

NOTATIONS ON A RARE REFORMATION-ERA WORK

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Professor George A. Hoar and I presented companion studies in *ARG* several years ago on Bartholomaeus Arnoldi von Usingen's *Sermo de Matrimonio Sacerdotum et Monachorum* from a rare edition presented to me by Professor Albert Hyma.¹ This interesting publication apparently had previously gone unnoticed. In addition to Usingen's *Sermo* this book contains a second piece consisting of some anti-Lutheran documents from Poland. The purpose of the present brief article is threefold: (1) to furnish a description of this book, (2) to call attention to the Polish materials not treated earlier, (3) and to present new information about the publication facts concerning the book.

I

This rare Reformation-era publication is a sixteen-leaf octavo edition. Its first eight leaves contain the title-page and Usingen's *Sermo*, followed by seven leaves devoted to the Polish materials, and a final leaf which is blank on both sides. The title-page (leaf 1, recto) carries titles for both pieces: *SERMO | DE MATRIMONIO SACERDOTVM | & Monachorum exiticiorum. F. Bar- | tholomei de Vusingen, Ordi | nis Eremitani S. Au | gustini* and *EPISTO | LA ANDREAE CRICII ET | Edictum Regis Poloniae, in | Martinum Luthe | rum* (see Plate I). On the verso of leaf 1 the text of Usingen's *Sermo* begins, preceded by the title *SERMO | DE MATRIMONIO SACERDOTVM ET | monachorum, Quem praedi-*

¹ *ARG*, LVI (1965), 155-165: George A. Hoar, "Early Evidences of Catholic Reform in the Thought and Actions of Bartholomeus von Usingen"; and pp. 145-155: Kenneth A. Strand, "Arnoldi von Usingen's *Sermo de Matrimonio Sacerdotum et Monachorum*: The Text of a Rare Edition."



SERMO

DE MATRIMONIO SACERDOTVM

et Monachorum exitiuorum. F. Bar-

tholomei de Vlingen, Ordī

nis Eremitani S. Au-

gustini.



EPISTOLA

ANDREAE CRICII ET

Edictum Regis Poloniae, in

Martinum Luthe-

rum.

Title page (leaf 1, recto) of the rare Reformation-era book containing Usingen's *Sermo* and some materials from Poland. (Actual size.)

¶ *Ecce habes quantq; sis, tuæ q̄stionis resolutione, & meâ quâ postulasti respõsionẽ, quâ libentius prætermississem ob reuerentiã utriusq; sexus ordinũ, nisi quotidie suggesta publica hæc sonarët & uulgarët p̄ priapistas ipudẽtissimos, q̄ cũ summa innocẽtiã infamia libẽter sua tegerët crimina, q̄ tegere quo plus moliantur, eo cõspectiora reddere cõperiuntur. sed fucũ querant suo factõ criminoso utcũq; uelint apud uulgũ, summo iudiã imponere nõ possunt nec illudere. Exẽplo Forchemij sui, nisi toti cæci eẽnt, merito cõmoueri deberët. Qui cũ publice de suggesto nõ semel, sed crebro cenobitis utriusq; sexus pari infamia insultasset, corã maxima etiã ppli frequẽtia. publicæ quoq; et priuatim admonitus obstinatus remaneret in sua præsumptõẽ, facta est manus domini sup eũ, q̄ ei interdixit tantã seuicidi licentiã, quãdo nemo hoim cũ cohibere poterat, passit eni eũ subito & liberauit innocẽtes ab ore malignãtis impudẽtissimã. Sic eni ut. I. Pe. ij. legatur, nouit deus pios de tentatõẽ eripere, ini quos uero in diẽ iudicij reseruare trũandõs. magis aut eos q̄ post carnẽ in cõcupiscẽtia immunditiæ ambulãt, dominationẽq; cõtemnũt, audaces sibi placẽtes sectas nõ metuũt introducere blasphemãtes. Et in quos hæc magis cõgruũt q̄ in priapistas nostros, q̄ p̄ oia illis se conformãt. q̄bus quotidie in ore est illud, cre-scite & multiplicamini & replete terrã. quasi mũdus cõseruari nõ possit sine illorũ multiplicatione contra sua uota. Soli Deo Gloria.*

Epistola

EPISTOLA

LA ANDREAE CRICII ET

Edictum Regis Poloniae, in

Martinum Luthe

rum.

R. DOMINO LADISLAO ZALKA-

no Episcopo Agrien. Sereniss. Hunga-

riae Regis Cæsariorum, Franciscus

Bachien. pannonijs. S.

I Nãderat nũ per in manus meas. R. & doctissime Antistes epistola. R. Andreae Cricij episcopi premsiliensis ad Serenissimũ Sigismũdum Poloniae Regem, doctẽ & lualẽter scripta. meo quidem iudião, interea que hæctenus in Luterũ unẽ edita, maxime digna, q̄ publicẽ legeretur. Nam optima quæq; nisi in cõi hominũ usu sint, nihilo plus sunt meliora opib; absconditis. res enim usus ipse cõmendat. Solẽ & lunam eo antiquitas in deorũ numero coluit, q̄ his nihil cõmunius cõmodiusq; uitæ mortalitũ esse norat. Voluit itaq; hanc, ne lateeret, tuo nomini nũcipare, q̄ & eruditissimus sis, & Christianæ ueritatis amore flagransissimus. quid enim inceptus q̄ a Menelao equos

B

Tel.

cauit. F. Bartholomeus | de Vsingen Erphurdie, in monte b. Mariae | uirginis, ipso die diuae Margaretae | uirginis & martyris Anno | domini. M.D.XXIII. The Polish materials carry the title (on leaf 9, recto) *EPISTO | LA ANDREAE CRICII ET | Edictum Regis Poloniae, in | Martinum Luthe | rum* (see Plate II). The book lacks imprint.

It should be added that both sections of material also appeared in separate editions. The Usingen sermon was published in Leipzig² as well as in combination with another Usingen sermon in an Erfurt edition of 1523.³ The Polish materials were published in a 4-leaf quarto edition (lacking imprint).⁴ By way of contrast, the present book is, as we have already noted, a small 16-leaf octavo edition, in which the Polish materials occupy both sides of leaves 9 through 15.

That this work is indeed *one* publication, rather than simply two separate works bound together, is evidenced by several facts: (1) There is throughout the book a common type face and page style (normally 28 lines including catch-word line, with no running head);⁵ (2) the numbering (before the catch-words, on such pages as it does appear) indicates a continuous sequence throughout, the leaves devoted to the Usingen sermon being in an "A" section (first octavo) and those to the Polish materials in a "B" section (second octavo);⁶ (3)

² See *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. I, col. 1431; and Nicolaus Paulus, *Der Augustiner Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen. Luthers Lehrer und Gegner: Ein Lebensbild* (Strassburg & Freiburg i.B., 1893), p. 129.

³ The rather lengthy title for this work is given in my earlier article, p. 146, n. 4.

⁴ See the listing of Theodor Wierzbowski, *Bibliographia Polonica XV ac XVI ss.*, III (Warsaw, 1894; Nieuwkoop, 1961), p. 28, entry no. 2108.

⁵ Some pages show slight variation, such as leaf 8, both recto and verso. See Plate II for leaf 8, verso, which has 28 lines plus catch-word line.

⁶ The numbering actually indicated is as follows: "Aij" (leaf 2, recto), "Aijj" (leaf 3, verso), "AIijj" (leaf 4, recto), "B" (leaf 9, recto), "Bij" (leaf 10, recto), and "Bijj" (leaf 11, recto). The complete numbering pattern throughout is, however, simple to determine.

the concluding page of the Usingen sermon has a catch-word "Epistola," the first word of the title at the top of the page where the Polish materials begin (see Plate II); and (4) the complete work has, as already mentioned, a title-page of its own, which bears the titles for both sections (see Plate I).

II

The Polish materials comprising the second part of this rare Reformation-era work contain three items: (1) the epistle of Andreas Cricius (Andrzej Krzycki) to King Sigismund I (Zygmunt I) of Poland, beginning on the verso of leaf 9 and concluding on the verso of leaf 14; (2) an anti-Lutheran edict by Sigismund, beginning on the verso of leaf 14 and concluding on the verso of leaf 15; and (3) a brief introductory letter, beginning on the recto of leaf 9 and concluding with eight lines at the top of the verso of that leaf (the recto of leaf 9 is shown in Plate II).

The two first-mentioned items above (those mentioned in the title for this section of the book) are, of course, the most important. Cricius, a leading clerical opponent of the Reformation in Poland, was known for poetic satire against Luther as well as for defenses of Catholicism; and thus it is not surprising to find a letter of his included in this book.⁷ The edict of Sigismund was issued in Cracow in 1523. It belongs to a series of edicts issued by that king in Thorn and Cracow from 1520 to 1523.

⁷ Details regarding Cricius and concerning the events outlined below may be found in various treatments of Polish history of the Reformation period. Still standard as a treatment of the history of the Reformation in Poland is Walerjan Krasinski, *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*, 2 vols. (London, 1838-40). Very useful for brief overview is the *Cambridge History of Poland*, I (1950), 322-347 (chap. XVI, "The Reformation in Poland"). Also useful are Paul Fox, *The Reformation in Poland: Some Social and Economic Aspects* (Baltimore, Md., 1924), and standard histories and church histories pertaining to Poland, such as O. Halecki, *A History of Poland* (1943 & 1956); E. Hanisch, *Geschichte Polens* (1923); and K. Voelker, *Kirchengeschichte Polens* (1930).

In Thorn, enthusiasm for Luther ran high by 1520—so high, in fact, that a papal legate, Zacharias Fereira (or Ferrei), was stoned when he endeavored to burn Lutheran books and a picture of the Reformer. Sigismund, in turn, issued his notable Thorn edict, variant copies of which are dated May 3 and July 24, 1520.⁸ This edict prohibited possession of Lutheran works on penalty of exile and forfeiture of property. On March 7, 1523, the king issued a new edict at Cracow, now intensifying the penalty to burning at the stake.⁹ A further edict of Cracow, usually dated August 22, 1523 (September 5, 1523, in the text as given by Fox),¹⁰ even provided for search of homes in that city, and added other significant stipulations. It is this last edict which is published as a concluding piece in the little Reformation-era work we are treating. The text given therein indicates no date.

III

Our little book has presented somewhat of an enigma with respect to its date, place of publication, and printer; for no imprint information is included. As to time of publication, aside from being able to ascertain the date of Sigismund's edict, we do find two clues within the book itself. One is mention of the fact that Usingen preached his sermon in 1523, and the other is the date appearing at the end of the brief introductory letter which precedes Cricius' epistle: "Nonis Februarij. M.D.XXIII."¹¹ The latter is the latest date we have in reference to the book and the materials it contains, and it furnishes us with at least a *terminus non ante quem* for the time of publication.

⁸ See Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 141, as well as O. Balzer's *Corpus juris Polonici*, III, 579-584, where the document appears. (Fox provides in a series of Appendices extended excerpts from various significant Reformation-era documents, including this one.)

⁹ See Balzer, *op. cit.*, IV, 3.

¹⁰ See Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 144; also cf. Balzer, *op. cit.*, Document 9, IV, 28-30.

¹¹ On leaves 1, verso, and 9, verso, respectively.

The question of provenience has posed an even more difficult problem, for not only is no printer nor place of publication indicated, but also the book contains materials originating in both German and Polish lands. Professor Hoar suggested Erfurt as the place, a conclusion in which I at first concurred, though not going into print on the matter.¹² I soon began to have second thoughts, however, and a discussion with Professor Hyma led me to suspect that the book probably was printed somewhere in Poland. This seemed to be logical because it is much more understandable that anti-Reformation interests in Poland would utilize an anti-Lutheran sermon by Usingen, a former teacher of the Reformer at the University of Erfurt, than to see why Germans should have had any particular desire to publish and promulgate the anti-Reformation materials from Poland.

Use of this working hypothesis proved most fruitful, for ere long I was able to match the type face used in our book with that appearing in a work known to have been printed by H. Vietoris in Cracow—an edition of *Cebetis Thebani* bearing full imprint information: "Cracouiae, in Officina Hiero. Vietoris. Mense Iunio. An. M.D.XXIIII." Further comparisons of type faces used in works of that time have thus far led me to no other possibilities regarding the printer, and I would therefore submit, tentatively at least, that Vietoris was indeed the printer and Cracow the place of publication.

¹² See Hoar, *op. cit.*, p. 157, continuation of n. 5.