTIN, *Uitgave van 'Tijdschrift voor Filosofie'*, Leuven [1966], 89-96. Compare Thomas Aquinas's summary of these propositions in his *Expositio super Librum de causis*, prop. 20, ed. H. D. SAFFREY, Fribourg 1954 (*Textus Philosophici Friburgenses*, 4/5), 108, which resembles Denys's wording: «Postquam ostensum est qualiter inferiora a superioribus dependeant, hic ostenditur qualiter superiora inferioribus influant per suum regimen». As for the reception of the *Liber de causis*, see CH. H. LOHR, «The Pseudo-Aristotelian 'Liber de causis' and latin theories of science in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries», *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages. The 'Theology' and other texts*, ed. J. KRAYE e. a., London 1986 (*Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts*, 11), 53-62; F. HUDRY, «Le 'Liber XXIV philosophorum' et le 'Liber de causis' dans les manuscrits», *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 67 (1992), 63-88.

peregrinationem (fol. 47^v) istam inductos. Nec apparet quod Deus et angeli sui^e permittant innocentes pueros in his a demonibus decipi, qui sine permissione diuina ac angelica non possent hoc facere.

Octauo, quoniam estimacio ista concordat scripturis dicencium²⁰: 'Ex ore infancium et lactancium perfecisti laudem', 'Infirma mundi eligit Deus' etc., 'Sinite paruulos uenire ad me' et consimilibus multis.

<Questiones et suppositiones>

Porro, hiis pie susceptis, non immerito queritur: Cur pueri isti potius ad Sanctum properent Michaellem quam <ad> alterius limina sancti, cur etiam cum uexillo profiscantur, quod quamuis ad limina fieri possit ad discernendum cuneum unum ab alio, aliquid tamen uidetur pretendere. Ideo queritur: Quid ista sint?

Verum, ut tetigi, ad hoc certa dare responsa non reor possibile sine reuelacione diuina. Item, quis nouit quid agatur in homine aut quis consiliarius^f extiti<t> Dei²¹? Verumtamen, per supremum et tercium gradum doni sapientie fit homo quasi consiliarius et secretarius Dei sublimis et benedicti, ita ut grata ac humili mente queat dicere ei²²: 'Incerta et occulta sapientie tue manifestasti mihi'. Siquidem amicis suis Deus sua pandit secreta, sicut et Amos^g ait propheta²³: 'Non faciet dominus uerbum nisi secretum suum reuelauerit ad seruos suos propheta<s>'. Sed excellencia sua ista longe est a me. Attamen, quoniam inspiracio omnipotentis dat intelligenciam, atque ex intelligencia scripturarum multa queunt perpendi occulta, et ex his que facta sunt conicitur de futuris, in tantum quod abbas Ioachim, qui putauit se spiritum habere propheticie, secundum preallegatos doctores²⁴ non ex lumine propheticie, sed ex (fol. 48^r) intelligencia quadam profunda ac clara scripture de multis futuris et abditis^h quedam uera descripsit, hinc eruditus exⁱ scripturis licitum esse uidetur, presertim si et donis spiritus sancti orrentur, de ista materia pie conicere, non temere affirmare. Itaque, sicut sancti patres fatentur²⁵: 'beatissimus Michael,

(e) sui] sui *vel* sic: *charta ibi truncata est*. (f) consiliarius] consiliarius *eius ms.*
(g) et amos] est annos *ms.* (h) abditis] abditis *ms.* (i) ex] et *ms.*

(20) Ps. 8, 3; Mt. 21, 16; 1 Cor. 1, 27; Mc. 10, 14.

(21) Cf. Is. 40, 13; Rom. 11, 34.

(22) Ps. 50, 8.

(23) Am. 3, 7.

(24) For a discussion of the reaction to Joachim of Fiore, see M. REEVES, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*, London 1976; B. MCGINN, *The Calabrian Abbot. Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*, New York 1985, esp. 207-234 (Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure).

(25) An overview of the Archangel's significance in the Western tradition is provided by *Culte de saint Michel et pèlerinages au Mont*, ed. M. BAUDOT, Paris 1971 (Millénaire Monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel), esp. 15-34.

princeps magnus, qui stat pro filiis ecclesie²⁶ et 'uoce resonat metuenda quis' et 'dominus olim extitit synagoge qua ob suam infidelitatem relicta factus est princeps ecclesie militantis', 'propugnator', 'dux', 'custos' et 'signifer exercitus christiani', 'estque de supremo ordine tertie ierarchie ad quem pertinent angeli sancti, qui regnis perficiuntur'. Quemadmodum namque unicuique homini deputantur angeli duo, unus bonus ad custodiam et iuuamen, alius malus ad exercitium et lucramen, qui angeli boni sunt de infimo choro, sic cuilibet commitati sub regno deputati sunt angeli duo de tertio choro, unus bonus ad succurrendum, alter malus ad impugnandum. Vnde in Ecclesiastico²⁷ scriptum est : 'In unaquaque gente posuit Deus rectorem'. Hi angeli sunt de tertio ordine. Coram consistorio iudicis summi procurantur^j et aduocant pro sibi commissis. Itaque prestantissimus Michael, uidens ecclesiam sibi creditam tam diu a perfidissimis impiissimi Machometi cultoribus crudelissime deuastatam, pro ecclesia coram Deo impiorum illorum crudelitates^k, abusiones, blasphemias commemorat et allegat, ut resistatur eisdem et succurritur ecclesie. Nec dubium, quoniam tempore desuper prestituto^l id fiet, cum implete fuerint impietates Amorreorum illorum, et ecclesia (fol. 48^v) pro suis excessibus fuerit satis correcta. Quemadmodum enim in ueteri testamento Deus altissimus per Assiros et Chaldeos, per Philisteos, Siros et alios puniuit synagogam, qua penitente et rite ac paternaliter castigata puniuit impios illos, quoniam potestate sua crudeliter et superbe erant abusi in populum Dei, prout Isaias 10²⁸ : loquitur Deus maiestatis de rege Assirorum : 'Vee Assur, uirga furoris mei et baculus ipse est ; ipse autem non sic arbitrabitur, sed ad conterendum erit cor eius', sic Deus frequenter puniuit peccata ecclesie per^m Sarracenos, Thurcos et Tartaros, qua penitente et castigata subuenit ei per uiros sanctos, sicut et filiis ecclesie per iudices suscitatos. Et sicutⁿ Israelitis correctis et emendatis puniuit Deus pretactos incredulos, prout in Libris Iudicum ac Paralipomenon recitatur, sic frequenter puniuit et adhuc tempore suo diuinitus preordinato presolito grauissime puniet Thurcos et Sarracenos, quamuis hoc ipsum propter ecclesie demerita differatur, nec gloriosus Michael in suis aduocacionibus et procuracionibus adhuc exauditus cernatur. Resistitur ei eo modo quo Daniel 10²⁹ dicit : Gabriel sanctus Danieli locutus : 'Princeps regni Persarum restitit mihi uiginti et

(j) procurantur] promouantur *ms.* (k) crudelitates] crudelitas *ms.* (l) prestituto] prestitito *ms.* (m) per] et *ms.* (n) sicut] sicut ~~filii~~ *ms.*

(26) Cf. Dan. 12, 1 : *In tempore autem illo consurget Michahel princeps magnus qui stat pro filiis populi tui.* This characterisation of Michael has been taken over by, among others, HIERONYMUS, *Commentarii in Daniele*, 4, cap. (s.s.) 12, ed. F. GLORIE, *Opera 1/5*, Turnhout 1964 (CCSL, 75/A), 935f, and QUODVULTDEUS, *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei*, Dimidium temporis, cap. 10, ed. R. BRAUN, Turnhout 1976 (CCSL, 60), 203.

(27) Sir. 24, 10.

(28) Is. 10, 5.7.

(29) Dan. 10, 13.

uno diebus', quod quamuis pater sanctus Hieronymus³⁰ uideatur de angelo malo interpretari, beatus tamen Gregorius³¹ de angelo bono exponit hoc ipsum, quod et doctores magis sequuntur. Nec enim angelus malus sancto Gabrieli tamdiu potuisset resistere nec habuisset causam iustam. Et si causam habui<sse>t iustam, potuisset resistencia illa per angelum fieri sanctum. Non quod in angelis sanctis existat discordia, cum Iob 25³² dicat scriptura: 'Potestas et terror apud Deum (fol. 49^r) fuit, qui facit concordiam in sublimibus suis', sed quod unusquisque angelus tales referat causas et merita^o plebis sue ad diuinum tribunal et ab illo prestoletur sententiam, que interdum^p ex causis differtur. Nempe, cum³³ 'iudicia Dei sint abissi multa', eorum profunditatem nec superni spiritus queunt agnoscere, nisi secundum quod eis diuinitus reuelantur. In diuersis autem regnis ac gentibus diuersa reperiuntur merita siue demerita, propter quod unum redditur alteri ad uastandum. Cumque de hoc angeli desuper instruuntur, resistencia illa finitur et diuine iustitie iudicio angeli concorditer acquiescunt.

<Responsio>

Quod ergo pueri cum suis uexillis tam copiose atque insolito modo Sanctum uisitant Michaellem, uidetur pretendere aut significare quod tempore suo, immo ut pie credendum est uidetur quod cito, sanctus Michael debet succurrere ecclesie, eritque dux, custos, adiutor ac signifer exercitus christiani ad deiciendum aduersarios Christi et ad recuperandum hereditatem ipsius, terram sanctam, christiano populo. Hec iuxta pretacta. Antequam fiet hoc, oportet in ecclesia emendacionem, penitenciam, reformacionem quandam precedere, quoniam tantis tamquam enormibus eius demeritis stantibus indigna prorsus est beneficio tanto hoc tempore. Iudicium³⁴: 'Deus liberauit filios Israel de manu et cede uastancium' nisi postquam penituerunt et dominum cum reformacione inuocauerunt. Interea, qualiter et quando ista ecclesie reformacio fiet, an si spontanee^q, an per uiolenciam quamdam, nouit altissimus et quibus reuelauerit ipse. Ego autem³⁵ 'non sum propheta neque filius prophete'. Nicholominus de hac re multe (fol. 49^v) utriusque <sexus> persone multa uaticinantes^r leguntur ante quamplurimos annos. Quorum scriba et scripta quid contineant ueritatis, probabit euentus. Communiter autem predixisse cernuntur quod reformacio ista per manum ualidam fiet proprie precedentem persecucionem cleri ac

(o) merita] merito *ms.* (p) interdum] interdum *ex ms.* (q) spontanee] spontanie *ms.* (r) uaticinantes] uaticinante *ms.*

(30) Cf. HIERONYMUS, *Commentarii in Daniele*, III, 10, 13a-c, ed. F. GLORIE, 893f.

(31) Cf. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Moralia in Job*, XVII, par. 12, n. 17, ed. M. ADRIAEN, Opera, Turnhout 1979 (CCSL 143A), 861f.

(32) Iob 25, 2.

(33) Ps. 35, 7.

(34) Iud. 2, 16.

(35) Am. 7, 14.

superiorum, de qua re plus prosequi non est meum. Habundans cautela non nocet, bonum est pericula preuenire.

Itaque, quod pueri sic uisitant Michaellem, id potest significare quod 'suo tempore' per pueros, siue quod pueros 'etate', siue quod credibilis reor et uerisimilius sonat : per pueros 'innocentia et puritate', id est, per uiros uirtuosos, qui impleuerunt quod scriptum est³⁶ : 'Malicia paruuli estote'. Et³⁷ : 'Nisi conuersi fueritis et efficiamini ut paruuli'. Et gloriosissimus Michael succurret uictoriamque obtinebit ecclesie. Hec his obuiat, si Satan admisceat zizania tritico³⁸, quoniam nunc non solum pueri, sed uiri quoque, et puelle ac femine incontinentesque mulieres miscent se pueris istis, quod nec uniuersaliter approbare nec uniuersaliter reprobare presumo.

Posset interea estimari, quod per deuocionem hanc puerorum acidia et uiciositas tacite increpentur uirorum et feminarum, quod eciam puerorum deuocio atque alacritas presagia sint future reformationis, deuocionis et alacritatis in ecclesia Dei.

Postremo, referunt quidam se^s in quibusdam inuenire historiis ante annos trecentos uel circiter fuisse cursum puerorum consimilem ad sacratissimum Michaellem, quod et multi dixerunt me inuenisse ac legisse, sed non recolo me illud legisse nec illud legisse me retuli. Et tamen, si hoc ipsum legatur, non dissonat a predictis, quia et circa tempora illa fuit uictoriosum celeberrimumque (fol. 50^r) passagium contra perfidos Sarracenos, in quo erat et inclitus dux Godfridus de Bulgoen, qui, obtenta terra sancta, factus fuit rex in Ierusalem et Iudea. Illud quoque passagium precessit grauis persecucio cleri, siquidem imperator quidam Henricus papam crudeliter persequebatur ac suos, et magna et longa fuit tunc tribulacio cleri, prout in *Speculo Historiali* narratur³⁹. Non tamen tam ferox et uniuersalis sicut futura, iuxta pretacta, est preunciata. Hec, excellentissime^t domine, cum discrecione legatis. Valeat semper in Christo pietas uestra etc. Explicit *Cursus puerorum*. Frater Dionysius ad carthusien^{ses} in Ruremunda.

(s) se] quod *ms.* (t) excellentissime] ex^{de} *ms.*

(36) 1 Cor. 14, 20.

(37) Mt. 18, 3.

(38) Cf. Mt. 13, 25.

(39) VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS, *Speculum historiale*, XXV, cap. 51, Douai 1624, reprint Graz 1965, 1020.

HEYMERICUS DE CAMPO
 DETERMINATIO SUPER PEREGRINATIONE MULTORUM IUVENUM AD SANCTUM
 MICHAELEM IN FRANCIA ANNO 1458

<Introductio>

(Cues, Cus. 105, fol. 33^r) Occasione curiosi quorundam super qualitate instinctus iuuenilia peregrinorum uersus Sanctum Michaellem certatim festinancium corda agitantis ammirancium, quid ego desuper sentio, michi facti temptaminis presuppono subdita huiusmodi mysterij fideliter indagandi principia.

<Suppositiones>

Talis instinctus potest esse, diuisim aut coniunctim, diuinus, angelicus, diabolicus uel humanus, secundum quadruplicem spiritus ubi uult intencionaliter spirantis⁴⁰ (cuius est finalis impetus) differenciam, prout innuit Apostolus, ubi dicit⁴¹ quod 'sicut nemo nouit que Dei sunt nisi spiritus eius, ita nemo noscit que hominis sunt nisi spiritus qui in ipso est', ac pari ratione tam angelus bonus quam malus est dumtaxat hoc modo sui proprii spiraculi conscius.

Que ratio in hoc fundatur quod omnis talis spiritus est actus immaterialis seu intellectualis in exercicio suo libero, a fine ad finem uehementissime transiituo⁴², ad seipsam circulariter rediens, et ita lumen cognicionis sue intra reciprocam sui principii et finis idemptitatem intrinsece colligens et secrete abscondens. Cui alludit illud Ecclesiastes⁴³: 'Lustrans uniuersa in circuitu pergit spiritus, et in circulos suos reuertitur', utpote spiritus increatus in circulum sue uniuersitatis infinite ab omni creatura inaccessibilis, prout innuit Isaias⁴⁴, cum in persona eiusdem ait: 'Secretum meum michi, secretum meum michi', concorditer ad illud Apostoli⁴⁵: 'Spiritus omnia scrutatur, eciam profunda Dei', 'qui habitat lucem inaccessibilem'⁴⁶, quam spirando uehit, <sed> ubi, unde, quo uel qua uadit, nescis. Spiritus uero creatus reuertitur in circulum sue illustracionis et circuitus finiti. 'Circuitus', dico, originali et finali eiusce modi spiritus simplicitati, teste Proclo, proprii. Qui Proclus una cum actore

(40) Cf. Ioh. 3, 8: *Spiritus ubi uult spirat; et uocem eius audis, sed non scis unde ueniat et quo uadat: sic est omnis qui natus est ex Spiritu.*

(41) 1 Cor. 2, 11: *Quis enim scit hominum quae sint hominis nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est. Ita et quae Dei sunt, nemo cognouit nisi Spiritus Dei.*

(42) Cf. Sap. 8, 1: *Adtingit (sc. sapientia) enim a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter.*

(43) Eccl. 1, 6.

(44) Is. 24, 16.

(45) 1 Cor. 2, 10.

(46) 1 Tim. 6, 16.

Libri causarum dicit⁴⁷ quod omnis spiritus intellectualis est simpliciter ad seipsum conuersus, rediens in qualibet operatione sua ad suam substantiam redicione completa, id est circulariter perfecta, et hoc, teste Alano⁴⁸, per modum intelligibilis sphere circa centrum suum circulariter girantis et regirantis, sicque lumen cognitionis sue intra huiusmodi girum clausum (fol. 33^v) aliis spiritibus circumscriptis extra eiusdem circuli ambitum existentibus occultantis. 'Circumscriptis', aio, ad differentiam spiritus increati, de quo dicit sapiens⁴⁹ quod 'Omnia continet' et ubique penetrat et attingit 'usque ad interiora uelaminis, secundum Apostolum⁵⁰, incedens'^u et 'usque⁵¹ ad diuisionem anime et spiritus per modum gladii ancipitis efficaciter pertransientis'.

Vnde elicitur communis seu regularis prefate quattuor discrecionis spirituum doctrina ad quam inuitat nos canon<ica> Iohannis⁵² dicentis 'Nolite omni spiritui credere, sed probate spiritus si ex Deo sint', innuens huiusmodi probationem ex impetu sue processionis finaliter retransitio finem sue ultimate execucionis cum principio sue primarie intencionis circuiter neccente, euidenter innotescere, et ita suum spiratorem, an sit Deus, angelus uel homo, rationabiliter certificare, presertim cum dicat sapiens⁵³ quod spiritus intelligentie est circumiens^v, 'a fine ad finem fortiter attingens', <et> sic propter eius munditatem, id est incommiscibilitatem materie, simplicitatem seu immaterialem puritatem, ubique sine prohibitione uadens et rediens. Quod simpliciter uerum est de spiritu intelligencie diuine et secundum quid de spiritu intelligencie create.

(u) incedens] incedentem *ms.* (v) circumiens] certus *ms.*

(47) PROCLUS, *Elementatio theologica*, prop. 15, ed. H. BOESE, Louvain 1987 (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, 1/5), 11 : « Omne quod ad se ipsum conuersivum est incorporeum est » ; *Liber de causis*, prop. 14 (15), n. 124, ed. A. PATTIN, Uitgave van 'Tijdschrift voor Filosofie', Louvain [1966], 79 : « Omnis sciens qui scit essentiam suam est rediens ad essentiam suam redicione completa ». Also in his other writings, Heymeric refers to this thesis of Proclus. See G. MEERSSEMAN, *Geschichte des Albertismus*, Heft 2 : *Die ersten Kölner Kontroversen*, Rome 1935 (Dissertationes historicae, 5), 46.

(48) Cf. ALAN OF LILLE, *Regulae caelestis iuris*, reg. 7, ed. N. M. HÄRING, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 48 (1981), 97-226, esp. 131 : « Deus est spera intelligibilis cuius centrum ubique circumferentia nusquam ». The same thesis is put forward by Alan in the *Sermo de sphaera intelligibili*, ed. in M.-TH. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille. Textes inédits*, Paris 1965 (Etudes de philosophie médiévale, 52), 297-306. It can also be found in the famous *Book of the 24 Philosophers*, see *Le Livre des XXIV Philosophes*, ed. F. HUDRY, Grenoble 1989 (Collection Krisis), 93f.

(49) Sap. 1, 7 : *Quoniam spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum; et hoc quod continet omnia, scientiam habet vocis.*

(50) Hebr. 6, 19 : (Spes, MH), *quam sicut anchoram habemus animae tutam ac firmam, et incedentem usque in interiora uelaminis.*

(51) Hebr. 4, 12 : *Vivus est enim Dei sermo, et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti; et pertingens usque ad diuisionem animae ac spiritus, compagum quoque et medullarum, et discretor cogitationum et intentionum cordis.*

(52) 1 Ioh. 4, 1.

(53) Sap. 8, 1.

Ecce quare dicit Gregorius⁵⁴ quod 'nescit tarda molimina Spiritus Sancti gracia'. Et cur idem spiritus dicitur 'digitus'⁵⁵ et 'calamus scribe uelociter scribentis'⁵⁶, cuius motus est simpliciter perfectus, sine morosa prioris et posterioris successione uehementer transiens, cum sit proprium actus potentie subiectiuo^w mobili finaliter predominantis exercitium ab inuincibili diuine uoluntatis, cui nemo potest resistere, efficacia appetenter^x elicatum.

Nimirum ergo mentes taliter inspirate fiunt subitaneae et precipites corporum eis mobiliter subiectorum motrices, a proposito sic finaliter concepto per suauem forme racionabiliter persuasam dispositionem irreuocabiles aut efficaciter insusceptibiles. Quare uidetur cum moderamine cautele inculpate⁵⁷ tollerandum, quem^y timentes uoluntati Dei, in proposito casu per solam racionem diuinam iudicabili, suasu racionis humane seducti resistere sinant, iuxta consilium Gamalielis⁵⁸, eundem sub taliter (fol. 34^r) inscrutabili et irrepugnabili diuine prouidentiae ducatu sine prohibitione uiolenta currere, ne tales arguantur ab eodem inspiratore 'Plus⁵⁹ quam oportet sapere' et 'Corda⁶⁰ sua supra se in mirabilibus exaltare', huic canonico Apostoli⁶¹ dogmati: 'Spiritus nolite extinguere et prophetias nolite spernere' repugnando. Qui spiritus, teste eodem, manifeste dicit⁶² quod 'in nouissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa', concorditer ad illud canticum⁶³: 'Iuxta est dies perditionis et adesse festinant^z tempora', de quibus scriptum est⁶⁴ 'In leges diuinas impie agere impune non cedit, sed hoc tempus sequens declarabit'. Vnde testatur propheta⁶⁵ quod 'Cum accepero tempus iustitias iudicabo', siquidem teste

(w) subiectiuo] ab eo *ms.* (x) appetenter] *lectio incerta.* (y) quem] *sub. lin.*
(z) festinant] *festinant tempora ms.*

(54) AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam*, II, n. 19, ed. M. ADRIAEN, Opera 4, Turnhout 1957 (CCSL, 14), 39.

(55) Ex. 31, 18: *dedit quoque Mosi, completis huiuscemodi sermonibus in monte Sinai, duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito Dei.*

(56) Ps. 44, 2: *Lingua mea stilus scribae uelocis.* Cf. GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Moralia in Iob*, 33, par. 3, n. 7, ed. M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout 1985 (CCSL, 143B), 1675: « Per calamus quippe Verbi aeternitas designatur, cum uoce Patris per psalmistam dicitur: lingua mea calamus scribae uelociter scribentis ».

(57) cum moderamine cautele inculpate: cf. *Lexicon latinitatis nederlandicae medii aevi*, ed. O. WEIJERS and M. GUMBERT, fasc. 39, Leiden 1993, M 363f., 3053, s. v. moderamen (= Cod. Iust. 8, 4, 1).

(58) Act. 5, 38f: *Et nunc itaque dico uobis, discedite ab hominibus istis, et sinite illos: quoniam si est ex hominibus consilium hoc aut opus, dissoluetur; si uero ex Deo est, non poteritis dissolvere eos, ne forte et Deo repugnare inueniamini.*

(59) Rom. 12, 3.

(60) Ps. 130, 1: *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elevati sunt oculi mei. Et non ambulavi in magnis, et in mirabilibus super me.*

(61) 1 Th. 5, 19f.

(62) 2 Tim. 3, 1.

(63) Deut. 32, 35

(64) 2 Macc. 4, 17.

(65) Ps. 74, 3.

Ecclesiaste⁶⁶ 'Omni negotio tempus et oportunitas est', et⁶⁷ 'Omnia tempus habent ac suis spatiis transeunt uniuersa'. Quis ergo audeat mente temeraria cogitare aut uoce insulsa asserere quod in tempore malo quando secundum prophetiam Amos⁶⁸ 'Prudens tacebit' et rebelles diuino spiritui⁶⁹ 'Perfecte loquentem abominati sunt', idem⁷⁰ 'Spiritus Dei bonus', mediante ierarchico angelorum in salutare generis humani ministerium sanctorum instinctu 'in terram rectam ducens' ydonea huius ducatus uasa seu apta sue inspiracionis ui sue puerilis innocentie aut pietatis supererogacione receptacula, in hiis diebus malis externo et interno christianitatis discidio plenis, efficaci principum christianorum, tam spiritualium quam temporalium, adiutorio desolatorie carentibus, electa ecclesie sanctorum ad salutem eternam predestinatorum membra 'Vt⁷¹ fugiant a facie arcus' et ad celestem pacificumque ecclesie, sic destitute, prepositum, protectorem ac defensorem milicieque populi fidelis principem, pro oportuno persecucionis ei ab infidelibus comminate presidio properent, quadam mirabili illius qui est adiutor in oportunitatibus⁷² prouidencia incitat et inspirat, presertim cum ipse⁷³ sit 'fortis, zelotes' in persona cuius dicit propheta⁷⁴ : 'Zelus domus tue (fol. 34^v) comedit me', id est feruor mee caritatis perpetue, qua electos meos in finem dilexi, adeo affectum beniuolencie mee in uindicacionem inimicorum meorum prepotenter spirantis accendit quod, sicut prophetauit Sofonias⁷⁵, 'In igne eiusdem zeli mei deuorabitur omnis terra', cuius flammam nec aque multe nec mors possunt extinguere. Vnde eliciuntur subdite conclusiones :

<Conclusiones>

(1) Propter irresolubilem intencionis finalis causalitatem liberum spiritus ubi uult spirantis⁷⁶ impetum occulte excitantem, impossibile est prouidum huiusmodi spiritus motum, instinctum aut appetitum a quocumque subiectiuo eius mobili propter quid rationaliter aut causaliter discerni.

(2) Propter subalternam spiritus diuini, angelici et humani inequalitatem circulariter incommiscibilem seu spiritualiter inconuertibilem, impossibile est motum, instinctum aut appetitum prouidencie eorum inferioris pertingere ad terminum proprium prouidencie eorum superioris.

(66) Eccl. 8, 6.

(67) Eccl. 3, 1.

(68) Am. 5, 13.

(69) Am. 5, 10.

(70) Ps. 142, 10.

(71) Ps. 59, 6.

(72) Cf. Ps. 9, 10.

(73) Ex. 20, 5.

(74) Ps. 68, 10.

(75) Soph. 3, 8.

(76) Cf. Joh. 3, 8.

(3) Propter finalem spiritus maligni aduersus spiritum benignum hostilitatem, impossibile est impetum unius tendere ad uotium alterius effectum.

(4) Propter finalem boni supra malum in rebus uniuersi uictoriam, impossibile est spiracula Dei uniuersalis, particularis et singularis eiusdem uniuersi principis, efficacem a suggestionibus diaboli pati resistenciam.

Corollarium : Hinc liquet qualiter casus propositus est tantum per euentum sui effectus ultimi a nobis de noto ad ignoti noticiam prepostere precedentibus certitudinaliter iudicabilis.

Explicit feliciter determinacio magistri Heimerici de Campo super peregrinacione multorum iuuenum et adultorum utriusque sexus cateruatim confluencium ad Sanctum Michaellem in Francia anno 1458.